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RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF OFFICERS	vii
RULES	ix
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1880.....	xi
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS	xix
LIST OF MEMBERS	xxi
CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES, &C.....	xxxii
THE TEST AND PENAL STATUTES IN 1688, IN RESPECT OF THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS AND MAGISTRATES OF SUSSEX. BY <i>Sir G. F. Duckett, Bart.</i>	1
THE MEASUREMENTS OF PTOLEMY AND OF THE ANTONINE ITINERARY. BY <i>Gordon M. Hills, Esq.</i>	25
SOME ACCOUNT OF RICHARD ELDRIDGE, OF HORSHAM, BELL- FOUNDER, AND NOTES UPON THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH. BY <i>Robert Garraway Rice, Esq.</i>	81
A RETURN OF THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE COUNTY AND BOROUGHES OF SUSSEX. Continued from Vol. XXX. BY <i>Alan H. Stenning, Esq.</i>	95
A NOTICE OF REV. JOHN ALLIN, VICAR OF RYE, A.D. 1653— 1662; AN EJECTED MINISTER. BY <i>Dr. T. Wm. Wake Smart.</i> 1880.	123
BATTLE ABBEY EVIDENCES. BY <i>Sir G. F. Duckett, Bart.</i>	157
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PLUNDERED MINISTERS RELATING TO SUSSEX. Continued from Vol. XXX. BY <i>Frederick Ernest Sawyer, Esq., F.M.S.</i>	169
NOTES AND QUERIES	201

JANUARY, 1881.

Sussex Archaeological Society.

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R U L E S .

1. The Society shall be called the "Sussex Archaeological Society," and shall avoid all topics of religious or political controversy, and shall remain independent of, though willing to co-operate with, similar societies by friendly communication.

2. Every candidate for admission shall be proposed by one Member, and seconded by another, and elected by the Committee by ballot at any of their meetings. One black ball in five to exclude.

3. The Committee shall have power to elect as an Honorary Member any person (including foreigners) likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member shall not pay any entrance fee or subscription, shall not exercise the privilege of an ordinary Member as to voting at the meetings or the proposal of candidates, and shall be subject to re-election annually.

4. The annual subscription shall be ten shillings payable on admission, and afterwards on the 1st day of January in each year. Five pounds may be paid in lieu of the annual subscription, as a composition for life.

5. All Members shall on their election pay an entrance fee of ten shillings.

6. Every new member shall have his election notified to him by the Clerk, and shall be required to remit the amount due from him to the Treasurer, George Molineux, Esq., Old Bank, Lewes, within one month of his election.

7. No Member shall participate in any of the benefits of the Society until he shall have paid his subscription, and, if a new Member, his entrance fee.

8. If the sum due from a new Annual Member under the preceding Rules be not paid within one month from the date of his admission, if he be in the United Kingdom—or if abroad, within two months—the Committee shall have power to erase his name from the list of Members; but they shall have power to reinstate him on his justifying the delay to their satisfaction.

9. The name of every Member failing to pay his subscription due on the 1st January in each year shall be placed in the Barbican on the 1st March; and if the subscription be not paid on or before the 1st August, if the defaulter shall be resident in Great Britain or Ireland, or within one month after his return, if he shall have been abroad, he shall cease to be a Member of the Society, and his name shall be erased from the books, unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Committee. Any Member intending to withdraw his name from the Society shall give notice in writing to the Clerk on or before the 1st January of his intention to do so, otherwise he shall be liable for the current year's subscription.

10. As the payment of his subscription will entitle a Member to enjoy every benefit of the Society, so it will distinctly imply his submission to the Rules for the time being in force for the government of the Society.

11. Two general meetings of the Society shall be held in each year. The first general meeting shall be held on the Thursday preceding Lady Day at the Barbican, Lewes Castle, at 12.30, when the Committee shall present their annual report and accounts for the past year, and not less than 12 members shall be elected to act on the Committee for the succeeding year, any proposed alteration of the Rules shall be considered, and other business shall be transacted. The second general meeting shall be held on the second Thursday in August, at some place, rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations.

12. A special general meeting may be summoned by the Honorary Secretaries at such place as the Committee may determine on the requisition in writing of Five Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Presidents specifying the subject to be brought forward for consideration at such meeting, and that subject only shall be then considered and resolutions passed thereon.

13. At all Meetings of the Society or of the Committee the resolutions of the majority present and voting, shall be binding.

14. No alteration shall be made in the Rules except at the General Meeting in March. No proposed alteration shall be considered unless four months' previous notice thereof in writing shall have been given to the Committee. No subject shall be discussed more than once in each year, except with consent of the Committee.

15. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers and the exhibition of antiquities may be held at such times and places as the Committee may determine.

16. All the affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Committee.

a. The Committee shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Honorary Curator and Librarian, the Local Honorary Secretaries, and not less than 12 Members (who shall be elected at the General Meeting in March).

b. The Committee shall meet at Lewes Castle on the Thursdays preceding the usual Quarter Days, at 12 o'clock, and at such other times as the Hon. Secretaries may determine. Three Members of the Committee shall form a quorum.

c. The Committee shall at their first meeting after the annual meeting in March appoint a sub-committee to manage the financial department of the Society's affairs. Such sub-committee shall at each quarterly meeting of the General Committee submit a report of the liabilities of the Society, when cheques signed by three of the Members present shall be drawn on the Treasurer for the same. The accounts of the Society shall be submitted annually to the examination of two auditors who shall be elected by the Committee from the general body of the Members of the Society.

d. The Committee shall at their first meeting after the Annual Meeting in March appoint a sub-committee to edit the Society's Volume.

e. The Committee may 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; such Local Secretaries shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee.

REPORT.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society took place at Boxgrove, on Thursday, 12th August. Many members and friends assembled on the occasion, and visited the church and the remains of the priory at Boxgrove, the ruins of the mansion at Halnaker, and the house and grounds at Goodwood. The party were received at Boxgrove church by the Rector, the Rev. W. Burnett, and inside the building Mr. Lacy Ridge read a paper on its architecture (which he illustrated by plans and drawings) as follows:—"In my student days I made this building the special subject of my study. This is my excuse for appearing before this learned Society to-day. In compiling the letter-press which accompanied the drawings of this church which I published, I had occasion to look up that which was to be known of the history of the church and the priory to which it belonged. This information has been made generally accessible by the publications of this Society, and the exhaustive description of the architectural history of the building read by the Rev. J. L. Petit before the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1853, and published, together with historical notes, by the Rev. William Turner, sometime Vicar of Boxgrove. The recorded facts affecting this building are few. We learn that Robert de la Haye founded the priory for three monks of the Order of St. Benedict, about the year 1117; that the son-in-law of the founder increased the number to six, and that his grandson made up the number to thirteen monks. In 1414, the number was reduced to nine. The priory was originally subject to the Abbey of l'Essay, in Normandy, which, at one time, owing to their having a foreign prior thrust upon them, brought the monks into trouble, their goods being seized, among those of other alien priories, by Edward II. In the thirteenth year of Edward III. the house was made independent, and retained its endowments. In the Diocesan Registry are records of a series of visitations held by the Bishop of Chichester from 1402 till the period of the dissolution. In 1409, a dispute as to the rights and duties of the Vicar of the church and the monks occurred. It appears that the Vicarage was created by a deed dated 1250, a fact which it may be worth bearing in mind when we come to speak of the use to which different parts of the church were put. In 1535, the priory was dissolved, and granted to Thomas Lord de la Warre, the possessor of the lordship of Halnaker, who had made him "a power chapel to be buried yn," to which, however, he was never brought, and where no mass was ever said. Such facts as these show that we are dealing with the church of a monastic body of very moderate size, and that the building served also for parochial purposes. They help us in no way in assigning dates to the different parts of the structure, except that the date of foundation, 1117, probably forms a limit of antiquity. Of purely Norman date we have

the transept walls, arches, and windows, the arches on the south side of the existing bay of nave, and the charming external fragment the entrance from cloisters to chapter house. Of the first transitional period (*i.e.*, from Norman to E. E.) we have the ruined nave, Norman in general tone, but pointed in its arches, and first presenting that system of coupled bays which gives so marked a character to the choir; the arches of the crossing with the pointed arches and great circular caps and bases which sweep round and gather up the odd sharp-pointed mouldings of the piers and arches, so characteristic of a state of transition wherein the pointed form was applied experimentally, and the due subordination (that is the arrangement in rings) of arch and pier, was not yet reached; the arcaded bell storey, heavy in its proportions and its details, with square abacus and coarsely moulded but pointed arches; and last, probably quite late in the transition, the bell storey with circular arched openings, but having on their inner arches a moulding under-cut and refined to an extent far in advance of any of the preceding work, which may well be a standing warning to us not to trust too implicitly in assigning dates of the buildings to the form of the arch. Next the transition is over, the great century of mediæval art has come; the style which is to produce Lincoln and Salisbury, the west front and the sculptures of Wells, and the great Cistercian Abbeys, is established. The great cathedrals throughout northern France are rising rapidly. No longer does the apsidal East End satisfy the architectural taste of the day. Everywhere in England the apse is being removed to make way for the prolonged choir and square end; and in no case is the change more apparent than in the West Sussex churches of Chichester, Shoreham, and Boxgrove. Not only is the choir to be rebuilt as an integral and in some sense separate part of the church, but a new departure is to be made, a larger scale is to be adopted, new materials are to be introduced, and a higher level of art workmanship is to be attempted. True the new choir will dwarf the tower, and not altogether harmonise with the old work, but that to the ambitious mind of the 13th century architect was a trifle. Posterity might rebuild transept, nave, and tower, and if here at Boxgrove the hope was destined to be disappointed, architectural history shows that this was the exception rather than the rule. Exact parallels are, however, to be found at Carlisle Cathedral and elsewhere. The old tower is complete in itself; it has its large arches, arcade or triforium, and bell storey just like any other central tower—that at Chichester, for instance, in which, however, let me parenthetically remark, all character was lost at the rebuilding by leaving open, without louvres or other form of enclosure, the openings of the bell storey. Fortunately it is a thing easily remedied. Boxgrove Tower is complete enough, but is eclipsed by the larger scale of the newest portion of the church. Circumstantial evidence renders it possible to fix with certainty the date of the choir, and to assign it to the early years of the 13th century. With the completion of the choir the building was finished, except that a chapel, now the entrance porch, was added, and the vestry—the flint work of which should be noticed—in the 15th century. New windows were inserted from time to time, and tombs erected, but I believe that except the large chantry they are to be

dated only by their architectural features. The interest of the church undoubtedly centres in the choir. The effect of size produced is far in excess of the actual dimensions, for although the total length of the whole church was very considerable—some 230 feet or more—the clear width of the choir is only 20 feet, and the height from floor in sacrum to boss only some 35 feet. I think this arises from the double bays of the lower arcade, combined in the clerestory, and vaulting into a single bay, which seems to multiply the number of parts without necessitating diminution of size, and to maintain that simplicity without which there is no grandeur. It imparts to the building an effect which is strikingly original. The way in which the space which would ordinarily be the triforium—that is, the cover, the part of the wall against which the aisle roof abuts—is thrown into the ground storey, aids also both the appearance of size and the originality of design. No one who is familiar with the eastern bays of the choir or presbytery of Chichester Cathedral can fail to be struck with the close relationships of its design to this choir. The clerestory here is little more than an adaptation of that of the Cathedral, the chief difference being the side marble shafts are carried up much higher than at Chichester, where they are somewhat dwarfish beside their tall central neighbours. The lower half of the design is a bold development of the triforium, in each case a great round arch enclosing two pointed ones. Nor does the relationship of the two designs stop here. The idea of the ground storey piers of the presbytery, the great central circular shafts, with their detached rather than clustered columns around, finishing at the top in carved marble caps, with which, I suppose, nearly all of you are familiar, were taken as a model by the architect of Boxgrove, and anything these piers we see before us may want in size and richness they gain in refinement. Taken in conjunction with the larger piers, with their really almost solid, though apparently shafted, stone cores, I doubt if the whole range of Early English art can furnish a more beautiful specimen of piers than those of which we are speaking. Now, the eastern bays of Chichester being erected between the fire of 1186 and the consecration of 1199, are most interesting, not only from their extremely great intrinsic beauty, but also as a specimen of the very last stage of the transition. Boxgrove must have followed, and must have followed very closely, on the other work. The greater refinement in detail, the more perfect system of proportion, the more perfect drill of the orders or rings of arches—as to which they came to considerable grief at Chichester. The fillet or flat piece on the large beads all prove the former point, while the round arch and the unconventional look of the building altogether prove the latter proposition. One extremely interesting point was brought out by the measured drawings, plotted to scale, made by me of this building—namely, the existence of a system of geometrical and numerical proportion to which I attribute that refinement which, to my eye, at any rate, is very striking in its proportions. You will easily realise what I mean by a double equilateral triangle; that is, two equilateral triangles described on opposite sides of the same base. Now, the section of the choir from paving to boss encloses such a figure; that is, two equilateral triangles described on a line clear of the walls in height. The double bay being square, the side wall takes,

of course, the same figure. The same figure fits into the opening from choir to aisle. Such a figure fits exactly on plan into the space occupied by choir and aisles. The same thing, to some extent, holds good in the older part of the building—in the opening to north transept, and, I think, the double bay of nave. Certainly the nave double bays, instead of being square on plan, as in the choir, have a width from west to east equal to the height of an equilateral triangle on the clear width of nave as a base. Again, the height from floor to top of string under clerestory is the height thence to boss as three to two. From floor to top of capitals is as two to one within the arch, and as two to three up to string. Proportions of this kind do not hold in all mediæval buildings, though I have met with other specimens of it. Where they are to be found the fact certainly imparts an additional interest. There are many things which he who is the official guardian of this church will by-and-bye point out to you as we pass them in our perambulation. A few words on the somewhat burning question of the dual use of the church for purposes monastic and parochial, and I have done. A glance at the western piers of choir, and a comparison of them with the eastern bays, must convince any one that the stalls were in the choir proper eastward of the crossing, and hid to some extent those plain stone piers, but showed the marble caps. That the high altar stood right against the east wall in a church of this size I much doubt. If anything of the *sedilia* referred to by Dallaway could be found, it would help to solve the question. There were undoubtedly altars (the stones exist) at the east ends of the aisles. Probably there were altars in the transepts. A screen wall has undoubtedly been erected, possibly after the great dispute between monks and vicar in 1409, shutting off the nave, except one bay, from the rest of the church, a handsome door being inserted to lead from the cloisters into the east bay of a nave beyond the screen. At this screen a parish altar may have stood, but it was after all, but one altar among many. Even if a marked sub-division of the building between monks and parishioners ever took place, it can hardly have formed any part of the original intention of the building; in fact, the vicar himself *was not* from time immemorial, but was a creation by deed. The transept and one bay of nave would form a handsome ante-chapel, such as we see at Merton and other college chapels, if we are to suppose that the nave was handed over to the parishioners. If this state of things ever existed we have to thank Thomas, Lord de la Warr, or some other, for having appropriated to the use of the parish by far the more precious portions of the church, which have thus been preserved to us for the benefit, we will hope, of the parishioners for all time, for the delight and instruction of architectural students and of all who have power of appreciating refined beauty or problems of archaeological interest, and, not least, for the edification of this company gathered here to-day to show their reverence and their love for all that has come down to us from distant times in this county of Sussex, and especially for this House of God, whose simple beauty accords so well with the verdant fields and flowering downs among which it stands."

At the conclusion of Mr. Lacy Ridge's paper, Mr. GORDON HILLS met

the party outside the building, and explained some of the architectural features of the exterior. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Hills said he should not give dry architectural details, and that although the remains of the Priory were scattered, enough were left to enable the general arrangements to be traced. Pointing out that the Priory was of the Benedictine Order, and small at first; that it was founded at least as early as 1173, and giving a number of details, showing, for instance, that at first there were three monks, then six, and then twelve, and that signs of the gradual extending of the building could be traced, that the church was built at first with an aisle, and that there was a cellery and a cellarer's room, Mr. Hills gave his reasons for supposing that what was often thought to be the Abbot's House, was an Infirmary for aged monks, who were excused from the strict observance of the rules. He then unrolled plans of Boxgrove Priory and Bayham Abbey, upon the ground, and pointed out their differences. Mr. Henry Willett then led the way to the supposed Infirmary, and here Mr. Hills pointed out that it was a two-storied building, originally with stone ceilings, and had a large fireplace. He had, he said, observed that the residential portion of monastic buildings was sometimes on the south, and sometimes, as in this instance, on the north side of the church, and had generally been able to find the reason, adding that it was not always because it was on the sunny side, but generally the side that water was to be obtained, the monks being sanitarians, and using vast quantities of water for culinary and other purposes. They generally, he said, choose a spot near a brook, so that fresh water could be brought, and the impure carried away.

Captain VALINTINE here remarked that a well was near, and also pointed out where a large pigeon-house used to stand. It appeared from some further remarks volunteered, that a portion of the ruin had been removed since the time 1780, when a large portion was pulled down and sold for building material.

From the church the party proceeded to the ruins of the Mansion at Halnaker, where the Rev. W. POWELL, one of the Hon. Secs., made the following remarks on the descent of the honour of Halnaker and the endowment of Boxgrove Priory:—"It was a common remark for people to make, that the Society, having already published some thirty volumes of the Archæological collections, must have exhausted the subject of antiquities in Sussex, yet many things were wanting which were to be found in printed and manuscript records and documents within the reach of all. It was usual in treating of Boxgrove to assume that Henry I. gave the Manors of Boxgrove and Halnaker to Robert de Haia, and that he founded the Priory at Boxgrove, but a reference to the Domesday Book would show that instead of the honour of Halnaker having had its beginning in the grant of Henry I. to Robert de Haia it existed at the time of the Domesday Survey, when a group of manors, including the manor of Halnaker, which descended together in after years, were held by one William, and the germ might be traced in the holding of Halnaker Hamtonet and part of Lavant by Alvard, a free man in the time of Edward the Confessor; nor when we bear in mind that there were between the time of the Survey and the grant of Henry I. two disputed succes-

sors to the crown, and that Robert de Belesme, the eldest surviving son of 'Comes Rogerius' was driven into exile in 1102, when his vast estates passed into the King's hands, need we be surprised at the fact of William losing his possession or being involved in the ruin of the great Norman family of whom he was the feudal dependant. We are told in the Testa de Nevill that, 'The Lord King Henry, the father of the Empress Matilda, held the rape of Arundel as an escheat,' and then that 'King Henry the First gave the Archbishop of Canterbury two knight's fees in Slindon of the rape of Arundel,' and at the same time and in the same way he may have given Halnaker to Robert de Haia. In the Roman de Rou we meet with li Sire de la Haie—

Dunc point li Sire de la Haie,
Nus n'esperne ni ne manaie,
Ne nus ne fiert k'à mort ne traie,
Ne poet garir k'il fet plaie.

Robert de Haia is supposed to have been his son, and the name of the family is supposed to have been taken from La Haye du Puits in the district of Contances. By marriage Robert de Haia is said to have been connected with the family of William the Conqueror, and his wife's father and grandfather Eudo cum capella, and Turstin Halduc had founded the Abbey of l'Essay about 1064. In the return of knight's fees for the county of Sussex as given in the black book of the Exchequer in the matter of the Aid for marrying the eldest daughter of King Henry II. to William the Lion, the Earl of Arundel acknowledges 'Helnac 12 knight's fees,' and in the Testa de Nevill Robert St. John is recorded as holding 12 knight's fees in Halnak of the honour of Arundel. In the entry in the Domesday Book 'Clerks of the Church' are mentioned under Boxgrove, which gives rise to the question whether 'Clerks of the Church' at Boxgrove or 'Clerks of the Church' somewhere else are meant; yet in any case it would appear there was a church at Boxgrove at an early date, and it was important to observe how the Priory swallowed up every other interest. In a charter recited in an Inspecimus and Confirmation charter of l'Essay the expression *parochia* was used in connection with Boxgrove, and as it was generally held that the division into parishes was unknown in Sussex till the latter part of the 12th century, either *parochia* was used to denote a district of a different kind, for the word *parochia* had formerly several meanings, or the division of Sussex into parishes had taken place at an earlier period than had been commonly supposed. The derivation of Boxgrove was a subject for discussion, the word 'grava,' in low Latin meant a grove of trees, and there were words in Anglo-Saxon corresponding to the English grove as well as grave. Mr. Lacy Ridge has explained the appointment of a Vicar in 1250, and in the Nonarum Inquis. in 1340, the Prior of Boxgrove is mentioned as parson of the church, as he is also at West Hampnett, as the Prior of Hastings is at Ashburnham and the Abbat of Fécamp at Steyning, and as at Sumptyng it is stated 'personatus ecclie de Suntyng est in manibus hospitaliariorum.' These remarks may serve to show that no complete account of these places has yet been given, and

that much remains to be done in collecting additional information about them. The same may be said of many other places, and if only some members with ability and leisure for pursuing antiquarian studies would give their attention to the contents of the Record Office and the British Museum, the Society need not despair of the publication of the collections being continued."

On leaving Halnaker ruins, the party entered the Park at Goodwood, and dinner was served in a marquee to more than 200 guests, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese presiding. After dinner, Goodwood house and grounds were visited, and a short lecture on the Roman Inscription was given by the Rev. F. H. Arnold.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, for kind permission to visit Halnaker and Goodwood; to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese for presiding at the dinner, and taking part in the day's proceedings; and to the Ven. Archdeacon Walker, the Rev. W. Burnett, Capt. Valintine, and other members of the local committee, for the trouble they took to promote the success of the meeting.

An autumn meeting was held on Monday, October 25th, at West Chiltington Church, to examine some mural paintings lately brought to light. Mr. T. JESSON read a paper on the history of the parish:—"The village had been the scene of no battle, the birthplace of no famous soldier, orator or poet; though who could tell who might not have been passed over by the world as unaccountably as the Church had been by archæologists. Domesday Book spoke of the Church, and said its constant value had been 30s. After giving some interesting particulars of the parish generally Mr. Jesson came to the church and mentioned some details. The rectory stood in the King's Book at £12 16s. 10d. Sir John Pelham was patron in 1438, and George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, in 1485, and his successors since. The registers date from 1558, but from 1622 to 1711 are lost. One of the four bells bears the inscription, in Latin, "John dear to Christ," with a shield bearing the arms of England. Another, dated 1602, "Our hope is in the Lord." In 1587, Mr. Tanner, of Fittleworth, bequeathed to the Church of Chyltynton five "shepe." The speaker humorously observed that he didn't know what had become of them unless they had been consumed at churchwardens' suppers. In 1541, John Sayrle bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of "Our Lady of Chiltington"—a record interesting, as being the only clue we have to the name of the church's patron saint. In 1631 Wm. Smithe founded a charity school with an endowment of £200, since invested in land; £4 yearly was to be applied to the poor, and the remainder to instructing poor children. There is a monumental slab to his memory, on the floor of the church. In May, 1631, a committee of justices reported, among sums devoted to pious uses in their division, £20 at West Chiltington to the relief of the poor. Among the old church papers, were some very curious documents, including a proclamation of William and Mary, fixing a thanksgiving day for success and victory over their enemies and rebellious subjects in Ireland; a declaration of Charles II. to all his loving subjects touching the causes that moved him to dissolve Parlia-

ment, papers passing on paupers to other parishes, &c. Reference was made to some interesting obituary slabs in the church, and the paper closed with an indication of the site, close by, of the ancient parish stocks for delinquents, and a reference to the moot point whether Queen Elizabeth had once dined at an old house which stands near the rectory."

During the visit to the church a passage to the Rood loft was discovered in the wall.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1880.

RECEIPTS.					PAYMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Balance at Treasurer's, Jan. 1, 1880	82	17	1		Printing Vol. XXX.	127	10	5
Annual Subscriptions.....	212	0	0		Illustrations, ditto	30	1	0
Ditto, Arrears.....	64	10	0		Index, ditto	4	4	0
Ditto, paid in Advance	11	0	0		Editor, ditto (balance)	25	0	0
Overpayments.....	1	12	2		Ditto, ditto Expenses.....	2	7	10
Three Life Compositions ...	15	0	0		Clerk's Salary.....	20	0	0
Garden Rents, 1879	3	0	0		Clerk's Expenses, Stamps, &c.....	7	16	5
Ditto, 1880	3	0	0		Expenses of Annual Meeting	12	12	6
Dividend on Consols	11	0	2		H. Campkin, Sundries	2	1	0
Sale of Books	12	11	6		Books for Library and Bind- ing	5	2	0
Visitors to Castle	93	5	0		Printing, Stationery, &c... ..	11	19	6
Illustrations, Vol. XXIX. ...	5	0	0		Sundries	0	17	8
					Clerk (cash in hand)	5	0	0
					Castle Account—			
					Rent	31	5	4
					Coals & Wood	8	14	0
					Repairs, &c... ..	12	10	7
					Taxes & Sun- dries	9	19	9
					Warder	26	0	0
					Ditto, Com- mission, 1879	4	18	6
						93	8	2
					Balance at Treasurer's, Dec. 31, 1880.....	166	15	5
	£514	15	11			£514	15	11

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, JAN. 1, 1881.

ASSETS.					LIABILITIES.			
	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Balance at Treasurer's	166	15	5		Subscriptions paid in advance	11	0	0
Invested in Consols	374	18	3		Morgan, Commission, 1880 ...	4	13	3
Arrears of Subscriptions— estimated to produce.....	25	0	0		Sundry Bills	10	0	0
Surplus Stock of Books.....	50	0	0		One Quarter's Rent	8	0	0
Due on Illustrations Vol. XXIX.	5	0	0			33	13	3
					Balance of assets	588	0	5
	£621	13	8			£621	13	8

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THE TEST AND PENAL STATUTES IN 1688, IN RESPECT OF THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS AND MAGISTRATES OF SUSSEX;

FROM THE ORIGINAL STATE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF
JAMES II., IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY,
RELATING TO THE ABROGATION OF THOSE LAWS.

BY SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART.

THE repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act, which James II. had studied from the commencement of his reign to bring about, was a matter which he primarily resolved to settle and effect, if possible, by virtue of his sole Royal authority, for the "Declaration of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience" to all creeds, proclaimed by him in 1687-8, was issued with that determination; the Judges having, in addition, by their verdict the previous year, confirmed his right to dispense with those statutes.

It was an object with the King, however, under existing circumstances, to impart an air of constitutional authority to this act, and to endeavour to carry their abrogation by means of Parliament, so that, as a preliminary measure of chief importance with regard to the next election, it was deemed desirable to canvass the Magistracy of the different counties and the Corporations, touching their private views and leanings on the subject.

With this object the Lords Lieutenant were instructed

to put certain interrogatories to the Deputy Lieutenants and Magistrates of their respective counties, whilst Secret Agents were sent throughout the country to sound and canvass the constituencies and ascertain their sentiments. It would seem that this task was not altogether one which the greater part of the Lords Lieutenant were disposed to entertain, and nearly the half of the entire number were summarily displaced. At this time, Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, was entrusted with the county of Sussex, and was one of the number removed from their Lieutenancies for declining to carry out the King's order,—Lord Montague (of Cowdray), distinguished for inheriting an unwavering attachment as well to the Crown of England as to the Church of Rome, being substituted in his room.

The Questions, when propounded by the Lords Lieutenant, met, as a rule, with no success; neither were the King's Agents' Reports more favourable. Their secret Returns went to prove the discontented and hostile views of the several constituencies to the abrogation of these laws, and in comparing those from Sussex with the returns of other counties, the Answers of the Magistrates were especially negative, and testify plainly, by their language and uniformity of wording, to preconcerted action among them. In this state of feeling of the country, there remained apparently but one remedy to the King—still bent upon the expediency of calling together a Parliament of his own electing, for he had prorogued his last indefinitely as not amenable to his purposes—namely, that of annulling the charters of the different Corporations, and replacing the Deputy Lieutenants and Magistracy from among the Roman Catholic and Dissenting community, favourable to his views.

In these arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings, there is a remarkable similarity between the acts and resolutions of James II. and his predecessor Queen Mary. Both had in view the abolition of the Reformed Religion, with all laws made in support of the Protestant Faith; the last by power of the ecclesiastical supremacy which she had inherited from Henry VIII., her father, but

afterwards made over to the Pope; the former solely by virtue of his Royal Prerogative. It was evident to them both, that the repeal of these laws constitutionally, could only take place by Act of Parliament; but as there was small likelihood of any Parliament concurring in these measures, as constituted on the accession of these two Sovereigns, the elective element was operated upon by each of them, in order to influence the constituencies, and procure returns favourable to their object.

The circular Questions thus propounded by James II., at that epoch of our history, or rather the Answers of the several Deputy Lieutenants and Magistrates thereto, touching the abrogation of the Penal Laws and Test Act, are embodied, together with the secret and confidential Returns of the King's Agents, in one of the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and afford very valuable evidence of the real feeling of the country at that critical juncture of our religious liberties, carried out as the measure was in every part of England and Wales. These latter Reports are apparently wanting for Sussex, so that the Answers handed in by the Magistrates of the county on that occasion are alone available for our purpose. The Memorandum, however, which is given in conclusion of this paper, will shew the nature of the instructions given to the King's Agents to influence the electors.

It is a remarkable fact, taken in close connection with this attempted abrogation of these statutes, that the identical step of eliciting information and canvassing opinion, was taken by the King with the officers and soldiers of his army; indeed, one which seems scarcely credible or possible in these days. The first (and only) regiment on which the experiment was tried, signally, not to say ludicrously, failed, for officers and men being called upon to engage to the utmost of their power to procure the repeal of the Penal Laws and Test, and being commanded, in the event of their not complying with the King's proposition, to lay down their arms, the *whole* regiment, with the exception of two Roman Catholic captains and some few soldiers of the same persuasion, obeyed the order and grounded their arms,—James II.

himself being present at the time. The regiment in question was the one then known as the "Earl of Lichfield's."

We may observe, in conclusion, that this same subject, having already been treated at greater length in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the *Antiquarian Journals* of Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Cumberland and Westmorland, the present paper may be regarded rather in the light of a sequel to the several articles in those publications on the proposed repeal of the Penal Statutes; the whole, it is believed, furnishing an interesting and instructive addition to the historical records of that time. The Returns sent in from Wiltshire are probably of chief interest, that county from its previous history, being looked upon with special suspicion.

The questions put to the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace by Francis, Viscount Montague,¹ Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, in succession to Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex,² who declined to put the same:—

1. If in case hee shall be chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgesse of a towne, when the King shall think fitt to call a Parliament, Whether hee will bee for taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests.

2. Whether he will assist and contribute to the Election of such members, as shall be for taking off the Penal Laws and Tests.

3. Whether hee will support the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by living friendly with those of all perswasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to do.

His Maiesties Questions proposed to the severall Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of the County of Sussex, answered as followeth:

¹ Francis Browne, 4th Viscount Montague of Cowdray and Midhurst. (See *postea*.)

² Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, had been Lord Lt. of the county since 1677 (29 Charles II.), but on his refusing to put the Questions

propounded by James II., was removed from the Lieutenancy. On the accession of William of Orange [1 W. & Mary], he was again constituted Lord Lt. and Custos Rotulorum of the county, and retained the office to within two years of his death in 1705 [3 Q. Anne].

CHICHESTER RAPE.

Sir William Morley Kn^t of the Bath,³ Answers to y^e first question : I shall ever keep my loyalty in voting; but am doubtfull what lawes I shall consent to repeale, till I heare the Debates of the House.

To the Second Q.—I shall not assist to elect any person to serve in Parliam^t, but such as have ever been of known Royalty and Monarchicall principels

To y^e 3^d Q. I consent.

Thomas Palmer Esq,⁴ Answers to the first Question, that he will not be either Knight of the shire, or Burgesse of a Towne.

As to the second Q., being unable to Ride Journeys, he shall not be p'sent at the choice of the Knights of y^e Shire.

As to the third Q., he consents.

John Stuart Esq, Answers to y^e first Question, that provided the Church of England be first settled and secured in her just rights and service, as by Law now established, he shall not be against taking off the Penal Laws and Tests.

To the second Q., if he can find a man of his principalls (as all-ready expresst), he will give his vote for his election.

To the third Q., he wholly consents.

Oliver Weekes Esq,⁵ Answers to y^e first Question, that he is for takeing of no laws.

To y^e second Q., That he shall be for the choosing no member of Parliam^t, whose inclination shall be for takeing of the Penal Laws and Tests.

To the third Q. That he will live friendly and peaceably with all his neighbours of what persuasion soever, and will endeavour to serve his Mat^{ie} to y^e utmost of his Power.

John Lewkenor Esq,⁶ Answers to y^e two first Questions, that he shall consent readily to the abrogating of the Penal Laws and Tests, provided that the Church of England may be secured by Act of Parliam^t in her legal rights and possessions.

And to the last Q., he wholly consents.

William Peckham Esq,⁷ Answers to y^e first Question, That provided

³ Sir William Morley, K.B., of Halnaker, near Chichester, represented Midhurst in Parliament, 1 James II., and sat in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9 [Crown Office List]; having sat for the county in 1673. His father was Sir John Morley, Knt., of Halnaker, whose brother, Sir William Morley, was in 1635 seized of the manor of Selsey, and his estate sequestered in 1642. He married 1st, d. of Sir Robert Heath, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and 2nd, d. of Sir John Denham, K.B. [S.A.C., V. 46; Berry Suss. Ped.]

⁴ Probably grandson (or great-grandson) of Sir Thomas Palmer of Parham. The above magistrate was presumably of Steyning.

⁵ This magistrate was probably ancestor of the family afterwards of Shoreham and Hurstpierpoint; one of whom Carew Weekes of Tortington, represented Arundel in 1702.

⁶ John Lewknor of Westdeane represented Midhurst 1 James II. 1685; and again in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9, for which place he appears to have sat till 1705. He was Knight of the shire in 1679, and ob. 1706. He was son of Sir John Lewknor, K.B.

⁷ To which precise branch of the Peckham family this magistrate belonged is not apparent. There can be no doubt that he was connected with the family, which at one time held Nyton in Aldingbourne. About the date of

the Church of England may be secured in her legall Rights and Possessions, he shall (if chosen a Member of Parliament), freely consent to y^e takeing of all Tests and Penal laws, concerning Religion.

To y^e second Q., that he shall be for y^e choosing of such Parliam^t men, as shall be for the takeing of both Penal Laws and Tests wth the above mentioned proviso.

To the third Q., he wholly consents.

Thomas Bickley Esqr,⁸ Answers to the two first questions, That provided the Church of England be secured in all her legall rights and possessions, he shall be for abrogating the penal laws and Tests against Recusants.

As to the third Q., he wholly consents.

Thomas Briggs, Docto^r of Lawe,⁹ Answers as to y^e first Question, He shall not sitt for Parliament Man.

As to ye second Q., he shall assist to y^e Election of such member of Parliam^t as may consent to the takeing of the Penal Lawes for not goeing to Church or Serveing God in other manner than according to y^e Church of England out of the church, and not receiveing the Sacram^t.

As to ye third Q., he shall desire to live friendly wth all persuasions.

George Gunter Esqr,¹⁰ To the first Question, Answers, The Bent of my inclination is to serve his Maiesty in all things; But I must begg y^e freedom of suspending my opinion of what I shall or shall not doe, supposing I should be a Member of Parliam^t, in asmuch as my Yea and Nay there, would certainly follow the conviction of the p[']sent debate had then upon my iudgment and conscience.

To y^e second Q., I shall always endeavour to chuse such Members to serve in Parliam^t, as I shall iudge to be most likely to doe y^e King and Kingdom y^e best service.

To the third Q., I nott only will, but have & doe live neighbourly and friendly with my neighbours of a contrary persuasion.

Anthony Kempe Esq,¹¹ Consents to all the three Questions.

John Caryll Esq,¹² Absent.

these events we find William Peckham of Laughton; and William Peckham of Rumboldswyke (or weeke), near Chichester; with which last we are inclined to identify the justice here named.

⁸ This was probably Thomas Bickley, of Chidham, in Bosham.

⁹ Thomas Briggs, Doctor of Law; was in 1671 Chancellor of the Bishop's (Consistory) Court, or Ecclesiastical Court before which about that time the Quakers were summoned. He purchased in 1687 Dumford Park, in the parishes of Trotton and Elsted.

¹⁰ George Gunter, of Racton, was the son of the celebrated cavalier Colonel

Gunter (or Gunter), who was instrumental to Charles II's escape from England at New Shoreham after the Battle of Worcester, in October, 1651. [S. Sussex A. Coll. xxvii, 88.] George Gunter, the magistrate (as above), was born 1646, and m. d. of Richard Nicholl of Norbiton, in Surrey, and was M.P. for Chichester in 1685. He died 1718.

¹¹ Anthony Kempe of Slindon. This estate was granted in 2 Phil. and Mary to Anthony, third son of Sir William Kempe of Ollantigh in Kent, Knight. [Rot. Pat. 2 Phil. and Mar.]

¹² John Caryll of Harting and West Grinstead, was one of those who accompanied James II. into exile. Of this

Henry Arrundell Esq, Consents to all y^e three Questions.
Richard Cotton Esqr, Absent.

ARRUNDELL RAPE.

S^r Cecil Bishopp,¹³ Bart, Absent.

S^r John Briskcow,¹⁴ Kn^t, Answers as to y^e first Question, that he cannot be positive in it, his resolution depending upon the debates in Parliam^t.

As to y^e second Q., that he will make choice of such a person for member of Parliam^t, whom he shall believe to be for y^e good, honour, and safety of the King and Kingdom.

As to y^e third Q., he consents.

William Westbrooke Esq,¹⁵ Answers to y^e two first questions, that he shall consent readily to the abrogating of the Penal laws, and Tests, provided that the Church of England may be secured by Act of Parliam^t in her legal rights and possessions.

And as to the last Question, he wholly consents.

John Apsley Esq,¹⁶ Answers to y^e first Question, That in case he should be chosen a member of Parliam^t, his resolutions would wholly depend upon the debates therein, wherefore he cannot at p[']sent give any positive resolution.

As to y^e second Q., that he shall be for the choosing members of Parliam^t of his own persuasion.

As to the third Q., he consents.

S^r William Goring, Bart,¹⁷ Consents to all the three Questions.

BRAMBER RAPE.

S^r Henry Goring, Bart,¹⁸ As to the first Question he answers, that he cannot be positive in it, because he must suspend his Judgement till he hears (in case he be a parliam^t man), the case argued in the house, upon w^{ch} he may take his measures.

As to the second Q., that he knows no person of the Church of England, whom he can preferre as being for advancing what the

family was Sir John Caryll of Warnham, olim O'Carroll, Attorney-General to Henry VII. He was Secretary to Mary of Modena, and well-known as the friend of Pope, to whom he is recorded to have suggested the "Rape of the Lock." James II. conferred on him the titles of Baron Caryll, and Earl of Dartford. According to Horsfield (Hist. Suss.), those among Pope's letters addressed to the "Honble. J. C." are to this magistrate.

¹³ Sir Cecil Bisshopp, of Parham; ancestor of Lord Zouche of Harringworth.

¹⁴ Sir John Briscoe (or Briskcow) of Great Harrowden, co. Northampton,

Knt., became possessed of Amberley in 1683. He m. Anne d. of Nicholas, Earl of Banbury, by the d. of Mountjoy, E. of Newport; and died in 1723.

¹⁵ William Westbrooke of Ferring, near Arundel, was M.P. for Arundel in 1685.

¹⁶ Probably of a branch of the Apsleys of Pulborough.

¹⁷ Sir W. Goring, of Burton. Descended from John de Goring, temp. Edw. I.

¹⁸ Sir Henry Goring of Highden (2nd Bart.), m. Frances d. of Sir Thomas Bisshopp of Parham.

King requires, and that he cannot give his assistance for the choosing of any other.

As to the third Q., he wholly consents unto it.

John Alford Esq,¹⁹ Answers, that he cannot be positive as to the first Question, but that he must respite his determination till he heares the debates in Parliam^t., in case he be a member thereof, looking upon Penal laws as in force till they should come to be repealed. As to ye second Q., that he knows no person of the Church of England whom he can preferre as being for advancing what the King requires, and that he cannot give his assistance for the choosing of any other.

And as for the third Q., he wholly consents unto it.

Anthony Eversfield,²⁰ Answers, I must remayne doubtfull untill I have considered of ye debates in the next Parliam^t, the most proper place to decide this question. I can give no positive answer to any of the three Questions.

John Monke, Esqr,²¹ Answers, that at present, he is against the taking of the Penal Laws & Tests.

To ye second Q., that he shall be for choosing members of Parliam^t of the Church of England.

To ye third Q., that he shall live peacibly with all his neighbours of what persuasion soever.

Henry Bisshopp Esqr, My Answer to ye 1st Question propounded to me is this, that by reason of my extream Age I am unable for Knight of ye Shire, or to be Burgesse of any Town, when ye King shall think fit to call a Parliam^t.

My Answer to ye 2^d Question is, that upon ye account of my many Infirmityes & Weaknesses of body, I am not in any capacity to assist or contribute to ye Election of any member to serve in Parliam^t.

My Answer to ye 3^d Question is, that as I have in ye past part of my life (whiles natural ability of Body remained), ever evidenc'd a mind ready to serve my King, and appeared in Arms in defence of ye Royal Cause, according to my Duty, soe shall I for the remaining part of my life endeavour to render ye best services that I can to his Maiesty, as far as ye Laws of God will allow, & live friendly with all my neighbours according to ye rules of Christianity.

John Machell Esqr,²² Answers, that as to ye first and second Questions

¹⁹ John Alford sat in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9. [C. O. List.] The Alford's held Offington, near Worthing, from temp. Eliz. to 1726. John Alford had the manor of Hamsey in 1674. We identify this justice with John, son of William Alford, and nephew to John, who married d. of Sir Thomas Bishop of Parham. [S.A.C. xvii., 82; Berry Suss. Gen., p. 302; Roy. Com. Papers ii, 310.]

²⁰ Anthony Eversfield was M.P. for

Horsham both in 1685 and 1688-9. [C. O. List.]

²¹ John Monke was M.P. for New Shoreham in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9. [C. O. List.]

²² Was M.P. for Horsham in 1680 and 1685; sat also in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9 for the same borough, and continued to represent it up to 1698. In 1660 John Machell, the above magistrate, was one of the intended "Knights of the Royal Oak," and his

he is very willing to consent unto them, provided his religion & property may be secured.

As to y^e third Q., he wholly consents.

S^r John Shelly Bart,²³ Consents to all y^e three Questions.

Richard Caryll Esq^r,²⁴ Consents to all y^e three Questions.

LEWES RAPE.

S^r James Morton Kn^t,²⁵ Answers to y^e first and second Questions, that the Test and Penal Laws being a security established by Law for the Protestant religion, which by Oathes taken he has promised to maintaine, he can in no ways consent to the abrogating of them, or electing any member of Parliam^t for so doing.

As to y^e third Q., he consents.

Peter Courthope Esq^r,²⁶ Answers to y^e first Question, that he at p[']sent does not thinke it safe for y^e government, eyther in Church or State, to consent to y^e abrogating all the penal laws and Tests, & in-consistent with y^e Oathes he has already taken.

To y^e second Q., that he shall be for y^e electing such members of Parliam^t, as shall be of his opinion declared in the first Question.

To y^e third Q., that he does and will submit, as far as by law he may, or ought to doe.

William Board, Esq^r,²⁷ Answers to y^e first Question, that if elected a Parliament-man, he shall not be for taking of the Test and Penal Laws.

To y^e second Q., that he shall not be for y^e electing of any, who shall doe otherwise, than he would doe.

To ye third Q., he consents.

Thomas Beard Esq^r,²⁸ Answers to y^e first Question, that he is not for taking of the Tests, but for mitigating the Penal laws.

estate in Sussex was valued at £1000 per ann. He was of the same family as the Machells of Crackenthorpe, in Westmorland, a branch of which had been settled in Sussex from temp. 2 Mary, at Hills (Hill Place) near Horsham. His d. married Arthur Ingram, 3d Viscount Irvine.

²³ Sir John Shelley of Michelgrove in the parish of Clapham, 3rd Bart. His first wife was Lady Bridget Nevill, daughter of George, 9th Lord Abergavenny; and married as his second wife Mary, daughter and heir of Sir John Gage of Firle. The first Baronet married Jane, sister of Sir George, and grand-aunt of Sir John Resesby of Thrybergh in Yorkshire, whose name is of frequent occurrence in respect of the corresponding questions propounded at that time to the Yorkshire magistrates by James II

²⁴ This justice seems to be Richard Caryll, created Baron Caryll by James

II. at St. Germain's, and son of John Caryll, heavily fined by the Commissioners of Sequestration in 1643.

²⁵ Sir James Morton sat for Steyning in 1680; and again in 1688-9. [C. O. List]

²⁶ Peter Courthope Esq^r of Cranbrook, in Kent, became the owner of Danny in 1652, together with the manors of Hurstpierpoint and Horndean. He was grandfather of the justice here named, who died in 1724 [S.A.C. XI, 69], having married Philadelphia, d. of Sir John Stapley Bt, of Patcham; & was Sheriff of Sussex in 1631 [Berry *Suss. Gen.*]

²⁷ Was of Board Hill, Cuckfield; ob. 1697 [Berry *MS. Gen.*]. The name seems to be written at different times Borde, Boord or Board. The family was of Cuckfield & Lindfield up to 1737.

²⁸ Belonged to the family of the Beards, formerly of Cowfold and Edburton; an old Sussex family, many of

As to y^e second Q., that he is for y^e electing those, that shall act as he would doe.

To y^e third Q., that as he has never been a law-maker, soe shall he not be a law-breaker, but shall always demean himself peacibly and quietly, as becomes a good subject to his Prince.

Nizell Rivers, Esqr,²⁹ Answers to y^e two first Questions, that he dissents from the taking away the Tests and Penal Laws, or the giving his vote for any, that shall do otherwise.

As y^e the third Question, that he shall live quietly & peacibly with men of all persuasions.

Richard Bridger Esqr,³⁰ Answers, that he can give no positive Answer to y^e first Question till he hears the debates in Parliam^t.

To y^e second Q., that he shall give his vote for y^e elections of Members of Parliam^t of a known loyalty.

To y^e third Q., that he will live quietly with all sorts of persons, if he be suffered soe to doe.

Anthony Springett Esqr,³¹ Absent.

George Goring, Esqr, Answers to y^e first Question, that he cannot be for taking of the Penal laws & Tests.

To y^e second Q., that he shall be for y^e choosing of members of Parliam^t of a known loyalty.

To y^e 3^d Q., he consents.

John Smith, Esq, Absent.

PEVENSEY RAPE.

Sr John Pelham, Bart,³² Answers to y^e first Question, that if he should be chosen to serve in Parliam^t either as Knight of y^e Shire, or Burgesse for a Towne, he sees noe reason at p'sent for y^e taking of y^e Penal Laws and Tests.

As to y^e Second Q., that he shall contribute to y^e electing such for members of Parliam^t, whom he shall thinke to be loyall persons & fitt to serve the King & theyre countrey.

whom are buried at Hurstpierpoint. According to Berry [Sussex Gen], he was son of Ralph Beard of Hurstpierpoint; & d. 1705.

²⁹ Nizell (Nisell, or Nigel), Rivers of Offham, was the son of Sir John Rivers of Hamsey and Chafford, Bart. His elder brother, who was M.P. for Lewes 15 C I died in *vitâ patris*, leaving a son Thomas, who succeeded to the title. He seems to have been an active magistrate, and often associated in proceedings against the Quakers at Lewes in 1660 & 1675, with the magistrate next following, Richard Bridger of Coombe. He died in 1694 [S.A.C. XVII, 88].

³⁰ Richard Bridger of Combe Place, near Lewes Esq.; was M.P. for that

borough in 1685; and again in 1688-9 [C.O. List]. He was justice of the peace for the Rape of Lewes, and often concerned in proceedings against the Quakers at that time. He was colonel of the Sussex Militia [S.A.C. XVII, 89], and ancestor of the present Rev^d. Sir Geo Shiffner Bart of Coombe.

³¹ Probably of Plumpton; & grandson of Sir Thomas Springett of Broyle Place, in Ringmer [Berry Sussex Gen.]

³² Sir John Pelham, third Bart, was M.P. for co. Sussex in 1660, 1678, 1679, 1688-9; and ob. 1702. His son, Sir Thomas, was raised to the peerage as Baron Pelham of Laughton t. Queen Anne, and was ancestor of the present Earl of Chichester.

To y^e third Q., that he will live friendly with men of all persuasions, as subjects of y^e same Prince, & good Christians ought to doe.

S^r John Stapeley Knt & Bar^t,³³ Absent.

S^r William Thomas Bar.³⁴ Answers to the first question, that he cannot be for y^e taking of the Penal Laws and Tests.

As to y^e second Q., that he shall be for choosing persons of a known loyalty and integrity.

As to y^e third Q., he consents.

S^r Thomas Dyke Bar^t ³⁵ Absent.

S^r Edward Selwyn Knt,³⁶ Answers to y^e first Question, that if he be chosen a Parliament man, and that y^e King does persist in giving liberty of conscience, provided his Mat^{ie} does give security for maintaining the Church of England, he shall not be against taking of the Penal Laws & Tests.

To y^e second Q., that he shall never oppose the choice of any Member of Parliamt, that shall be for y^e taking of y^e Penal Laws & Tests, during this King's reign.

To the third Q., he consents.

Alexander Staples Esqr, Answers to y^e first Question, that if His Mat^{ie} thinks it fit for y^e maintenance of his royall Prerogative Government, & the Peace of his Kingdome, he shall consent to a free liberty of conscience.

To y^e second Q., that he shall assent to y^e election of such Members of Parliamt, as shall be trowley loyall, and gratefull to His Mat^{ie}.

To y^e third Q., he consents.

John Baker Esqr,³⁷ Answers to y^e first Question, that if chosen a Parliament man, and shall be convinced that y^e King's equivalent proposed for the security of the Protestant Religion may be sufficient, he shall consent to the taking of the penal Laws & Tests.

As to y^e second Q., that he shall endeavour to choose men of known loyalty.

To y^e third Q., he consents.

George Nevil Esqr, Answers, that he dissents to y^e two first Questions.

And as to y^e 3d Q, he assents.

Humphry Fowle, Esqr,³⁸ Answers, that he dissents to y^e two first Questions.

As to y^e third Q, he consents.

³³ Sir John Stapley of Patcham; created Baronet 1660, notwithstanding that his father Anthony had been one of the regicides. He was born in 1628, & ob. 1701, having married Mary, d. of Sir Herbert Springett of Broyle Place, Ringmer.

³⁴ Sir William Thomas of Westdean, and Folkington; o.s.p. 1706; was M.P. for co. of Sussex in 1689.

³⁵ Sir Thomas Dyke, 1st Bart. of Horeham in Waldron parish; M.P. for county of Sussex in 1685; and sat for

East Grinstead in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9.

³⁶ Sir E. Selwyn of Friston Place near Eastbourne; was returned for Seaford in 1685; monument to his memory in Friston Church.

³⁷ Of Mayfield Place.

³⁸ The arms of Humphrey Fowle, of Rotherfield were: Gules, a lion passant guardant between 3 roses or. The family appears to have been of Riverhall, in Fraut, adjoining Rotherfield.

S^r John Gage Bar^t³⁹ consents to all the three Questions.
Richard Biddulph, Esqr,⁴⁰ Absent.

HASTINGS RAPE.

S^r Denny Ashborneham Bart⁴¹ Absent.

S^r Richard May Knt,⁴² Consents to all y^e three Questions.

Roger Shoyswell Esqr,⁴³ Answers to y^e first Question, that he does not doubt, but that y^e King will make good his declaration, and therefore that he shall be (if elected to serve in Parliam^t), for taking of Penal Laws & Tests.

And to y^e second Q., he shall be for y^e choosing members of Parliam^t that shall doe y^e same.

To y^e third Q., he consents.

Thomas Frewen Esqr,⁴⁴ Answers to y^e first Question, that he cannot be for taking of y^e Penal Laws, & the Tests.

And to y^e 2^d Q., that he cannot be for taking of y^e Penal Laws & Tests.

And to y^e third Q., he consents.

John Busbridge Esq,⁴⁵ Answers to y^e first two Questions, that he dissents;

To y^e 3^d Q. he assents.

Edward Dyne Esqr,⁴⁶ Answers to y^e two first Questions, that he shall be for abrogating the Penal Laws & Tests, provided the Church of England may be secured in her legal rights and possessions.

To y^e 3^d Q., he consents.

Henry Apsley Esqr,⁴⁷ Answers to the first two Questions, that he shall not be for taking of the Penal law & Tests, nor for choosing members of Parliam^t that shall so doe.

To y^e third Q., he consents.

³⁹ Ancestor of the present Viscount Gage.

⁴⁰ The same, probably, who married Anne, d. and eventual heir of Sir Henry Goring of Burton, Bart; and was ancestor of the Biddulphs of Burton.

⁴¹ Sir Denny Ashburnham was M.P. for Hastings in 1661, and created a Baronet the same year; ancestor of the present Sir Anchtel Ashburnham of Broomham. He was the last member returned for Hastings on the nomination of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who happened to be James II. himself in 1685, having retained the office in his own hands [S. A. C. XIV, 101n].

⁴² Sir Richard May was Recorder of Chichester; and M.P. for that place in 1685 [C. O. List].

⁴³ One of the last of the family who held Shoyswell, in Etchingham, from whence the name was derived. John de Shoyswell held it prior to Edw I.

The family coat was:—Or, on a bend sable, 3 horse shoes ar [Hors. Suss.]

⁴⁴ Of Brickwall, Northiam. He was M.P. for Rye in 1678 and 1685. The monumental inscription in Northiam church to Thomas Frewen, who died 1702, is commemorative of him.

⁴⁵ In Sussex Visitation, 1634, John Busbridge, probably father of the magistrate here named, held Haremare. This place, in Etchingham parish, was the seat of the ancient Kentish family of Busbridge.

⁴⁶ Was of the family of Dyne, of Westfield and Lankhurst. Edward Dyne, probably son (or nephew) of this magistrate, was one of the Cinque Port Barons chosen for Hastings at the coronation of George II. [S. A. C. XV, 201.]

⁴⁷ This justice would seem to have been Henry Apsley, of Picchurst, in the hundred of Shoyswell, Hastings Rape, whose death occurred 1692, æt, 42. [Hors. Hist. Suss.]

Sr Nicholas Pelham Knt,⁴⁸ Answers to y^e first question, that he is not for abrogating the Penal Laws & Tests.

As to y^e 2^d Q., that he will contribute to y^e choosing of such for Members of Parliam^t as he shall thinke loyall, and dewly qualified to serve the King, & theyre countrey.

To y^e third Q., that he will live friendly and quietly with men of all persuasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to doe.

John Ashburnham Esqr,⁴⁹ Absent.

(Endorsed)

Returne of Sussex
May, 1668.

The names of such as are nominated to be Deputy Lieutenants in y^e warrant sent down.

{ Sr John fflagg of Wiston,
Sr Richard Shirley,
Sr Robert Parker,
Sr John Gage,
Sr John Shelley,
Sr William Goring,
William Garraway (*Garway*) of
ford Esqr⁵⁰

{ Sr Cecyl Bishop,
John Spence of Mawling (*Malling*) Esqr,
Henry Gage of Bently, Esqr,
William Darrell of Scotney, Esqr,
Richard Caryll Esqr,
John Smith Esqr,
John Lewkenor (*Lewknor of West Dean*), Esq .
Anthony Kempe Esq. (*of Slyndon.*)

The names of such as are to be added & inserted in the new warrant to be made for the Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex.

{ Sr William Morley,
Sr John Stapeley (*Stapley, of Patcham*),
olium of *Framfield*),
John Alford, Esqr
Sr Edward Selwyn (*of Friston*),
Richard Cotton Esqr

⁴⁸ Sir Nicholas Pelham, Knt., represented the county of Sussex in 1679; and sat for Seaford in 1688-9; another (or possibly the same) Sir Nicholas was returned for Lewes borough in 1702. He unsuccessfully contested Seaford in 1685, but was returned for the Convention Parliament of 1688-9 on the accession of William III. With regard to his non-election for Seaford in the above year, it appears from "Memorials of Seaford" [S.A.C. VI, 109], that on his

coming to the throne, James II., "recommended by his letter" Sir Edward Selwyn to the Corporation of that borough, who was thereupon returned with Sir W. Thomas, of Westdean, in opposition to Sir Nicholas Pelham.

⁴⁹ M.P. for Hastings from 1679—1688-9 [C. O. List].

⁵⁰ M.P. for Arundel in 1678, 1679, 1680, and 1655; and sat in the Convention Parliament of 1688-9 [C. O. List].

I humbly propose the persons above named to the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Sussex,

June 22nd, 1688.

(Signed),

MONTAIGU.

[Rawl. MS. A., 139a, ff 244-253, Bibl. Bodl.]

Sussex. { Sr John Fagg of Wiston,⁵¹
 { Sr Richard Shirley,⁵²
 Sr Robert Parker,⁵³
 Sr John Stapley,
 W^m Garoway (*sic*) of Ford, Esq^r.
 John Spence of Mawling (*sic*)⁵⁴
 Henry Gage of Bentley, Esq^r.⁵⁵
 Wm. Darrell of Scotney, Esq^r.⁵⁶
 John Smith of Crabitts (*Crabett*), Esq^r.⁵⁷
 John Braman,⁵⁸
 John Peche, } of Chichester, Esq^{rs}.
 Richard Farrington⁵⁹ }
 John Cook of Petworth,⁶⁰
 John Lee (*Leigh*), of Plaistow,⁶¹
 John Gratewake (*Gratwicke*), of Shermanbury,
 John Mitchell of Fillplace (*sic*), (*Micell of Field*
Place) in Warnham p[']ish,
 John Haise of Stansted,
 John Newman of Merrifield,⁶²
 Wm. Blaker of Buckingham,⁶³

⁵¹ Sir John Fagg of Wiston Bart.; M.P. for Steyning in 1685, 1688-9, 1695, & 12 W III. 1700, when he died. He bought Wiston of Sir Thomas Shirley, & was created a Baronet in 1660. He was twice married. The arms of Fagg were: Gules, two bends vair.

⁵² Sir Richard Shirley of Preston, 2nd Bart; created 1665; extinct 1705.

⁵³ Sir Robert Parker of Ratton; created a baronet in 1674; M.P. for Hastings in 1679; title became extinct in 1750. His ancestor Geoffrey Parker of Bexley flourished temp. Edw. I.

⁵⁴ John Spence of Malling House, near Lewes, succeeded his brother, William, in 1677; & ob. 1691. In 1835 Malling House was the property of Henry Hume Spence [Hors. Hist. Lewes].

⁵⁵ Bentley, in Framfield, was formerly the residence of a junior branch of the Gage family [Horsfield].

⁵⁶ Scotney was in the Darrell family for many generations down to 1774.

⁵⁷ Crabbett Park, in Worth, was once

the residence of a branch of the Smiths of Warwick.

⁵⁸ John Braman of Chichester, was M.P. for that borough in 1678, 1679, 1680-1 [C. O. List].

⁵⁹ Created Sir Richard Farrington, Bart. Was M.P. for Chichester in 1680, & again in 1698.

⁶⁰ Was M.P. for Arundel in 1689; and again in 1698; [Commons Journals.]

⁶¹ John Lee (or Leigh) of Plaistow, in Kirdford, m. Elizabeth d. of Thomas Shirley of Preston as his 1st wife; 2ly. d. of Geo. Scot of co. Kent [Berry Suss. Gen.]

⁶² Quere, Newnham of Maresfield?

⁶³ Blaker, of Buckingham House, Old Shoreham. The family of Blaker continued to reside in the neighbouring parish of Portslade for upwards of two centuries, according to Horsfield. This proposed justice was son of Edward Blaker of Portslade, and died in 1703, & was buried at Old Shoreham. [Berry MS. Gen., p. 86.]

Thomas Ellis of Steyning,
 ——— Westerne of Battle,⁶⁴
 Henry Plummer of Wellington (*Willingdon* ?),
 Joseph Studley of Linfeild,⁶⁵
 ——— Bates of Dentworth (*Denton*),
 Henry Bulstrode of Newgrove (*in Petworth Parish*).
 Phillip Carryl, dead (*sic*)
 Rob^t fflagg,⁶⁶
 Richard Banks Esq^r,
 Richard Cary Esq^r,
 John Shewman,
 John Marlot (or *Marlott*) of Chichester,
 ——— Hiland of Bodiam,⁶⁷
 John Chaliner (*sic*) (*Chalonor*) of Linfeild,⁶⁸
 ——— Clown of Ffrogfoile (*sic*)⁶⁹
 ——— Baker of Mayfield,⁷⁰
 ——— Barton of Helenley⁷¹
 Robert Ffielding Esq^{rs}.

The names of such as are to be added & put in the Commission for Justice of Peace in the county of Sussex.

S^r William Morley, Knight of the Bath,
 John Alford Esq^r,
 William Westbrooke Esq^r.
 John Lewkenor Esq^r.
 Thomas Bickley Esq^r.
 Captayne William Peckham,⁷²
 John Stewart Esq^r.⁷³
 John Machell Esq^r.
 S^r Edward Selwyn Kn^t
 Thomas Briggs, Doctor at Lawe,
 Alexander Staples Esq^r

⁶⁴ In 1699 Thomas Western is named in a list of benefactors to Battle Workhouse. [Hors. Suss.]

⁶⁵ This proposed justice may be son of Joseph Studley who in 1657 was of Steyning, & concerned in committing a Quaker to prison that year [S. A. C, XVI, 76]; or he may be affiliated to Nathaniel Studley, another magistrate sitting at Lewes in 1659.

⁶⁶ Succeeded to the Baronety in 1700 on the death of Sir John Fagg; & to his seat at Steyning in Parliament in 1701; his election the previous year having been declared void. He m. 1671, d. of Benjamin Culpeper of Lindfield, & ob. 1715.

⁶⁷ In Bodiam Church is a monument to Nathaniel Hiland, in 1694, and others of that name.

⁶⁸ The name is found also as Challenger. The family residence was Kenwards, in Lindfeild. Major Chaloner is well known as one of Cromwell's justices of the peace.

⁶⁹ Chowne of Place House, near Frog Firle, in Alfriston. Probably Thos. Chowne, M.P. for Rye in 1701, grandson of Thomas Chowne, who was one of the Sussex magistrates in 1632. The arms of Chowne were: Sable, three thatcher's hooks barwise ar. [Hors. Hist. Lewes, ii, 7.]

⁷⁰ Monumental inscription to the Baker family in Mayfield Church.

⁷¹ Of Carter's Corner, Hellingly, in Dill.

⁷² See *antea*.

⁷³ Was M.P. for Midhurst in 1661. [C. O. List.]

John Baker Esq^r (*of Mayfield Place*).
 S^r Richard May Kn^t
 Roger Choysewell (*Shoyswell*), Esq^r
 Edward Dyne, Esq^r
 Richard Cotton, Esq^r
 S^r William Goring, Baron^t
 Anthony Kempe, Esq^r
 Richard Caryll, Esq^r
 Henry Arrundell, Esq^r
 Richard Bidolph (*Biddulph*), Esq^r
 John Apsley Esq^r
 S^r John Gage,
 S^r John Shelley,
 S^r Cecyl Bishop.

I humbly p^opose the names of the persons above mentioned to be put into the Commission for the Justice of Peace in Sussex.

(Signed),

MONTAIGU.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Francis Browne, 4th Viscount Montague had replaced the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, on the latter declining to put James II's Questions to the magistrates of the county. It would not appear that his appointment as such had been hitherto noted, as a matter of history, though doubtless such exists in the county records, or proper Government Depar^t. In fact the Lords Lt. substituted by James II. had so short a tenure of office, that this is scarcely a matter of much surprise. The above signature is, however (independent of other testimony), quite corroborative of the fact, for it is somewhat remarkable that he alone of all other Viscounts of his name so signed himself. From different letters, ranging from the first to the last Viscount, who was drowned in 1793 at Laufenburg on the Rhine, we find that the spelling "Montague," was uniformly adopted by all, save by the Viscount in question, who wrote his name invariably "Montaigu." This is mentioned by Sir S. Scott in an Article on "Old Papers found in a tower of Cowdray House." [S. A. C. XV, 79.] Like all other offices at that period, the Lieutenancies of counties were filled by Roman Catholics, and no man seemed more suitable for King James's purpose than Lord

Montague of Cowdray, in a county which numbered more small boroughs than most English counties, with the exception of Cornwall, that of Midhurst being one of them. Whilst he was of course selected for the post chiefly from his creed, it must not be overlooked that the family he represented was remarkable for its unswerving loyalty to the Crown, even when it happened, as in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, that their religious tenets differed. An instance of this occurred at the time of the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada; the circumstances attending it are mentioned in S. A. C. VII, 181. The first Viscount Montague, Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., was so created by Queen Mary in 1554. The peer under notice succeeded in 1682, and died in 1708. He married Mary, daughter of William Herbert, first Marquis of Powys (who died at St. Germain's in 1696), and widow of Richard, eldest son of Caryl, Viscount Molyneux. Of the father of this Lord Montague, whose estate was sequestered in 1643, it was said that he was a "known and professed papist;" and of the parish of Midhurst (Cowdray), that it was "full of Papists and malignants" (S.A.C. XXVIII, 106). That such was true of this place, may be assumed from much that might be quoted, dating

His Mat^{ies} Questions p'posed to such of the Deputy Lieutenants & Justices of the Peace for the county of Sussex, as were absent there, answered as followeth:—

John Ashburnham Esq,⁷⁵ Answers to the first That if he be chosen a member of Parliament, he shall give his Voyce concerning the Penall lawes and Tests upon the debate of the house, and according to his conscience;

Answer 2^d. That he shall be desirous to have such elected to be Members of Parliamt, as he takes to be honest and Loyall men, and such as have a true value of the King's person;

Answer 3^d, That he is desirous to live friendly with all his fellow subjects, as a good Christian ought to doe.

S^r Cycill Bishop Kn^t & Baron^t, Consents to all the 3 questions.

S^r John Stapeley Kn^t, Consents to all the three questions.

Richard Cotton Esqr, Consents to all the three questions.

Thomas Sackvill⁷⁶ Esqr, Answers to the first Question, that he is for Liberty of Conscience, and therefore for taking away all Penall Lawes & Tests that are contrary to it;

Answer 2^d, That he is for choosing such Members of Parliamt, as shall be for p'moting liberty of Conscience;

To the third he consents.

[Rawl. M.S., 139a, ff 245 sq. Bibl. Bodl.]

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE KING'S AGENTS.⁷⁷

MEMORANDUM for those that go into the Country to dispose the Corporations to a good Election for members of parliament. To be read by them often.

from time immemorial. After the de-thronement of James II., the Jacobites were constantly intriguing against the English Government from St. Germain's. The Historical Records Commission give us some of their intercepted letters in 1696. One of these shows the family at Cowdray were intermediary towards carrying on some of the secret correspondence of the party. It is from the above Lord Powys' servant, John Daniel, to Viscountess Montague, the Earl's daughter, begging that certain enclosed letters may be given to her brother (afterwards second Marquis of Powys). These letters bear fictitious names and signatures; Viscount Montgomery, the said brother of Lady Montagne, being called Mr. Sibson; while the envelope giving cover to them, is actually impressed with the seal of Mary of Modena, James II.'s Queen. These letters (noticed in the *Athenæum* of March, 1880) formed part of the papers of Mr. Ellis, Under Secretary of State from 1695 to 1705. A bequest in the will of a servant of Lord Mon-

tague's in 1634, has lately come to light, directing his executors "to pay £10 yearly to Mr. Drwrey and Mr. Lane of Riverparke for the maintenance of a good ma [priest], to [admi]nister the sacrament to the poore Catholiks of Midhurst, [wi]th obligation to say two masses every weeke for my soule [and] my lords ancestors." This will was found a few years ago, in the chimney of an old house of Miss Othen in that place, when under repair. The testator, John Arismundy, was arrested in 1633, on suspicion of treasonable correspondence with Catholics. [Historical MSS. Com., 1st and 3rd Report.]

⁷⁵ See *antea*.

⁷⁶ Thomas Sackville was M.P. for East Grinstead in 1688-9; again in 2 Phil. and Mary, 1692, when he died. (Crown Office List.) He was one of the Sackvilles of Selscombe (or Sedlescombe); the mural mon^t. in that church commemorates his name.

⁷⁷ Among some uncalendered State Papers in the Record Office.

It's necessary you weigh well the difficulty of your work, and consider that you will meet with all manner of deceit and combination to frustrate your endeavours, the *Clergy*,⁷⁸ will engage the gentry, and both endeavour to render you unacceptable, and your works fruitless, if not top upon you false men under the semblance of real friends.

2. Consider the evil effects that will attend a miscarriage in this matter. 'Tis not only a frustration of the good expected, but ruinous to your own interest, & exposing you to contempt. You must expect that no weakness or inadvertency of yours in this work will pass unobserved, and the best of your actions misrepresented, and every failing magnified, & that hap'ly to the K, or some of his Ministers, which therefore calls for the highest care and circumspection.

4. You have as full an account of the Persons, and things for each Corporation and place, as hath hitherto been collected, which consider from time to time in the respective places as you come at them, and for your guidance in these places, find one or two of the best, prudentest and acceptable person or persons, and engage them to your assistance, and know from them the temper and humour of the respective persons with whom you are to converse, and accordingly endeavour to suit your discourse to their temper and humour.

2 (*sic*). Take from place to place letters recommendatory, for the strengthening your int'rest and acceptance, get fit and acceptable persons to accompany you to such gentlemen as you will have occasion to discourse, for you must expect to meet with discerning men, and men of great parts, and for that purpose be wary in your expressions and conversation, and be not too ready and open in discourse, till such persons become by their own declarations engaged.

5. 'Tis of very great importance to this service, that very good correspondents be settled in each town, to whom letters and papers to be dispersed may be sent, and who shall receive every post such prints and advices, as shall be fit and proper for them, and in this you must consider that the persons, so to be engaged, must be right men, not only by inclination, but also men of prudence and int'rest (if possible).

6. Where the Corporations do fix upon their Members, inform yourselves fully what probability there is of their Election, and what methods will be taken in order thereunto, and when you have fully satisfied yourselves, that such persons are right, and likely to answer the K's expectation, (in which by your Instructions you are not restrained to the persons named in your list, in case there be exceptions to any of them, or fitter persons can be provided). If possibly you can, get the Electors to write Letters of Invitation to such their intended Members, that by subscription under their hands, their election may be ascertained, and where they shall be content to elect such as his Ma^{tie} shall nominate or recommend, that they do in like manner express their desire, that such nomination and appointment be made in order to their election, in which all prudent care is to be had, and the leading persons of such Corporations to be consulted.

⁷⁸ The words in Italics are underlined in the original.

7. You are from time to time, to give an account of all occurrences that are material, and of all suggestions, books, and libels, that are dispersed in prejudice of his Ma^{ties} service.

8. You must be very careful to give a full and distinct account of all the proceedings every post, and therein an impartial account of the sentiments of the persons with whom you converse, their inclinations, and resolutions, and what expedients are necessary to render the Election certain; which account you are to give, from time to time, to *Robert Brent, Esq*: at his Chamber in the *Temple*. The respective Correspondents are in like manner to send their letters to him, and to follow such directions as from time to time they shall receive from him, or *Mr Edward Roberts*, to whom they may write, directing their letters to *Mr Brent's* Chamber; but not to give an account of your proceedings to any other persons whatever.

9. You are likewise to consider the Correspondents in each Corporation, whether they are fitt and proper, and if not, that others more fitt and proper be named, as also to inquire whether the Correspondents do disperse the books and papers according to the directions sent them; and particularly whether they are exposed in coffee-houses, and houses of publick entertainment, for the information of the country, that in case they be defective therein, it may be rectified.

10. You are to send for the persons in the respective counties under-written, & to desire their help and assistance, in managing the trust committed to you, and to engage them and their Correspondents, that are in the respective Corporations, to manage such matters and things, as upon debate you shall find requisite to promote this service, for inclining and disposing men to elect persons you shall agree upon, and engage them in your absence to keep a constant correspondence with *Mr. Brent* or *Mr. Roberts*, that such advice may be sent from time to time as may be proper.

11. You are also to consider what employments such Correspondents are capable of, that are in the K's disposal, to the end they may be recommended to such employments, as may compensate for the service they have done, or shall do.

12. You are likewise to inspect the present state of each Corporation, with respect to the Magistrates in being, whether there be any in, that are not fitt and proper, or whether any are omitted to be put into the Government, which if placed therein, may be useful and serviceable for promoting and securing good Elections, as also any other methods and expedients that have a tendency thereunto.

13. You are likewise to consider what Mayors and Sheriffs in being, are active in his Ma^{ties} service, and to be depended upon, and which of them are fitt to be removed before the Election, either in order to their being chosen to serve in Parliament, or to promote the Election of others, and to engage the Sheriffs to attend in person at the Election, not only in the Counties, but in each respective Corporation, and to take care of the Returns, and also to give an account of the inclination and behaviour of the respective Town Clerks, Clerks of the Peace, and Sub-Sheriffs, whose places render them capable of his Ma^{ties} service,

in case they be right, but otherwise dangerous and prejudicial thereunto.

14. Inform yourselves what Members each Corporation intend to choose, & if they are contrary to his Mat^{ties} int'rest, and you find the Corporation resolved upon them out of prejudice, consider then how to give a diversion to their intentions, by seeming to promote such persons Election, which they observing may create an aversion to them, and dispose them to elect others, which they are inclyned to, as suspecting those they before designed, to have privately warpt to the K's interest, and thereby room will be made for the electing such as are right.

Persons proposed as Assistants to those that go into the Country, for

Chester	{	<i>Sr Tho Stanly</i> <i>Will Fermer</i> <i>Mr. Manwaring</i>	}	all of Chester		Salop	{	<i>Tim Seymour</i> <i>Rich Newton</i> <i>Christop Morrall</i> <i>of Much-Wenlock.</i>	}
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INSTRUCTIONS FOR THOSE THAT SHALL GO INTO WALES.

1. You shall make the K's Declaration the chief subject of your discourse with such persons as you shall think fit to speak with, &c.

2. You must make it your principal care to settle the minds of people, especially of those that are designed for Members of Parliament, or such who do, or are likely to come up to the K's measures, in relation to the *Penal Laws & Tests*, against all endeavours, which may be made by the K's adversaries, for diverting the effects of his good intentions, & it being very probable that when the Parliament shall meet, this will be chiefly endeavoured by some indirect means, as by attempting to make some difference between the K. and his two Houses of Parliament, or either of them, or by starting somewhat, which may be a despute between the two Houses, you are particularly to forewarn and caution all persons who are likely to be Members against this artifice.

3. You are to assure those that are of the *Ch. of England*, that his Mat^{tie} will maintain the same according to his word.

4. You are to engage all people of what perswasion whatever, to live friendly together, as becomes fellow Subjects, desposing them to unite their endeavours to render effectual his Mat^{ties} gracious intentions, for their ease and advantage, & you are to tell them, that his Mat^{tie} will favour them most as shall be of that peaceable disposition, as to sacrifice all private animosities to the publick good.

5. You are to remove as much as may be, all fears and jealousies out of peoples minds, by telling them his Mat^{tie} only designs the universal happiness of all his People.

6. You are to make acquaintance with the leading, active, and interested men in the country, or in the Towns and Corporations, who are inclinable to abrogate the *Penal Laws* for religion, and the *Tests*, and engage them to improve their int'rest for effecting it.

7. You are to inform yourself, (as privately as may be), whether the persons proposed to be chosen, by the list given you, be rightly principled, and so disposed to part with the laws, as may be depended on.

8. You are to inform yourself whether the regulations made in the respective Corporations have been of proper persons for his Maties service.

9. You are to inform your self, who are the Electors in the respective Corporations and Burroughs, and by what manner Elections are made, who influences them, and who are fittest to be chosen in those places, where none are yet proposed.

10. ——— of the behaviour of the officers of the several branches of his Maties Revenue in relation to elections, whether they promote his Maties int'rest as they ought to do, and further what in them lies, *the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests.*

11. To acquaint your selves with the Preachers of the Dissenting Congregations, and encourage them to employ their int'rest, for the abrogating those *Laws & Tests*, and if you find any of them dissatisfied, enquire who they correspond with in *London*, and give notice of it.

12. To inform your self of some fit person in each Corporation, with whom a correspondence may be held for the knowledg(e) of the true state of the same, and to whom books and papers may be sent, to disperse them for the peoples better information.

13. You are from time to time to advise with the Catholick gentlemen.

14. You are likewise to inform those you converse with, that *Liberty of Conscience* hath been the cause of the Hollanders great trade, riches and power, &c.

15. You shall take care to make all persons understand, that the late proceedings against the Bishops⁷⁹ were necessary to support his Maties Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, which the King will always maintain, as likewise his Prerogative, on which it is founded.

16. That their disobedience and their Petition, were designed only to obstruct the meeting of Parliament, and to prevent the establishing of what they apprehend, &c. which is so far from discouraging his Matie, that he is more resolved than ever to pursue this great work, not doubting to effect it, whatsoever opposition he may meet with.

[State Papers, Domestic, James II.; Bundle 7, No. 405.]

SUPPLEMENTARY.

The following additional matter, among the State Papers of the reign of James II., now in the Public Record Office, bears so directly on the foregoing subject,

⁷⁹ See Westmorland and Cumberland Test Act Paper; and foot note to p. 22, over leaf.

and shows so unmistakably how general the feeling was that the interests of the Protestant Religion were menaced, and how firmly the King's designs were resisted in his attempt to overthrow the Test and Penal Laws instituted for its security, that it may appropriately supplement the different entries on that head, both in this volume, and the other already quoted Journals.

TEN SEASONABLE Q[UIRIES] (*leaf torn*), proposed by a Protestant, that is for Liberty of Conscience to all perswasions.

I. Whether any real and zealous papist was ever for Liberty of Conscience?, it being a fundamental principle of their religion, that all Christians that do not believe as they do, are hereticks and ought to be destroyed.

II. Whether the King be a real and zealous papist?; if he be, whether he can be truly for Liberty of Conscience.

III. Whether the King, in his brother's reign, did not cause the persecution against the Dissenters to be more violent than otherwise it would have been.

IV. Whether he doth not now make use of the Dissenters to pull down the Church of England, as he did of the Church of England to ruin the Dissenters, that the Papists may be the better enabled, in a short time to destroy them both?

V. Whether any ought to believe he will be for Liberty, any longer than it serves his turn?, and whether his great eagerness to have the Penal Laws and Test repealed, be only in order to the easie establishing of Popery?

VI. Whether if these Penal Laws and Tests were repealed, there would not many turn Papists that now dare not?

VII. Whether the forcing of all that are in offices of profit, or trust, in the nation, to lose their places, or declare they will be for repealing the Penal Laws and Test, be not violating his own Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and a new Test upon the people?

VIII. Whether the suspending the Bishop of *London*; ⁸⁰ the dispossessing of the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge of their Freeholds; ⁸¹ the imprisoning and prosecuting the Seven Bishops for reasoning according to Law; ⁸² are not sufficient instances how well the King intends to repeal

⁸⁰ The suspension, in September 1686, is here alluded to, of Henry Compton, Bishop of London (and uncle to the then Earl of Northampton), for declining to interfere in the case of Dr. Sharp, who in a sermon vindicated the Church of England, in opposition to the errors of Popery; [Kennet; Burnet; Rapin] Dr. Sharp, then Dean of Norwich, became in 1691 Archbishop of York.

⁸¹ This alludes to the attempt of

James II. to force a Roman Catholic President on Magdalen College, Oxford, and the expulsion from the college of the Fellows who resisted it, with the deprivation of their Fellowships.

⁸² These were the seven Bishops who were committed to the Tower, for refusing to allow the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to be read from the pulpit.

his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, wherein he promiseth to protect and maintain all his bishops and clergy, and all other his subjects of the Church of England, in quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever ?

IX. Whether the usage of the Protestants in France and Savoy, for these three years past,⁸³ be not a sufficient warning not to trust to the Declaration, Promises, or Oaths, in the matters of Religion of any Papist whatsoever ?

X. Whether any equivalent whatsoever under a Popish King that hath a standing army, and pretends to a Dispensing Power, can be as equal security as the Penal Laws and Tests, as affairs now stand in England ? [1687-8].

*If any think fit to answer these Queries, they are desired to doe it, as plainly and fairly as they are here put.*⁸⁴

[State Papers, Domestic, James II., B. 7, No. 220.]

THE DECLARATION OF HIS HIGHNESS WILLIAM HENRY

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, PRINCE OF ORANGE, &C.

OF THE REASONS INDUCING HIM,

To appear in arms in the kingdom of England for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland. [1688.]

* * * * *

They have also followed the same methods with relation to civil affairs : for they have procured orders, to examine all Lords Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all others that were in any publike employment, if they would concur with The King in the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws : and all such, whose consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out : and others were put in their places, who they believed would be more compliant to them in their designs of defeating the intents and execution of those laws, which had been made with so much care and caution, for the security of the Protestant Religion. And in many of these places they have put professed Papists, though the law has disabled them, and warranted the subjects not to have any regard to their orders.

[State Papers, Domestic, James II.; B. 5.]

⁸³ Louis XIV. of France had just revoked the Edict of Nantes, in consequence of which many French Protestants sought refuge in England and Germany. About 50,000 refugees passed over into England, and there can be little doubt (as observed by McCulloch), that their representations of the cruelties

perpetrated by the King of France, tended to excite the suspicions of the English, against their own Roman Catholic sovereign, and in some degree accelerated the Revolution of 1688.

⁸⁴ The words in italics are underlined in the original.

The following are the headings of three other State Papers, bearing on the same subject :—

The Declaration,

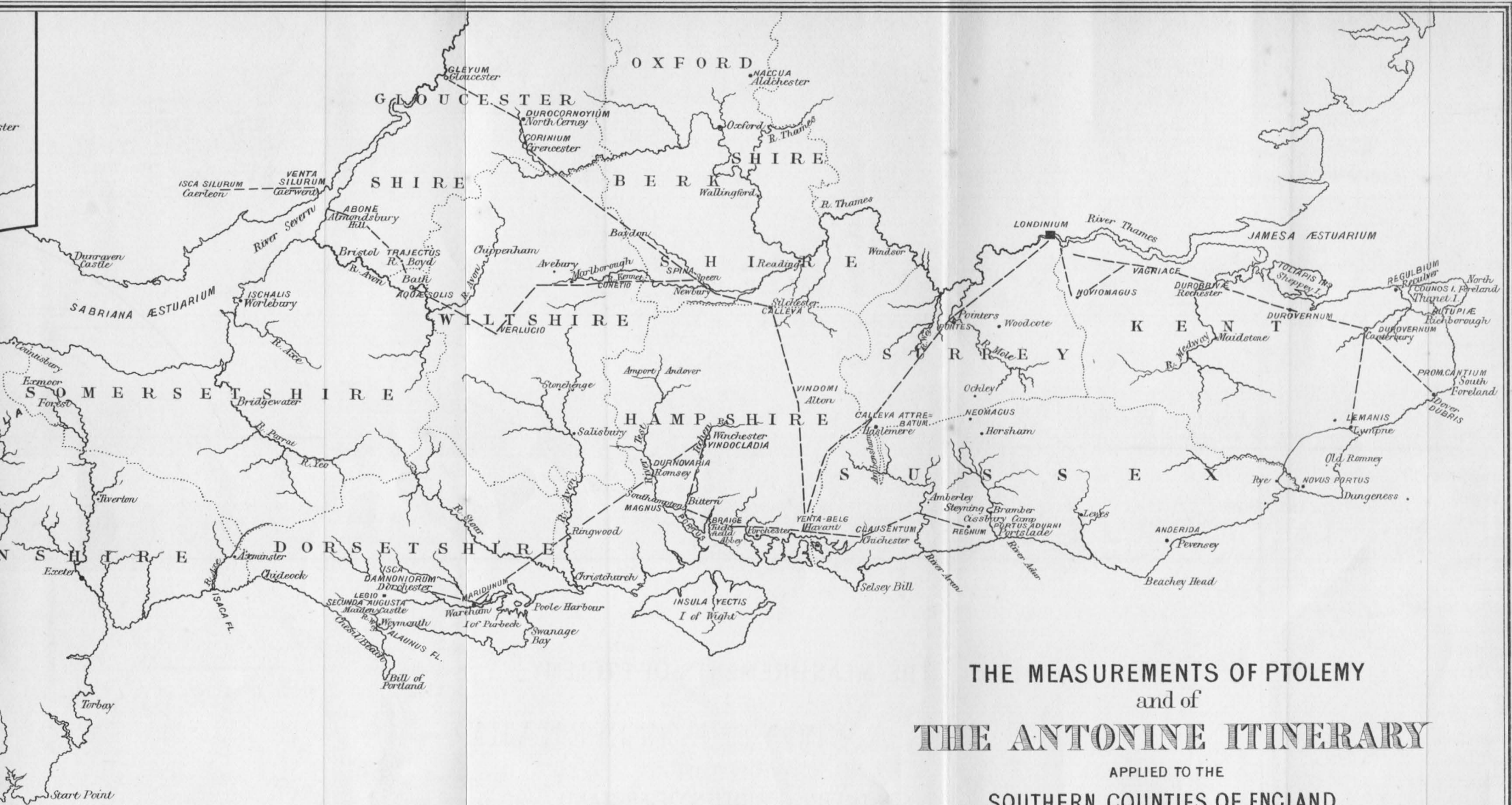
Of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Assembled at Guildhall, 11 Dec. 1688.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

HIS THIRD DECLARATION.

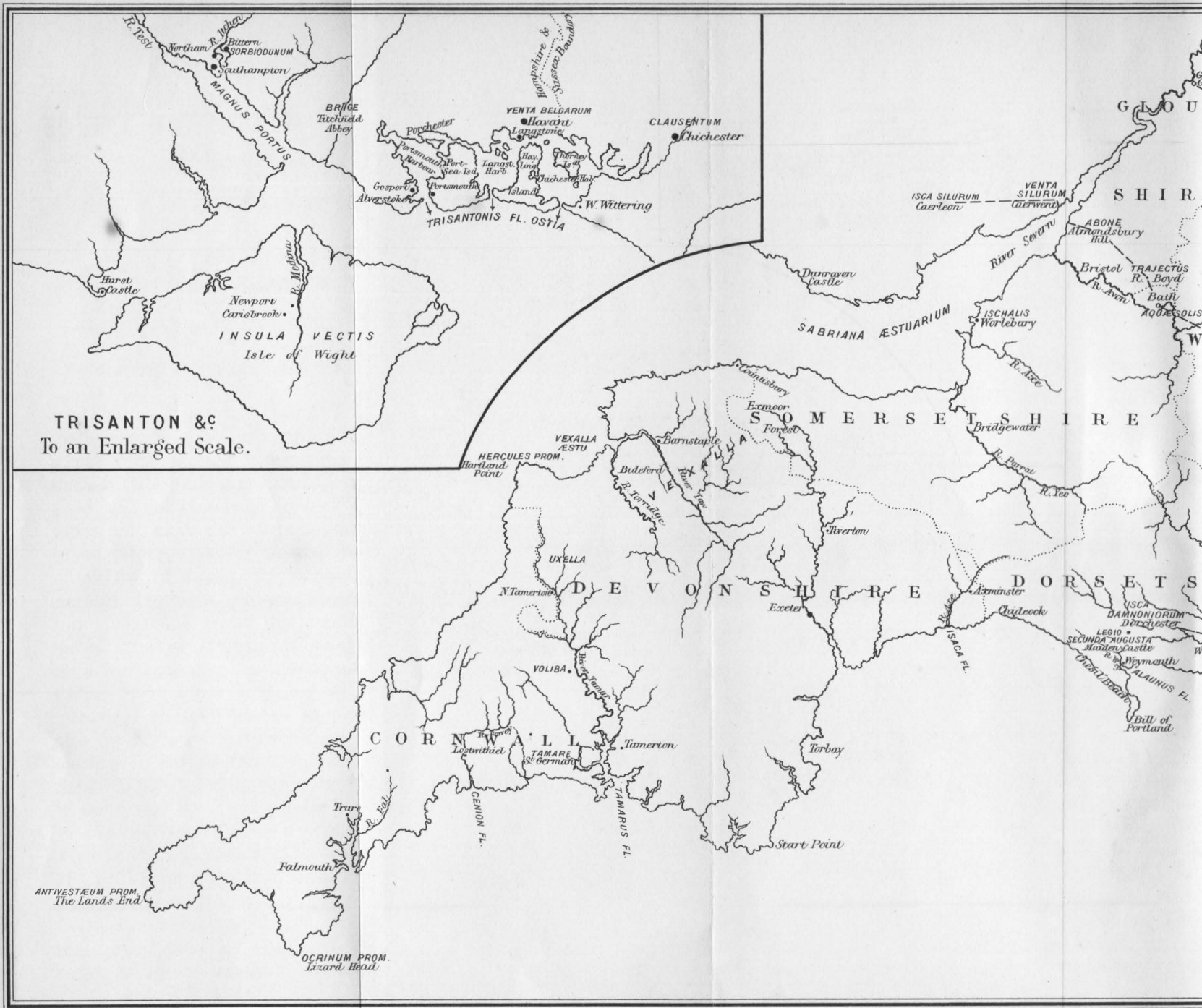
The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality at the Rendezvous at Nottingham, Nov. 1688.

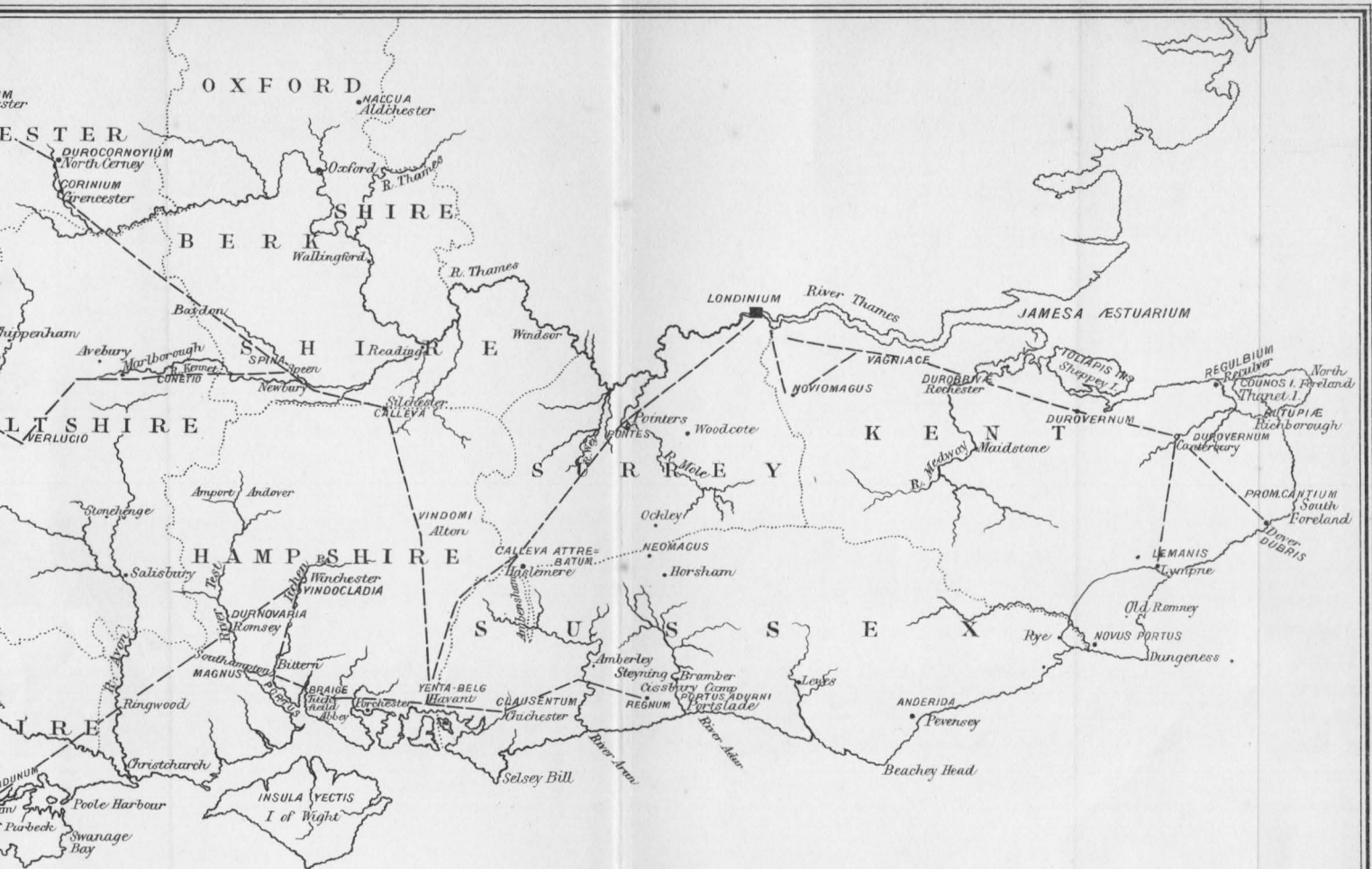
[State Papers, Domestic, James II., B. 5.]



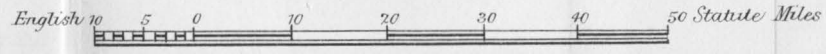
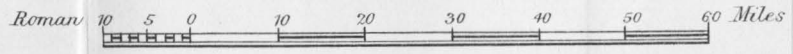
Roman 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Miles

English 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Statute Miles





THE MEASUREMENTS OF PTOLEMY
and of
THE ANTONINE ITINERARY
APPLIED TO THE
SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.



THE MEASUREMENTS OF PTOLEMY AND OF
THE ANTONINE ITINERARY,
APPLIED TO THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, Esq.

(Reprinted from the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1878.)

IN the year 1874 I directed the attention of the members of the British Archaeological Association, and of archaeologists generally, to the necessity that existed for a systematic attempt to correct and complete the Roman geography of England. I then pointed out that Camden's labours had been greatly impeded by the want of correct maps on which to test the Roman measurements, or to identify the relative positions of the places to which he or the antiquaries, his predecessors, assigned Roman names. Some improvement in maps occurred, and patient inquirers were not wanting; but until the Ordnance Survey was undertaken, a hundred years ago, no maps existed accurate in point of scale, or adequate in detail, for the requirements of antiquarian research. When the Ordnance Maps, drawn to the scale of one inch to the English mile, were published, this advantage was countervailed by the extraordinary deception which had been practised on Dr. Stukeley. The *Description of Roman Britain* and the *Itinerary* compiled by Bertram of Copenhagen, and foisted upon Dr. Stukeley as the work of Richard of Cirencester, was published in 1759. It continued, with but little exception, amongst antiquaries, down to 1866, to be received as a genuine composition of the fourteenth century, presumed to have been then compiled from existing classical authorities. The pages

of the *British Archæological Journal*, vol. xxv, p. 123, have already shown how Mr. Woodward, the Queen's Librarian at Windsor, exposed the cheat. The supposed ancient authorities of honest Richard of Cirencester, it was then found, had been mustered in array from Camden and his successors, and dressed in an imposing form by the perverted ingenuity of Bertram. The corrections of Camden and the confirmations of Camden, drawn by numerous writers from Bertram's text, are appeals from the learned and venerable Camden himself to Camden's learning soiled and spoiled by a weak imposture. Newer and more independent theories, drawn from Bertram's premises, are now perceived to be utterly valueless. The imposition is now recognised, and, free from its cloud, we are at liberty to start in a fresh light.

For a successful inquiry into the ancient geography of the country, good maps are essential. The face of the country being always the same, an accurate representation of it is the best guide to the understanding of imperfect and partial description. We have an inch scale Ordnance Survey complete throughout the country, and since its first publication, it has been continually enhanced and improved, down to the present day, by perfecting its detail. A large part of the northern counties and a small part of the southern has been published to the noble scale of 6 ins. to a mile. The examination of one sheet of this map, which takes in the neighbourhood of Ockley, in Surrey, will show how a simple delineation of the actual lands of the district sets out in the clearest manner the Roman Stane Street passing there, in the ancient route from Chichester to London, and will exhibit the high value of this map. I believe that the entire country has been surveyed and drawn to this scale, and that only the authority of Parliament, too long delayed, is needed to carry on the publication.

My purpose is to offer a contribution to the re-examination of the Roman topography of the southern counties. The plan I adopt is, first to adjust Ptolemy's description of the south coast and south districts of Albion to the map of Southern England; to further fill up the map

from the *Peutingerian Tables*, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the *Ravennas*, and to apply upon it the more precise information afforded by the *Antonine Itinerary*.

The latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are widely different from modern reckonings, but the places and their distances being still the same, as they ever were, we ought to consider what led to his ideas of distances and measurements. By ascertaining what was his estimate of the extent of a degree we can compare his scale with ours. The distance given by Ptolemy, from the extreme west point to the extreme east point of the south side of the Island of Albion—that is to say, from the Promontorium Bolerium or Antivestæum to the Promontorium Cantium—is $10^{\circ} 30' 0''$.¹ The true distance by the inch scale Ordnance map is $7^{\circ} 7' 45''$. The whole known world, according to Ptolemy, had $180^{\circ} 0'$ of longitude, extending from $0^{\circ} 00'$ at the Fortunatæ Insulæ or Canary Islands to a place $3^{\circ} 00'$ east of “Cattigara statio,” where sprang up the fountains or head waters of the rivers of the country.

Maps laid down from Ptolemy's particulars of latitude and longitude, and compared with modern maps, show that Cattigara was on the west coast of the present Borneo, near its southern extremity. Ptolemy connected Borneo, the Philippines, and Formosa into one line of coast, which he supposed joined to the south coast of China, and thereby shut in a large ocean gulf, with our Singapore and Borneo at its extremities. The true distance of Ptolemy's 180° of longitude is, as nearly as possible 130° . His number of degrees was, in fact, 27.7 per cent. too many, as the following calculation shows:—

$$\frac{180 - 130 \times 100}{180} = 27.7$$

a proportion of error which is about 16 minutes 37 seconds in every degree. A correction in this proportion applied to the south coast of Albion reduces Ptolemy's $10^{\circ} 30' 0''$

¹ In some copies of Ptolemy the longitude of the Promontorium Antivestæum is given as 11° ; and that of Cantium 22° . The whole distance, then, is 11° .

to $7^{\circ} 40' 0''$, which differs from the truth by only thirty-two minutes. His reckoning of the difference of longitude between the Promontory Cantium, in Albion, and his own dwelling place at Alexandria is $38^{\circ} 30'$. The true distance is $28^{\circ} 27' 15''$, the error being an excess of 26 per cent. The proportion of error does not differ widely in the two instances, but a careful examination will show that the altered proportion is due to one principal local error of measurement. Ptolemy does not describe the south coast of Britain as extending so far west as the Promontory Antivestæum, although his figures show he knew that promontory to be the extreme western point. He describes that promontory as on the west side of Albion, and passes on to the completion of the west side at the Promontory Ocrinum, which begins the description of the south side of Albion. In beginning the south coast at Ocrinum we escape an uncertainty and a difficulty of calculation, arising from the two different longitudes, assigned to the Promontorium Antivestæum in different editions of Ptolemy. From the Promontory Ocrinum to the Promontory Cantium is, by Ptolemy, $10^{\circ} 00'$, by the inch-scale Ordnance map $6^{\circ} 36' 25''$. The proportion of error has here risen to 33.8 per cent. This greatly increased proportion of error suggests that he has been misled by some local measurement which gave him, when converted into degrees, too great an arc for the extent in longitude of the south coast of Britain. Assuming his "Damnonium quod etiam dicitur Ocrinum Promontorium" to be the Lizard Head in Cornwall, the longitude $12^{\circ} 00'$ east of the Canaries or Insulæ Fortunatæ of Ptolemy requires only to be corrected 27 per cent. to be about 9° , which is almost accurately correct. By giving a length of $10^{\circ} 00'$ from the Promontory Ocrinum to the Promontory Cantium he pushed the east end of Albion a great deal too far to the east. A large part of this error lies in the distance of $3^{\circ} 40'$ assigned by Ptolemy to the longitude from the Promontory Ocrinum to the mouth of the river Tamar. The true distance between the meridians of these two places is $1^{\circ} 5'$, or 65 minutes. The regular proportion

of error in his degree would have led him to call it $1^{\circ} 23'$, or $83'$; so that between these two meridians he had a local error of $2^{\circ} 19'$ of his own degrees. Deduct this local error from his whole longitude of the coast, 10° , and the corrected quantity in Ptolemy's degrees would stand at $7^{\circ} 41' 0''$, to compare with the actual longitudinal extent of $6^{\circ} 36' 25''$. Excepting the longitudinal measure of Cornwall, his error on all the rest of the coast is scarcely $1^{\circ} 5' 0''$, being 37 minutes nearer the truth than his measure of the degree might be expected to have brought him. It is highly probable that in the difficulty of reconciling local measurements from point to point along the coast, with observations by time, made at such principal stations as the Promontories Ocrinum and Cantium and the Island Vectis, Ptolemy or his informants somewhat corrected themselves as to the extravagant length they had given to the land from the Promontory Ocrinum to the Tamar, by reducing the length given to them of the country from the Tamar eastward to the Promontory Cantium. According to Ptolemy, the distance from the Tamar to the Promontory Cantium is $6^{\circ} 20'$. These figures, reduced in the proportion of 180 to 130, or 27.7 per cent., would be $4^{\circ} 34' 27''$. The true distance is $5^{\circ} 31' 25''$, so that of his error of $2^{\circ} 19'$ of excess west of the Tamar he recovered $0^{\circ} 56' 58''$ (nearly a degree) by some rectification of his measurements in the eastern distance. Nothing but a simple admission of wrong information of measurements can account for the extraordinary error of distance between the Promontory Ocrinum and the river Tamar; but some minor errors are not difficult to explain. When Ptolemy had a given distance in stadia, before he could produce the figures of latitude and longitude for the station at each end of the measured line, he had to determine what angles that line made with the meridians, and with the parallels of latitude; so that even if he had the distance correctly he would be wrong if misled or misinformed as to the bearing of the line. There can be very little doubt that the want of true bearings must have been one of the chief difficulties in his way.

The places and their positions given by Ptolemy in the districts of the country now to be discussed, are as follows:—

Part of the West Coast of Albion.

	Longitude West from the Insulæ Fortunatæ.			North Lat.	
	°	'	...	°	'
Sabriana Æstuarium	17	20	...	54	30
Vexalla Æstuarium	16	00	...	53	30
Herculis Promontorium	14	00	...	53	00
Antivestæum Promont., quod etiam dicitur Bole- rium	{11	30*	...	52	30
	{11	00			
Damnonium, quod etiam dicitur Ocrinum Pro- montorium	12	00	...	51	30

The South Coast of Albion.

Post Ocrinum Promontorium, Cenionis fl. ostia	14	00	...	51	45
Tamari fl. ostia	15	40	...	52	10
Isacæ fl. ostia	17	00	...	52	20
Alaunii fl. ostia	17	40	...	52	40
Magnus Portus	19	00	...	53	00
Trisantonis fl. ostia	20	20	...	53	00
Novus Portus	21	00	...	53	30
Cantium Promontorium	22	00	...	54	00
Sub Magno vero Portu, Insula est Vectis, cujus, medium gradus habet	19	20	...	52	20

Part of the East Coast of Albion.

	Longitude West from the Insulæ Fortunatæ.			North Lat.	
	°	'	...	°	'
Jamesa Æstuarium	20	30	...	54	30
Postquam Cantium est Promontorium	22	00	...	54	00
Juxta Trinoantes vero insulæ hæ sunt, Toliapis Insula	23	00	...	{54*	20
				{54	15
Counos Insula	24	00	...	54	30

The Districts of the Country and their Towns.

Post quos (Silures) Dobuni et Urbs Corinium	18	00	...	54	10
Post Atrebatii et Urbs [Calleva, Gallena, Cal- cua, Nalcua]*	19	00	...	54	15
Post quos maxime orientales, Cantii in quibus Urbes, Londinium	20	00	...	54	00
Daruernum	21	00	...	53	40
Rutupiæ	21	45	...	54	00
Rursus Atrebatii et Cantiiis subjacent Regni et Urbs Næomagus	{19	43*	...	{53*	46
	{19	45			{53	25

* Readings differ.

		o	'	o	'
Dobunis vero subjacent Belgæ et Urbs, Ischalis	16	40	...	53	30
Aquæ Calidæ	17	20	...	53	40
Venta	18	40	...	53	30
Deinde versus occasum et austrum Durotriges sunt,	{18	00*	...	{52*	40
in quibus Urbs Dunium	{18	50	...	{52	05
Post quos maxime occidentales, Damnonii, in					
quibus Urbes, Voliba	14	45	...	52	20
Uxella	15	00	...	52	45
Tamare	15	00	...	{52*	25
Isca	17	30	...	52	45
Legio Secunda Augusta	{17*	00	...	{52*	30
	{17	30	...	{52	35

Taking the south coast for the base line of the survey, it will be found convenient to fix the positions of the places north and inland from, and in relation to, this base. The difficulty arising from local errors, which prevents us from acting, along this base, exactly on the reduction of Ptolemy's degrees to true degrees, has been so far pointed out that the use of the following table will be appreciated. It seems to present the nearest approximation to a true calculation for the base that can be worked out from a proportion of error in Ptolemy's figures; and in its application it shows also where all attempt at proportionate correction fails.

Table showing the Longitudes East from the Promontorium Ocrinum, of the Places named by Ptolemy on the South Coast, with Corrections:

	Distances East by Ptolemy's Longitude.			Distances East, corrected by deducting the local error of 2° 19' between Ocrinum P. and Tamarus fl.			Distances East further corrected in Proportion to the true distance between Ocrinum P. and Cantium P.		
	o	'	"	o	'	"	o	'	"
Ocrinum Promont.	0	00	00						
Cenionis fl. Ostia	2	00	00						
Tamari fl. Ostia	3	40	00	...	1	21	0	...	1 9 34
Isacæ fl. Ostia	5	00	00	...	2	41	00	...	2 18 18
Alaunii fl. Ostia	5	40	00	...	3	21	00	...	2 52 40
Magnus Portus	7	00	00	...	4	41	00	...	4 1 23
Trisantonis fl. Ostia	8	20	00	...	6	1	00	...	5 10 6
Novus Portus	9	10	00	...	6	51	00	...	5 53 3
Cantium Promont.	10	00	00	...	7	41	00	...	6 36 25
Vectis Insulæ, medium	7	20	00	...	5	1	00	...	4 20 44

* Readings differ.

The last column is thus calculated :

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Ptolemy corrected} \quad . \quad 7^{\circ} \quad 41' = 461' \\ \text{True distance} \quad \quad . \quad 6 \quad 36 = 396' \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{Ptolemy corrected} \\ \text{True distance} \end{array}} \right\} \therefore \frac{396 \times \text{the degree Ptolemy}}{461} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a degree} \\ \text{corrected} \\ \text{to actual} \\ \text{extent.} \end{array} \right.$$

The application of the last column of this table to the maps will take us to the positions to be assigned to the rivers Isaca and Alaunus, which seem to have had their longitudes calculated by distances taken from the Tamarus; and the reason why their places were fixed in relation to the Tamarus was that all these places were in the territory of the Damnonii. The next group is in the territory of the Belgæ, the Insula Vectis being the key to the group, with Magnus Portus to the east and the river Trisanton to the west. Novus Portus was, as its small distance from the Promontory Cantium shows, in the territory of the Cantii, and its distance was probably settled by measurement from that promontory, which was the principal station for calculation of the western group. We must now take into consideration the identification of each place separately.

The figures of Ptolemy point out the position of the Promontory Antivestæum as the most westerly point of England, and near to its southern extremity. To these conditions the Land's End answers. Equally, Ptolemy's figures and the order of his descriptions point out the Promontory Ocrinum as the most southerly headland of the south coast, and as the west extremity of that coast as a base line. To these conditions the Lizard Point in Cornwall answers. The almost universal opinion of antiquaries allows this to be the true identification of these two points, notwithstanding the impossibility that exists of accommodating to the distance between the stations, the figures by which Ptolemy gives that distance. This impossibility must be taken to show, not that the identification is wrong, but that he had incorrect measurements furnished to him.

The river Cenion, the first place eastward from the Promontory Ocrinum in the list, must be passed over for the present, until we have dealt with the succeeding

name, the river Tamarus. It has been already suggested that here also we have a specific error of local measurement, which would place this river far east of the river with which it must be identified, viz., the Tamar. An attempt to apply the measurement given by Ptolemy on a true map, even with the reduction of 27 per cent., to allow for the proportion of his degree to the true degree, would place the Tamar as far east as the village of Chideock, in Dorsetshire, 14 minutes east of the river Axe. I remember reading in a French geographical work of about 1825 that the position of the Land's End in England was not then determined within twenty miles. We need not therefore be greatly surprised when we find that Ptolemy's scheme misplaces the Tamar by fifty-two miles, in relation to the Lizard Head. The mouth of the Tamar is only forty-eight miles east from the Lizard Head. Camden traces the present name of the Tamar far back into the Saxon era; the two villages of Tamerton, one in Cornwall, near the source, and another in Devonshire, near the mouth, assist to fix the name on the district, and the universal opinion of antiquaries allows that this is the proper identification. Upon the west side of the Tamar, and a little inland, Ptolemy's figures place Urbs Tamare, probably St. German's; and due north from that, Urbs Uxella, near to Hartland Point, on the north coast of Devon. The latitudes of Ptolemy show that the distance across the country, from the mouth of the Tamar to Hartland Point, the Promontorium Herculis of Ptolemy, was reckoned 110 minutes; that the city Tamare was considered 15 minutes² north from the mouth of the Tamarus, and the city Uxella the same south of Hartland Point. Again, a little to the west and 25 minutes to the south of Uxella, Ptolemy places Urbs Voliba. Uxella would seem to have been also the name of a district or small principality, of which this was the chief town, for Ptolemy reports the name of a bay or estuary on the north or Severn coast of this country, Vexalla Æstuarium, as much as 45 minutes (too much, no doubt) north of the

² Some editions make it only 5 minutes north.

town of Uxella, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Tamarus, but somewhat east of it in longitude. The only possible identification for this estuary seems to be that in which the waters of the Torridge and the Taw unite, below the towns of Bideford and Barnstaple. A little further west Ptolemy fixes the entrance to the estuary of the Severn, which probably was at a line drawn across that estuary from the promontory now called the Foreland, on the north coast of Devon, near Countisbury, close to Somersetshire, to near Dunraven Castle, in Glamorganshire.

Having admitted the position of the Tamarus, the river Cenion must be found between it and the Ocrinum Promontory. Camden, on very slight grounds, identifies it with Falmouth Harbour, which is itself not a tenth part of a degree east from Ocrinum Promontory. If Ptolemy had intended this place, it seems scarcely credible that anything could have led him to represent it as two degrees distant, although it must be difficult to find any argument at all on figures so palpably in error. However, if there is any proportion in their error, his figures represent it as lying between Ocrinum Promontory and the Tamarus, and a little the nearer to the latter. The river which best accords with this position is the river Fowey.

The attempt at identification for all these places, as here suggested, rests on the idea that although the figures of Ptolemy's calculations for latitude and longitude must be rejected as incorrect, yet they show approximately the bearing and direction of one neighbouring locality towards another. The very reason why he proceeded to calculate the latitude and longitude of the places was that he had studied the direction of their respective distances. This idea was altogether disregarded by Camden, who, depending on the jingle of a syllable or two, identifies Voliba with Falmouth (Vol, Vale, Fale, Fal), and Uxella with Lostwithiel. Others had previously taken Voliba for Bodmin, Uxella for Krekhornwell (?), and Tamar for Tiverton.

According to the scheme I suggest, all the three towns of the Damnonii, already named, Tamar, Voliba, and

Uxella, lay near to the line of the river Tamar. The fourth and last town of the Damnonii named by Ptolemy lay much further to the east. This was the town called Isca. I have not the advantage of a personal acquaintance with any of the places previously named. In the case of Isca, and of many of the places hereafter under discussion, I have a personal acquaintance with the sites, and some of them have long been the subject of my careful observation and consideration. At Isca also we begin the places whose identity will have to be tested by the measurements given in Roman miles in the *Antonine Itinerary*.

The town of Isca lay westward of the river of Isaca. This river is the next place in succession to the river Tamar in Ptolemy's coast description. The distance between the Tamarus and the Isaca, in corrected degrees, is barely $1^{\circ} 9'$, which, measured from the Tamar, overshoots the mouth of the river Exe in Devonshire, and goes about two miles beyond the river Axe. Isaca has been thought to be the translation made by Ptolemy, or his informers, of the ancient generic name of Uisc, or Usc, or Isc,—a name which amongst ourselves has, as is usually supposed, come to be translated in Devonshire into Exe in one case, and, I suppose, in the immediate neighbourhood, in two other cases, into Ax or Axe.³ These three rivers Isc are the Exe, which flows to the south coast, and on which stands the city of Exeter; the Axe, near the border of Dorsetshire, flowing also to the south; and the Axe within the border of Somersetshire, flowing into the Bristol Channel. By far the most important of these streams is the Exe; but it is very questionable if this is the river Isaca of Ptolemy. The southern Axe, though a much inferior stream, holds a place close to the position deduced from his longitude, and must be accepted as the true Isaca. His town of Isca is indicated by him to lie 30 minutes eastward of the Isaca. Without detracting from the antiquity

³ Professor Rhys remarks: "The Usk is *Wysyg* in Welsh, and the Irish word for water is *uisce*; but whether this has anything whatever to do with these names is far from clear."

of the city of Exeter, I contend that it cannot be identified with this Isca Damnoniorum of Ptolemy, although by Camden and nearly all others, except Horsley, that identification has been allowed. The 30 minutes of Ptolemy's longitude east of the Isaca, brings it nearly to Dorchester. In the same longitude, and south of Isca, Ptolemy places the station of the Roman military force which maintained their power in these districts, viz., the station of *Legio Secunda Augusta*. To find the two places, a Roman town and the legionary station, we must look to the town of Dorchester, with its Roman amphitheatre and extensive and numerous evidences of Roman antiquity; whilst two miles and a half to the south of it lies that magnificent fortification the Maiden Castle, so well shown in Mr. Munt's plan, published in the twenty-eighth volume of the "Archæological Journal"—one of the most extensive, elaborate, and impressive of the ancient fortifications of England. In some editions of Ptolemy the latitude of the military station is 5, and in others 10 minutes south of the city; and there is a difference of 30 minutes in the readings of the longitude. But the amount of authority for their contiguity, and the actual existence of two such places, leave little room to doubt this identification. Exeter has so long enjoyed the reputation of succeeding to the Isca of Ptolemy that I suspect it of having, in some points, usurped the later history of Dorchester. I may remind my readers of a passage in the life of King Alfred, where, when he is besieging the Northmen in Wareham, they are represented to have forced their way out and seized Exeter, where Alfred again besieged them, and then defeated in Swanage Bay a fleet which came to their relief. Now Dorchester is much more likely to be the place seized, by its proximity to Wareham, than Exeter; and a fleet coming to the relief of Dorchester would naturally be in Swanage Bay, whilst one succouring Exeter would, it is most likely, be in Torbay.

The next place east of the river Isaca, in Ptolemy's coast progress, is Alaunus Fluvius, which seems to be a corruption of the generic name Avon. The corrected

distance, in degrees, brings it exactly to the river Wey, where, with the ancient towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis on either bank, it discharges into the deep bay shut in by the Bill of Portland. The only Avon, now so called, on the south coast, debouches at Christchurch, in Hampshire; but neither the relation in distance which it bears in Ptolemy to the Tamar, nor to the Isle of Wight, will allow us to place it there. The calculation for it probably has relation to that which fixes the position for Isca to the neighbourhood of Dorchester; the longitude is nearly the same, and the latitude agrees, and brings the river into one group with Isca and the military station of the Legio Secunda, closely agreeing with the relationship of Dorchester, the great fort south of it, and the estuary of the Wey, six miles further south. Just as Weymouth Harbour now is the port for the town of Dorchester, it was in old times, when it was fully commanded by the Second Legion, and formed an important means for facilitating their operations, and for their safety and communications.

Before quitting the Damnonian country I must revert, for a few sentences, to the Exe, to what I have said of the town of Uxella and the district connected with it on the north Damnonian coast, marked by the Vexalla estuary. Do not these names suggest a connection with the river Exe itself? The country or district of Vexalla or Uxella might have extended, and probably did, to the present Somersetshire boundary of Devon. In that case it touched upon Exmoor Forest and the head waters of the Exe. Does not this confirm the view I have already put forward, that the Exe was not the Isaca of Ptolemy, and show that the name Exe was a still older corruption of *Uisc*? so that under its present form it had already conferred the names of Uxella and Vexalla; and if known to Ptolemy at all, it would have appeared in a form corresponding to its share in those names.

The country next to the Damnonii, in Ptolemy, is that of the Durotriges. He does not allude to it in his progress along the coast; but in his description of the territories and their inhabitants he says the Durotriges

are south-west of the Belgæ, and next to the Damnonii, and their chief town is Dunium. The latitude and longitude of this are given in different figures in different editions; but they indicate its place near the coast-line, and eastward of Isca or Dorchester, bringing us to the neighbourhood, and, I doubt not, to the town, of Wareham, in Dorsetshire. The town is still surrounded by a perfect vallum of Roman construction, probably superseding the British dun or fort, is situated in a position of great military strength, between the rivers Frome and Trent, guards the entrance to the Isle of Purbeck, and commands the extensive waters inside Poole Harbour. To these peculiar inland sea-waters, and to the singular lake shut in by the Chesil beach, is probably due the name of the inhabitants of the district, the Durotriges or water tribes. Their neighbours, the Belgæ and the Damnonii, held large tracts of country, shutting these into a narrow space. To my mind, the most probable idea is that they were a part of the Damnonian nation; and this will appear more clearly when, from the Antonine measurements, I shall show more definitely that I have rightly identified Wareham as Dunium and Dorchester as Isca Damnoniorum.

The Belgæ, whose country comes next under consideration, stretched across the mainland from the estuary of the Severn, and included *Insula Vectis* (the Isle of Wight) in their territory, their boundary against the Damnonii and the Durotriges being about the line of the river Parret and the Yeo, in Somersetshire, and the Stour, in Dorsetshire. In the south coast of the Belgæ the figure reckonings of Ptolemy become singularly difficult of application; but the want of definiteness in this respect is compensated for by the significance of some other particulars to be drawn from him. After the river Alaunus, suggested to be the Wey, in Dorset, the next point named in Ptolemy's progress eastward is *Magnus Portus*. That *Magnus Portus* is the Southampton Water is distinctly shown by the words I have quoted, where Ptolemy says that immediately below *Magnus Portus* is the Isle of Wight, whilst he shows that the meridian

of the centre of the Isle of Wight is a little to the east of the meridian of Magnus Portus. Presuming that the meridian of Magnus Portus was taken in the upper part of the Water, just off the town of Southampton, he is nearly correct as to the relationship of the two meridians. In my edition of Ptolemy⁴ it is suggested that Magnus Portus is either "Portsmouth or Portamon, where is the city of Southampton." Camden describes the Southampton Water thus: "Hic etenim retractis magno recessu littoribus et Vectæ Insulæ objectu portus fit egregius." Much impressed as he was by the "magnus recessus" and the "portus egregius," he failed to recognise in it *Magnus Portus*, and goes on to record his judgment that it is the place spoken of by Ptolemy as *Trisantonis* fluvii Ostium. Now, the river Trisanton is the next place eastward of Magnus Portus in the progress of Ptolemy, yet Camden reverses their position, and, selecting Portsmouth for Magnus Portus, places Ptolemy's eastern port to the west of the other, disregarding both the order of Ptolemy's progress and the order assigned by his figures of longitude. If the names belong at all to these, Southampton and Portsmouth, the eastern of the two places must be Trisanton. The mistake of Camden in fixing Trisanton in the Southampton Water is due to his habitual disregard of Ptolemy's figures, and to his dependence on some etymological accidents. At the head of the Western arm of the Southampton Water there flows in the river Test. Camden says that in the lives of the saints he has found this river named the Terstan; that upon the river are places called An-dover, Ant-port, and South-anton; and hence he concludes that the river must have been the Anton or Trisanton of Ptolemy. By the kindness of the Dean of Chichester I have been enabled to refer the question of the meaning of the word Trisanton to Professor Earle and Professor Rhys, of Oxford. From their valuable communications on the subject I am allowed to quote. Professor Earle says: "No doubt Camden was

⁴ J. Moletius. Venice, 1564.

influenced by the name of Hampton to identify it with Trisanton, but he would never have seen Anton under the form Hampton had it not been for the names Andover, Amport, and Abbots Ann in the upper streams of the same water. When we see Anton on that water in the Ordnance map this is, of course, a piece of archaeology, good or bad;⁵ but there is no question that those names are peculiar and unexplained, and that they seem to indicate some such names as 'Ant,' for the river on which they stand. But the longitude in Ptolemy seems to decide it that Trisanton is east of Magnus Portus. Well, if so, I should then look for Trisanton at Chichester." Leaving aside for the present the learned professor's suggestion as to Chichester, I will point out some further considerations which stand in the way of appropriating to the river Test or to the Southampton Water, which Camden includes with it, the name "Anton" or "Trisanton." The syllable *am*, or *an*, or *ant*, on which he entirely relies, is not confined in Hampshire topography to the head waters or line of the river Test. In Wherwell Hundred, where are "Amport," "Andover," and "Abbots Ann," we can add "Little Anne," all grouped near the head waters of the Test; but far from it, we have in Fawley Hundred "Hinton Ampner"; in Mansbridge Hundred, "Anfield"; in Hambledon Hundred, "Amner." In Sussex, though forming a part of Hampshire, and extending in a singular line quite across the Weald or Andred wood, is "Ambersham" (Am-beresham), and still further east in Sussex, on the southern margin of the great forest, is "Amberley" (Am-bere-ley). The *an* syllable seems to have been too widely spread to admit of its allocation being now limited to a single river district, where assuredly, from remote antiquity, the name of Test has been used for the Hampshire river.

But those who know Southampton will remember that, quite independently of the name any river there has borne, the name Southampton is locally accounted

⁵ The archaeology of the Ordnance Map is influenced by the imposition of Bertram of Copenhagen.

for. The town stands on a tongue of land, which projects into the Southampton Water, between the two arms of the water, which run up on the west to the Test, and on the east to the Itchen river. Within my memory this tongue of land has much advanced its point on the open water by extending on the reclaimed mud banks the dockworks and dock estate. In former times a great deal of land has been reclaimed from the Itchen estuary, on the east side of the tongue, so that where the ancient town of Southampton now stands, on the west side of the tongue, was once the tongue itself, and the town was originally the South-hampton on that tongue; north of it, and against the waters of the Itchen, on the same tongue, is North-ham, where the first bridge of the Itchen stands, and where probably in old times was the first practicable ferry across the Itchen estuary. I remember a good clear mile of open ground between the suburb of Northam and Southampton. Northam had, nevertheless, long been considerable for its shipbuilding, and now the spread of houses has made the two towns join hands. Southampton in very early ages gained a superiority which eclipsed its neighbour, and which is marked by the *hampton* instead of *ham*. Camden certainly never heard of Northam, or he could not have overlooked the natural connection between the two places and their names. But Camden, although not directly expressing it, evidently hung to the idea that Ant, Anton, and Hanton gave the name to "Hantshire." On the derivation of this name I venture a suggestion, which I should be glad to have considered, although a little irrelevant to our principal subject. When we quit the coast of Hampshire and go east we leave the shires and enter the counties, first the coast of Sussex, and then, proceeding along the south and east coasts of England, we have Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk in succession—all of them counties from the fact that in Roman times they were ("sub dispositione viri spectabilis *Comitis Littoris Saxonici*") in the jurisdiction of the Roman officer, the count of the Saxon shore. Kent partly and Sussex entirely had through their length the

vast forest of Anderida, which terminated at the west in, and included a part of, Hampshire—viz., in the Hundreds of Meon and East Meon, Finchdean and Odiham, Waltham, Hambledon, and perhaps more. Hampshire was then the first shire west of the counties; and, touching on the great forest of Andred, it so derived its name. Andredshire, or Andshire, or Hantshire, somewhat as its neighbouring shire, took its name from the forest of Berroc, which it contained: hence Berkshire.

We now return to the Magnus Portus of Ptolemy, and from it proceed to Trisanton. The first syllable of this name suggested to me that Ptolemy translated into Greek that portion of the name which represented triplicity, and that Tris-Anton must mean something like *Thrice-Anton*. To have known what Anton means would have been very satisfactory. Professor Rhys, who has kindly communicated his views on the subject, says: "The name *Τρισάντωνος* was probably Gaulish—a language which is little known, but a comparison with the other Celtic languages which are known, makes it in the highest degree probable that in Gaulish *tris* or *tri* meant three, so there is no need to suppose that we have here to do with a Greek word. As to the rest, I can only say that its meaning is unknown, but if I were to offer a conjecture, I should say that the compound meant the river of *three roads* or *three courses*. But I must not withhold the fact that there is a phonological difficulty in the way of this guess. Supposing that I have hit the meaning of the word, one would have expected it to appear as *Τρισέντωνος* rather than *Τρισάντωνος*. This is not quite conclusive, as we know so little of Gaulish words. On the whole, I think Mr. Hills had better not go further than the *τρεις* he has been able so well to explain by his knowledge of the place." Before I proceed to the explanation which had been laid before the learned professor of Celtic at Oxford, I will just remark that, whilst Ptolemy understood the syllable *tris* or *tri*, it is likely he did not understand the *anton* or *santon* more than we do; and that he, or whoever wrote it first, had to write in the alphabet of one language a word not

understood, and reported to him out of another and an unwritten language. No wonder, then, if it now appears in a doubtful form, as Professor Rhys shows.

I must also call further attention to the opinion of Professor Earle. After the remark I have already quoted from him, that Trisanton might be Chichester, he refers to the common belief that the Saxon name of that city, Cissanceaster, was derived from the name of Cissa, the prince who established the Saxon supremacy in the district now Sussex. The Professor says: "Cissanceaster, the Saxon form of Chichester, can hardly be derived from the name of a man, 'Cissa,' and it is just conceivable that it may contain a barbarous alteration of *Trisan*. I experience, however, the greatest difficulty in supposing any other place can be Magnus Portus except Portsmouth. This name preserves within it the very word 'Portus,' and so also do the names by which it is surrounded—viz., Portsea, Porchester, Portsdown. That this name is older than the arrival of the Saxons, and that it was unintelligible to them, is plain from their mythic explanation of it in the early chronicles, where it is said that a man named Port landed there as settler."

I ask my readers to give all the weight to this opinion which the great authority of Professor Earle must command, and to refer back to it when they have gone over the next few sentences.

Take in hand a really good map of the south coast, showing Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, and Sussex; county maps which show Hampshire and Sussex separately will not do, for it is the fact of their being so seldom drawn in union that has prevented the most remarkable physical feature of this part of the coast from being noticed. The Ordnance index map of ten miles to an inch will do; sheets nine, ten, and eleven of the Ordnance Map, one mile to an inch, are better. Failing these, W. H. Smith and Son's reduced Ordnance Map of the Isle of Wight, to be had at nearly all railway stations for a shilling, is the best I know, though it unfortunately falls short of including Chichester. A glance at these maps tells the eye that Southampton

Water is physically the Magnus Portus ; that it lies, with regard to the Isle of Wight in the true position Ptolemy assigns to it ; and that west of it we have what I will call Trisanton—viz., that remarkable estuary, with the three ports or entrances, now known as the entrances to Portsmouth Harbour, Langston Harbour, and Chichester Harbour. The seaward side of the estuary extends from Gosport, in Hampshire, to a narrow tongue of land, or rather beach and shingle, jutting out from the parish of West Wittering, in Sussex ; but also the seaward front of the estuary is almost entirely occupied by Portsea Island and Hayling Island. These islands divide the water-frontage into the three narrow mouths already spoken of, whilst the form of the islands towards the back of the estuary allows the water to open out into three large spaces, connected together by narrow waterways behind the islands. In Roman times each of the three divisions of the estuary had an important town on the mainland, and each of those towns still exists—viz., at the back of Portsmouth Harbour, Porchester, announcing by name its Roman origin and fortification, and possessing a splendid mark of its long-continued importance in its fine Norman castle. At the back of Langston Harbour, the town which that most learned archaeologist, the late Mr. W. H. Black, pointed out as the British town Y-Gwent, Romanised into Venta, and now Havant. At the back of the eastern extremity of the estuary, the city of Chichester, marked by numerous Roman remains, and by its name for an important Roman station. It must be admitted that the quality of triplicity, which the name Trisanton implies, belongs in a remarkable degree to this singular estuary and its adjuncts.

I am sinning against the cautious advice of Professor Rhys not to meddle with the *anton*. Yet I venture to point out that along the back of the whole estuary there extended, not more than three to six miles distant, the fringes of the forest of Andred, where its great south barrier, the South Downs, comes to its western extremity, and breaks up. Just as at the eastern extremity of the forest we know the Saxons called its sub-divisions Bera

and Berende, we have still the forest of Bere at the north of Porchester, ending at Stansted, on the Sussex border, and then continued eastward, after an interruption of two or three miles, by the forest lands of West Dean Woods, Singleton Forest, and the East Dean Woods. This Sussex forest crowns the heights which overlooked the whole breadth of the great weald or forest of Andred itself.

Following the method I have previously taken, after considering the coast line, I now come to the towns named by Ptolemy in the interior. These are the towns of the Belgæ; Ischalis, Aquæ Calidæ, and Venta; the town of the Dobuni, Corinium; the town of the Attrebatii, Calleva or Nalcuæ; and the town of the Regni, Neomagus.

There is no doubt that the country of the Belgæ extended from the Bristol Channel and the Severn to the British Channel and the Isle of Wight, having the Damnonii and Durotriges to the south, and for their northern neighbours the Dobuni; and at the eastern portion of their north boundary, the Attrebatii. The Attrebatii and Cantii were the northern neighbours of the Regni. Ptolemy marks Ischalis as the most western town of the Belgæ. The name and the longitude point to the mouth of that river Axe of which we have already spoken in Somersetshire. Here, on the lofty promontory called Worlebury Hill, which closes Uphill Bay, into which the Axe discharges, is the most stupendous example of ancient British architecture in existence, the magnificent stone fort or citadel called Worlebury, immediately above the town of Weston-super-Mare. Besides this extraordinary citadel, built with uncemented stone walls, from 10ft. to 30ft. thick, and 30ft. to 35ft. high, there are extensive earthworks marking the inner and outer enclosures, and some of the internal features of a large town.

The second town, Aquæ Calidæ, no one has ever doubted to be Bath.

In respect to Ischalis and Aquæ Calidæ, Ptolemy's figures of latitude and longitude approach the truth nearer than usual. Aquæ Calidæ had long before Roman times

possessed regular roads to London; and it can hardly be doubted that Ptolemy's figures are calculated on the actual distances between those two places, as reported to him. They are nearly in the same latitude, the difference being only about seven minutes. Ptolemy estimated that difference at thirty minutes, and the difference in longitude at one hundred and sixty minutes. The hypotenuse of the triangle, or actual distance in his minutes, comes to only one hundred and sixty-two minutes. The true distances being one hundred and forty-one of our minutes of longitude, and only seven minutes of latitude, the hypotenuse is less than one hundred and forty-two minutes. Ptolemy tells us that his great distances in longitude were in some cases regulated by the difference of time observed at two positions with respect to an eclipse, and we account for some of his inaccuracy by the imperfection of the instruments then in use for measuring time. It is likely that in such a case as the distance between *Aquæ Calidæ* and *Londinium* both a geometrical measurement and a horal measurement would have been considered; and the result is that the error of Ptolemy is much less than the 27 per cent. of his great measurements, and is reduced to barely 12 per cent. in the measurement between *Aquæ Calidæ* and *Londinium*.

In justification of my identification of *Ischalis* with *Worlebury*, I must point out that it is as Ptolemy estimated, a little south of the parallel of *Bath*; and that carrying on the correction of 12 per cent. in the longitude, it brings us exactly to where the village of *Worle* is marked on the map.

The third town, *Venta*, is attributed by the editor of my copy of Ptolemy to *Bristol*, and *Camden* states that his predecessors had so placed it. He removed it to *Winchester*, where an almost universal consent has since left it. The late *Mr. Black* was the first to assert that its proper connection was with *Havant*. This identification is not free from important difficulties, for it implies not only that Ptolemy's exact figures of longitude cannot be accepted, but that this place, which he puts upon a meridian a little west of *Magnus Portus*, is really

east of that place, whether we take Magnus Portus to be Southampton, or, as Professor Earle thinks, Portsmouth. The difficulty, I suspect, arises from Ptolemy's reckoning for Venta having been made with regard to Bath, with which it is grouped in his list. If he had happened to group it with the places reckoned from the Isle of Wight, we should probably have escaped the dilemma we have to contend with in bringing it into that group.

We must here make a remark with respect to Ptolemy's latitudes. They were determined mainly by reference to the greatest length of day reported to him, or by previous geographers. In this way he determined the latitude of London to be $54^{\circ} 00'$. It is truly $51^{\circ} 31'$. The latitude of the Isle of Wight he reckoned to be $52^{\circ} 20'$. It is truly at Carisbrook, which I take to have been Ptolemy's centre, $50^{\circ} 39' 20''$. Thus it is seen that in degrees his latitudes are much less seriously in error than his longitudes; but it will at once occur to my readers that unless two places were almost in the same meridian, the difficulty of settling a difference of latitude of less than a degree would be very great. Where two places were nearly on the same meridian, a geometrical measurement would safely give the difference of latitude, but where the meridians were wide apart, either a triangulation or a horal calculation founded on very uncertain data, were his resources. I have placed no reliance on the minutes of latitude where the longitudes are apart, and this reason accounts for the uncertainty which I attach to the latitude Ptolemy gives to Venta.

His longitude brings the meridian of Venta just half way between London and Bath, and his latitude places it on the same parallel as Worlebury or Ischalis, three-sixths of a degree south of the parallel of London, the same north of that of Magnus Portus, and five-sixths north of that of the Isle of Wight. The position thus indicated lies on that part of a meridian of which East Stratton, eight miles north-east from Winchester, is the southend, and the boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire, seven miles west of Silchester, is the north end. This piece of meridian, nearly fourteen miles in length, marks,

however, no place which can be thought to be Venta ; whilst it must be admitted that it indicates more than any other place, either the great Roman city of Silchester, which by its remains so plainly testifies its Roman origin, or Camden's selection of Winchester. What, however, if both those places can be shown to have been represented by other Roman names, as I believe they can from the *Antonine Itinerary*, and that Havant, if not the Venta intended by Ptolemy, was the Venta Belgarum of Antoninus ?

North of the Belgæ, according to Ptolemy, were the Dobuni. The latitude and longitude assigned by Ptolemy to their town, Corinium, brings it, with slight correction, to Cirencester. The approach to correctness in the figures for Aquæ Calidæ has shown that when a good land measurement was to be had, Ptolemy was not bound by the proportion of error which arose in his semi-circumference of the Earth. The distance between Corinium and Londinium exhibits a still nearer approach to correctness. The names Corinium and Cirencester both seem to contain in them the name of the river Churn, on which Cirencester stands ; and this identification I propose to accept.

The next place in the order of Ptolemy's list is the town of the Atrebatii. This people joined to the Dobuni on the east, and must have bounded the north-east corner of the Belgic territory. The town of the Atrebatii, as given in the order of Ptolemy's arrangement, comes between Corinium and Londinium, whilst by his figures its position is exactly half-way in longitude between those places. In latitude it is 5 minutes north of Corinium, and the latter is 10 minutes north of London. The reckonings, no doubt, were in this case made both upon geometric and horal measurements. Between Corinium and London the true distance in longitude is $1^{\circ} 54'$. Ptolemy says 2° . The true latitude of Corinium or Cirencester north of London, is not more than 11 minutes. Ptolemy says 10 minutes. Presuming that the measurements to the Atrebatian town are as nearly correct, the place indicated is exactly at Alchester or Aldchester in

Oxfordshire, where exist extensive traces of a walled Roman town, with the important suburbs of Bicester a mile and a half to the north-west, Chesterton Magna on the west, and Wendlebury on the south. Camden and all succeeding antiquaries have limited the territory of the *Attrebatii* to the south side of the Thames; but here is evidence that it extended to the north of it. Camden fixed this town at Wallingford, and his was the nearest approach to its true position; but it is too far south for the figures of latitude. He had made up his mind not to extend the tribe across the Thames, and satisfied himself by a fanciful derivation of the name of their town. The ancient name is, indeed, in much greater doubt than the position. Camden says that scribes have sadly mistaken it; that the Greek copies call the place *Nalcua*; the Latin copies, *Calleva* and *Galleva*; and that in the *Antonine Itinerary* there is the like error in the Latin name. Camden would have it read *Gallena*; and this, Reynolds says, is justified by certainly one copy. From this word Camden derives *Guallen*, *Walling*, and *Wallingford*. I may add that in the modern Greek *Tauchnitz* edition of Ptolemy the name is given *Calcua* or *Caleva*.

The key to all this confusion is this—viz., that the different forms of the name refer to three distinct places; and the main difficulty of identification has been that everybody has tried to identify them as one. The *Antonine Itinerary* shows with a good deal of certainty where the *Calleva*, which it mentions three times, stood, and it is presently identified as *Silchester*. It names once another *Calleva*, with the distinction added, *Attrebatum*. The position of this will be hereafter found at the south-west corner of *Surrey*. I therefore conclude that Ptolemy's town, *Nalcua*, of the *Attrebates*, being so far to the north, is properly called by that name, and was situated at *Aldchester*. The name *Nalcua* is accepted by Camden's contemporary, the great *Ortelius*, and also by Reynolds, as the correct reading.

East of the *Belgæ*, and south of the *Attrebatii*, Ptolemy places the *Regni* and their town *Neomagus*.

In the fifteenth chapter of his first book Ptolemy is employed in pointing out inconsistencies in the statements of his predecessor, Marinus, the Tyrian. One of them is that in Britain Marinus places Noviomagus fifty-nine miles southward, although by climate he shows that he ought to have said northward. Several of the editions, but not all, give London as the name of the place which was fifty-nine miles from Noviomagus. Ptolemy does not offer a correction, unless it be in his tables of latitude and longitude, where he introduces Neomagus, which Camden considers to be Noviomagus. Reynolds, in his commentary on the *Antonine Itinerary*, suggests that there is no need to believe the two names to belong to the same place, to which I quite agree, and intend to show by-and-bye that they were separate places. It is very difficult to give any effect to the statement of distance, fifty-nine miles; and although Camden and Reynolds both regard it as starting from London, they quite disregard it in fixing the position of Neomagus or Noviomagus.⁶ Some Roman remains at Woodcote, in Surrey, a little south of Epsom, induced Camden to fix Neomagus there. It is unfortunate that in different editions the figures of Ptolemy vary, both of latitude and longitude, for this place. It may be either $19^{\circ} 43'$ or $19^{\circ} 45'$ in longitude, and either $53^{\circ} 25'$ or $53^{\circ} 45'$ in latitude; but either set of figures would place it somewhere on or near the line of the Stane Street, or Roman road, which to this day runs from London to Chichester, and is in use through the greatest part of its length. Camden might therefore be right as to Woodcote; but, nevertheless, I cannot bring myself to think that the Regni who lay south of the Cantii and Atrebatii came so far north as this. As the Cantii are said by Ptolemy to lay east of the Atrebatii, their territories must have joined either where Kent and Surrey now join, or at some other line drawn across Surrey. Camden's position for Neomagus is not reconcilable with this, and would make the Regni intervene

⁶ Either should now be *Newfield*.—Professor Rhys.

between the *Attrebatii* and *Cantii*. The *Antonine Itinerary* will presently lead us to think that the *Attrebatii* extended from Berkshire quite across Surrey to the Sussex border at its west end, and this makes the probability great that the territorial boundary of the *Regni* was adopted for the county of Sussex, which was therefore about the same in line from its west end until it reached the *Cantii* as the Sussex line now is. The more southern figures of Ptolemy agree with this, and would place *Neomagus* in the hundred of East⁷ Easewrith or the adjoining hundred of Horsham.

To complete the progress of Ptolemy along the south coast of Albion we have now only two places left—viz., *Novus Portus* and *Promontorium Cantium*. The position of *Novus Portus* depends on whether Ptolemy reckoned its distance from *Vectis* or from the *Promontory Cantium*. If he measured from *Vectis*, his distance of $1^{\circ} 40'$, corrected to $1^{\circ} 12'$ true measure, would bring it to Brighton, and it might be held that the outlet of the river *Adur*, between Brighton and Shoreham, was intended, an outlet which has varied unquestionably in different ages three or four miles along the coast. A Roman road points to Portslade, at the back of the present harbour, near its Brighton end. Further on the river *Adur* will come under consideration, and will be identified as *Portus Adurni*; therefore the more likely idea is that the place of *Novus Portus* was measured from the *Promontory Cantium*, from which it is one degree distant by Ptolemy, or forty-three minutes by correction, and this will bring it to the west side of Romney Marsh.

It must be noticed that in his coast-line Ptolemy speaks only of physical subjects, the mouths and estuaries of rivers and the promontories of the land, bays and gulfs of the sea, and not of towns. Those were reserved to be mentioned with the inhabitants of the countries. For this reason I do not suppose *Novus Portus* to have been a town of Newport, but some haven

⁷ Observe the title of a district all along the Sussex border here, from its west end, and comprised in the hundreds of Easebourne (pronounced Ezburn), East Easewrith, and West Easewrith.

newly formed by the sea. In Romney Marsh the sea was re-forming the land at Lympne and Rye all through the period of the Roman occupation, and continued to do so long after. At the earliest period of history the whole of what is now Romney Marsh was a bay of the sea. The Roman fort and harbour at Lympne lay at its east side, and the outlet of the river Rother, with the cliffs of Pleyden and Rye, were at the western side. The gradual emergence of islands, first Roman-ey, and afterwards New Roman-ey, and of other tracts of land, are traced in Holloway's *History of Romney Marsh*. To some new formation here of land and water I have little doubt this name of Novus Portus was applied.

The Promontory Cantium, from the days of Camden, and before, has been received without question as properly identified with the North Foreland in Kent. I have ventured to differ from this acceptation; and in all the preceding references to its longitude I have calculated from the South Foreland, which I have no doubt was intended by Ptolemy instead of the North Foreland. It is, perhaps, the latitude given by Ptolemy on the same parallel as London which has directed attention to the North Foreland. In reality, however, it is only an illustration of the difficulty I have before pointed out which Ptolemy had in determining latitudes within sixty minutes, or where the places were distant in longitude. Novus Portus, he says, is on the south coast, and is $53^{\circ} 30'$ north. Londinium he makes 54° north, and the Promontory Cantium 54° north; the town Rutupia 54° north, the Island of Counos $54^{\circ} 30'$ north; and the estuary of Jamissa (Thamissa, or Thames) $54^{\circ} 30'$ north. Omitting Londinium, the other places are not far apart in longitude, and their relative positions in latitude show that Novus Portus was to the south; Prom. Cantium next to the north, and with it the town Rutupia; the Island Counos still further north, and next the mouth of the Thames. The Island Counos has from very ancient times been identified with Thanet: manifestly it could not be half a degree north of the Prom. Cantium and be that promontory too; therefore the promontory of the

Island of Counos is different from the Promontory Cantium, and is to the north of it; or, in other words, the North Foreland in the Isle of Thanet is the promontory of the Island of Counos, and the southern promontory on the mainland, or the South Foreland, is the Promontory Cantium. The name "Counos" seems to contain within it the *ness* or promontory of the North Foreland; and if that be so, both the North and the South Foreland promontories are named by Ptolemy.⁸

Thanet was an island separated from the mainland by a considerable arm of the sea for long after the era of Ptolemy. In Bede's time it was separated by a water three furlongs across, and with two practicable fords; but Ptolemy believed it to be separated by a much more considerable distance than it really had, for he puts its longitude half a degree east of the Promontory Cantium. This itself is a proof that it could not have contained that promontory. Besides which Ptolemy describes the mainland first, and with it the Promontory Cantium, and places at the end of his description of Albion the islands, and puts Counos with them. The Promontory Cantium was, therefore, on the mainland, and if so, was the point which we call the South Foreland, or some point a little north, and a minute or two more east, on the cliffs between that and Deal, where the cliffs fall down to a level shore.

The towns of the Cantii, known to Ptolemy, were Londinium, Daruernum, and Rutupiaë. The possession of Londinium by the Cantii indicates, as I have already hinted in respect to the Atrebatii, that at this time the authority of the Cantii extended beyond the present county of Kent. Daruernum can be no other than Durovernum, as it appears in other authors, and certainly Canterbury; whilst Rutupiaë, or Rutupium, is as certainly, by a long chain of history, the ruined and deserted Roman fortification on the mainland opposite the Isle of Thanet, now Richborough, itself once a tiny island in the estuary between Thanet and the mainland.

⁸ Hackness, in Yorkshire, was written "Ha-canos" quite down to Saxon times.

It is important to notice the era to which Ptolemy's report of the country belongs. He was compiling his books between A.D. 125 and A.D. 140. How much before or after we do not know; but this was nearly two hundred years after the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55. The conquest of the southern provinces began under Claudius in A.D. 43, when Aulus Plautius, with four legions, was sent into Britain. In A.D. 50 Ostorius Scapula succeeded to the command, and found himself master of the country north to the Dee and the Wash, but resolutely opposed by the Silures to the west, so that all the territories we have been considering were under his rule. Didius Gallus and Veranius, following him, did not extend the Roman power. Suetonius Paulinus, the next governor, effectively extended their power into Wales, and was at the furthest point, endeavouring to reduce Anglesey, when the great revolt of Boadicea broke out in the country of the Icenii, which he quickly suppressed. Cæsar, in his expeditions, brought with him water-clocks, and amidst his military anxieties endeavoured to determine the geographical relationships of the parts of Britain he visited to the Continent. The series of commanders who followed after the invasion under Claudius were, no doubt, better provided than Cæsar, and must have brought with them, and maintained, a staff of engineers (*agrimensores*) equal to the survey of a country, both for military purposes, and designed to be permanently occupied. To the governors already named succeeded Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Vettius Bolanus, whose attention was but little directed to external affairs, and it was supposed might have organised the province; yet the latter found it too much unsettled by the remains of the civil wars to arrive at a well-ordered state, towards which an important element would be contributed by the Roman law of territorial and land settlement. Petilius Cerealis, the next governor, about A.D. 70, under Vespasian, pursued a more vigorous policy. Ceasing from the temporising measures of his immediate predecessors, he made the military power of his office felt

within his province, whilst he increased it by the subjugation of the Brigantes throughout our northern English counties. The high rank of the men who were sent to administer the affairs of Britain testifies to the importance the central Roman power attached to the settlement of the government set up here.

The next appointment evidently had a special object in view, and which directly bears on my subject. After five years, Petilius Cerealis had so broken the wayward spirit of the subjected races that Sextus Julius Frontinus ("vir magnus," as Tacitus calls him) was sent to complete his work. He still found the Silures obstinate and pugnacious, and did not hesitate to use the military means which Petilius Cerealis had found for the most part effective. He has the credit of having finally broken the fighting propensity of this race, as far as could be done. But the speciality of Frontinus was that he was a great engineer. His works on the aqueducts of Rome, on the surveying of countries and lands, and on the art of war are still extant. He must have made it his special care, in the cause of permanent peace, to measure the country, define the lands, and apply thoroughly to it the work of the College of Land Surveyors; and it is evident he did so. Upon the country thus surveyed and prepared Agricola, who succeeded him in A.D. 78, was enabled "Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis, quæ in quæstum reperta, ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur." The store-barns were thrown open for the wants of the people; the roads and means for conveyance of the requisitions to the winter quarters were improved to the advantage of those on whom the service of such supplies was imposed; and the gains hitherto monopolised by a few were distributed to the profit of the many. The exactions during peace had been almost as onerous as the forced levies of a time of war. But all this was reformed.⁹ This resulted in the first year of Agricola; and the country districts being pacified, his second year

⁹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, cap. 19; also 20 and 21.

saw the construction of temples, markets, and courts of justice by public aid and private enterprise, and the construction, for the public security, of forts and castles where deemed necessary after a particular inspection of the places by Agricola himself throughout his province; the foundation of all these important measures having been laid by the engineering talent of Frontinus.

In A.D. 120 the Emperor Hadrian visited the province, and travelled throughout it, inspecting the progress made in fifty years upon the work begun by Frontinus. No doubt that in the great Tabularium at Rome the principal results of all this work were formally recorded on Roman maps. To what extent Ptolemy, who afterwards saw Hadrian at Alexandria, could avail himself of the work of the Roman surveyors we cannot know; but that he attempted to apply it as far as he could to his calculations we cannot doubt; and I have adverted to the history of the Roman survey to show that there were actual measurements in existence to be dealt with, and which Ptolemy may have used and attempted to reconcile with his horal and astronomical observations. Ptolemy's figures cannot, therefore, be regarded as guesses or chances, but as the result of an application of measures different from ours (as in the case of his degree of longitude), and able to be corrected when the nature of his measure is discovered, or in the case of a definite error, when a wrong measure was furnished to him, or a correct one misunderstood.

We next proceed to the *Peutingerian Tables*, to be briefly dealt with. We obtain from them the names of only sixteen places in Britain; and of those, the six which are north of the Thames lie out of the range of the present subject. The compilation of the Tables has been usually attributed to about one hundred and fifty years later than the time of Ptolemy. To those who have not consulted works on the subject I may say that it is a MS. on parchment, of the thirteenth century, copied from some older source, and commonly named after Dr. Peutinger, to whose library it belonged when first noticed. It is 22 feet long and one foot wide, and by

lines drawn longitudinally is made a sort of road-book of the Roman empire, with the names and distances of places marked upon the roads or lines. I have before me the published edition of 1587.

Of the ten names which come within our district, Rutupis and Duroavernus, which we must identify with the Rutupia and Daruernum (Richborough and Canterbury) of Ptolemy, are shown near the coast, and towards the Continent. There are added, in the immediate neighbourhood, the ports of Dubris (Dover) and Lemanio (Lympne); but if the distances were ever inserted, they have been lost by the defective state of the MS., which is greatly damaged just where it would so much interest us to have it perfect. From Duroavernus proceeds a road above which the names of three places are written, all of them unknown to Ptolemy, and with figures (presumed to be of distance) marked against them, "Madus xvii, Raribis vii, Burolevo vii." Of the place called "Raribis" we shall get no further mention, and can only say that the distance of seven Roman miles from Canterbury, on the Roman road to London, brings us just to Nash Court, beyond Broughton-under-Blean. Burolevo we shall find hereafter called Durolevo, and placed at twelve miles from Canterbury, although the two sevens here seem to imply a distance of fourteen miles, which brings it one mile east of Bapchild. "Madus" may be conceived to be the Medway; but the distance goes two miles and a half beyond the Medway, on the direct Roman London road through Rochester, and as much beyond the town of Maidstone, if it be supposed to have gone there by branching off at Sittingbourne. It may have been some place beyond the Medway, at Cobham or Higham; or if it must absolutely be on the Medway, then at Barming or Teston, above Maidstone.

The two remaining names are Iscadumnomorum and Ridumo, with the figure xv attached to the latter, and a road proceeding out of the former to it. These names evidently refer to the places we have already identified as Dorchester and Wareham, the Dunium of Ptolemy having grown into Ridumo or Ridumium. The

most important point we get from this work is the confirmatory evidence it gives that Isca is certainly not Exeter, but Dorchester. The exact distance between Wareham and Dorchester, in Roman miles, is fifteen, as here appears to be given between Isca Dumnomorum and Ridumo.

The next geographical work to be dealt with is the *Ravennas*, a work of antiquity, but of unknown age or authorship. It furnishes catalogues of names placed in strings and groups, out of which I insert here such as can be identified with the places occurring in the other authors under consideration. I postpone to the end of this article the full catalogues embracing the places whose identification I do not attempt. The catalogue for Britain has: Tamaris, Uxelis, Scadam Nuniorum, Moridunum, Londinis, Bindogladia, Noviomagno, Venta Belgarum, Ravimago, Regentium, Cimetzone, Puntuobice; clearly beginning with the district about Ptolemy's town of Tamare, just west of the river Tamar, and ending in the district of the Regni and Attrebates. Uxelis we have had as Uxella. The third name in the list is evidently Isca Damnoniorum, our Dorchester. Next to it Moridunum, already assigned to Wareham under the names Dunium and Ridumo. It then comes up to Londinis (London). Bindogladia we have not previously met with, but shall find it presently as Vindocladia, and its place Winchester. Noviomagno is probably in Kent, as hereafter placed. Venta of the Belgæ is here in order, west of Vindocladia; and this agrees with the place with which we have already identified it—viz., Havant. Ravimago reminds the ear of Neomagus and Noviomagus, previously spoken of, but I cannot venture to identify it. Regentium may be a town of the Regni; but we have no other means to fix its position unless it be Cissbury, a fine ancient fort in Sussex, in the district of the Regni, and of which more remains to be said presently. Cimetzone and Puntuobice are probably the Cunetione of the fourteenth Antonine *iter* and the Pontibus of the seventh, respectively to be identified as the town of the river Kenet, in Wiltshire, and as Pointers, in Surrey.

The next series begins in the country of the Silures, beyond the range of our districts, and has Venta Silurum (Caerwent), Isca Augusta (Caerleon), Glebon Colonia (Gloucester), and enters on the territory under discussion at Corinium Dobunorum; then has Calleva Atrebatum, Lemanis, and Dubris. Corinium we have dealt with from Ptolemy as Cirencester. Calleva Atrebatum remains to be identified, in the south-west corner of Surrey, near Haslemere, from the *Antonine Itinerary*; and Dubris we have already accepted, as universally admitted, for Dover. Starting again from this last place, we are taken to Duroverno Cantiacorum (Canterbury), Rutupis (Richborough), and to Durobrabis, which we shall presently find as Durobrivis, and place it at Rochester, to Londini, and so on into North Wales.

We now come to the *Antonine Itinerary*. It is of the same age as Ptolemy's work, and is conceived to have been compiled in direct connection with the journeys of the Emperor Hadrian, embracing, as it does, the whole of his empire, which he systematically visited.

The great value of the *Itinerary* rests on the fact that it gives precise distances from place to place, so that if only we can be sure of some starting-places, and that we understand the measure applied to the distances, we cannot fail to identify the positions on a really correct map. In Londinium, Eboracum, Cataractoni, Portus Dubris, Portus Lemanis, Duroverno, Verolamio, Glevo, Isca Silurum, Aquæ Calidæ, Ratis, and Lindo, we have probably named all the places in England which have not been at one time or another justly the subject of difference of opinion as to their identity, and that are not more or less open to question; and this chiefly for the reason that the proper measure to be used has not been recognised. The important work on the *Antonine Itinerary*, by the Rev. Thos. Reynolds, published in 1799, contains much learning, and has been of much value to me; but in its principal object, that of identifying the places and distances, it signally fails, although it has remained the principal authority on the subject to the present time. Reynolds might even have overcome the errors of his dependence on the false Richard Cirencester if he had

correctly used Roman miles. Just as, in applying Ptolemy, we must first understand what he accepted as the measurement of a degree, we must know, in applying Antoninus, what was a Roman mile.

If it is urged that this measure cannot be absolutely settled, it may be pleaded that the differences amongst authorities are very slight; and that since there is no attempt in the *Antonine Itinerary* to deal separately with portions of the Roman mile, a very slight departure from a critically correct measure will be of no effect. As all the distances are given by Antoninus in full miles, it must, for instance, be taken that ten miles means a distance nearer to ten than to nine or eleven; that is to say, over nine miles and a half, and under ten miles and a half. It seems, too, that where he knew he had put down ten for something less than ten and a half, he would add the omitted part to make up an integer for his next measure; for in each *iter* he gives a total distance which is intended for the sum of all the figures put down, which it would not be if he had not balanced his fractional parts as he went along.

In the papers of the Institute of Architects it is laid down by Taylor, the partner of Cressy on *Roman Architecture*, that 1 foot 11 inches English is equal to 2 feet of ancient Roman measure; this being the regulated height for stone courses in numerous instances of ancient building. In Smith's *Classical Dictionary* the Roman foot is said to be 11·6496 English inches; or by another calculation, 11·62 inches; making the Roman mile, 1618 or 1614 yards.

These authorities give the following proportions of the Roman to the English foot, ·9583, ·9708, ·9683, and ·9559. Previous calculations, such as I find in Nicholson's *Encyclopædia* (1809), give the Roman foot at ·970; after Titus, ·965; from rules, ·9672; from buildings, ·9681; from a stone, ·9696; and the Roman mile of Pliny at 4840·5 feet English; or of Strabo, 4903. These are founded on calculations of Professor Greaves, a once famous Oxford mathematician; and of General Roy and Colonel Mudge, the founders of the English Ordnance Survey. By Reynolds the subject is fully discussed, and

the authorities for the proportions named in the *Encyclopædia* are given, with the opinion of Dr. Long, the astronomer, "that the Roman mile, and the foot which measured it, seem to be pretty well ascertained." But then Reynolds falls into a singular and extraordinary error, which I believe has passed unnoticed; and because the Roman foot is to the English foot as 967 to 1000, he infers that the Roman mile bears the same proportion to the English mile. But the Roman mile being 5000 Roman feet, and the English mile 5280 English feet, the proportion of the English miles is quite a different thing from that of the feet. Besides the altered size of the foot, the English mile has 280 English feet added on to it. Failing to notice this, Reynolds concluded that there was but little if any difference between the English and Roman miles; and with General Roy's conclusion before him, that 11 English miles exceed 12 Roman by just 108 feet, he threw all authorities aside, and announced his own conclusion to be that the English and Roman miles were the same; and on this mistake he set out the whole *Itinerary*.

The fact is that General Roy very nearly hit the truth. Taking the Roman foot at .9681 parts of an English foot, which is about the medium of the proportions previously given, 12 Roman miles of 5000 Roman feet each, make exactly 11 English miles and 6 feet. As may be shown thus:

1760 yds. \times 3 = 5280 English feet; that is, 1 mile English measure.
 Subtract 4840 English feet; that is, 1 Roman mile of Pliny,
 ——— wanting 6 inches.

The difference is 440 Eng. ft. less to a Roman mile than to an English.

Multiply 440 by 12 = 5280 feet, which is the English mile. Therefore, neglecting the 6 inches, in setting out 12 Roman miles, we fall short by just 1 English mile of 12 English; which is to say that 12 Roman miles are 11 English and 6 feet. Another proof is a simple multiplication:

1 mile English = 5280 ft. Eng. Multiply by 11 = 58080 ft.
 1 mile Roman = 4840 ft. Eng. Multiply by 12 = 58080 ft.

In applying the *Antonine Itinerary* to the English map, therefore, we must use 12 Roman for 11 English miles.

But, further, Mr. Reynolds having assumed a wrong size for the mile, found himself in the confusion that might be expected, and proceeded to find fault with the distances figured by Antoninus; he corrects them when convenient to his identification by the false authority of Bertram of Copenhagen; and, besides, he assumes mistakes, in the numerals of which there is no evidence whatever, only because he thinks an x or a v might have slipped in or slipped out, or an i have been put by mistake after (xi), when he would rather have it before (ix), he assumes the numerals in error. The only justification for supposing the numerals in error of manuscript must be when we find different copies or editions giving different numerals to the same place. When this occurs we have no alternative but to accept some plausible solution of the difficulty, till a better turns up.

Of course it may be, perhaps I ought to say must be, that there are positive errors in the numerals of the distances in some cases; and this is indicated where the sum of the *iter* does not agree with the parts. It may be difficult to say which is right, the sum or the items of it, and we are of course left to more or less uncertainty, but perhaps aided by a choice of readings. One kind of error I believe I have detected twice in the whole of England, which I think is not suggested by Reynolds, though it is in one of the cases suggested by the clever Bertram of Copenhagen. It is where a place seems to have dropped out of, or been missed from, the *Itinerary* altogether. One of these cases we shall touch upon, as it comes near to the districts we deal with, the other is in the north of England. The *iters* relating to the south of London are the third, fourth, and end of the second, the seventh, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth. We will treat of them in this succession, using Roman miles in all our expressions.

ITER III.

A LONDINIO AD PORTUM DUBRIS, LXVI M.P.

DUROBRIVIS, XXVII; DUROVERNO, XXV; AD PORTUM DUBRIS, XIV.

As to the route to be followed there is no room for doubt. It is the ancient Roman road, the Watling Street from London to Rochester, to Canterbury and Dover. But the actual distance from London to Rochester is twenty-nine miles; on to Canterbury is twenty-eight miles, and on to Dover is sixteen miles, or seventy-three miles in all. The Watling Street is lost between where it appears in the city of London, and reappears, nearly six miles off, just beyond Greenwich. The line of it shows that from London it continued for a considerable distance on the north side of the Thames, and my solution of the difficulty is that the twenty-seven miles to Rochester were measured from the Thames, at the point where some ferry carried the traffic across to Rotherhithe, very nearly where the Thames Tunnel now is. There is certainly an error in the numeral xxv from Rochester to Canterbury. It is rendered uncertain by the fact that the editions of Aldus and Simler say xv. But the correct distance is given in *iter* II, presently quoted—viz., XXVIII miles. The distance to Dover, XIV miles, falls short by one and a half miles, stopping at the little village of Buckland; most likely because there, or half a mile on, at Charlton, was the post station, to which the measurement was taken, and not to the lofty cliffs where the castle stands, nor to the actual seashore.

ITER IV.

A LONDINIO AD PORTUM LEMANIS, LVIII M.P.

DUROBRIVIS, XXVII; DUROVERNO, XXV; AD PORTUM LEMANIS, XVI.

All the observations on the distances of London, Rochester, and Canterbury, made just above, apply here. The distance, XVI to Lympne—a place strongly marked by its Roman remains—is absolutely correct for Portus Lemanis.

ITER II.

This *iter* commences in the north of England, A. VALLO, that is to say, from the wall beyond Carlisle, and proceeds to London. From London the latter part of it is—

NOVIOMAGO, X ; VAGNIACIS, XVIII ; DUROBRIVIS, IX ; DUROLEVO, XVI ;
DUROVERNO, XII ; AD PORTUM RITUPIS, X.

Instead of the direct road to Rochester taken by the two routes previously given, this journey is by a circuit to the south. It is unfortunate that in every instance except one—viz., from Durolevo to Duroverno—the numerals are more or less in doubt, owing to variations in different editions. The numeral x affixed to Noviomago is altered to XII in Harrison's first edition, whilst the numeral XVIII, affixed to Vagniacis, is altered to VI in Harrison's first edition, and to XVIII in Wesseling, from the Vatican copy. The majority of the editions favour the figures stated at the head. I will first point out that at nine miles from Rochester, on the line of the Watling Street, in the woods of Swanscombe parish, is a singular collection of earthworks, called on the Ordnance maps Clubber-lubber.¹⁰ As the public road is here diverted for several miles from the Watling Street, these remains are little known and rarely visited. I take them to be the site of Vagniacis. If so, eighteen miles from this point and ten from London, that is, from the Rotherhithe ferry, as I take it, is Noviomago. The point falls a quarter of a mile south of Cold Harbour, just a mile north of Addington and west of Wickham Street. I do not know of Roman remains here, though the name Coldharbour bespeaks them, nor do I suppose, allowing for some uncertainty in the numerals, and possibly for roads not actually straight, that we are tied exactly to this point. The great encampment at Holwood Hill, about four miles to the south-east, has been supposed to

¹⁰ On the six-inch scale maps, Clabber-labber, with a suggestion that it is derived from Caer-ber-larber. At Springhead, half a mile eastward, the map marks "Site of Roman town." Very numerous Roman antiquities have been found there.

be Noviomagus. It might be the fort above that town, and somewhere about Keston, the place itself, and this seems the likeliest solution. It is probable that the road from it to Vagniacis joined the Watling Street at Crayford, and thus broke the distance of XVIII or XVIII miles into two lengths. A Roman road from the south passes near to Holwood Hill, going direct for London. Durobrivis has been already admitted as Rochester, and we have here the distance to Durovernus, Canterbury, divided into two spaces—viz., to Durolevo XVI miles and on to Canterbury XII miles, making the actual true distance of twenty-eight miles. We have already had Durolevo, otherwise Burolevo in the Peutingerian tables, but it is here placed two miles nearer to Canterbury. Giving a preference to the Antonine measurement, it seems highly probable that Durolevo was near to the Roman fort, which lies just north of the Watling Street, close to Teynham Railway Station, and marked Durolevum on the inch scale Ordnance map; to this spot the distance exactly points. The *iter* takes us one station beyond Canterbury to the Port Ritupis. Richborough, where stands the Roman fortification considered to be Ritupis, has already been indicated by Ptolemy and the Peutingerian tables. It was in Hadrian's time an island. The distance does not actually reach to it, but only to the shore of the port on the main land, at the end of the Roman road called Each End, from hence it was about a mile and a half over the shallow waters to the castle or fort. I have found the omission of a water distance to be the rule of the Antonine reckonings, which only account for land travelling.

Two hundred and fifty years later than the time of this Itinerary, during all which this port was the chief port of Britannia for communication with the Continent, Rutupis was the head-quarters and seat of government of that great Roman officer already mentioned, of whom we hear in the *Notitia Dignitatum*—viz., “Viri spectabilis Comitum Littoris Saxonici,” or, in the language of to-day, of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the direct successor in office of the Roman Comes, and still holding his

seat at Walmer Castle, about eight miles from Rutupis. The Roman officer had for his garrison at Rutupis the Legio Secunda Augusta, which, two hundred and fifty years before, Ptolemy had found as I have shown at Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, and stretched out his subordinate garrisons right and left along the coast as follows:—viz., to the left: 1st. On the north shore of Kent, at Regulbium, now Reculver, the tribune of the first cohort of the Vetasians. 2nd. The præpositus of the light Fortensian troops at Othona (Numeri Fortensium), that is Ithancester, in Essex. 3rd. The præpositus of the Stablesian cavalry of Garriononum, at Garriononum, that is to say Burgh on the Sands, in Norfolk. 4th. At Branodun, now Brancaster, in Norfolk, at the entrance to the Wash, the Dalmatic cavalry of Branodun with their præpositus. To the right the first garrison station of the Roman Warden was at Dubris, now Dover; a force of Tungrican milites, under a præpositus. The second station was at Lemannis or Lympe, with Turnacensian troops and their præpositus. The third was at Anderida, with a præpositus and light troops of the Abulci. The name of the station Anderida occurs nowhere else in the authors we have reviewed, and except that it took its name from the great wood of Anderida, and that it was finally attacked and sacked by the South Saxons, we have no local relationships for it; yet by a very general consent it is now believed to be Pevensey, possessing considerable remains of Roman work in its castle walls, once having an important harbour and still a member of the Cinque ports. The fourth and last was at Portus Adurni, the name of which is retained to the present day in the river Adur, in Sussex, whose fort at Bramber was probably the station of this garrison—viz., the præpositus and light troops called Exploratores. The consideration of this last station is of great importance in the next *iter*.

ITER VII.

A REGNO LONDINIUM, xcvi.

CLAUSENTO, xx; VENTA BELGARUM, x; CALLEVA ATTREBATUM, xxii;
PONTIBUS, xxii; LONDINIO, xxii.

There is no question as to the numerals in this *iter*, with the single exception that one edition of the *Itinerary* gives the total at cxv, and another at cxvi, instead of the actual total, xcvi. The mistake seems to be the misplacing of the x in both the variations, and the accidental omission of the i in one.

No *iter* has been subject to a wider application. Camden places its commencement (Regnum) at Ringwood in Hampshire; Clausento he gave to Southampton, or its near neighbour, Bittern. Venta had been placed at Bristol; he removed it to Winchester. Calleva he thought Wallingford; others had thought it Oxford, and have since put it at Silchester and at Reading. Pontibus was put by Camden at Colnbrook; and since his time Longford, Windsor, and Old Windsor have been advocated.

In 1723 an inscribed stone was dug up in the North Street at Chichester, and is preserved at Goodwood. It is of the time of the Emperor Claudius; and from the occurrence on it of a part of a name, GIDUBNI (the first portion of the word being broken off), which has been suggested to be COGIDUBNI, it was concluded that we have here the name of the native Prince, of whom Tacitus relates that having remained faithful to the memory of the Roman power, certain states out of the conquests of Ostorius Scapula were given "Cogiduno regi." This conclusion led to another assumption, viz., that the states given to "Cogidunus rex" must have been those of the Regni; and lastly to another, viz., that the capital town of the Regni must be Regnum; and that the discovery of the stone here declared Regnum to be Chichester. Depending on this chain of conjecture, the town Regnum has been invented out of the name of a people or district, and has by antiquaries been ever since

annexed to Chichester. We know from Ptolemy that the Regni were a people, and that their town, Neomagus, lay a considerable distance inland; therefore, when we read that this *iter* starts from Regnum, I conclude that it started from some place not given by name, but in the territory of the Regni; which territory it is pretty evident from the position we have been obliged to give to their town, Neomagus, stretched across Sussex, the present Rape of Bramber forming about the centre of it. This territory, after some time, came to be the most westerly of the jurisdiction of the counts of the Saxon shore; and their seat of authority within it was at Portus Adurni,¹¹ which can be none other than the port of the river Adur. This river descends almost the whole length of the Rape of Bramber, discharging into the sea now near to New Shoreham, but formerly near to Portslade and Aldrington. In Roman times, we may judge from the present aspect of the land, the river, which still forms a considerable pool up to Old Shoreham, was a tidal lake up to Beeding and Bramber. Bramber is in a strong military position, the key to the inner country. Its ruined Norman castle, and its Saxon earthworks and history, attest its ancient importance. Beneath its shelter grew up the ancient town of Steyning, and from it a Roman road leads to London. At Bramber, on the banks of the Adur, and overlooking the tidal lake, I cannot doubt was the seat of the Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum, stationed, as we know from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, at Portus Adurni, towards the end of the fourth century. To this once important town of Bramber, or to some important position near it, I look for the town of the princes of the Regni who preceded the Præpositus in the government of the district, and for the place from which this *iter* started.

At Cissbury, three miles west of Bramber, we have a remarkable earthen fort, with evidences of Roman and of earlier workmanship. It is an oval in form of plan, covering about sixty acres, its north side hanging over

¹¹ *Notitia Dignitatum*.

an almost inaccessible declivity, and in other parts having only two points of access. Its site is almost the highest point in this range of the South Downs, and so admirably is it placed for seaward observation, that from the central part of the area of the fort the white surf-line of the breaking sea upon the shore may be seen in clear weather, without interruption, from Selsey Bill to Beachey Head. It has two dependent camps in sight,—one to the southwest, on Highdown, four miles and a half distant; the other at Chanctonbury, two miles and a half distant due north; both of them admirable signal-stations. Highdown is an isolated mount, commanding the whole flat country between the South Downs and the sea. Chanctonbury, 780 feet above the sea, looks directly down upon Bramber, and over the whole breadth of the weald of the Regni, including in the view their northern town of Neomagus.

From Cissbury I conclude this *iter* starts. The first stage is to Clausento, xx. The road seems to have been across the hills and valleys to Glating Beacon, just above the Roman villa of Bignor. Here it falls into the Roman Stane Street, which leads directly into Chichester at the exact distance of twenty miles. Chichester, therefore, was Clausento, and was one of the Roman towns, as we have seen, upon the waters of Trisanton. The next stage is to Venta Belgarum, x. The name not only distinguishes it from other towns named Venta in the *Itinerary*, but seems to indicate the passage from the territory of one people, the Regni, to that of another, the Belgæ. Venta in the country of the Belgæ, we have already placed tentatively, from Ptolemy, at Havant, the middle town of the Trisanton water. The distance given in this *iter* really settles the question, for the accurate measure is a little over nine miles and a half from the crossing of the streets at the centres of the two towns. From Havant a Roman road goes due north through the Forest of Bere, by Rowland's Castle, near which "Roman remains" are marked on the Ordnance map; but what they are I do not know. That there was a road right through to London is pretty certain, though a great deal of it remains to be discovered and marked out. From

Venta to Londinium the journey is sixty-six miles, and this is the exact distance from Havant to London by a nearly straight route. The *iter* divides this distance into three stages, each of twenty-two miles. The first is Venta to Calleva Attrebatum xxii. Here we again pass from the Belgæ to another people, the Attrebates; that is to say, from Hampshire into Surrey. Strange to say, no commentator has noticed the difference in this name and the Calleva of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth *iters*. In those three cases it is simply Calleva; in this *iter* it has the distinction of another Calleva, viz., of the Attrebates. Unless this distinction is admitted, it is impossible to lay out these *iters*. The distance (twenty-two from Havant) brings us close to Haslemere in Surrey, which I believe to have been Calleva of the Attrebates, though the road passed somewhat to the west of it, just as a railway now-a-days leaves its towns a little aside. To the next place, Pontibus, is xxii, and it is the same distance from London. After testing the many places suggested for this station, for more than a quadrant of the circle round London, and for all degrees of the circle round other places to which it has been misconnected by antiquaries, and rejecting them all as incompatible with the distance, what was my surprise to find with twenty-two miles in the compasses both from Haslemere and from London, that one leg of the compasses fell upon the name Pointers on the inch-scale Ordnance Map, as if the name Pontibus were still preserved there. My meditated visit to the place has never yet been paid, nor have I ever been nearer to it than at Cobham in Surrey, from which it is about a mile and a half south-west. From Haslemere, the road (well known to be Roman) lies through Godalming and Guildford, and passes a full mile west of Pointers and Pointers' Green, along the hill from which, at Red Hill, a by-road goes off at right angles down to the river Mole, where Pointers and Pointers' Green stand. To the point where this branch-road goes off, the distance seems to fall exactly. The main road is here equidistant from the river Mole and the river Wey. Their proximity and their bridges

perhaps suggested the name Pontibus. Further on, about two miles, the road, after passing over Pain's Hill, crossed the river Mole itself, and so pursued its way, and fulfilled its correct distance of twenty-two to London. The place Pontibus, or Pontes, seems to have given name to the hundred in which it stands, viz., the hundred of Emley Bridge, written formerly Elmeley Bridge, and in *Domesday Book*, "Amelebrige."

ITER XIII.

AB ISCA CALLEVAM, CIX.

The first part of this *iter* is in Wales, which the limits of our subject will not allow us to discuss. It crosses the Severn at *Glevum* (Gloucester). The next stages are to DUROCORNIO, XIV, or in the Vatican MS., XVIII; SPINIS, XV; CALLEVA, XV. The sum of the items is short of the sum total given by ten miles.

The distance (xiv) from Gloucester to Durocornovio will not reach to Cirencester, to which this name is usually allocated, but only to North Cerney on the same river. To the latter place the late Mr. Black assigned it; and in rejecting Cirencester, he gave the opinion that the rich and extensive Roman town still to be seen there was not founded in the early days of the Roman dominion, when the Antonine survey was made. It occurs to me that the Corinium of Ptolemy, which it has been usually thought is the Durocornovio of this *iter*, is certainly a different place; and that these two names really give us Durocornovio for North Cerney, and Corinium for Cirencester; the latter, even when Ptolemy put it down as the principal town of the Dobuni, being a much more considerable place than its neighbour, although for some reason the Emperor Hadrian's route was directed to the smaller place of the two. But whether North Cerney or Cirencester be assumed, the distance (xv) to Spinis brings us into difficulties. The place called Speen, a little west of Newbury in Berkshire, was fixed upon by Camden for Spinis; and standing, as Speen

does, at the junction of two Roman roads, whilst also Spinis is the junction station of this and of the next *iter* to be quoted, the circumstances seem to justify Camden's choice. But then how are we to account for the distance xv, when the actual distance is, from Cerney to Speen, thirty-eight miles, or from Cirencester, thirty-six miles? I can only account for it by the suggestion that the name and distance of a place between Durocornovio and Spinis has from very early times been erroneously omitted altogether in the *Itinerary*. Perhaps even the omission was the error of the original scribe. If Spinis and Speen are correctly identified, this lost place was fifteen miles from it, in the direction of Cirencester. The point on the Roman road, at this distance, falls exactly at the Manor Farm on Wanborough Plain, about midway between the villages of Wanborough and Baydon. Here I suggest is the place whose name and distance from Durocornovio are altogether lost in the *Itinerary* copies.¹² The next *iter* also shows that Spinis was fifteen miles from Calleva. Calleva is also the starting-place of the fifteenth *iter*, which makes it still more important to establish its identification. I have already shown that this Calleva is to be distinguished from Calleva Atrebatum of the seventh *iter*. No name has had so many different identifications as Calleva. Camden thought it Wallingford; Henley, Farnham, Silchester, Oxford, and Reading, have had other advocates. But if Spinis be Speen, then the distance shows that Silchester, fifteen miles from it, is the only place which has a claim to the name. Silchester has long been known for its walls of Roman masonry with a circuit of near three miles; and by the labours of the Rev. Mr. Joyce of Strathfieldsaye, in recent years, our knowledge of its marks of Roman antiquity, has been greatly extended. As long ago as 1732 an inscription was dug up, which showed the people whose city it was in

¹² This suggestion, as printed in the *British Archæological Journal*, has brought to the author a valuable communication from Mr. William Chandler, of Aldbourne. He has long been persuaded, by the frequent discovery of Roman coins and pottery, that the adjoining farm, called North Farm, which he occupies, forms a part of the site of a Roman town. It is intersected by a road called The Portway, and has the suggestive names of Chestercomb and Popplechurch, adjoining.

Roman times to have been the Segontiaci. These people, nearly two hundred years before Hadrian's journey, appeared by an embassy before, and submitted to Julius Cæsar when he reached the furthest point of his second invasion. Their ambassadors were joined with those of their immediate neighbours, the Bibroci or people of Berroc, *i.e.*, Berkshire; also with those of the Cassii, *i.e.*, the people of Middlesex and of Cashiobury in Hertfordshire; with the Ancalites, probably a people of some part of Hampshire; besides the Icenii Magni, the neighbours, in another direction, of the Trinobantes, whose quarrels had brought Cæsar to Britain. Ptolemy does not distinguish the Segontiaci as a separate people in his time; and the probability is that, being of Gaulish descent, they had then come to be included in his mind with the Belgæ. Nor is their town named by him; yet Calleva, which seems to be the city of the Segontiaci, is named in three *iters* of Ptolemy's contemporary, Hadrian. Coins found in abundance at Silchester show that the place was known to the Romans from immediately after the invasion of Claudius. Probably its importance greatly increased under the Roman rule; and when Hadrian visited it, it was in comparatively humble condition. The name appearing three times in his *iters* as simply Calleva, may be thought a little singular; and it may be a matter for wonder why it was not distinguished as Calleva Segontiacorum, just as the other, Calleva Atrebatum, was distinguished by the name of its people.

But to sum up. It really seems, 1st, that by the mention of the Atrebates at the one Calleva, and not at the other in its three repetitions, the distinction was sufficiently marked; 2nd, that Silchester is the town of the Segontiaci, the inscription discovered in 1732 proves; and, therefore, if Calleva at all, it is Calleva Segontiaci; 3rd, that it is Calleva is proved by its distance of fifteen miles from Spinis or Speen repeated in two *iters*. I ought to add that the distance is not measured from the modern village of Speen, called Church Speen, but from the place called Stock Cross, near Wood Speen,

about a mile and a quarter west of Church Speen. The station *Spinis* lay, in fact, in the fork between the two junction-roads from *Aquæ Solis* and *Durocornovio*, a little before they united on their way to *Calleva*. How *Calleva* came to be so called by the Romans, whilst with the Britons it long retained, in the appellation *Caer Segont* (as it appears in *Nennius*), the name of its ancient people, and how finally it came to take the appellation of *Silchester*, are difficult questions which I am not competent to enter upon. Its latest appellation it seems to gain from its neighbourhood to the same source which gives to that hugest of English barrows near *Avebury* the name of *Silbury*, and to the great forest of *Wiltshire* the name of *Silwood*.

ITER XIV.

ALIO ITINERE AB ISCA CALLEVAM, CIII.

VENTA SILURUM, IX; ABONE, IX; TRAJECTUS, IX; AQUIS SOLIS, VI;
 VERLUCIONE, XV; CUNETIONE, XX; SPINIS, XV; CALLEVA, XV.

The total is here in error ten, and should be one hundred and thirteen. The subordinate distances are not open to any question of variation in different copies, yet their discrepancy in the total raises the question whether there is not some error of ten in one of the items.

From *Isca Silurum*, or *Caerleon*, to *Venta Silurum*, or *Caerwent*, is almost nine miles; thence by the *Via Julia* to *Crick*, and turn off to the *Severn* by *Portskewet*, and to the Roman camp on the shore at *Southbrook Chapel*, near to *Portskewet Pill*; cross the *Severn* to the promontory at the *Chessel Pill*; thence by *Pilning Street* to *Awkley Farm*, and so through *Almondsbury* to the Roman *Ridgeway* at *Almondsbury Hill*, and a little beyond the *Hill* the distance is nine miles, leaving out the water-passage. To the right of the road is the fine ancient encampment of *Knole Park*, which was probably the fort of ancient *Abone*, the place itself being only a small station on the road. The way to *Aquæ Solis* con-

tinues by Wood Green and Trench Lane, and is not further distinguishable on the map; but the distance, Trajectus IX, reaches to a camp on the river Boyd, one mile south of the village of Abstone. To Aquis Solis, VI, brings us exactly to Bath.

I have passed rapidly through the route up to this station, as the places previous to Aquis Solis are not within the limits of the present discussion. From Aquis Solis to Spinis the present existence of a direct Roman road has led to the supposition that this direct route must be followed, although it brings us into a difficulty exactly the reverse of that encountered in the last *iter*. There the perplexity was that the distances given fell considerably short of Speen. In this *iter*, if the direct route from Aquis Solis is followed, the distances are in excess, which plainly indicates that a circuitous and not a direct route was chosen. The two names, Verlucione and Cunetione, given between Bath and Speen, like Derventione in another *iter*, seem to be places deriving their appellations from rivers. Just as Derventione is named from the Derwent, and Cunetione in all probability from the Kennet, so Verlucione may have been derived from a stream having the first part of that name, Verlet or Verlut-ione. Bishop Gibson finds a stream near to Westbury, in Wiltshire, called the Ware, which induced him to fix on Westbury for Verlucione, thinking that river to preserve in its name the first syllable of the old word. Camden preferred the neighbouring town of Warminster, evidently also led by the first syllable of that name, although not mentioning the river Ware. Until the river of Verlut-ione is satisfactorily identified, which I am not able to do, it is probably not possible to identify the place itself, because there is little to show whether the route bent to the north or to the south of the direct road between Bath and Speen. If to the north, then it probably went by the old British road, the Fosseway, about to Chippenham, and then turned towards Speen by the road through Calne, uniting with the direct road near Silbury Hill; but Chippenham stands on the river Avon, and I can scarcely think if that river had

once taken a more distinctive name that the older generic word Avon would now attach to it. If this makes it probable that the route went to the south-east on quitting Bath, then the distances bring us to the neighbourhood of Edgington and Coulston, on the north verge of Salisbury Plain, where only some small springs take their rise. At Edgington and the neighbouring village of Bratton, or rather on the lofty crests of the hills above, there are important earthworks; and this point, if it be Verlu-cione, would be the only one by which the Emperor Hadrian visited the remarkable country which we call Salisbury Plain. From hence the route would lay through Devizes, joining the direct road to Speen, also near Silbury Hill. This great direct road, which was certainly a British road before it was Roman, then passes on near to the great stone circle of Avebury, crosses the Kennet at Marlborough, and beyond that town the course of the river is nearly parallel to the road. At about two miles east of Marlborough, and somewhere within a mile of the Kennet, and on the verge of Saver-nake forest, the distance xv miles from Spinis places Cunet-ione. The place may have been a mere post station, and the town of Marlborough the growth of a later time, or as at Speen, where that place has for ages sunk into insignificance, extinguished by the growth of the now ancient but once new town of Newbury. The concluding town of this *iter*, Calleva, has been fully treated of as the concluding town of the preceding *iter*.

ITER XV.

A CALLEVA ISCA DUMNUNIORUM, CXXXVI,

VINDOMI, XV; VENTA BELGARUM, XXI; BRIGE, XI; SORBIODUNO, VIII;
VINDOCLADIA, XII; DURNOVARIA, IX; MORIDUNO, XXXVI; ISCA
DUMNUNIORUM, XV.

The discrepancy of the sum total with the items again perplexes us, the actual sum total being one hundred and twenty-seven. It is also suggested by Akerman that the name of the starting place, Calleva, is uncertain. This final route is perhaps the most interesting of all the *iters*, from the confirmation it gives to and receives from the

examination of Ptolemy; from its connection with the termination of the last two *iters*; from its union to the seventh *iter*, and from the fact that its identification differs at every station except the starting point from all previous attempts to map out the route.

Silchester was an important centre, upon which two of the routes already traced converged, but there still exist the lines of ancient roads which converged upon it from other places—viz., from Old Sarum and the country of the Durotriges beyond, from Winchester and Magnus Portus, from Londinium, and from the country north of the forest of Berroc. In the direction we have now to take at starting the traces of the road are lost. The distance to the first station, Vindomis xv, and to the second station, Venta Belgarum XXI, makes thirty-six miles, but the actual distance to Venta Belgarum or Havant, in a straight line, is between thirty-eight and thirty-nine miles. Nearly on this straight line and about sixteen from Silchester is the ancient town of Alton (Ald-ton or Old-town possibly), and this it seems probable was Vindomis. From it to Venta Belgarum or Havant the route lay through the forest of Andred. I cannot agree with those who insist that we must point out a Roman road wherever the *iter* leads us. It is highly probable that some of these early Roman roads were of but a temporary construction, and fell into oblivion during the subsequent two hundred and fifty years of the Roman occupation of the country. The discrepancy of three miles in the distance is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the measure being merely that of the by-road between the points where it touched the main roads out of Calleva and Venta. From Venta the route turns westward, and the first stage is Brige, XI, which distance falls almost exactly to the river at Titchfield, just north of Titchfield Abbey. Sorbioduno, VIII, is written VIII in one edition. The distance VIII brings it just to the estuary of the Itchen, opposite Southampton, but the line of road takes it in the direction of the Roman fortifications at Bittern, opposite the sister town of Northam. The abundant Roman remains found at Bittern leave no doubt of its Roman occupation, and

incline me to give the name Sorbioduno to Bittern rather than to Southampton. The next stage, Vindocladia XII, whether from Bittern or from Southampton, ends actually at the ancient city of Winchester. From Winchester to Durnovaria IX (with, however, the uncertainty imported by one edition, which gives the numeral XVI) brings us to the river Test at Romsey, to the flowing waters of which the name Durnovaria well applies. The next stage, to Moriduno, XXXVI, reaches exactly to the Dunium, Ridunum, or Wareham, on which from Ptolemy and others we have already said so much. From Wareham to Isca Dumnuniorum, XV, ends the route exactly at Dorchester, and confirms the identification suggested by the previous consideration of Ptolemy. If I am correct, this place was at one period, and most likely for a considerable time, the Roman capital of the south of Britain. Some importance of this kind gave to the district an early prosperity, and a teeming population, of which a curious evidence survives in the minuteness of the ancient subdivisions of Dorsetshire. The county is subdivided into fifty-six hundreds and liberties. The much larger county of Devon contains only thirty-two hundreds, indicating three thousand two hundred families, when Dorset indicates probably more than five thousand six hundred.

I have now completed, to the best of my ability, the task of applying the measurements of Ptolemy and the *Antonine Itinerary* in the Southern Counties. In such an attempt one student can hardly be successful. There is so much room for the application of local knowledge, and so much space for the criticism of authorities on the Roman antiquities of Britain, that if I can only hope to have gained the attention of those qualified to point out the correct conclusions, my purpose will be served.

I have designedly postponed to this place the complete consideration of one author, viz., *The Ravennas*. It would have inconveniently overloaded the argument to have introduced sooner the names of places which this author furnishes, but which neither Ptolemy nor Antoninus help us to identify; yet as *The Ravennas* affords the most copious list of ancient classical names

for English places, of any ancient author, and as they complete the evidence in existence of the Roman nomenclature of British geography, the list in full for the districts we have had under consideration cannot well be omitted. I think, too, that the author deserves more attention than he has hitherto received. I cannot pretend to enter into the question when he wrote, further than to remind my readers that the author quotes St. Paul, and speaks of the Saxons having formerly passed over from Antiqua Saxoniam, and occupied Britain, and that in describing the country he speaks of it in the past tense. The edition I have used is that published with the works of Pomponius Mela, published in 1696, ex *MS. Lugdunensi*. So far as I use it I quote the author literally, but I distinguish the places hereinbefore identified by printing them in capitals. The work is divided into five books, of which Book I is introductory; Book II describes Asia; Book III, Africa; Book IV, Europe; Book V, from which the extracts are made, describes the coasts of the Mediterranean and of other seas, and describes the islands of the seas. Concerning the places in Britain it begins and proceeds thus:

In qua Britannia plurimas fuisse legimus civitates et castra ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est, Giano, Eltabo, Elconio, Nemetotacio, TAMARIS, Durocoronavis, Pilais, Vernalis, Ardua, Ravenatione, Devionisso, Statio Deventia, Stene, Duriarno, UXELIS Verteoia, Melarnon, ISCA DUMNUMORUM,¹³ Termonin, Mostevia, Miledunum, Apaunaris, Masona, Alongium; item juxta suprascriptam civitatem SCADOMORUM est civitas quæ dicitur MORIDUNO, Alauna Silva, Omire, Tedertis, LONDINIS, Canca, Dolocindo, Clavinio, Morionio, Boluelanio, ALAUNA, Coloneas, Aranus, Anicetis, Moiezo, Ibernio, BINDOGLADIA, NOVIOMAGNO, Orma, VENTA BELGARUM, Armis, Ardaoneon, Ravimago, REGENTIUM, Leucomoga, CIMETZIONE, PUNTUOBICE.

There is no break in the list, although this, so far, seems intended for a survey from Cornwall to London, and into Kent and Sussex; and the next place named takes us into Wales, the list proceeding as follows:

VENTA SILURUM, Jupaniam, Metambala, Albinunno, ISCA AUGUSTA, Bannio, Brenna, Alabum, Cicutio, Magnis, Branogenium, Epocessa, Ypocessa, Macatonion, GLEBON COLONIA, Argistillum, Vertis, Salinis,

¹³ These are printed Melarnoni, Scadum Numorum.

CORINIUM DOBUNORUM, CALEBA ATTREBATIUM, Anderesio, Miba, Mutuan-
toris, LEMANIS, DUBRIS.

Here again seems to be the end of a series which stretches across the country from Caerleon to Dover, The list continues without a break :

DUOVERNO CANTIACORUM, RUTUPIS, DUROBRABIS, LONDINI, Tamese, Brinavis, Alauna, Utriconion Cornoninorum.

And so having arrived as far north as Staffordshire and Shropshire, continues into North Wales, returns to London (this time called "Londinium Augusta"), proceeds into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, and on to the line of Hadrian's Wall and Carlisle, and thence back to York, naming sixty-seven places from the last quoted. The author then announces the commencement of a fresh district, and proceeds to the line of the Wall and the countries north of it, naming eighty-two *civitates*, and five places which he calls *loca*. He concludes thus :

Currunt autem per ipsam Britanniam plurima flumina, ex quibus aliquanta nominare volumus, id est, Fraxula, Axium, Maina, Sarva, TAMARIS, Naurum, Abona, Isca, Tamion, Aventio, Leuca, Juctius, Leugosena, Coantia, Dorvatium, Antrum, Tinoa, Liar, Leuda, Vividin, Durohani, Alauna, Coguversuron, Durbris, LEMANA, Rovia, Ractomessa, Senua, Cimea, Velox.

This list of rivers is remarkable for its deficiencies. The Iscs, the Axes, and the Avons, are represented in it, but not so as to identify any particular river. Of the rivers of the southern counties only the Tamar and the Lympe are certainly in the list. Perhaps the Thames is named as the "Tamion": Alauna may be the one identified as the Wey; and "Durbis" is probably written for Dubris or Dover. "Rovia," as it occurs immediately after the Lympe, may mean the Rother, at the opposite extremity of Romney Marsh.

SOME ACCOUNT OF RICHARD ELDRIDGE, OF HORSHAM, BELLFOUNDER, AND NOTES UPON THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

BY ROBERT GARRAWAY RICE.

THE interesting paper upon "The Church Bells of Sussex," by Amherst Daniel Tyssen, Esq., in Vol. XVI. of the "Collections," created an interest in Church Bells and their Founders, extending far beyond the limits of our own Society, since which time many other counties have had their campanological antiquities duly investigated and published; consequently, any addition that can be made elucidating the history of our early bellfounders will, I think, be of interest to all archæologists, and more especially so to the members of the Sussex Society, when a founder who lived in that county is under notice, for I shall endeavour to prove, and I trust successfully, that Richard Eldridge was of Horsham, Sussex, in which town he for many years carried on the business of a bellfounder, in premises situated in the Normandy,¹ near the parish church of St. Mary, which he held from the churchwardens for the time being, at an annual rental of ten shillings, possibly long before that well-known family of founders was connected with the far-famed Chertsey establishment.²

¹ "The Normandy," a short lane leading from "the back lane" into the east end of the churchyard. I am not aware of any satisfactory derivation of the name. In it is an ancient well called "The Normandy Well," repairs to which occur in the churchwardens' accounts; it is also mentioned in the parish register.

² For an account of "The Eldridges," see "The Church Bells of Sussex," by Amherst Daniel Tyssen, Esq., in Vol. XVI. of the "Collections," p. 168. For the information of those who may not have Vol. XVI., and in order to show how precisely the entries in the Horsham Churchwardens' Accounts agree with Mr. Tyssen's narrative, I extract the following from his paper:—"At Chertsey the family of the Eldridges were bell-founders in the 17th century; and they had a large business in Sussex during the whole of this period; about 90 of their bells still remain in different churches throughout the county, from Hastings in the east to the extreme west. *Richard Eldridge* is the first founder of the family. His bells are dated from 1592 to 1623. They are generally inscribed, Our hope is in the Lord.

Having carefully gone through and copied a great part of the churchwardens' accounts of Horsham, which commence in 1610, and contain, as well as the material for this article, many other interesting matters, to which I hope to allude on some future occasion, but for the present purpose suffice it to say, that the income on the Dr. side of the accounts, at the disposal of the churchwardens, was derived from various sources, amongst which may be mentioned, For graves in the Church. Selling seats in the Church. A book of Landskot, &c., and the "Church Rents," which consisted of various small tenements and pieces of land, let at small sums per annum, and known by the names of Church Croft, Little Horsham, Church Garden, Dye House and Dye House Garden, Hurst's Barn, and Correction House, &c.; also two or three houses named after their then occupants, but besides the foregoing was a tenement called "the Bell House," let to Richard Eldridge, as the annexed items from the accounts for the year 1610 distinctly prove—³

It of Richerd Eldridge for the Bell Howse, the casting	
of a pare of Brasses	vj ^s viij ^d
It Eldridge oweth to the pish more	iiij ^s iiij ^d

From this it appears the annual rental of the bellhouse or foundry was 10s., and that Eldridge was a tenant of the churchwardens, and that on this occasion he paid his rent partly in work done.

R. E., and the date. But on a bell at Tillington, in 1622, his name occurs in full. We then find a *Bryan Eldridge*. A bell at Ifield in 1618 is the earliest date of a founder of this name, and 1661 is the latest. It is possible that there were two Bryans. There are more than 50 bells with this name, or the initials, in Sussex; and many in other counties, even as far off as Warwick."—viz., Kenilworth.

³ Upon a sheet, apparently belonging to this book of accounts, but now lying loose in the oldest register book, is written: "The rents belonging to the Church of Horsham," and amongst them is "Richard Eldridge for the Bell howse p ann then ended—x." Unfortunately this leaf is not dated, but it is written in the same hand as the earliest part of the account book, and is evidently anterior to 1618, for James Allen, gent., master of the Free School, who was buried 15 Octr. in that year, is entered as paying rent for Little Horsham.

Since writing this paper, I have had my attention called to an article by the late M. A. Lower, M.A., F.S.A., in Vol. XIX. of the Collections, "On some old Parochial Documents relating to Lindfield," where, amongst the extracts from the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1594, on page 36, are the annexed items, with Mr. Lower's remarks thereon, thus—

"Laid out for expences at Horsam, for ourselves and the	
weneman (waggoner) his s'vant, and his cattel	xiiij ^s iv ^d
P ^d to one to carrye the monye to horsham to the bell	
founder	xij ^d

This shows that bell-founding was then carried on at Horsham."

On the Cr. side of the accounts for the same year—

It to John Wright for laying in of the Brasses of the
4th bell and other work there xx^d

Eldridge's name does not occur on the Dr. side of the accounts for 1611, as paying rent, but by the Cr. side it appears he paid it, as on the previous occasion, in work, thus—

Item Richerd Eldridge owed to the ould wardens p^t of
his rent for there yeare. iij^s iiij^d
Item Received of him for his rent this yeare the Casting
of a pare of Brasses for the great Bell xj^s viij^d
So the sayd Richerd oweth the pish in mony xx^d
and for 1 lb of Brasse mettell.

The bellhouse is not mentioned again until 1616; but in the accounts for the previous year these items occur—

Imprimis layd out to William Dean and Helpers to new
trusse the great bell xij^d
Item paid to William Deane for mending the steeple iiij^{li}
Item paid to the Shingler for shingling the steeple x^{li}
It spent on them that put out the fires of the steeple xiiij^d
It spent vpon the shingler when they came to take the
work. viij^d
Item spent vpon helpers to pull vp and downe the bell viij^d
Item Layd out for Iron work about the bell, Steeple,
chimes and the howse in the Normandy xvij^s
It spent vpon the bell Fownder in coming to take the
bell vj^d

By the annexed entry from the parish register, it is evident that the repairs of the steeple, and subsequent recasting of the bell, were due to the church having been damaged by lightning—

1615, Augt 19 " Elizabeth Stroode a mayde y^t was killed wth
thunder at y^e belfery doore [added apparently by a different
hand] with lightening when the steple was Fired, Shee stand-
ing vnder the Belfrey Doore."

Continuing the accounts for 1615, I find that the bell-
house (*i.e.*, foundry) was in that year repaired or rebuilt,
and afterwards known as "The new bell house"—

It paid for taking downe of the bell and for drawing
of hir vp xxx^s
It paid for a horse hire to fetch the tackling ij^s
It paid to Christopher Dearling for lathes and walling
and mending of the howse in the Normandy for the
Bellfownder to work in xvj^s

It paid to William Parker for 2 loads of Earth . . .	xvj ^d
It paid to the Bellfounder in pt of payment toward the Casting of the great Bell	iiij ^{ll} iiij ^s ij ^d
It paid for timber for the new bell howse	xvii ^d

The receipts on the Dr. side of the accounts for 1616, supply the fact that the new bellhouse was built for no other than Richard Eldridge, thus—

It received of Richard Eldridge for a years rent of the new bell howse	x ^s
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Amongst the payments for the same year are the following—

Imprimis paid to Richard Eldridge the mony remayning due to him for casting of the great bell	xj ^{ll} x ^s
Item paid him for casting of a brasse for the 4 th bell	iiij ^s
Item paid to George Lullingstone for timber and mending of the Bellframe and for new stocking of three of the bells and other work about the Bells	iiij ^{ll} xvj ^s ix ^d
Item paid for fetching of weights and for Drawing of the bell to the pitt and from the pitt	iiij ^s
Item paid to Stephen Russell for Iron coales and workmanship and mending the gret bell clapper	v ^s vj ^d
Item paid to Thomas Tanner for timber and work to make a Jyne [<i>sic.</i>] to weigh the bell	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Item paid to Roger Wood for making a band [<i>i.e.</i> , bond] for the bell	vj ^d
Item paid for 1 hundred weight of mettell to put in the great bell	iiij ^{ll}
Item paid for careing ij ^l of mettell	vj ^s viij ^d
Item paid in earnist to George Marlen to stock and hang the great bell	xij ^d
Item paid to William Dean for 2 dayes worke with the bell hanger	iiij ^s
Item paid to Philip Ginden and Thomas Morgins for puting out of the fier in the steeple	x ^s
Item paid to Robert Honiwood for an Iron hooke to weigh the great bell	xij ^d

Besides the above the accounts for this year contain many minor entries respecting the hanging of the bells. Amongst the “areariges” (rents not paid) in the accounts for 1617 is the following entry—

Richard Eldridge for his rent	x ^s
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The accounts for 1618 contain the following important entry, which connects Bryan Eldridge, the successor of

Richard, with Horsham, and suggests the idea that, before he established himself at Chertsey, he was of Horsham—

Item received of Bryan Eldridge for 2 years rent for
the new bell Howse xx^s

The earliest dated bell bearing his name is curiously enough for this year, viz., 1618, at Ifield, Sussex. (See Note 2.)

At this date also appears the first notice of the bell-house garden (see Note 4), which for many years survived after the bellhouse had apparently been forgotten—

Item received more of Richard Nye gent for half a
yeares rent of a parte of the new bell howse garden
lett to him by us the Churchwardens beginning at the
feast of St Michael last past contayning in it [blank]
roods of ground ij^s

The payments for this year contain the following—

Item paid to Richard Whitt for mendinge of the great
bell clapper xiiij^s vj^d
Item layd out to men to help beate the Clapper xij^d

The accounts for 1619 shew us that Richard Eldridge was again behind with his rent.

Areareges—Richard Eldridg, for the new bell Howse x^s

His being so frequently behind with the rent suggests anything but a prosperous state of the bellfounding business, but, to be charitable, we may conclude the place was in bad repair, and that Richard was backward for that reason, for, by the same accounts it appears that the new bellhouse was extensively repaired in that year—

Item paid for timber and stone for the new bell howse xxx^s
Item paid for Lime and Mull [Marl] iij^s vj^d
Item paid to Thomas Clarke for nayles and a dogg of
Iron for the same howse iij^s vj^d
Item paid for 3 ridge tilles iiij^d
Item paid to William Deane for his work about the new
bell howse x^s
Item paid to Henry Salter for his work about the new
bell howse x^s
Item paid to Richard Mitchell for his work about the
Church and the new bell howse ix^s

Judging by results, the repairs seem to have given

satisfaction, for the two years' rent, less one shilling, appear as paid in the accounts for 1620, thus—

Item received of Richard Eldridge for 2 yeares rent for
the new bell howse xix^s

On the Cr. side of the accounts is the following—

Item paid to Richard Eldridge for casting of 3 payer of
Brasses and for more mettell to put to them . . . xxix^s 8^d
Item paid to William Deane and his man for 2 dayes
work taking out of the bell brasses and laying of them
in againe v^s
Item paid to William Streate Carpenter for his Journie
and his Charges to take the worke about the bells . v^s vj^d
Item paid to Hamlet Borer for carreing of a load of
Timber to mend the bells iiij^s vj^d
Item payed to William Streate Carpenter in pte of pay-
ment for his work about the bells x^s
Item paid him more for his work in pt xxx^s

It is probable that William Streate was a professed bell-hanger; evidently he was not a Horsham man, as he came a journey to take the work. It would be interesting to discover his having hung bells in other parts of the county.

In the accounts for 1621—

Item received of Richard Eldridge for one yeares rent
of the new Bellhowse eanded at the Anounciation last
past x^s

Under payments for the same year—

Item paid to Richard Eldridge in p^t of payment for
the casting of the fourth bell according to his bar-
gain as appeereth by a noate iiij^{ll}
Item layd out to William Streate for comming and tak-
ing downe the 4th bell and for hanging of hir vp againe
and to John Mulford for his help and his Tackling . xv^s iiij^d
Item payd for sending one for William Streate xij^d
Item layd out and spent vpon Helpers to take downe the
bell and drawing of the bell to the Pitt and from
the pitt and for pulling of the bell vp againe xij^s vj^d
Item payd for 18 new hoops for the new bell wheels . . xvij^d

The accounts for 1622 contain the last entry of Richard Eldridge as a tenant of the churchwardens, his rent being apparently then in arrears—

Richard Eldridge for the new bell howse his rent x^s

On the Cr. side of the accounts is the following—

Item paid to Richard Eldridge toward the casting of the Fowth bell	x ^{li} x ^s
Item paid to John Mulford and helpers and for his tackling and new waying of the 4 th bell	xj ^s
Item paid for sending of the beame to Warnham for-raise	iiij ^d

I take the beam here mentioned to be one belonging to the smelting works at Warnham, and borrowed by the Churchwardens for the purpose of weighing the bell. (See also an entry in 1645.)

It is an important and interesting fact that the period up to which bells cast by Richard Eldridge are found, is 1623 (Note 2), being the same year that he disappears from Horsham, and it seems highly probable that it was at that time, or two or three years before, that Bryan Eldridge, the successor of Richard, established, or took to the Chertsey foundry, influenced possibly in choosing that locality on account of the facilities for the transit of heavy weights afforded by the proximity of the River Thames.

Whether Richard died in 1623 I am unable to say, and although I have searched the Horsham Parish Registers contemporaneous with the entries in the Churchwardens' accounts, I have failed to find any trace of him or his family.

I have also searched the calendars of wills and administrations in the P. C. C., (Somerset House), for this period, but without success; therefore it is probable if Richard Eldridge made a will that it was proved at Chichester.

It would be interesting to discover the precise locality of the bellhouse in the town of Horsham. It was evidently in the Normandy, as appears by the accounts for 1615, the assigning it to that place being also supported by the following facts. After Eldridge's tenure of the bellhouse had expired, it is not even mentioned again in the accounts, but "the bell house garden" is let to various tenants up to the year 1651, but in the accounts for 1623 and 4, it is described as "the Almes howse garden."⁴

⁴ The tenants of the bellhouse garden, whose names appear in the accounts, are Richard Nye, Gent., 1618 to 28. William Burridge, 1628 to 38. Apparently Mr. Robinson for 1639. Mr. Sefton, 1639 to 43. Mr. Smyth, 1643 to 45. After this date it is only mentioned once, viz., in the accounts for 1651, thus:—"Of Mr Nisbet for Little horsham & pt. of the bell house garden vij^s."

Thomas Robinson, Gent., and John Nisbet, Gent., were both masters of the Free

The following entry in the accounts for 1624 gives the locality of the Almshouses :—

Item paid to Johnu Vugley for 3 dayes worke in the Almes-
houses in the Normandye iiij^s

No trace of either the bellhouse or garden can now, as far as I have been able to ascertain, be found, the name not even being known, nor could I find it mentioned in any of the parish books after the middle of the 17th century.⁵

School, as appears by entries in the parish registers. The school house is situated to the south of the church yard, and near to the Normandy.

In the accounts for 1635, is this entry :—“ Of Robert Plasted for bell house Close, 2^s 8^d.”

⁵ In the churchwardens' accounts of the neighbouring parish of Slinfold, which commence in 1580, are recorded the expenses attending the recasting four of the church bells, three of them being sent to Horsham for that purpose, the first being in 1593, the other one to Whitechapel in 1606.

As this instance of the bells being taken to Horsham, and the relative expense of sending a bell to London, or employing the local founder, are particularly interesting, I give them *in extenso*.

I am indebted to the Rev. Gibbs Payne Crawford, of Slinfold, for very kindly giving me every facility for examining the parochial records under his care.

In the accounts for 1593, taken 7 April, 1594—

Item for takyng down the belles xvij^d
Item for hanging vp the belles xvj^d
Item the carridg of or bells to horsham iiij^s iiij^d
Item o^r charges ij dayes at horsham about the belles iiij^s

“ M^d that the aforesayd Reynold Gylbert & John Staplerst churchwardens did in the sayd yer 1593, cast the gret bell and the Lytle bell wch charg vnto the belfounder for castyng & mettel, ran vnto nyne poundes besydes theyr charges in carryng and recarryng & hangyng vp the sayd belles in the Steple of Slynfold aforesayd ”

And to the Belfounder vj^{li}

In the accounts for 1594. taken 22 April, 1595—

Wherof payd to Raynold gylbert money that was behynd, Dew
to the Belfounder iiij^{li} iiij^d

“ And the sayd Edward Lewer churchwarden by and wth the consent of Diuse pishionrs present in the church haue sold vnto M^r Thomas Churchar one chest bound wth yron at the Pice of x^s and one old coffer vnto M^r Mvstyan pson at xx^d this money is to be payd vnto Reynold gylbert in pt of paymet for arrearages of xxj^s v^d wch the pish owed hym in that yer yt the seyde Reynold was churchwarden

M^d that the seyde Reynold gylbert hath receyved this 22 of Aprill all demaunds whatsoen hath ben dew, as well for arrearages wherin the Pish were behind vnto him for his charges, as also the whole sum of money dew vnto the belfounder heretofor, whereof the pishioners are acqyted and discharged at this Psent day of accompt^r in the pnce of vs. The Churchar [and others]

In the accounts for 1605—

Item vnto the Belfounder for casting the brasse of the gret
bell iiij^s vj^d

In the accounts for 1606—

1606 layd out by the foresayd Churchwardens for the charge of castyng the gret bell as followeth.

Item for taking down the bell & waying her xij^d
It to John Hayton to deale wth the belfounder xij^d

Mr. Daniel Tyssen comments upon the great number of bells cast by the Eldridges, now remaining in the county of Sussex, there being about 90, fifty of which bear the name or initials of Bryan Eldridge. This is, I think, easily accounted for, considering that Richard Eldridge who, as far as we know, was the first founder of that name, was a Sussex man, and that his successor, Bryan, if not a Sussex founder, was certainly connected with the Horsham establishment. It is probable that the Sussex connection or good-will belonging to the Horsham business, would be transferred with the Eldridges to Chertsey.

The personal history of the Eldridges as derived from this old account book, being so involved in the history of

Itē iij of vs went to carry the bell w th a Cart & iij horses the charge was as followeth	
It vpon tuesday the fyrst day bayting at Darking & lodging at Svttōn yt night	v ^s v ^d
It at london the wensday o ^r charge dynner & supper	ij ^s ix ^d
It to the Carman for caridg of the bell from southwork vnto whitechappell	xv ^d
Item o ^r Dynner & supp vpon Thursday	ij ^s vj ^d
Itē at london on fryday homewerd, & at Daryng	ij ^s ij ^d
Itē on charges for o ^r horses all this tyme we were out	iiij ^s
Item vnto Synger for the hyer of his ij horses & himself 4 dayes	vj ^s
Item vnto Anthony haler for his horse 4 dayes	ij ^s
Itē vnto Wyll ^m Martyn for his horse 4 dayes	ij ^s
O ^r Charges in bringing home the Bell	
Item on wensday the fyrst day being the fyrst day o ^r travell myself & Synger to london in expences	iiij ^s ij ^d
It expences on thursday at londo	xij ^d
It o ^r horsemeat, for 4 horses one night at London	ij ^s
It o ^r expences at Daryng, homeward ther lying all night	xxj ^d
It the horsmeat yt night	xvj ^d
Itē vnto Synger the hire of his horses 3 days	iiij ^s vj ^d
Item vnto John hobbs for trussing vp the bell into the steple 4 dayes	iiij ^s
Item payd the Belfounder for casting the Bell and for iij qters of an hundred of mettell was put in	vij ^{li} xvj ^s

In the accounts for 1611—

For castyng the grete Bell

Imprimis for carrying the bell vnto Horsham	ij ^s j ^d
It the Castyng of the seyde Bell	xliij ^s viij ^d
It for carrying the Bell fro Horsham	ij ^s ij ^d
It stocking the Bell	ij ^s
It for makyng of the bond that the Belfounder was bound to	vj ^d

In the accounts for 1618—

It for taking down y ^e Bell	viiij ^d
It for Carrying y ^e Bell to Horsha & bringing it home from thence	v ^s
It for fetching y ^e beame to waigh y ^e Bell	ij ^d
It to y ^e Bellfounder for Casting y ^e Bell	iiij ^{li}
It to him for 63 ^l of mettell put in y ^e Bell	iiij ^{li} iiij ^s
It for stocking of y ^e Bell	iiij ^s vj ^d
It for o ^r Charges at Horsha 2 dayes	vj ^s x ^d

the Church Bells of Horsham, I considered it better to embody them in one paper, the following extracts from the accounts, &c., bearing mainly upon the latter part of my subject.

It may not be out of place to remark that I have not copied minor matters, such as simple repairs to the wheels and frames of the bells, &c., but only the entries likely to be of general interest.

In the accounts for 1627—

Ite paid to Richard Clarke for making of a Gudgen for the greate bell	ij ^s iij ^d
Ite for new trussing y ^e great bell and laying the gudgen	ij ^s
Ite payd for Beere for helpers to take vp the bell and to let her downe	xij ^d

In the accounts for 1628—

Ite paid to the Ringers when the Judges came in	ij ^s vj ^d
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In the accounts for 1633—

Impr ^s paid to Bryan Eldridge the Bellfounder for casting the great Bell and for mettall added to her for wee agreed with the said Bellfounder at 12 ^s y ^e hundred for casting and 5 ^l 12 ^s a hundred for the Mettall added to her. The said great bell before she was cast weighing five and twentie hundreds and a quarter and now weighing twentie seaven hundredes and 3 qte ^{rs} as neere as could be ghessed	xxiiij ^l js
Itm paid to William Lintott for carrying the bell to and from Chersey and his charges there	ij ^l xv ^s iij ^d
To y ^e Bellhangers for taking Downe the Bell; hanging her vp and theire other worke about the rest of the Bells for their Coming, horse hire to bring their Pullies and tooles and their helpers at divers times about the loading, weighing, and hanging the said bell	ij ^l
Our Charges for o selves and o ^r horses at Chersey, to see the bell cast, and weighed being 4 of vs and 3 Daies out	i ^l ix ^s vj ^d
For a bond from the Bellfounder to the Churchwardens, for y ^e warrant of the bell.	j ^s
For a piece of Timber to make a beame, to weigh the bell, for making and carrying the same, for other timber and paile and raile to mend the Churchyard fences for bringing downe the same and Workmanship	x ^s
To Richard Clerke for his worke and yron for the beame to weigh the bell, as about all the bells theire Clappers and other furnitures as also about the Clock and Chimes	j vj ^s viij ^d

Allowed the Clarke toward his ropes being broken in
 letting downe the bell iij^s iiij^d

In the accounts for 1637—

Paid to James Mulford and Thomas Tanner for hanging
 of the great bell v^s ij^d
 To Richard Clarke for a gudgeon for the great bell and
 other necessaries as keyes and wedges for y^e same . vj^s

In the accounts for 1645—

Received for 8 pound of bell mettle hewed from the bell viij^s
 Of the Batchellors of the pish toward the Casting the
 bell j^l xvij^s vij^d
 Paid to John Burstow for the gin to waie the bell and
 for bringing him to the church vij^s vj^d
 Paid to Evens Prise for fetching and Careing the ffor-
 nace Beame and waites seuerall times j^s xj^d
 Paid the helpers when the bell was taken downe ij^s vj^d
 Paid to Mr. Thomas Sheppard for making the bonds for
 the security for the bell xvij^d
 Paid for helping loade the bell ij^s
 l'aid for James Mulford for taking downe the bell &
 hanging vp xxx^s
 Paid to Ludley for timber & posts & bord to repaier y^e
 normandy well ix^s iiij^d
 Paid to John Rowland fore Careing the bell to Chersey
 & back againe ij^l x^s
 Paid for o^r expences for our horse meate Goinge to
 Chersey and to the bellfounders helpers there j^l xvij^s vj^d
 Paid to the bell Founder for his work, and for 3 hundred
 and 3 quarters of Mettle put into her more, the bell
 waing 32 hundred xxxiiij^l viij^s
 Paid to William Wheeler for mending the greate bell
 Clapper x^s

In the accounts for 1652—

Imprimis paid to Bryan Eldridge for Casting y^e 3a bell x^l
 It paid to him for Mettle to put in the bell ii^l 15^s 0^d
 It for o^r Journey to Chersey and o^r expences j^l 2^s 4^d
 It paid for Smiths worke about the Belles ij^l ij^s 4^d
 It paid to William Brigs for taking doune the bell and
 hanging vp j^l xv^s
 It paid for the hier of 2 horses for o^r Journey to Chersey 9^s
 It for expences vppon the Bellfounder & the helpers in
 hanging vp the Bell vj^s iiij^d
 It to Robert Tylor for Careing the bell to Chersey ij^l iiij^d
 It pd for worke about the Chimes and Belles j^l iiij^s vj^d

In the accounts for 1660—

Laid out in expences when we bargained for y^e bellframe 00 05 00

In the accounts for 1675 and 6—

It pd for Beere for workemen about y ^e 4 th Bell	00 00 10
It pd Tho: Forman & his man for helping about y ^e 4 th Bell	00 03 00

In the accounts for 1679—

P ^d to Goodman Jenne for a Cable for the Chimes, and a sett of Ropes for the Bells	3 00 0
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In the accounts for 1700—

P ^d The Ringers when the King Came Home	00 10 0
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In the accounts for 1703—

P ^d For Hors Hire and Expences when we went To agree	
Abought y ^e bell	01 02 00
P ^d for beear when we tooke bell out of y ^e Steepell	00 06 06
P ^d for y ^e bond and Expences when borrowed y ^e money	
To Pay for y ^e bell	03 04 00
Spent when sett y ^e bell Home	00 14 01 $\frac{1}{2}$
P ^d for Stamp Paper	00 01 01
Payd for Hors Hire and Spent on y ^e Road	00 06 10
Spent all of us upon business	00 05 04
Spent upon bread and beear when Hung up y ^e bell	00 07 00
Payd For The use money for 40 Pounds	01 10 00
Payd for beear when vnloaded y ^e bell	00 04 00

In the accounts for 1717 and 18—

Sept 29 Spent at y ^e Agreement about The bell	0 18 0
Spent at Signeing the Articles about The bell and at	
Severall outhier Times	0 18 0
June 9 a ringing day to Well Come the Bishop	0 10 0
The Bell Founder	60 18 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
P ^d for drawing y ^e Articles for Casting y ^e bell	0 2 6

There is a gap in the accounts from 1720 to 1760, but I have found a few notes about the bells during those years in the book of Vestry Minutes, which commences in 1734, and terminates in 1814, as follows:—

- 1748 May 1 "At a Vestry held it is agreed That the great Bell shou'd be put in order.—The Iron Work to be done Per. R Clark and to be valued after it is finisht.—The Brasses to be Cast by W. Butterly & val^d, the Stock to be made by T. Hood & valu'd & the Clapper to be Bowld"
- 1751 June 16 "At a Vestry held it is agreed, That the Great Bell should be immediately taken down and sent to London to be new Cast by Tho^s Lester Bellfounder in White Chapple London"

- 1752 March 8 "At a Vestry this Day held It was agreed That the remaining 5 Bells should be taken down and sent away with all convenient Speed to Tho^s Lester at his Foundry in Whitechapple London in order (with the Tenor which has been sent some time agoe) to be cast into 8 Bells according to Articles which are to be enter'd into, By the Churchwardens with the said Tho^s Lester."⁶
- 1794 May 4 "At a Vestry this day held It is ordered that the Gudgeon and Brasses of the Great Bell, and the Cannon of the 2nd Bell be forthwith repaired under the direction of Mr Tho^s Lintott Chief Ringer, who has undertaken that the expenses shall not exceed Two Pounds Twelve Shillings and Sixpence."
- 1796 Oct^r 2nd "It appearing to us who are in public Vestry assembled that the Gogeons and Brasses of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Bells are very much out of repair, ordered that the same be forthwith repaired in a substantial manner under the direction of Mr Tho^s Lintott."
- 1815 June 7 "Resolved, That Mr Thomas Mears of Whitechapel London Bell Founder be employed by the Churchwardens to recast the 2nd and 7th Bells and that the Vestry Clerk request him by Letter to send an Estimate of the Expence of the same and of taking down and replacing them including Carriage to and from London."

The following entries are from the Churchwardens' accounts:—

1796—By a Bill to Edw ^d Simmonds for repairing the Bells	£	s.	d.
„ „ by Order of Vestry 2 Oct ^r 96		20	0 2
„ „ By a Bill to Chas Oakes for repairing the Clappers of the Bells &c		2	3 6
1815 to 1816 By a Bill paid "Thomas Mears"		65	13 8
1818 Dec—Paid H. Weller tolling Bell for the Queen			5
1827 Feb 2 Paid Sexton, Tolling Knell on the Death of the Duke of York			5
1837—The Ringers at King's funeral			15
1837 to 1839. "New Tenor Bell"			
Tho ^s Mears recasting &c 8 th Bell		45	15
John Ridge (on Acc ^t) hanging D ^o &c (being 1 moiety of his Claim for Work Done)		7	10
James Lloyd Carriage of Bell to and from London		5	7
1838 The Ringers on Queen's Coronation		2	0 0
1840 May 3 The Ringers on laying 1 st stone of the new Church			15 0
„ „ June 18 James Ridge, balance of Acc ^t for hanging new Tenor Bell &c		4	10 0
1841 The Ringers on birth of Princess Royal		1	0 0
1842 The Ringers on Christening of Prince of Wales		1	0 0

⁶ For the inscriptions on the present bells, see "Church Bells of Sussex," Vol. XVI. of the Collections, p. 213.

In the belfry affixed to the wall still remains (1878) a painted board, somewhat dilapidated, bearing the following inscription :—

Friday April 11, 1766. Was rung by the Horsham society 5040 Grandsire Tripples this Being the first Ever Rung in this Steeple, Performed in three Hours And Eight Minutes in order as Follows. Viz.

Harry Weller . . .	Treble
Tho ^s Lintott . . .	2
Will ^m Tylor . . .	3
John Foreman . . .	4
Antho ^y Lintott . . .	5
John Morth . . .	6
Tho ^s Bristow . . .	7
Tho ^s Aldridge . . .	Tenor
Cal ^d . by. T. Bristow.	

In conclusion, I have examined all that I could find of the (local) parochial records of Horsham, likely to throw any light upon Richard Eldridge as a bellfounder of that town, of the bells that he cast for the parish church, and those supplied by other founders in later times; and should any readers of this paper discover any document containing evidence connecting the Eldridges with Horsham, I trust they will communicate with the Editor, that it may find a resting-place in the Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society.

My sincere thanks are due to the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Vicar of Horsham, to the Churchwardens, Messrs. R. Hunt, W. Weller, and R. Aldridge, also to Mr. Randel, parish clerk, for the many facilities afforded me during my examination of the parish books.

As a postscript I give the inscription from the clock bell at the Town Hall, not printed with the "Church Bells of Sussex."⁷

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK PRESENTED THE NEW TOWN HALL
CLOCK,

ANNO DOMINI. 1820, R. H. HURST ESQ^{RE} AND J. TORNE
BAILIFFS : D. STEDMAN GENT, TOWN CLERK : SIR JOHN AUBREY, BART,
AND ROBERT HURST ESQ^{RE}, MEMBERS OF THE BOROUGH.

WHOSE PRAISE AND FAME I'LL SPEAK AND TELL AS LONG AS I REMAIN
A BELL.

AND AFTER DEATH I HOPE AND TRUST, THEY'L ALL BE NUMBERED
WITH THE JUST.

⁷ This inscription kindly copied and sent to me by J. L. Andrè, Esq.

A RETURN OF THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE COUNTY AND BOROUGHES OF SUSSEX.

BY ALAN H. STENNING, Esq.

(Continued from Vol. XXX. S.A.C., p. 189.)

43 Edw. III. (1369).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 3 June, 1369.

Andreas Sakevyle	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Waleys	}	
Thomas atte Syndre	}	Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Goldsmyth'	}	
Johannes Wynn	}	Chichester City.
Rogerus Chey [ne]	}	
Thomas Eston'	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Galfridus Cook	}	
Walterus Randek[yn]	}	Horsham Borough.
Robertus Fren [ssh]	}	
Robertus de York	}	Lewes Borough.
Jacobus Ferrour	}	
Johannes Chepman	}	Seaford Borough.
Adam Amberays	}	
Ricardus Combe	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Barbour	}	

45 Edw. III. (1370-1).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 24 February,
1370-1.

¹ Johannes Waleys	}	Sussex County.
¹ Johannes de Sancto Claro	}	

¹ Supplied from the Writ de Expensis.

45 Edw. III. (1371).

Summoned to meet at Winchester, 8 June, 1371.

The Sheriffs are directed to send certain specified Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, who were at the last Parliament. Names supplied from the Writ de Ex-pensis.

Johannes Waleys ...	...	Sussex County.
Johannes Cosham ...	...	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Wyn ...	...	Chichester City.
Gregorius atte Hole	...	East Grinstead Borough.
Robertus Frenssh'	...	Horsham Borough.
Henricus Werkeman	...	Lewes Borough.
Henricus Exton' ...	...	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Chepman	...	Seaford Borough.
Willielmus Snellyng	...	Shoreham Borough.

CINQUE PORTS.

Nicholaus Parker ...	...	Hastings.
Willielmus Taillour	...	Rye.
Robertus Baddyng'	...	Winchelsea.

46 Edw. III. (1372).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 13 October, and by Prorogation, 3 November, 1372.

Andreas Peverel	}	Sussex County.
Robertus Halsham		
Johannes Cosham	}	Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Goldsmyth'		
Willielmus Cheyne	}	Chichester City.
Ricardus Wyldene		
Galfridus Cook	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Gregorius atte Hole		
Robertus Frensch'	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Glovere		
Jacobus Ferour	}	Lewes Borough.
Thomas Norays		
Robertus Inkele	}	Midhurst Borough.
Ricardus Hobekyn		
Willielmus Snellyng.	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Barbour		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Knolle	}	Hastings.
Nicholaus Parker		
Thomas Taillour	}	Rye.
Johannes Salerne		
Robertus Londoneys	}	Winchelsea.
Thomas Sibbe		

47 Edw. III. (1373).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 21 November, 1373.

Johannes Seyntcleer	}	Sussex County.
Robertus Marcaunt		
Ricardus Golsmyth'	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Hereward		
Johannes Wyn	}	Chichester City.
Robertus Blundel		
Ricardus Mayheu	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Danyel		
Robertus Frensh'	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Glover		
Robertus de York'	}	Lewes Borough.
Stephanus Holte		
Willielmus Taillour	}	Shoreham Borough.
Radulphus Frere		

CINQUE PORTS.

Willielmus Haylman	}	Hastings.
Nicholaus Parker		
Thomas Taillour	}	Rye.
Johannes Salerne		
Robertus Harry	}	Winchelsea.
Gervasius Loveron'		

50 Edw. III. (1375-6).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 12 February, 1375-6, and by Prorogation, 28 April, 1376.

Willielmus Fifhyde ²	}	Sussex County.
Robertus de Ore ²		

² Names supplied from the Writ de Expensis.

51 Edw. III. (1376-7).

Summomed to meet at Westminster, 27 January, 1376-7.

John Seynteler, miles	}	Sussex County.
Rogerus Dalyngrugge ³		
Johannes Cosham	}	Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Colton'		
Rogerus Cheyne	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Daubene		
Johannes Wantele	}	Horsham Borough.
Walterus Randekyn		
Willielmus Spycer	}	Lewes Borough.
Jacobus Ferour		
Willielmus Tailour	}	Shoreham Borough.
Radulphus Frere		
Johannes..... ⁴	}	? Borough.
..... ⁴		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Cleve	}	Hastings.
Willielmus Hailmann		
Laurencius Carboill'	}	Rye.
Stephanus Elyot		
Robertus Baddyng	}	Winchelsea.
Robertus Arnold		

1 Ric. II. (1377).

Summomed to meet at Westminster, 13 October, 1377.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Nicholaus Wilcombe ⁵		
Ricardus Colton'	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Warnecamp'		
Walterus Ovyng'	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Sherere		
..... ⁶	}	Horsham Borough.
..... ⁶		

³ Loco militis.⁴ Return illegible.⁵ Loco militis.⁶ Return illegible.

Ricardus Bernard'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Barbour		
Johannes atte Hull	}	Steyning Borough.
Johannes Westdene		

2 Ric. II. (1378).

Summoned to meet at Gloucester, 20 October, 1378.

Edmundus fitzHerberd	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Cobham ⁷		
Ricardus Goldsmyth'	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Polyng'		
Johannes Foghel	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Gates		
Ricardus Hygon	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Woghere		
Rogerus Wyldegos	}	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Jewdry		
Jacobus Ferour	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Shereve		
Michael Horne	}	Midhurst Borough.
Henricus Extone		
Johannes Barbour	}	Shoreham Borough.
Willielmus Taillo [ur]		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Salerne	}	Hastings.
Robertus Rochell'		
Stephanus Eliot	}	Rye.
Johannes atte Wode		
Willielmus Skele	}	Winchelsea.
Rogerus de Doverr'		

2 Ric. II. (1379).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 24 April, 1379.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Edwardus Dalyngrugg'		

⁷ Loco militis.

Johannes Hebbe	}	Chichester City.
Willielmus Boxgrove		

These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis in the absence of Original Returns.

3 Ric. II. (1379-80).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 16 January, 1379-80.

Edwardus Dalyngregge	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus de Percy		
Johannes Warnecamp'	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Cosham		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Adam Deghere		
..... ⁸	}	East Grinstead Borough.
..... ⁸		
Rogerus Hynikere	}	Horsham Borough.
Ricardus Condenne		
Robertus de York'	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Peyntour		
Thomas Todeman ⁹	}	Midhurst Borough.
Michael Horn ⁹		
Johannes Barbour	}	Shoreham Borough.
Gregorius Fromond'		

4 Ric. II. (1380).

Summoned to meet at Northampton, 5 November, 1380.

Edwardus Dalyngrugge	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Waleys		
Rogerus Cheyne	}	Chichester Borough.
Johannes atte Mulle		

These names are supplied from the Writs de Expensis in the absence of Original Returns.

⁸ Names torn off.

⁹ Supplied from the Writ de Expensis.

5 Ric. II. (1381).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 16 September, 1381, and by Prorogation, 3 November, 1381.

Edmundus Fitz Herberd Edwardus Dalyngrugg'	}	Sussex County.
Ricardus Wodelond' Thomas Spycer	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Sengelton' Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Johannes atte Sloghtre Johannes Farlegh'	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Rogerus Wildegos Willielmus Rydelare	}	Horsham Borough.
Henricus Werkman Robertus Norton	}	Lewes Borough.
Ricardus Bernard' Simon Benefelde	}	Shoreham Borough.

CINQUE PORTS.

Ricardus Bannok Willielmus Hailman	}	Hastings.
Stephanus Eliot Simon Lauford'	}	Rye
Willielmus Skille Thomas Thundur	}	Winchelsea.

5 Ric. II. (1382).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 7 May, 1382.

Edmundus Fitz Herberd' Edwardus Dalyngrugge	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Colyn Johannes Cosham	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Sherere Ricardus Boys	}	Chichester City.
Ricardus Woghere Ricardus Danyel	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Thomas Jewdry Willielmus William	}	Horsham Borough.

Henricus Werkman	}	Lewes Borough.
Thomas Norrys		
Willielmus Shirford'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Willielmus Hailman	}	Hastings.
Johannes Salerne		
Johannes Marchaunt	}	Rye.
Johannes Marthame		
Robertus Herry	}	Winchelsea.
Thomas Thundur		

6 Ric. II. (1382).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 6 October, 1382.

Edmundus fitz Herberd	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Waleys		
Ricardus Wodelond	}	Arundel Borough.
Thomas atte Berne		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Johannes atte Castele		
Henricus Frensshe	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus William		
Ricardus Hobekyn	}	Midhurst Borough.
Thomas Sarteler		
Johannes Barbour	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Skully		

CINQUE PORTS.

Willielmus Haylman	}	Hastings.
Johannes Cleve		
Johannes Martham	}	Rye.
Willielmus Bleseworth'		
Henricus Sely	}	Winchelsea.
Reginaldus Patrik'		

6 Ric. II. (1382-3).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 23 February, 1382-3.

Willielmus Percy, chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Walays, chivaler		

Johannes Chaumberlayn	}	Arundel Borough.
Thomas Spicer		
Johannes Castel	}	Chichester City.
Walterus Grenhulle		
Thomas Wykes	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Dyn		
Rogerus Wildegos	}	Horsham Borough.
Henricus Frensche		
Stephanus Holte	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Goderyk'		
Ricardus Hobekyn	}	Midhurst Borough.
Michael Horne		
Johannes atte Hulle	}	Steyning Borough.
Johannes Stokkere		
Johannes Lynton	}	Shoreham Borough.
Simon Banfeld'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Salerne	}	Hastings.
Johannes Cleve		
Stephanus Eliot	}	Rye.
Robertus Borgrove		
Willielmus Skele	}	Winchelsea.
Johannes Pulham		

7 Ric. II. (1383).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 26 October, 1383.

Johannes Sencler, chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Percy, chivaler		
Johannes Chaumberlayn	}	Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Wodelond'		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Willielmus Combe		
Johannes Sleghtre	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Thomas Wyke		
Henricus Frensche	}	Horsham Borough.
Rogerus Hynikere		
Robertus York'	}	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Spycer		
Johannes Lynton'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Simon Banefeld'		

Johannes atte Hulle	}	Steypning Borough.
Rogerus Cobbe		

CINQUE PORTS.

Willielmus Haylman	}	Hastings.
Johannes Salerne		
Johannes Marchant'	}	Rye.
Laurencius Lonsford'		
Johannes Pulham	}	Winchelsea.
Thomas Bette		

7 Ric. II. (1384).

Summoned to meet at Salisbury, 29 April, 1384.

Edmundus Dalyngrugg'	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Seyntoweyn' ¹⁰		
Rolandus Covert'	}	Arundel Borough.
Thomas atte Berne		
Johannes Smowelyn	}	Chichester City.
Willielmus Combes		
Ricardus Danyell'	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Woghere		
Willielmus Ridelere	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus William		
Thomas Noreys	}	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Spycer		
Willielmus Baggele	}	Midhurst Borough.
Robertus Coupere		
Simon Benfeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Lynton'		
Thomas Sherman	}	Steypning Borough.
Robertus Bouker		

CINQUE PORTS.

Willielmus Haylman	}	Hastings.
Edwardus Martham		
Willielmus Tailour	}	Rye.
Mattheus Goldyne		
Willielmus Skele, senior	}	Winchelsea.
Thomas Bette		

¹⁰ Loco militis.

8 Ric. II. (1384).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 12 November, 1384.

Edwardus Dalyngrugge	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Percy		
Ricardus Wodelond'	}	Arundel Borough.
Thomas Pieres		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Simon Vyncent		
Ricardus Danyell	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Woghere		
Johannes Wantele	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Rydelere		
Willielmus Spycer	}	(Lewes) Borough.
..... ¹¹		
Ricardus Hobekyn	}	Midhurst.
Robertus Coupere		
Simon Benfeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

9 Ric. II. (1385).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 20 October, 1385.

Edwardus Dalyngregg	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Cobeham		
Ricardus Wodelond	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Chamberleyn		
Johannes Loughtebourgh'	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Sherere		
Ricardus Danyel	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Woghere		
Thomas Colyn	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Chode		
Thomas Noreys	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Peyntour		
Willielmus Exton'	}	Midhurst Borough.
Michael Horn'		
Robertus Frye	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Lenton'		

¹¹ Name torn off.

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Cleve	}	Hastings.
Johannes Scot		
Laurencius Corboyll'	}	Rye.
Robertus Dyn		
Johannes Pulham	}	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Martyn		

10 Ric. II. (1386).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 1 October, 1386.

Edmundus Fitz Herberd' chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Edwardus Dalyn Gregg' chivaler		
Ricardus Wodelond' Willielmus Colyn	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Sherere Thomas Pacchyng'		
..... ¹² ¹²	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Henricus Botiler.....lere ¹²		
..... ¹² ¹²	}	Lewes Borough.
Henricus Exton' Thomas Smyth		
Willielmus Corveyser Ricardus Bernard'	}	Shoreham Borough.

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Clevessend'	}	Hastings.
Edwardus Martham		
Stephanus Elyot Johannes Baddyng'	}	Rye.
Willielmus Skele Johannes Pulham		

11 Ric. II. (1387-8).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 3 February, 1387-8.

Edwardus Dalyn Gregg miles	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Waleys miles		

¹² Names torn off.

Rogerus Clerk	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Hereward'		
Willielmus Neel	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Pacchyng'		
Johannes Dyn	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Heldele		
Rogerus Wildegos	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Rydelere		
Stephanus Holt	}	Lewes Borough.
Thomas Noreys		
Robertus Hynkele	}	Midhurst Borough.
Ricardus Hopkyn		
Simon Benefeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Clyvesende	}	Hastings.
Edwardus Martham		
Stephanus Elyot	}	Rye.
Willielmus Marchant		
Johannes Pulham	}	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Skele		

12 Ric. II. (1388).

Summoned to meet at Cambridge, 9 September, 1388.

Nicolaus Wilcombe	}	Sussex County.
Robertus de Oure		
Nicolaus Hereward'	}	Arundel Borough.
Robertus Fysshere		
Simon Vyncent	}	Chichester City.
Willielmus Horlebat'		
Ricardus Wower	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Willielmus Nelond		
Johannes Bakere	}	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Joudry		
Walterus Gosselyn	}	Lewes Borough.
Ricardus atte Gate, draper, de Lewes		
Willielmus Baggele	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Sarceler		
Ricardus Bernard'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Skolby		

CINQUE PORTS.

Ricardus Bannok'	}	Hastings.
Johannes Scot'		
Willielmus atte Vaute	}	Rye.
Johannes Macopp'		
Henricus Sely	}	Winchelsea.
Mattheus Goldyne		

13 Ric. II. (1389-90).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 17 January,
1389-90.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Thomas Jardyn		
Willielmus Colchestre	}	Arundel Borough.
Robertus Fysshere		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Pacchyng'		
..... ¹³	}	East Grinstead Borough.
..... ¹³		
Henricus Boteler	}	Horsham Borough.
..... ¹³		
Ricardus Hobkyn	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Mory		
Simon Benfeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Clyvesende	}	Hastings.
Ricardus Wybard'		
Laurencius Lunsford'	}	Rye.
Laurencius Courboyle		
Willielmus Skele	}	Winchelsea.
Rogerus de Dovorr'		

14 Ric. II. (1390).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 12 November, 1390.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Willielmus Waleys		

These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the
Writ de Expensis in the absence of original returns.

¹³ Names torn off.

15 Ric. II. (1391).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 3 November, 1391.

Willielmus Percy, chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Robertus Tank'		
Hugo Hassell'	}	Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Wodelond'		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Pacchyng'		
Johannes Alfray	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Dyn		
Henricus Boteller	}	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Jewdry		
Thomas Noreys	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Bedeford'		
Johannes Scully	}	Shoreham Borough.
Robertus Frye		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Clyvesend'	}	Hastings.
Ricardus Bannok'		
Johannes Salerne ¹⁴	}	Rye.
Laurencius Lunsford		
Willielmus Skele	}	Winchelsea.
Vincencius Ewelle		

16 Ric. II. (1392-3).

Summoned to meet at Winchester, 20 January, 1392-3.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Brokere		
Johannes Chamberleyn'	}	Arundel Borough.
Robertus Fysshere		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Pacchyng'		
Thomas Rasse	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Thomas Aleyn		
Willielmus Rideler junior	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Chode		
Willielmus Chepelond'	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Godman		

¹⁴ A Johannes Salerne is also returned for Romney, Kent.

Thomas Clerk	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes ¹⁵		
Johannes Scully	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Scot	}	Hastings.
Johannes Sharp		
Johannes Baddyng'	}	Rye.
Johannes Bertelot		
Robertus Arnold'	}	Winchelsea.
Thomas Bette		

17 Ric. II. (1393-4).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 27 January, 1393-4.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Thomas Sakevill'		

(NOTE.)—These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis in the absence of Original Returns.

18 Ric. II. (1394-5).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 27 January, 1394-5.

Thomas Sakevyle	}	Sussex County.
Hugo Quecche		
Ricardus Wodelond	}	Arundel Borough.
Robertus Fisshere		
Johannes Sherere	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Mulle		
Thomas Farleghe	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Willielmus atte Hulle		
Henricus Boteller	}	Horsham Borough.
Rogerus Eylof'		
Johannes Maryot	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Sadelere		
Robertus atte Rode	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Grenettour		

¹⁵ Name torn off.

Willielmus Chyntyng'	}	Seaford Borough.
Ricardus Foghell'		
Simon Benfeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Bernard'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Edwardus Marthame	}	Hastings.
Johannes Hokere		
Johannes Baddyng'	}	Rye.
Willielmus Ormed'		
Vincencius Fynch'	}	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Skele, junior		

20 Ric. II. (1396-7).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 22 January, 1396-7.

Willielmus Percy	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Assheburnham ¹⁶		
Ricardus Wodelond'	}	Arundel Borough.
Henricus Skynnere, de Arundel		
Johannes Hebbe, de Fish- bourn	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Golston'		
Johannes Punget	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Dyn		
Rogerus Wyldegos	}	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Rydelere		
Johannes Godman	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Plomer		
Johannes atte Grenette	}	Midhurst Borough.
Willielmus atte Barre		
Willielmus Chyntyng'	}	Seaford Borough.
Robertus Harry		
Simon Benfeld'	}	Shoreham Borough.
Robertus Frye		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Clyvesende	}	Hastings.
Johannes Hoker		

¹⁶ Loco militis.

Ricardus Tichebourne	}	Rye.
Johannes Langeperre		
Vincencius Fynch'	}	Winchelsea.
Johannes de Helde		

21 Ric. II. (1397 and 1397-8).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 17 September, 1397, and continued by Adjournment, at Shrewsbury, 27 January, 1397-8.

Thomas Sakevyle	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Assheburnham ¹⁷		
Ricardus Wodelond'	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Pacchyng'		
Thomas Pacchyng'	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Okhurst'		
Johannes Dyn	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Punget		
Henricus Boteler	}	Horsham Borough.
Ricardus Condenne		
Johannes Godman	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Mariot		
Thomas Sarcler	}	Midhurst Borough.
Willielmus Baggele		
Willielmus Chyntyng'	}	Seaford Borough.
Johannes Hog'		
Willielmus atte Hulle	}	Shoreham Borough.
Gregorius Fromond'		

1 Hen. IV. (1399).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 6 October, 1399.

Johannes Pelham	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Preston'		
Johannes Esshyng'	}	Arundel Borough.
Willielmus Terry		
Willielmus Neel	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Pacchyng'		

¹⁷ Loco militis.

Johannes Dyne	}	East Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Woghere		
Willielmus Chode	}	Horsham Borough.
Ricardus Condenne		
Willielmus Choplond'	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Mariot		
Michael Baggele	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Rombald		
Willielmus Chyntyng'	}	Seaford Borough.
Robertus Harry		
Robertus Frye	}	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes Sopere		
Johannes Farnfold'	}	Steyning and Bramber Borough.
Robertus Cook'		

CINQUE PORTS.

Edwardus Marthame	}	Hastings.
Henricus Mordaunt		
Johannes Baddyng	}	Rye.
Willielmus atte Vance		
Rogerus Gate	}	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Skele junior		

2 Hen. IV. (1400-1).

Summoned to meet at York, 27 October, 1400; and
by Prorogation at Westminster, 20 January, 1400-1.

Johannes Pelham, chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Henricus Husee, chivaler		
Johannes Wiltshire	}	Arundel Borough.
Willielmus Terry		
Willielmus Combe	}	Chichester City.
Thomas Hayne		
Johannes Maryot'	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Mason'		
Gregorius Fuller	}	Midhurst Borough.
Robertus Pechard'		

3 Hen. IV. (1402).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 15 September, 1402; Prorogued to 30 September, 1402.

Johannes Dalyngrugg' chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Henricus Husee chivaler		
Johannes Wyldebef	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Duse		
Robertus Jugler	}	Chichester City.
Simon Vyncent		
Johannes Dyne	}	Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Wowere		
Robertus atte Lynde	}	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Bolter		
Robertus Bynt	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Mariot		
Robertus Coupere	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Ivy		
Willielmus Ede	}	Shoreham Borough.
Rogerus Farncoumbe		

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Sharpe	}	Hastings.
Robertus Burgrove		
Johannes Baddyng	}	Rye.
Johannes Roberd		
Vincencius Vynch'	}	Winchelsea.
Johannes Salerne		

5 Hen. IV. (1403).

Summoned to meet at Coventry, 3 December, 1403; and by Prorogation at Westminster, 14 January, 1403-4.

Johannes Pelham, chivaler ¹⁸	}	Sussex County.
Robertus Leukenore ¹⁸		
Johannes Westlond ¹⁸	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Symbkyn ¹⁸		

¹⁸ These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis in the absence of Original Returns.

6 Hen. IV. (1404).

Summoned to meet at Coventry, 6 October, 1404.

Johannes Dalyngrugge, chivaler ¹⁹	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Pelham, chivaler ¹⁹		

7 Hen. IV. (1405-6).

Summoned to meet at Coventry, 15 February, 1405-6; afterwards changed to Gloucester; Prorogued to 1 March, 1405-6, and to meet at Westminster.

Johannes Pelham, chivaler	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Dalyngrugge, chivaler		
Johannes Pacchyngge	}	Arundel Borough.
Thomas Spycer		
Thomas Neel	}	Chichester City.
Johannes Tolyte		
Thomas Chode	}	Horsham Borough.
Johannes Stoute		
Rogerus Forster	}	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Grene		
Willielmus Brereton'	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Stapulton'		
Willielmus Hokere	}	Shoreham Borough.
Willielmus Peke		

CINQUE PORTS.

Henricus Mardant	}	Hastings.
Johannes Bexle		
Willielmus Vawte	}	Rye.
Laurencius Mersey		
Vincencius Fynch' junior	}	Winchelsea.
Johannes Worton'		

¹⁹ These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis in the absence of Original Returns.

9 Hen. IV. (1407).

Summoned to meet at Gloucester, 20 October, 1407.

	DATE OF RETURN.	
Johannes Dalyngrugge, chivaler	} 6 Oct., 1407.	Sussex County.
Johannes Pelham, chiv- lier		
Johannes Dus	} 6 " "	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Pacchyng'		
Robertus Jugler	} 6 " "	Chichester City.
Thomas Neel		
Johannes Dyn	} 6 " "	Grinstead Borough.
Ricardus Wowere		
Thomas Boltere	} 6 " "	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Chode		
Rogerus Forster	} 6 " "	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus atte Hyde		
Johannes Puckepole	} 6 " "	Midhurst Borough.
Thomas Lucas		
Johannes Skully	} 6 " "	Shoreham Borough.
Johannes atte Gate		

CINQUE PORTS.

Robertus Borgrove	} No date given.	Hastings.
Thomas Wybard'		
Johannes Baddyng'	} " "	Rye.
Thomas Longe		
Johannes Salerne	} " "	Winchelsea.
Robertus Fysshlake		

This is the first Parliament in which the dates of returns are preserved.

11 Hen. IV. (1409-10).

Summoned to meet at Bristol, 27 January, 1409-10 ; afterwards altered to Westminster, for the same day.

CINQUE PORTS.

Edwardus Martham	} Hastings.
Johannes Herry	
Johannes Shelle	} Rye.
Willielmus Longe	

Rogerus Gate }
 Johannes Tounstall' } Winchelsea.

No date of returns given.

1 Hen. V. (1413).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 14 May, 1413.

		DATE OF RETURN.
Ricardus Wayvyle	}	13 April, 1413. Sussex County.
Ricardus Wakehurst		
Johannes Wilteshyr	}	No date given. Arundel Borough.
Webbe		
Johannes Dusee	}	do. Chichester City.
Robertus Jugeler		
Galfridus Hebbe	}	do. East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Hoke		
Thomas Aleyn'	}	do. Horsham Borough.
Henricus Botiller		
Thomas Pylfold	}	do. Lewes Borough.
Andreas Blake		
Johannes Maryot	}	do. Midhurst Borough.
Thomas Walsse		
Johannes Vyncent	}	do. New Shoreham Borough.
Willielmus Ede		
Johannes Draper	}	

CINQUE PORTS.

Henricus Mordaunt	}	No date given. Hastings.
Ricardus Huntyngdon'		
Willielmus Longe	}	do. Rye.
Robertus Onewyn'		
Rogerus atte Gate	}	do. Winchelsea.
Thomas Yong'		

2 Hen. V. (1413-14).

Summoned to meet at Leicester, 29 January, 1413-14; and by Prorogation, 30 April, at the same place.

		DATE OF RETURN.
Willielmus Brambelshete	}	No date given. Sussex County.
Thomas Seynteler		

These names are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis, etc.

2 Hen. V. (1414).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 19 November, 1414.

Ricardus Wayvyle	}	Sussex County.
Johannes Babelake		
Johannus Dus	}	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Pacchyng		
Robertus Jugler	}	Chichester City.
Robertus Stryvelyng		
Johannes Dyn	}	Grinstead Borough.
Thomas Wower		
Thomas Chode	}	Horsham Borough.
Thomas Wodehach'		
Robertus Lytecombe	}	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Hert		
Johannes Walssh'	}	Midhurst Borough.
Johannes Rumbald'		
Robertus Benefeld	}	Shoreham Borough.
Willielmus Ede		

All the above were returned 25 October, 1414.

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Sharpe	}	Hastings.
Thomas Julyan		
Robertus Onewyn	}	Rye.
Willielmus Longe		
Rogerus atte Gate	}	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Cactone		

No date of return given with the above.

3 Hen. V. (1415).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 21 October, 1415;
and by Prorogation, 4 November, 1415.

		DATE OF RETURN.
Ricardus Stukele	}	24 Oct., 1415. Sussex County.
Willielmus Weston', de		
Hyndale		

Willielmus Neel'	}	No date given.	Chichester City.
Willielmus Farnhurst			
Johannes Sewale	}	do.	[Midhurst] Borough.
Johannes Ives			

5 Hen. V. (1417).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 16 November, 1417.

	DATE OF RETURN.		
Johannes Halle, junior	}	21 Oct., 1417.	Sussex County.
Ricardus Stukele			
Ricardus Smyth'	}	No date given.	Arundel Borough.
Thomas Dusse			
Thomas Russell'	}	do.	Chichester City.
Robertus Stryvelyng'			
Willielmus Hynikere'	}	do.	Horsham Borough.
Johannes Haselhurst			
Johannes Gosselyn'	}	do.	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Parker			
Willielmus Chyngeford'	}	do.	Midhurst Borough.
Gregorius Tannere			
Ricardus Dammere	}	do.	Shoreham Borough.
Adam Feret			

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Lyvet	}	do.	Hastings.
Ricardus Huntyngdon'			
Johannes Shelle	}	do.	Rye.
Ricardus Posterf			
Johannes Frenshe	}	do.	Winchelsea.
Willielmus Catton'			

7 Hen. V. (1419).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 16 October, 1419.

	DATE OF RETURN.		
Ricardus Bannebury	}	21 Sept., 1419.	Sussex County.
Ricardus Bitterley			
Thomas Kyng'	}	No date given.	Arundel Borough.
Johannes Hille			

Ricardus Sherter	}	No date given.	Chichester City.
Johannes Tolyte			
Willielmus Fenyngham	}	do.	East Grinstead Borough.
Johannes Hamme			
Walterus Urry	}	do.	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Stowt			
Andreas Blake	}	do.	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Fagger'			
Thomas Russell'	}	do.	Midhurst Borough.
Walterus Lucas			

CINQUE PORTS.

Simon Lymbergh'	}	do.	Hastings.
Johannes Martham			
Robertus Onewyn	}	do.	Rye.
Willielmus Longe			
Johannes Frenshe	}	do.	Winchelsea.
Johannes Tamworth			

8. Hen. V. (1420).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 2 December, 1420.

	DATE OF RETURN.		
Willielmus Ryman	}	4 Nov., 1420.	Sussex County.
Radulphus Rademelde			
Thomas Dus	}	No date given.	Arundel Borough.
Thomas Pursell'			
Johannes Cok'	}	do.	Chichester City.
Willielmus Hore			
Willielmus Heniker	}	do.	Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Stowte			
Thomas White	}	do.	Lewes Borough.
Johannes Gosselyn			
Micael' Maunser	}	do.	Midhurst Borough.
Gregorus Pedlyn			

CINQUE PORTS.

Simon Lymbergh'	}	do.	Hastings.
Willielmus Courthope			
Johannes Shelle	}	do.	Rye.
Willielmus Longe			
Rogerus atte Gate	}	do.	Winchelsea.
Edwardus Hopyere			

9 Hen. V. (1421).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 2 May, 1421.

	DATE OF RETURN.	
Willielmus Ryman Johannes Halle, junior	}	3 April, 1421. Sussex County.
Johannes Hilly Alanus Chambur		No date given. Arundel Borough.
Robertus Stryvelyng' Willielmus Farnehurst	}	do. Chichester City.
Johannes Wower Ricardus Fowell'		do. East Grinstead Borough.
Petrus Hent Thomas Chode	}	do. Horsham Borough.
Willielmus Norhampton' Willielmus Fagger		do. Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Brerton' Willielmus Chyngford'	}	do. Midhurst Borough.

CINQUE PORTS.

Johannes Parker Willielmus Courthope	}	do. Hastings.
Robertus Onewyn' Thomas Piers		do. Rye.
Willielmus Catton' Thomas Thondir, junior	}	do. Winchelsea.

9 Hen. V. (1421).

Summoned to meet at Westminster, 1 December, 1421.

	DATE OF RETURN.	
Radulphus Rademyld' Ricardus Bytterley	}	13 Nov., 1421. Sussex County.
Thomas Dusse Thomas Pursell'		No date given. Arundel Borough.
Ricardus Fust Johannes Dolyte	}	do. Chichester City.
Johannes Alfray Johannes Wower		do. East Grinstead Borough.
Henricus Botyler Rogerus Elyot	}	do. Horsham Borough.

Thomas White	}	No date given.	Lewes Borough.
Willielmus Wodefold'			
Willielmus Brereton'	}	do.	Midhurst Borough.
Simon Lopesherst			
Johannes Fyndon	}	do.	Shoreham Borough.
Ricardus Roger			

CINQUE PORTS.

Ricardus Huntynghdon'	}	do.	Hastings.
Willielmus Courthope			
Willielmus Thirlewale	}	do.	Rye.
Johannes Shelle			
Rogerus atte Gate	}	do.	Winchelsea.
Alexander Beuley			

(To be Continued.)

A NOTICE OF
REV. JOHN ALLIN, VICAR OF RYE,
A.D. 1653—1662; AN EJECTED MINISTER.

BY DR. T. WM. WAKE SMART. 1880.

IN Vols. IX. and XIII. S.A.C., I have given extracts from the Jeake MSS., which descended to the late Moreton J. E. Frewen, Esq., from his aunt, Miss Philadelphia Frewen, of Northiam, who died in 1841, at the age of 91. She was the granddaughter of Elisabeth, widow of Samuel Jeake, junior, by her marriage with Mr. Joseph Tucker, of Rye, whose daughter Philadelphia, married Thomas Frewen, M.D., of Rye, who died in 1791.

Amongst this miscellaneous collection of old papers and letters, curious pamphlets, &c., was a series of 190 letters, written by the Rev. John Allin,¹ who was Vicar of Rye in the middle of the 17th century, addressed, with a few exceptions, to his friend, Mr. Philip Fryth,² a surgeon-apothecary at Rye.

These letters are not wholly unknown, for in 1856 I furnished my lamented friend, the late Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., with extracts from them, relating to the Great Plague in London of 1665-6, which he embodied in an interesting communication to the Society of Antiquaries.³ Mr. Cooper obtained many particulars con-

¹ Calamy, in "Life of Baxter," Vol. ii., p. 693, calls him *Thomas Allen*, which is a mistake. His Christian name was *John*, and his surname was always *Allin*, not *Allen*.

² Mr. Fryth seems to have been a native of Mere, where he had mother and brothers living in 1660. He married Elisabeth, sister of Theophilus Barnard, of Sileby, Leicestershire, into whose family Shakespere's granddaughter, Elisabeth Hall, married. Mr. Fryth had several children; five of them died young: one married John Mann, of Rye, and lived in London. Mr. F. died Aug. 17, 1670; his wife Oct. 11, 1671. Allin uses this seal:—*Arms*, a chev. between 3 leopard's heads, erased; *crest*, leopard's head, erased.

³ "Notices of the last Great Plague, 1665-6, from the Letters of John Allin, &c., in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis," by William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A. ("Archæologia," Vol. XXXVII.)

cerning Allin's family, by enquiries which he set on foot through his friends in America.

It is not my intention to go over this ground relating to the Plague, so freely again, but I shall endeavour to present in this paper a sketch of JOHN ALLIN, so far as it may be drawn from his letters, with the expectation that it may be acceptable to the Members of this Society from his connection with Sussex. Moreover, the extracts furnish us with an impressive illustration of the spirit of the age in which he lived; a period of our history when the influence of religious motive was never more powerfully felt in moulding the character and shaping the acts and conduct of men.

ALLIN was a Puritan. So long as the Commonwealth continued he enjoyed the inestimable privilege of liberty of speech and action: but when that change in the Government came with that "miraculous Providence" which restored the exiled Sovereign to the throne of his forefathers, this sunshine was quickly superseded by a long and cloudy day, which compelled many, who had known what happiness was, to spend the remainder of their lives in misery and ruin. It is, perhaps, difficult for us, who live under the blessings of liberty, to realise an adequate idea of the vicissitudes of fortune to which numbers of faithful men were condemned. They were torn from their families, thrown upon the wide, and too often unsympathising world, as outcasts from society; driven from their native land to seek other homes on foreign shores; hunted down by the civil power; denied the liberty of their opinions; ever in a state of alarm and danger; often in a condition of penury, and exposed to the ravages of disease and death.⁴ Let us do justice to their memory!

Of this noble band of Christian men was JOHN ALLIN; a God-fearing man, who made no compromise with his principles when called to obey the dictates of conscience; and what was the result? He was driven from house and home; separated from family and friends; compelled to begin life anew, struggling against difficulties,

⁴ See the Dedication to Calamy's "Continuation," &c., 1727.

harassed by trials; at one time reduced to the very extremity of destitution; at another, living in the midst of pestilence in its most malignant form, standing on the brink of death—and all this for the simple reason that he was a man to whom death itself would be preferable to the abandonment of his duty. Shall we refuse our meed of admiration for such a character, Puritan though he be, in whom were exhibited the marks of a true nobility?

The Puritan cause had been for many years in a flourishing condition in the ancient town of Rye;⁵ there were the Jeakes, father and son; the Millers, Markwicks, Shiners, Bennetts, and many others; nor must we forget, amongst the earlier members of the confraternity, *Christopher Blackwood*, Jeakes' brother-in-law, who was Curate of Rye under Bryan Twyne, Vicar. Blackwood seceded from the Church of England and joined the Baptists, becoming an eminent minister amongst them.⁶ But the time came when this halcyon day departed, and edict after edict followed from the 13th to the 22nd Car. II., each rendering the civil and social status of the Puritans more and more intolerable. This was emphatically the æra of religious persecution, and no Act is better known or was more signal in its operation than the 14 Car. II.—the *Act of Uniformity* or *The St. Bartholomew Act*, so called from coming into force on August 24th, 1662. Its effect was rapid, for, according to impartial testimony,⁷ we are told that “about 2,000 of the clergy in one day relinquished their cures; and, to the astonishment of the Court, sacrificed their interests to their religious tenets . . . resolved to undergo any hardship rather than openly renounce those principles.” “And,” says Samuel Pepys, “some thousands of them do now beg their bread.”⁸ What a blind policy and grievous injustice this was! for the King had none other such true-hearted men

⁵ John Evelyn was at “Rie” in June, 1652, to meet his wife on her return from France, and on Whitsunday went to church, where he heard “one of their *canters*, who dismiss'd the Assembly rudely & without any blessing.”—Evelyn's “Diary,” June 4, 1652.

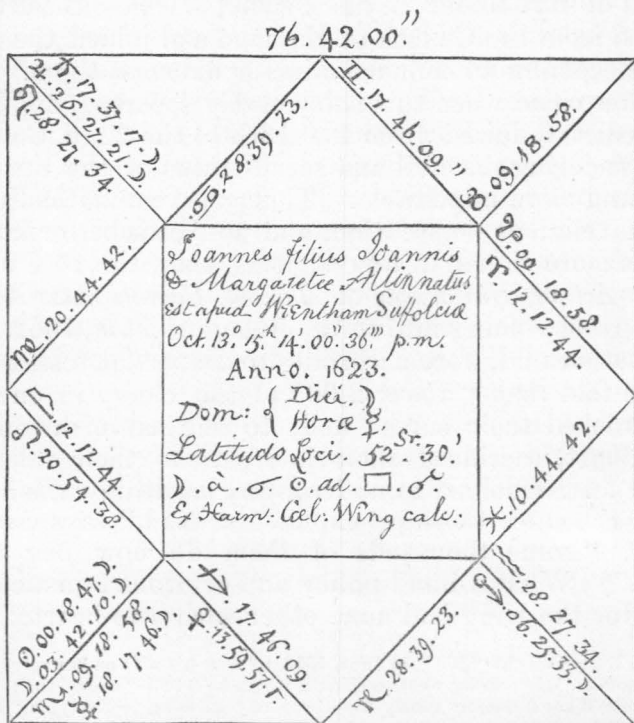
⁶ See “Baptist Magazine,” June *et. seq.*, 1867, “Original Letters of the Rev. Christopher Blackwood,” and communicated by the writer of this notice.

⁷ Hume, “Hist. of England.”

⁸ “Diary,” Nov. 9, 1663.

amongst his subjects; but, like all moral evil, whether in individuals or in Governments, this injustice worked out its own retribution.

Amongst the Jeake MSS. very curious are those which relate to his astrological studies and exercitations, but unintelligible to any save adepts in the science. They are useful in recording facts and occurrences which may be of much interest now, but would have been unknown without this assistance. This is exemplified in the "scheme" of John Allin's Nativity, a facsimile of which I subjoin, which I found in company with many other of the same kind. It at once supplied the information, which had failed in other quarters, relative to his birth and family connections.



SCHEMA NATIVITATIS JOHANNIS ALLIN,

By SAMUEL JEAKE, Sen^r, of Rye.

Here we are informed that he was the son of John and Margaret Allin, of Wrentham, in Suffolk, born Oct. 13, 1623. By the clue thus fortunately discovered, Mr. Durrant Cooper worked out very successfully some points in his genealogy.⁹ His father, John Allin, being disquieted by Wren, Bp. of Norwich, went over to New England in 1636, where, in 1638, he was appointed to the ministry of the church of Dedham, Mass. It is still uncertain where his duties lay in Wren's diocese, but it is certain that he did not hold the living of Wrentham; and Brooke's suggestion may prove correct, that he probably had some preferment in Ipswich.¹⁰ He is said to have matriculated at Mag. Coll. Oxon., 27th June, 1623, æt. 18.¹¹ His wife was one of the Morse family, settled at Wrentham.¹² She accompanied her husband and son to New England, and died there in April, 1653; in the November following he married the widow of Governor Tom Dudley, Mass., by whom he had three children, and died on August 26th, 1671. His eldest son *John*, by his first marriage, with whom we are concerned, graduated at Harvard College, Camb., Mass., in 1643, and returned to this country. I know not what led him into Sussex, but we find him presented to the Vicarage of Rye in 1653, by Sarah, wife of Charles Tufton, then patroness of the living.¹³ This was on the resignation of William Russell, touching which he writes thus to Mr. Fryth, from London:—

March 2, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$. . . "I had hoped to heare what y^e buisines of y^e old sequestration meane, whither about y^e living or no; and whither in D^r Twine's time,¹⁴ or Russell's

⁹ "Archæologia," Vol. xxxvii., *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Brooke's "Lives of the Puritans," iii., 456.

¹¹ This information is from Mr. James Savage, of Lunenburg, U.S., to Mr. D. Cooper. If this date be correct, J. Allin, sen., must have married very young. But 1613 would agree with what Brooke states, viz., John Allin, born in 1596, was deprived, and went to New England, where he died in 1671. This last date identifies him with J. A., the father of John Allin, of Rye.

¹² For this information I beg to express my thanks to the Rev. John Browne, B.A., of Wrentham, author of "The History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk."

¹³ See "Vicars of Rye and their Patrons," by G. S. Butler, Esq., F.S.A., in S. A. C., Vol. XIII., 1861.

¹⁴ Dr. Brian Twyne, Vicar of Rye, son of Thomas T., M.D. of Lewes, author of "The Breviary of Britayne," 1573, obit. 1613. Brian T. spent most of his time in Oxford with his books. Author of "Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxonensis Apologia," 1608. Obt. at Oxford, 1664.

time, w^h M^r Greenfeild was Mayor,¹⁵ because you call it his buisines. Touching which, if Russell stirr, know y^e y^e liveing was not sequestred from him (Russell), but resigned by him into the hands of the Patronesse, who thereupon psented mee, as voyd by his resignation; and I doe beleive y^t I have somewhere still among my writings both Russell's psentation and his resignation, indorsed on the backside."

We do not possess any particulars relating to his ministry during the nine years he held the Vicarage, and scarcely any record of him during that period, with the exception of his signature to "A License to eat flesh in Lent, granted to Mrs. Mary Thomas for the recovery of her health, to continue for 8 days, from March 12, 1660."¹⁶

We are not even acquainted with the particular circumstances which rendered the living untenable by him after the Act of Uniformity. It is not improbable that he, not having been episcopally ordained, was compelled to relinquish his ministry in the Church of England. His tenets were not of the kind to ingratiate him with the men in power. The father's example and precepts had, no doubt, from his early years a great influence in forming the son's opinions, which became confirmed by his own convictions and the friendships of his after life. His intimate relations with such a man as Samuel Jeake, one of his own age,¹⁷ and the acknowledged head of the Nonconformist body in Rye, is as strong a proof as we can have of the bias of his own religious views. He was a Puritan by education and principle.

He was a widower when he left Rye, but we have no information relative to his wife's death, or his marriage. Her maiden name was Smith; for he mentions his brother

¹⁵ The Greenfields were an old family in Rye. Mr. John G. was mayor in 1651. Jeake addressed a letter to him at that date, "To the Wor^{sh} and his very good freind Mr John Greenefeilde," accompanied with an elaborate treatise on his nativity; whence it appears that he was son of John and Lydia G., born April 9, 1617. He died March 6, 1654-5. In the "scheme" of his nativity, Jeake denominates him "Johannes Greenvile." Mr. Holloway states that John G. was made a freeman of Rye, 21 Sep. 12, Jac. 1 (1617). "Hist. of Rye," p. 210. S. A. C., Vol. XIII., p. 72.

¹⁶ Holloway, p. 508. This License was granted in pursuance of 5 Eliz. c. v., the "Navigation Act, for the encouragement of fishermen and mariners, &c." Wednesdays and Saturdays were ordered to be "Fish-days."

¹⁷ S. Jeake was born in the same year, 1623.

Peter Smith "at y^e Sword-in-hand Cornehill," London, who died of the Plague in 1665; also, his "sister Elizabeth ffowler of Woolwich," who, in 1630, was residing in Throgmorton Street, and who, I take to be his wife's sister. By his wife he had three children, John, Elisabeth, and Hannah, whom he left at Rye under the care of friends, and who became a source of affectionate anxiety to him during his exile. "I am afflicted," he writes, in respect of them, "especially since my brother Peter's death, who had some Trust reposed in him, about 200^{li}, to be given my children by my father Smith's Will, which now what will come of it I know not." Later again, he is trying to find some place for his daughter Hannah; "my ayme is for a sempstresse, by which it may please God shee may hereafter obtaine a livelyhood;" he would, moreover, writing to Mr. Fryth, have them "religiously as well as handsomely brought up;" and alludes to his cousin in Suffolk, "who is studying to doe mee and mine further good; he hath at present sent me 30^s." Of this cousin I can give no further account, nor of the ultimate fate of his children.

The precise date of his departure from Rye is not known, but his first letter from London to his friend Fryth is dated Jan^y 8, 166³, in which he refers to the imprisonment of Mr. Edmund Calamy.¹⁸ The second letter in the series is dated Sept. 5, 1663, wherein he intimates his intention of returning the next week, on foot, he thinks, by way of Gravesend. He hopes his "little ones are well, to W^m I desire all happiness: my respects p^sented to yo^r-selfe, to M^r Bennet, M^r Marshall, M^r Miller, their wives, M^{rs} Thomas (y^e state of whose buisines I must bewaile being very hazardous), M^{rs} Byndlos,¹⁹ M^r Palmⁱ, M^r Waylet, y^e old woman,²⁰ &c remembered; I comitt you all to God, &c." In this letter there are scraps of public gossip, as, for instance, "there are

¹⁸ His imprisonment made such a stir he was released in a few days.—Neale's "Puritans," viii., pp. 135, 150.

¹⁹ Probably mother of Mr. John Byndlos who, in 1671, was appointed the King's bailiff in Rye, succeeding Phineas Cheston. (Holloway, p. 322). He was brother-in-law of General Morgan, Governor of Jamaica.

²⁰ Sometimes called also "goodwife Shoemith," by him.

of Peasmarsh, whatever hee bee, can lay no clayme to y^t legacye, for it is to be disposed of at y^e discretion of y^e Executō, & wee must have order from him before wee can pay y^e legacye: for y^e paym^t of the debts wee have order, if wee had the money: for the buisines of the tenths, if all former acquittances were lost, y^e last acquittance dischargeth in law all arrears, or else there might be sueing ad infinitum seaven yeares hence for every yeare successively: but for that you must returne answer at y^e Visitation, & then also, if it were needful, to pve his Ordination by the Bpp: but y^e Act of Parliam^t for his establishm^t in his place, made next Parliam^t after his Ma^{ties} returne, is enough to say, in y^e case to pve his title: agst w^{ch} time you shall have y^t of the Bpp to boote.” 19 April, 1665—“I herewith send you the Bpp’s Certificates, y^t M^r Greenfeild was both canonically made Deacon and Preist too; which you may use as you see occasion: & as for the tenths, his executors ought not, nor hee, if hee were alive, were not to bee charged to shew further then y^e last receipt: & if they doe force y^t money from you, it is illegally done: but then I hope they will force others also to pay him, & make Eldred allow for the time of his preaching till his death, which the Statute law both allow & require, 28. H. 8. 11.; and sayth moreover, if the tyths of the vacancy bee not sufficient to pay y^e curate, y^e next Incumbent shall pay y^m within 14 dayes after his induction: so that if hee had bene but a curate he should have benee p^d for y^e time of his preaching: but he was settled by Act of Parliam^t after y^e King came in.” June 17—“I mett wth M^r Eldred & M^r Sampson of Peasmsh, & spake to them about M^r Greenfeild’s buisines, & they tell me y^t if the parishioñs doe not (as they thinke y^{ey} will not) pay w^{thout} compulsion, they must have it: and if so, you had best try what every one will doe speedily w^{thout} suite: & if not, I thinke wee had best psecute them here at the Arches.” The result does not appear. The details of this transaction, meagre as they are, place Allin before us in a favourable light as a man of business. We may infer from these extracts that Allin and his friend Fryth were overseers under the Will of Mr. Greenfeild, Vicar of

Peasmarsh, whose bequests they were unable to carry out, from the refusal of the parishioners to pay over to the executor some portion of the late Vicar's stipend; apparently on some plea that would not be found valid in law, and might probably be referred to the Court of Arches.²³

Allin, at this time, decides on turning his attention to the study of physic, for, Jan. 19, 166 $\frac{4}{5}$, he is "in expectation of an Anatomy" at "The Hall."²⁴ He desires "to returne thanks to all y^e benefactors to mee & mine, & in speciall, desire my remembrances thereof unto M^r Marshall, M^r Miller, M^r Key,²⁵ M^r Skinner, M^r Jeake, M^r Boys, M^r Curtis, M^r Mayor, M^{rs} Thomas & M^{rs} Byndlos, goodwife Shoosmith, &c, by no means forgetting yo^r-selfe & good wife, who are more than others forced to labour in your love towards mee & mine, for w^{ch} y^e Lord reward you."

Jan. 31. He writes in great trouble about proceedings against his friend Mr. Bennett, of Rye. "I wonder how you did the buisines at Lewis, y^t M^r Bennett should be undone & carryed away to Dover Castle notwithstanding: I pray give me an accompt of it. I am in an excessive trouble about him, & what comes of John Allin upon it: an *habeas corpus* to remove himselfe, if there bee any error in the *Significavit*,²⁶ will take of [off] the pænalties or forfeitures (when pleaded) of the Statute, but not y^e imprisonm^t, till the church be satisfied to take off y^e excommunicatiō, as M^r Woodward now tells me. I am so troubled for him y^t I know not what to say; but I pray let me heare y^e whole buisines . . . the best way had beene to keepe out of their clutches."

²³ It is singular that Greenfield's name is not found in the Parochial Register of Peasmarsh, which goes back to 1563, but there is that of Mr. Eldred, thus, "S. Eldred, Vic. de Peasmarsh Anno Dni. 1662." (ex inf. Revd. W. R. Brodrick, Vicar.)

²⁴ The hall of the Company of Barber-Surgeons was in Monkwell Street, Cripple-gate, now destroyed, with the exception of the Court-room, which contains some good pictures by Sir P. Lely and Vandyke; also the celebrated picture by Holbein, of Henry VIII. giving the Charter to the Company. Pepys mentions this in his Diary, Aug. 29, 1668, and Feb. 27, 1662-3, a gilt cup presented by H. VIII.

²⁵ Mr. Jeake's brother-in-law, William Key=Anne J.: he obt. 1666, she 1665.—S. A. C., Vol. XIII., p. 78.

²⁶ The writ of "*Significavit*," is the same with the writ "*De excommunicato capiendo*." (Jacob's Dict.)

The following letter, addressed to Mr. Jeake by Mr. Fryth, has reference to this business :—²⁷

“ Mr. Jeake,

I am affraid y^e I shall not be at home before y^e Court, and have not left word with my wife about my Court business, wherefore I pray you let my maid goe to M^r. Broomfeild²⁸ for y^e *Capias* & y^e writ for enquiry of Damage; & if I come not, desire M^r. Wattell to doe my busines. I know not yet what I shall doe for M^r. Bennet, this being heare a greate day, & strictly kept,²⁹ but I will doe what I can; and if I can not prevaile here, I will write to M^r. Allin to act in London. I cannot yet feile there pulse, but hope y^e best: Pray Remember me to my wife, and to all o^r friends; tell her y^e I am now indifferent well, but have bene very ill since I come out. I have no news att all, but Cap^t ffishenden & all the rest are well and Injoy their peace: there was yesterday three small men of warr of y^e Hollanders in Brighthelmston Bay, who put the towne into greate feare; so having not else, I rest

Yo^rs in what I may,
Phi. frith.

Lewis. January

y^e 30^o 1664.

ffor my very Loveinge ffriend

M^r. Samuell Jeake in Rye

These ~~are~~ I pray.”

On February 3rd Allin writes—“ I am so troubled at the thoughts of the surprizall of my deare friend M^r. Bennett, that I am not yet recovered into a fitt composure of spiritt to salute him there [*Dover Castle*] wth a few lines, which I intend to, soone as ever I can learne how they may bee conveyd to him safe; and as to her [*Mrs B.*] it shall bee my designe to doe what I can possibly for her in this her solitary condition . . . the cloudes begin to thicken; & y^e designe of the evill one seames to bee for to multiply o^r sorrowes, & make our bands strong: but wee know who hath sayd it, That hee that leadeth into captivity shall goe into captivity, & here is the patience & faith of y^e Saints: the Lord helpe us to watch our houre & keepe our garm^{ts} that wee may bee found so doing, & ready for him at his comeing, &c.” . . .

Feb. 24. His health fails him: he has “gotten a greate ague w^{ch} shooke me last night an houre, but am pretty crancke [*brisk*] this morning.” On March 2, he writes—“ all the last weeke I was so ill I could not enjoy

²⁷ Jeake's MSS.

²⁸ Mr. Broomfield succeeded Jeake as Town Clerk of Rye, who was dispossessed of, or resigned, the office by the Test and Corporation Act, 13 Car. II.

²⁹ This was the anniversary of the Martyrdom of K. Charles I.

my selfe, much lesse doe buisines : I had 2 greate shakeing fitts of an ague on thursday and satureday nights last week ; y^e last night of w^{ch} I had 2. watch't wth me, & I sweate lustily for 10 houres ; since y^t I have mist my ague through mercy, but cannot get my cold & cough away yet. I have beene all this weeke in London ; h. ♀. ♂.³⁰ dayes spent upon an anatomie." . . . He concludes with the following mysterious intimation :— "If weather favour ☉. in ♀.³¹ you know what I would faine bee gotten, if it were but a small quantity : " (of which presently).

March 10, he writes—" a freind of myne & now in towne, an Ipsw^{ch} man, wth whom y^e woad man have sometimes dealt, wants now a parcell of good woad,³² for w^{ch}, if he likes it & y^e price, hee will give ready money . . . there is (4) yeares tythes due to mee ; for y^e first yeare I should have had 20^s. & an hatt, beeing in a manner but a little y^{ey} did sow for seed ; but y^e 3 last yeares they & Brett had about 71 acres, the tyths of w^{ch} might be better then y^e tyths of wheate, w^{ch} might be 8^s ☿ acre ☿ an. I wish I had but 5^s ☿ acre ☿ an of them : however something in pte would have some savour wth mee . . . I pray doe not fayle to send up ☿ carryers next weeke a ball of y^{ey} best woad for an example (yet let not y^e sample be better then y^e parcell) wth their price & quantity, to deliver at Rye, as order shalbee given, & I will show it my freind & returne his answer."

April 8, 1665, he writes—" I would also pray you to speake (to) M^r Allen Grebell³³ for me about 20^s I hop'd hee would returne mee upon the sale of his hopps, w^{ch} was not done : he oweth to mee for 2. election sermons w^{ch} hee was Chamberlaine ; I want the money here, fayling of expected supplies otherwise . . . I would faine have had a little *prima materia* gathered, if there bee any to bee had." This is the same as the allusion in

³⁰ These astrological symbols mean, *Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday.*

³¹ The Sun in Aries, *i.e.*, in Spring.

³² The indigenous British Plant, *Isatis Tinctoria*, or Woad, which was formerly extensively cultivated for the blue dye obtained from it, but which has been long since supplanted by indigo.

³³ The Grebells were a very influential family in Rye for 150 years. The Allen G. here mentioned was son of the first of the same name who was made a freeman of the Corporation in 1584.—Holloway, p. 580.

Letter March 2; and there is scarcely a letter of subsequent date that does not urge the request that some of this mysterious matter should be sent to him when it could be procured; he counsels the necessity of secrecy, and reminds his friend to gather it in "Scorpio," and "Sagittarius,"³⁴ as well as in "Aries;" he would get 10 gallons of it if he could; and he gives directions for its collection and preservation. This "*Materia prima*" of the Alchemists is the *Nostoc Commune*, or *Tremella Nostoc* (Linnæus), formerly known under the name of *Cælifolium*, or *Cerefolium*, of Paracelsus, so called because it was supposed to fall from the heavens by night; it may now be occasionally seen on our grass-plots and gravel walks in spring and autumn, after rain, as a kind of greenish-coloured gelatinous exudation, an Alga, in fact, of simple organization. It was believed by the Alchemists to possess no end of wonderful properties, which it yielded by distillation, and it was an ingredient in the "Elixir magnum," as well as a supposed solvent of gold. Chemistry will now tell us that its principal constituents are ammonia and lime.³⁵

In this letter is the first allusion he makes to the Great Plague. He says—"o^r fleete is sickly, and y^e sicknesse increase (*sic.*) at Yarmouth: about 3. or 4. dyed last weeke; and about 4. or 5. famylyes in y^e Pesthouse." And on the 27th he writes—"I heard yesterday there are 2. houses shutt up about Drury lane for the sicknes." On July 1, he writes that many are flying out of town, but whether he should come down or no he was not yet resolved; "if I should it would putt Dann &c, 1000 more into a rage; & David chose to fall into the hands of God rather than men." July 26—"I am loath to thinke of frightening my freinds wth my psence, or of burthening them by my stay, not knowing where to be rec^d if I had thought of comeing. I confesse the sicknesse doth encrease & spread, though none very neere mee yet, thanks bee to God. . . I thanke God

³⁴ *i.e.*, in Autumn as well as in Spring.

³⁵ See "Archæologia," V. xxxvii. *loc. cit.*, and "Notes and Queries," i. S. xi., 219, 294. (*Nostoc*.)

I goe about my buisines without any slavish feare of it, yet my body too apt for such a disease, which proves very mortall when it comes, many whole families of 7. 8. 9. 10. 18. in a family totally swept away. . . . I thinke there is no fleeing from Gods hand, & truely this sicknes so highly pestilentiaall in some places, speakes it to bee more in judgm^t than any thing else, and true repentance is the best antidote, & pardon of sin the best cordiall. . . .”

Aug. 11. “I perceiue M^r Bennett & others are afraid of mee, & truely I do not thinke to fright them, for I shall not, if I come, thinke my selfe safer there [*at Rye*] then here, whilst my call is to stay here;” but he confesses he is troubled at the nearer approach of the sickness every week, and especially at a new burying-place made near him, where great funerals were made of such as died of the distemper. August 24th. “I am, through mercy, yet well in midst of death, & y^t too approaching neerer & neerer; not many doores off, & the pitt open dayly within view of my chamber windo; the Lord fitt mee & all of us for our last end! surely if my freinds bee afraid of my letters, I would not be afraid of theirs.” He goes on to say that many persons wear amulets made of the poison of toads, which upon infection raise a blister which a plaister heals, and so they are cured.³⁶

Sept. 2. “It hath pleased God to take from mee the best freind I have in y^e world, & one wherein my children stood as much concerned as in my selfe, wth reference to what they should have expected from the relations of my wife; it is my brother Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lord’s day last in the morning: towards evening a little ill, then tooke something to sweate, w^{ch} y^t night brought forth a stiffnes under his eare where hee had a swelling y^t could not be brought to rise & breake but choacked him: he dyed Thursday night last. . . . I blesse God I am well. . . .”

Sept. 7. “The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, & God knoweth whither I may write any

³⁶ The use of amulets or charms as preservative against disease, is a superstition of the oldest and most general kind. In the 16th century amulets against pestilence were made of arsenic.—(Fosbroke’s Dict., V. i.) I have known a toad’s leg sewn up in a bag and worn round the neck, as a cure for “the King’s Evil.”

course of pgressse & regradation hee will continue within the compasse of my Ascendant in my Nativity till 1st of July next; I had thought to send M^r Jeake the scheames with y^e directions & pfections for this yeare for his judgm^t, but I have not time now." Then on the 14th he writes to Mr. Jeake, and sends him an elaborate astrological essay, with "Schemes," "Tables of Directions," and "Profections," very curious, but "caviare to the general." The result is not happy, for, says he, "By compareing these scheames one with another and with the directions & pfections of this yeare, there seemes to bee a very sickely, if not a mortall day, very neere approaching to mee; S^r I would not be afrayd of these things, further than to ppare for the worst, so neither would I omitt that knowledge or cognizance of such a thing if God please to cast it in: I desire your thoughts upon y^e whole, as to these 3. things: what, & when, & in what parts y^e danger will in probability lye: 2^{ndly} the time when; & 3^d the meanes, if any, how to prevent &c." This gives us a new phase of his character. His friend Jeake was a master of this "Divine Science," and no doubt Allin had profited by his instructions so as to become an adept, like his master, in the "language of the stars."

On the 28th Nov., "this beeing the transit of ♂ (Mars) to the cuspe of my Asc: I have kept at home all this day to avoid cold as much as may bee," and though he has had some aching pains and other fancied ailments, he admits that he is better in health than he could possibly have expected. In the beginning of December he informs his friend that he is about to get a Provincial License to Practice, and hopes to obtain it, "though of late they are loath to make any so fully universall, but for 2. or 3. diocesses onely."³⁹ He also hears that his stocking venture to N. E. has brought him nine pounds, but he had hope for ten. He is now contemplating a removal, and thinks of Sevenoaks. Dec. 26 he writes—"I pray send mee word if my children have not yet eaten out their freinds freindship. I would not pass by that enquiry, because a year is out, although I am not

³⁹ This must be the *extra-urbem* License of the College of Physicians.

yet in a liveing, much lesse in a thriveing way : yet I had rather want then that they should."

Jan. 11, 166⁵, he is engaged to preach to-morrow, he says.

Jan. 19. A ship has arrived from N. E., and brought him a letter from his father, dated 3 Nov. And again on Jan. 23, another ship brought him another letter from his father, "whose family is well, & the country in peace."

Feb. 6, he writes that there is a report in London that the French had committed some depredations in Sussex, carrying away some persons prisoners: he wishes to know the truth, for he hears that at Hastings they are in much danger as well as at Rye. Feb. 22, he recurs to these reports, desiring to know the truth, and says that a ship is now sailing for New England, & he must write thither this night, therefore cannot enlarge.

March 8. He is anxious to "flye into the country," but knows not yet whether to Kent or Essex, "but I reckon about Barking in Essex . . . the city, if not the kingdome, is threatened to be made too hott for us."

March 20. He would not have his letters directed to him by name, but "To M^r Charles Cooke, Turner at y^e Plow and harrow, in little Eastcheape. London." "with two round dashes wth the penn over *London*," to distinguish his letter from the man's, "but no one but M^r Jeake and yourself (Fryth) were to know how to direct to him." March 22. He cannot fix on Barking, the sickness being there; and although it is also at Woolwich, he thinks that will be the place of his habitation, and on April 14, 1666, he informs Fryth, who is about to give him a meeting at Bromley, that he shall be at his "sister Elizabeth ffowler's house at Woolwich, hard by the King's yard to the Westward of it, just by M^r Acworth's, whose house it is." April 27. He writes under a feeling of great disappointment from not meeting his friend. May 26. He hopes Mr. Fryth will give him a visit at Woolwich, there being now no danger. Whilst here he hears the guns of the great naval action between the combined fleets of France and Holland and the English, on the 1st and 2nd June, at the mouth of

the Thames, and gives interesting particulars of the fight. On July 7, he writes that, about a month previously he had been bitten on the left shin by a great dog, and that the wound had now a tendency to mortification. July 21. "My legg I hope is in a mending healeing posture, yet full of paine betweene times and apt to bee inflamed in these dogg dayes." Aug. 18, his leg is almost well. Sept. 22. He alludes to "this dreadfull desolation of this sometime famous city."⁴⁰ He had been up from Woolwich but once since, and now thinks to lodge (when in town) where he lived before, or near it, and now desires his letters may be directed to "M^r Lewis Bolden, near the King's road upon the Horsleydowne," and not to give his own name, but with the same mark as before mentioned. And then he says—"Since I wrote to you last I have seene almost one graine of the pfect greate Elixir, y^e *prima materia* whereof, if health & opportunity might p^recure, I could yet wish for shortely." He fears an ulcer in one of his kidneys and an empyema in his stomach! Sept. 29. He is very bad with inward heat, trembling, and burning at his heart and fainting. But these ailments pass off. Dec. 9. He had received a letter from his father in N. E., where all things were well. Jan. 25, 166⁶/₇. He requests his friend to send him a bushel or two of mustard seed, if he can procure so much, it being "very good merchandise where I live." If his friend gave 4, 6, or 8^s p bushel there would be profit enough. March 2. He expects next week "an universal licence *ad practicandum*," and this week he met with an offer to go to Oxford with a friend for one year, to work in the University "chimicall elaboratory;" if his friend take the mastership of the work, to be his assistant. March 8. He had no time yesterday, being engaged about his licence *ad practicandum*. The "p^romises thereof failed, not holding to bee done wthout subscribing in such sorte as no man may come neere y^m; for a Physitian hath nothing at all to doe either wth abrenuntiation of y^e Coven^t, nor with y^e adopting of ceremonies; & so I left them." As regards the Oxford scheme, he

⁴⁰ The Great Fire which broke out about 3 a.m. of Sunday, Sept. 2, 1666.—See Pepys' "Diary.")

was not more fortunate. His friend failed in coming to terms with the University. May 25, 1667. He writes from Woolwich that it will not be finally settled until next week, and that if it does not succeed, he shall come nearer London. June 20. He had got into new quarters at Ratcliffe Cross, "at y^e signe of the 3. marriners, a pastry cooke's house, where I have 2. chambers, and a cellar chymney." He was "forced to a suddaine remove from my former habitation at Woolw^{ch}." He desires that his place of abode may be kept secret, and his letters to be directed to "M^r Edward Burtt at his house in the new Buildings going on to Tower Hill out of Cretched Fryars; wth y^e old distinction over *London*." July 27. He writes—"Wee are kept from weeke to weeke in hopes y^e new Treasurer for y^e Navy⁴¹ will begin to pay y^e seamen, but as yet they begin not; next weeke wee yet hope there wilbee one payday, in w^{ch} I shall not, as at all times as I am able, I shall not forgett y^e concerns that are upon mee, though I p^fesse this so long & chargeable attendance on that imployment without any receipts, I thinke will never bee recovered while I live, to make but a salvo for my expences about it already past: but God only knowes how little while this miserable life will last: the Lord fitt us for a better." It is necessary to explain that Allin, as appears by his letters, during the past year at least, had been acting as agent, or "soliciting," to obtain the pay which was due to the seamen who had probably been his own parishioners in Rye, but had been impressed into the Navy, and having been engaged in the naval actions with the Dutch and French, in some instances wounded, had now the utmost difficulty in obtaining from the Government their pay and pensions. The exhausted state of the Treasury prevented their payment in money, and they were put off with "tickets," or promissory notes, which fared no better when they became due. Allin acted in this business by Power of Attorney, which entitled him to a commission of 2s. in the £. It gave him infinite trouble, fatigue, and expense,

⁴¹ Lord Anglesey succeeded Sir George Carteret, Knt., M.P. Pepys has—"M^r Povy tells me as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of Treasurer of the Navy by consent to my Lord Anglesey &c."—"Diary," June 26, 1667.)

that absorbed all his profits. Oct. 3. He writes—“There is yet no beginning of paying seamens ticketts : I have layd out so much money in attending upon y^t buisines, & preparing ticketts for pay, that I have not moneys now left for ordinary & necessary occasions.” Sep. 22, 1668. He writes—“No signe of paym^t of any ticketts yet of 66. 65. or 64. : their delays in that nature are abominable, and to mee very destructive, for so long waiteing doe more than eate out all the pfit, besides y^e wast of time more then all.” This statement is fully corroborated by Pepys.⁴² Another business in which he was engaged at the same time, gave him much anxiety and trouble. Edward Beale, of Rye, had been taken prisoner by the Dutch, and was now imprisoned in Holland, and Allin endeavoured to obtain his release by an exchange of prisoners. This he at length effected after a long period of anxious negotiation. Jan. 19, 166 $\frac{5}{8}$, he says—“I am almost mad about Beale’s business,” but his persevering exertions were crowned with success. Thus he never forgot his old friends and acquaintances at Rye, and was ever ready to do them a good service.

October 19, 1667. He writes he was never at so low a pinch for money. “I sent some medecines this yeare to Virginia, for a venture, to about 6^{li} value, & the Dutch hath gotten them.” The following notice of Mr. Greenfield’s library is rather interesting :—Oct. 24. “I have searched all the papers that I can at psent find, concerning M^r Greenfeild’s books, for the prizes (*prices*), & have noted in y^e margent what I could find either in M^r Greenfield’s owne hand, or in the booksellers letters : but for the prizes in generall, I have gotten 2. freinds to sett downe indifferent prizes for y^m all : for lightfoote’s Harmony,⁴³ Tho. Carew (as I remember) had it when I came away : & M^r Bennett one book or two in folios, which were M^r Greenfields : & I thinke they were Sam. Clarke of the 10 persecutions & the moderne persecutions ;⁴⁴ or, one piece of y^e lives of divers divines &c ;

⁴² “Diary,” Aug. 22, 1667.

⁴³ “Harmony, Chronicle, & Order of y^e New Testament,” by John Lightfoot. London : 1655.

⁴⁴ “A Martyrology &c. of Persecutions in England. Lives of Gaspar Coligni ; Jean Q. of Navarre, & 10 English Divines.” 1 Vol. fol. Lond : 1652.

you may aske him what hee had; hee is so honest there is no feare of them, but upon accompt hee must allow for them: the 2. papers & prizes differs about 2^s in the generall. but more in some particulars; & I thinke both are out: there is 2^s 6^d difference in Sibbs;⁴⁵ y^e cost in y^e margent will rectify that: there is 4^s diff^r in Gouge on y^e Hebrewes:⁴⁶ it is a good booke, and may be worth the highest prize; I remember M^r Horne, of Bread,⁴⁷ would once faine have had it for 20^s: Willsons dictionary is a very good booke, cost 16^s; but in that they both agree in their prizes: Bolton's works⁴⁸ cost 18^s: 10^s or 8^s either is too little, both beeing but y^t it cost. Manton on James is a good booke & sells well; 4^s is neerest y^e truth of its worth: they were sold for more: Diodatae (*sic.*) is a good book; I could never find it at a 2nd hand under 15^s, but 6^s is too little by halfe; 11^s is neerer the worth, but not enough: their prizes of Colvill, and Preston's Sin's overthrow⁴⁹ differ much for so little value: you must rectify it by yo^r judgm^t. If you can gett 4^l together for y^m all, it will doe well; & they will bee both well bought & well sold, all things considered: but none of them will sell as they have apprized them: & so y^e both say."

April 25, 1668. He meets with an accident which might have had very serious consequences, but happily not so. His tobacco-pipe struck against the table and ran into his uvula. For awhile he could neither eat, drink, nor swallow, and could hardly fetch his breath and speak; but these alarming symptoms soon subsided.

July 4. "This weeke was heard," he writes, "the noise of drumms, trumpets, neighing of horses, and clattering of armes, about ii. in the morning: the like noises also in N. E. hath alarmed them, as I perceive by a letter from my father this day: one other remarkable & mercifull pvidence relating to them he also men-

⁴⁵ "Exposition on 2 Cor. i.," Richard Sibbs. 1 Vol. fol. Lond., 1655.

⁴⁶ William Gouge. Other works of his—"Domestic Duties," 4to., 1622. "A Guide to goe to God." 4to., 1626.

⁴⁷ Mr. Horne, yeoman, of Brede, was the ancestor of George Horne, Bp. of Norwich, 1790.

⁴⁸ "Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God." 4to., 1630, and other works.

⁴⁹ John Preston, author of this and many other treatises.

tion, w^{ch} was this, that letters written agst the country to greate ones in England, divers violent stormes to the apparent danger of ship & lives, forced the messenger to pduce them [as Jonah once himselfe], which beeing viewed & throwne overboard, they had after it an happy & prosperous voyage; which accident is the 6th time of letters agst the country hath from time to time miscarryed." Sept. 8. "I long to heare from you, viz, who yo^r staffe bearer⁵⁰ this yeare; and what y^e doeings was at Dover at y^e swearing of y^e L^d Warden.⁵¹ I would begg of you, when you can spare an hour or two's time to step over to Winchelsea Castle, & in the vault there which is underground & arched, & have, I suppose, gone almost round the Castle; there hangs in very many places under y^e arch, greate Icicles (as it were) of Peter,⁵² which hath sewered through the earth: I pray gett mee as much of it as can be gotten; els gett Thomas Shoosmith to do it for mee, & when opportunity serves by sea, send it mee; I wish there were 20^{lb} of it; but what can be gotten I will be thankfull for, & allow for his paines. I have lately seene some of a brave pcesse upon Tinn, almost to the pfection of gold, & hope to see it this weeke pfect."⁵³

October 3. He has received the nitre, and says he intends "to make some of G. Starkey's rich white powder of it, which he sold for 5^{li} ʒ oz.; of which I have gotten a true receipt.⁵⁴ . . . I pray advise me what I had best parte withall to sell, for the helping forward y^e putting out my Children, & with whom they meane to place them: my iron grate & greate table I wish were turned into money for that end: advise mee what you thinke may be gotten of Anthony Cruttenden for an old arreare of tythes for Cadborough farme: there is above tenn

⁵⁰ The Mayor of Rye (Q^e. "Staff-bearer"), this year was Francis Young.

⁵¹ The Lord Warden was H.R.H. James Duke of York and Albany, &c.

⁵² Camber Castle. These must have been natural exudations of Saltpetre in the form of stalactites or icicles.

⁵³ The Welsh word *alcam-tin* is said to be found in *alchemy*.

⁵⁴ George Starkey was probably a Rye man. There are letters from him to Mr. Fryth, by which it appears he lived in Fleet-yard, London, and was a compounder of chemical "arcana's" [as he calls them]. His letters date in 1662-3, address,

"ffor Dr ffrith at Rye in Sussex—at y^e Spurre
in Southwarke leave this wth y^e Rye Caryer."

"This wth my respects to your selfe & M^r Allen my old acquaintance, Committing you both to God's protection, I am yours Ge^o Starkey."

He died of the Plague in September, 1665.

pounds due. I will doe what I can, but I am forced now to borrow money to keepe body & soule together: yet I have had a patient this weeke." Thankful, no doubt, for small mercies; but in a very low condition as to temporal affairs. Oct. 6. "I have a small barrell of speciall good tobacco ready cutt and dryed: & it hath layd upon my hands here longer than I can spare the money: if you can helpe mee off with it you will doe mee a curtesye; & I will send it down by some of o^r boates when they come: but I cannot afford it under 2^s 6^d P lib, & it is worth more. I hoped to have had 3^s here, but I cannot tell how to peddle it away, & therefore would putt it off, to have lesse pfitt, so I may gett my money in . . . the world goes very hard with mee, but I will doe whatsoever is possible for y^e putting out of my Children, so y^t I may bee satisfied in the psons to whom, & how. . . ."

Nov. 3. "I have not beene well, yet have not kept the house: but through mercy I am now better; my illness lay much in my head, and sometimes a failing of my spirits, allmost to the losse of sense, at my first entrance into sleepe; possibly it may arise in parte from my greate discouragements I have had, by y^e reason of my long attendance for tickett moneys, without that way or any other way of supplyes, that I am quite exhausted, & am forced to borrow to keepe mee alive, my practise is small, and indeed I cannot compasse money to set me to worke ffor the preparing of such medecines as I have need of to keepe by mee." He hears now that "young Samuel Jeake is in towne," but knows not where to find him, but he had left a note at his (Allin's) lodging to meet him on the Exchange, which he intended to do. Curiously enough I have the copy of a letter from him to his father of this date (see *infra*).⁵⁵ Allin concludes this letter with

Londini 10. Nov^{bris} 1668.

⁵⁵ "Pater Charissime,

. . . Ne verbum quidem de peste audivi post recessum Thomæ Shoesmith. Billam mortalitatis vidi quâ nulli de Peste moriuntur, etsi non multum fidei adhibeatur billæ. Thomâ Shoesmith presente audivi à D. Martin. 2. obiisse hodie; interrogavi ab avunculo; ille renunciavit puerum mortuum esse in hac pochia cum Tho. Shoesmith me comitatus est. Post illud nil audivi.

Filius tuus obedientiss:

Sa. Jeake Jun^r.

To his honrd ffather

Mr Samuell Jeake

in Rye. Sussex."

this piece of important information to his friend :—“ My freinds processe of turning ψ into \odot ⁵⁶ prospers: of one *lib* of ψ . he had $\text{z}ij.$ at first, which since have increased in weight and colour, lying in a continuall flux, unto $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *lib* or better.” Nov. 14. He cannot write by the Thursday’s posts, because he attends a meeting of “Chimists,” “where wee are helpfull each to other very much, and coñmunicate in any concerne of phisicke freely.” In reference to Cruttenden’s arrears of tythes, who asserts that he paid them to Mr. Elmer, Allin replies that Elmer had no right to receive them, and must return the money; and says that he will send the copy of Mr. Elmer’s agreement with him (Allin), in which are the names and sums of money that he was to receive particularly mentioned. Joseph Elmar succeeded Allin in the Vicarage of Rye, and, judging from the spirit of a letter from him to S. Jeake (see Vol. XIII. S. A. C., p. 62), he had no great regard for the Puritan party in Rye, and probably Allin would not get much redress from him.

Dec. 5. He informs his friend that he hath been endeavouring to obtain a place in the Pay-office, in the general turn out there,⁵⁷ but in vain. He must have been very well known there. Feb. 6, 166 $\frac{8}{9}$. Has been very ill of a “desperate cough, gripes, and loosenes, not yet stopt, though through mercy a little abated, & beeing very weak with it am scarce able to write.” March 11. He is about enquiring after some lodgings nearer London, though they will be dearer, and are very scarce to find. He is “longing for *materia prima*,” and gives some particulars of the process, but reserves what he has more to communicate until they meet; and entreats him now to “cancell y^e writing, because a letter is too publike a place to scatter such hints in.” April 3, 1669. He returns to the same subject. “We have brave season for *prima materia*, [if] I had here the same opportunities to gather it which are in the country. Wee are getting some vessells ready to putt it to worke, made by one who made one for a person who did dye possess’d of that

⁵⁶ See date Sept. 8, 1668. *Tin into Gold*.

⁵⁷ Lord Anglesey displaced, and succeeded by Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osborne.—Pepy’s “Diary,” Oct. 29, 1668.

treasure.⁵⁸ If I had y^e freedome of speech with you, I would communicate something worth y^e knowing about it, but not fit to bee putt to writeing. The world continue at the same rate of hardnes with me, or rather worse; for now all is exhausted, & nothing comes on but troubles . . . y^e first opportunity of conveyance I will send my son John an Accidence & bible, though not new, for I am not able to purchase one, nor any *close* to weare.”

July 24. He apprizes his friend Fryth that he had sent him “by Moone, I thinke, who carryes for Sloman,” a translation of Schroderus.⁵⁹ He then gives him some directions for gathering *Rosa Solis*⁶⁰ under the proper sidereal aspects; and tells him that if he can make a good quantity of the Extract of *Esula*,⁶¹ according to Rulandus, both Dr. Pratt and himself will “endeavour to recompense it to you in some other preparations.” Aug. 28. Times begin to brighten at the Pay-office. “Yesterday after some yeares waiteing, I rec^d for Mark Jacob’s ticket for y^e victory w^{rein} hee was slaine y^e sum of five & forty shillings & 6^d: one shilling for casting, and 6^d for y^e doore keep beeing deducted, rest 44^s, w^{ch} at 2^s \mathcal{P} lib. (if y^e will allow no more) comes to 39^s 6^d for him: I also rec^d for W^m Starkeys tickett for y^e same ship eight and fifty shillings: 1^s 6^d as in y^e other deducted for casting & doore keep, rests then six and fifty shillings & 6 pence: at 2^s \mathcal{P} lib. (if no more be allowed) it will leave one and fifty shillings for him; I leave it to you to get allowance.” He then gives some astrological prognostications concerning himself. “The Sun happens to bee eclipsed this yeare wthin a degree of his & y^e Moon’s radicall places, & wthin a day of my revolution, Mars, by transit Afflicting my radicall Ascendant Saturn; Saturn by transit opposing to a degree his owne radicall place, & y^e M. Cœli about y^e same time coming to an opposition of Mars in my radix, according to Kepler’s way of directing: all w^{ch} considered makes it dubious whither I may not meete

⁵⁸ The *Elisir magnum*.

⁵⁹ John Schroder, “A Compleat Chymicall Dispensatory in 5 bookes.” 1 Vol. folio. Lond. 1669.

⁶⁰ *R. Solis; Rosa Solis; Rorella; Sponsa Solis*.—Salmon’s “Dispensatory,” 1707.

⁶¹ “*Esula* (*Euphorbia esula*, Linn.). The extract is a *Panchymagogen*, or one of the most general Purges in the world; wonderfull in Gouts & Scurvy—esteem it as a Jewell.”—Salmon, *ib*.

wth a fatall fever before y^e end of October next." October came and went, and happily this prediction was unfulfilled; but whether Allin's faith in his favourite science was thereby shaken was not acknowledged by him afterwards. Apparently in full expectation of the fatality, he goes on to say—"God's will be done: if it should prove so, I hope my freinds wilbee my childrens freinds still, & pserve and make y^e most of what I shall leave, for their advantage; the most y^t I shall ow here wilbee to M^r Pigott y^e apothecary;⁶² M^r Hodges my taylor in S^t Katherins courte: & to James Newton 40^s I borrowed lately to keepe body & soule together for a little time: for other things then victuall I get not, scarce that."

This letter is thus endorsed by S. Jeake—"7^o die Sept 1669 M^r Allin paid to M^r Jos. Boys 45^s by Eliz. Vicars order, in full discharge of 2^{li} xviii^s he received for her brother Will^m Starkeys service in y^e victory." In his next letter, Nov. 2, he says that his "affaires have beene so retrograde in y^e world since I saw you, that I have had little comferte in my life;" he has had some differences with his landlord, and has been looking out for another place, but cannot find one to his mind; he has little practice where he is, and without hopes of more, unless he could "reduce psons to better conditions to make a civill answer for mee," and not to deny him when he was at home. Dec. 20. He is still studying anatomy, and had been thus engaged at Surgeon's Hall⁶³ until 11 at night. Soon after this (*Letter. s. d.*) he is very busy in settling himself in his new quarters, and requests that his letters be directed to be left for him at "the Cross Daggers & horne in Moorfields next doore to Long Alley end." March 4, 166⁹/₇₀. "Now my practice begin to mend upon mee; I am forced to give attendance, especially at first, more than ordinary; yet I have not much to doe but to waite: last weeke I tooke 11^s and this weeke 9^s which is more than I have done for $\frac{1}{2}$ of a yeare & more: but I hope well of this place." He is very

⁶² Mr. Spencer Pigott, at the Green Dragon and Talbot in Cannon Street.—*Letter*, Oct. 19, 1665.

⁶³ Surgeons' Hall was rebuilt in 1668, after the Great Fire, which did not destroy the Theatre of Anatomy, but injured Holbein's painting so much that Pepys would not give £200 for it.—"*Diary*," Aug. 29, 1668.

desirous that Mr. Fryth's son, Frank, should be with him, this being the season for *prima materia*, to assist him apparently in his chemical operations; for, says he, "if I knew how to gett a good quantity I could now tell how to deal with it," and refers his friend to his letter to Mr. Jeake with strict caution of privacy. This letter is preserved, and I have no hesitation now about divulging its secrets, save that their exposition will extend to a greater length than our curiosity may care to be troubled with:—

(To Mr Jeake.) "Loveing ffreind, March 17th 166^o₇₀.

Yo^{rs} of y^e 21st past had received answer before this time, had I y^e conveniency to goe & view the phylosophicall nest to have a fresh account & sight of the eggs:⁶⁴ last monday I went thither accordingly: you may please to remember there were 2. nests, both fed with sawdust, y^e one in sand, the other in Balneo. That in Balneo consists of 4. eggs ♂ much of y^t. fashion, about $\frac{1}{3}$ full at first; all of y^e phylosophicall matter but diversely gathered: one, y^e middle nest, that did then & still doe looke like sacke or yellow oyle, was p^t of y^t matter gathered at Rye, w^{ch} M^r ffryth sent mee: y^e other eggs (as well as y^t at first) turned blacke like pitch after 49. or 50. dayes, with a kinde of shining superficies in whitish spotts, like fishes eyes: y^e one of y^e other glasses looke now on y^e top of greyish white supficies: another of y^m looke blackish againe, but seemes to bee so swelled as if y^e glasse was almost full: y^e 3^d of y^e other wee cannot come well to see what it is: y^e holes to see through were too little, & one so ill placed wee could not well hold a candle to it: they were all luted up at one time with one lute, viz, melted rozen thickened wth y^e powder of chalke, & calcined egg shells, in which, whilst hott, dip four corkes, first filled to y^e topp; & immediately putt in & covered with a linnen cloth, spred wth y^e same lute on y^e inside, & so tyed down fast with threds; but you must bee very quicke, for it drye so fast y^t it will scarce admitt the doeing of it: there was no election of time in y^e gathering; but in y^e luteing up the glasses wee tooke as good aspects as wee good (*sic.*) betwixt y^e superiors (the Sun and Mercury) especially at y^e kindling y^e fire (after y^e lute of y^e furnace was drye, w^{ch} was made of common loam & horse-dung, poudred, sifted & mixed), y^e Moon's & Mercury's good application to Sun, & as good as wee good to y^e superiours. They in balneo have stood this day about 300. dayes: y^e other furnace wth sand had a large cucurbite glasse wth about a gallon & $\frac{1}{2}$ of y^e same matter, which have stood this day about 285 dayes; of w^{ch} y^e colours &c; it have been like melted pitch, & then wth fishes eyes in severall shapes & numbers, now a whitish grey surface y^e heate of fire lesse by halfe a degree; y^r 1st 100 dayes not above the 3^d point of 4. of y^e first degree of fire: y^e Balneo have never beene above y^e first degree of fire; & at y^e first, not

⁶⁴ Glass vessels so called, used in chemical processes; if gourd-shaped they are called cucurbits.

so much ; and accordingly must y^e quantity of sawdust be used, w^{ch} is not renewed above once in 24. houres : we have a querie amongst us⁶⁵ about y^e first pparation of y^e matter, how to sepearate the drossy, dreggy, dusty impurities which may attend it in the time of gathering ; but this wee all conclude, it must not be touched by fire before its sealing up for good & all ; I believe y^e first fire must not be culinary of any sorte ; & therefore lesse chargeable : indeed when the philosophicall Mercury is ppared, & it come to bee fermented for processe with metalls, then it requires a culinary fire : I could tell you, if I were neere you, what greate things have beene done onely by the cold fire of the earth, but I neither can now, nor may at once comitt w^t may bee s^d to writinge : If what I have said putt you upon queries, let me know them ; if you can say any thing to what I have related, tell me ; allways remember privacy. I thinke, if I were in y^e country, I could gather it without sullage or need of sepearation more then nature make. (*Sun in Aries or Scorpio*) is the time for the matter. I cannot enlarge, but wth respects to yo^r selfe, son, y^e old woman, M^r & M^{rs} Bennett, & all freinds, with love to my children, wishing you all health & happines,

In hast at psent I rest
Your loveing freind
thankfull for all yo^r.kindnesses
J. ALLIN.

Remember yo^{rs}, Mr ffryths, & my owne engagements of privacy, yet freedome amongst our selves in this buisines ; transcribe w^t you please of this letter in characters, & burne y^e other."

(Addressed) "To his loveing
ffreind Mr Samuel
Jeake senio^r. at
his house in
Rye
These psent
in
Sussex. Rye."

The two great dreams of the Alchemists were, the transmutation of the baser metals into gold ; and the discovery of some medicine which should be a panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to, an *Elixir vitæ*, or *Elixir magnum*, as it was termed. How far they succeeded we know. But we are too prone now to regard their age as one of self-deception and imposture ; it was not so ; they were the efforts of infant science to stretch out her hand towards objects which experience had not yet taught her to be beyond her reach ; she has grown older and wiser, and knows the futility of her attempts ; but there are counterfeits that mock her power now.

⁶⁵ He probably alludes to the "chimists" mentioned, Nov. 14, 1668, with whom he is associated.

His next letter is to Mr. Fryth, July 28, 1670. He begins in a doleful strain—"it is such a cloudy day now, that wee have scarce light or liberty to write to one another." His own affairs were in a very depressed condition; his landlady had caused him to be arrested for the last quarter's rent, and 5s. 6d. he owed her besides, in all 40s. 6d., and put him to 10s. expense, although she had for security all his goods; and he had but 6d. in the world! "I have not taken 5^s for phisicke, nor can I tell how to get bread, much lesse to pay debts, or get cloths, the want of which infringe my credit much, and must needes therefore hinder my practise . . . I am translating Penotus his receipts & collections of Rs in chymistry,⁶⁶ and if you can send up y^t little treatise (I suppose of chymicall sp^{ts} you meane) it may be printed wth it, if approved by our society so to be."

(The next to Mr. Jeake.)

"October 13. 1670

Loveing freind,

Since my good freind Mr ffryth dyed,⁶⁷ I have not had the happiness to receive one line from Rye, neither know I to whom to write to receive an accompt of my childrens & freinds wellfare, unlesse your selfe will please now & then to gratify me with a letter, and accept of a few lines from mee. I have seene some further pducts of what you saw in the balneo and in sand, viz, both virgins milke⁶⁸ & dragons blood,⁶⁹ & the greate bay salt out of both; but nothing to perfection; but what may give some solid hopes of future good, deo volente. D^r Pratt & D^r Stacy both desire their respects to bee psented to you; one told mee this weeke y^t Rye was very sickly; I pray doe me y^e favour as to afford mee a few lines by way of accompt how my freinds & children stand in health or sicknes. I have beene in a more then ordinary discomposedness to any buisines for want of any thing to doe whereby to keepe body

⁶⁶ "Bernard, G. Penotus. Tractatus Varii de vera Præparatione et usu Medicamentorum Chymicorum." 12^o, Francof., 1594.

"Apologia in duas partes divisa: cui sequentia opuscula adjuncta sunt de Physici Lapidis materia et quibus signis dignoscatur; item de multiplici Igne Lapidis." 12^o, *ib.*, 1600.

"De Denario medico, quo decem medicaminibus omnibus morbis internis medendi via docetur." 12^o, Bernæ, 1608.

⁶⁷ Mr. Philip Frith died Aug, 17, 1670. "Oct^r 16, 1670. About this time I received Mr. Philip Frith's books of his executrix, mostly Physic books, given me by his will and worth about 25^{li}. He died August 17th last, 7^h 50^h p.m."—MS. "Diary" of S. Jeake, jun.

⁶⁸ *Lac Virginis Schroderi*, made with waters of Nightshade, Lettuce, Water-lilies, Sorrel, Litharge of Silver, Ceruse, and Camphor. "It makes women fair & beautiful & makes a wrinkled brow smooth."—Salmon's "Dispensatory."

⁶⁹ An American gum, used for its astringent property in various diseases.—*Ib.*

& soule together, & truely I have beene very ill all this weeke, & this beeing my revolution day of 47. yeares, It puts me in mind w^t hapned at 29. when I had liked to have marched off by y^e small pox ;⁷⁰ what fitt of sickness or death attends mee I know not, y^e will of God be done! . .

(Addressed) To his loveing ffreind
Mr Samuel Jeake sen^r
at his house in

Rye

These psent
in Sussex."

The next letter in the series is to Mr. Jeake, and it is worthy of being presented as a specimen of the curative art which was now practised by Allin. "May 3. 1671. . . I hope yo^r son have long since have lost his ague; if not, or any one else bee much afflicted, this plaine & easy medicine have beene often tryed: for a man, or woman; take 2; for a child, but one red herring; take y^e bones out well; y^m sow it or them up in a thin cloth, with y^e heads uppmost, & y^e fleshy pte toward y^e body; bind it or them upon y^e reines, and applye playsters of burgundy pitch to y^e wrists; this keepe on till well; or els renew as occasion serve. . . . I have not lately seene y^e pcesse for y^e matter, but I heare it goes on well. For yo^r sons hearing, if it yet be defective, take a leafe of coltsfoote & bruise it betweene yo^r fingers, & wⁿ Juicye, make a kind of tent of it & putt it into y^e eare troubled, & stop it after wth wooll; & renew it as occasion serve."

Allin's father died in New England on August 26th, 1671. We have no more letters from him until Feb. 3, 167³/₄ when, writing to Mr. Jeake, he complains of indisposition, and requests him to let him have a copy of his father's Will, which he had lost, but sent to Jeake in part. And this letter is followed by another dated March 19, 167³/₄, which is the last of his in our series, No. 191:—

"Mr Jeake & very loveing ffreind,

Some while since I gave you an accompt of the glasses sent you, & the use of them, so well [as] I could then describe y^{em}, & their price & charge attending y^{em}. I hope y^{ey} are long since arrived safe, & to y^r content, whereof I shall be glad to heare. I

⁷⁰ Born Oct. 13, 1623. Appointed to Rye in 1652, æt. 29. Smallpox was bad in Rye in 1654 (according to Holloway).

also begged a copy of my father's Will, so farre as I transcribed & sent to you, with so much of y^e letters sent with it, which I very much want at this season, to give directions to some in N. E. to act for mee, in reference to y^e secureing & gaineing some benefit of my state there, for my selfe & children. Your advice also I begg therein, in what forme, by letter of Attorney &c I may make my Claime there secure till I can goe; & in the meane while to gaine something thence towards my translation, & discharge of some engagm^{ts} here; so y^t my Attorney may not doe more then after my directions, in neither selling nor dischargeing more than is fitt; & y^t I or my heires, Execut^{rs}, or Assignes may call him to a certaine accompt for the same: it must not bee longer neglected: I pray, so soon as you possibly can, send mee a Coppy of w^t I sent, keeping that originall (as it is now) haveing lost y^e true one, to yo^r selfe”

From the intimation conveyed in this letter, it seems probable that he afterwards went to New England to look after his estate, and this would account for the cessation of his correspondence.

We know from other sources that Allin's father's Will, dated August 23, was proved August 31, 1671. He therein devises to “my beloved first-born son John Allin, now in England, whom I have educated in learning &c, such a part of my estate as will give him a double portion according to the custom of N. E.” The estate, as appears by the inventory, amounted to £1,079 8s. 8d. (lawful) *i.e.*, about £800 sterling.⁷¹

From the date of the foregoing letter, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$, until 1680, we can give no account of him; we may reasonably infer that he spent some portion, at all events, of the interval in New England, and if so, he assuredly returned to England, for at the last date, 1680, we catch a glimpse of him in London, by a letter from his son John, to Mr. Jeake, who thus writes—

“S^r:

I beg your Pardon that I have not writ to you since my arrivall in Towne, I being a stranger & not having an opportunity till now: I have not yett rec^d my money, but as soone as I doe, if you please to direct what way I shall send it, or to pay it to any one here, I will obey your orders: *my ffather was gone a weeke before I came, and I have heard nothing of him since*: I like the City very well, and I doe not

⁷¹ *Ew. inf.* Judge Warren of Boston, Mass., to Mr. W. D. Cooper, by letter subsequent to that printed in “*Archæologia*,” *loc. cit.*, privately communicated to myself.

doubt but by the Grace of God I may doe well here : soe with my service to your selfe and son, your cozen Mary, M^r. Miller, and his brothers, and to all the rest of my freinds I remaine

Your humble servant

JOHN ALLIN.

My Aunt fowler presents her service to you, shee is now in a faire way of amendm^t : pray, when you write, direct your letters to her house in Throgmorton Street.

London 11th May 1680."

This is the last trace of him I have discovered. My impression is that he went, not to America, for in that case it would not have been possible for his son to hear of him, but to his native county, Suffolk, where he seems to have had relatives living ; of his subsequent career, I regret that I am unable to give any account.

I have thus sketched an outline of the extracts which I have made of these interesting letters, and have restricted myself as much as possible to the narration of incidents and circumstances which bear on Allin's personal history, and, for the most part, I have given them in his own words ; also, of such other incidents as have a local interest relating to Rye and its neighbourhood. But I have left a great deal purposely unnoticed which might have been more interesting to the general reader ; for the letters abound with allusions to public events ; the gossip of the day ; the fears of the people strongly pourtrayed ; persecutions ; calamities ; troubles ; the terrible sea-fights with the Dutch ; the Great Plague ; and the very curious tales of supernatural sights and sounds, prodigies and omens in the sky above and in the earth beneath, related apparently in the undoubted belief of their actual occurrence in various parts of the kingdom. To have given these details, with the requisite annotations, would have carried me far beyond the limits allotted to this communication.

BATTLE ABBEY EVIDENCES.

BY SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART.

THE following notices of the Abbey of Battle appear to have been, for the most part, overlooked by contributors to the Sussex "Collections," and inasmuch as none of the evidences, save the Conqueror's charter, or rather the confirmation of it by his son Henry I., giving the Royal manor of Wye to the monks of Battle, figure either in the Monasticon or elsewhere to our knowledge, they are now offered as likely to prove acceptable and interesting to the Society, and fill up a void in the records of that renowned abbey. The selection has been taken from a miscellaneous collection of abbatial grants among the Bodleian MSS., (with the exception of the charter which heads the list), transcribed from the chartularies or registers of different religious Houses.

It is needless to repeat what is already known, that the Benedictine abbey of Battle was founded on the spot of the decisive battle (styled of Hastings); that it was commenced in the year immediately following, viz., 1067; was dedicated to St. Martin; and founded by the Conqueror to commemorate his victory.

The first of the ensuing charters is from Henry I. to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, exempting the abbey from all service in respect of the manor of Alciston, in Sussex,

and from contributing such towards the works of London Bridge and Pevensey Castle. There is no date to it, but it is tested at Bury (St. Edmunds) by William de Pontearch, who was associated with Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in the custody of the King's Treasure, and from this attestation it was probably granted towards the end of his reign, or about 1120, and for similar reasons to those adduced in the foot note to another charter of Henry I., given after it. The Bodleian MS. copy is in the handwriting of Guillim, Rougecroix, *temp.* Eliz., and the charter is alluded to by Stow ("Survey of London," Book 1, ch. 13), with reference to the first bridge over the Thames. Whether the original charter is now among the muniments of Viscount Gage, who possesses some of the earliest Battle Abbey grants, and is also owner of the manor of Alciston, we have not ascertained.

As regards this manor there can be no doubt, like many other ancient manors, that at the date of the writ of exemption it was of very much greater extent than at present, as lands in Bramber, Shoreham, Washington, and Findon, in West Sussex, belonged to it. Part of the outlying lands in Washington were called Stonelands, and others Battlelands, but none of the other names given in the charter, as forming part of the manor, *temp.* Hen. I., can now be authenticated, with the exception of Ovingdean.

CHARTER EXEMPTING THE MANOR OF ALCISTON FROM ALL SERVICES, MORE PARTICULARLY IN RESPECT OF LONDON BRIDGE AND PEVENSEY CASTLE.

Henricus Rex Angliæ, Radulpho Episcopo Cices-trensi, et omnibus ministris suis de Sudsex, Salutem. Sciatis quod sicut Abbas de Bello, et monachi dirationaverunt coram me, quod non habent illas terras quas dicebatis eos habere, scilicet : Ovingedene, Senredeswell, Codingle, Betelesford, Stonneswell, & Brambresenor, que antiquitus pertinebant ad Alsistonam, et que faciunt septem hydas de quinquaginta hidis, que jacent in Alsis-

tona, et in suis pertinentiis; Præcipio quod a modo inde liberi sint et quieti, nec aliquis eis in amplius molestus sit, sed sint ab his terris et his hidis liberi et quieti, sicut de illis quas nec habent, nec inde saisiti sunt. Præcipio etiam Regali auctoritate, quod manerium illorum, quod vocatur Alcistun, quod pater meus Ecclesie de Bello cum aliis terris pro anima sua dedit, sit ita liberum et quietum a Siris, et Hundredis, et omnibus consuetudinibus, et terrenis serviciis, sicut pater meus ipse illud liberiùs et quietiùs tenuit, et nominatim de opere pontis London,¹ et opere castelli de Pevensel; et hoc præcipio super forisfacturam meam. Teste Will'o de Pontearcha,² apud Bur'm.

Indorsamentum hujus carte;
 Henr' primus de Alc'ston'
 dominis.

[Rawl. MS. B. 102, f. 54.]

CHARTERS TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL REGISTERS OF
 DIFFERENT ABBIES, BY "JOAN BLACKBOURNE, A.M.,
 OLIM S. S. STÆ TRIN. COLL. CANTAB;" AMONG THE
 RAWLINSON COLLECTION IN THE BODLEIAN.

The names which occur in the following grants relating to the Abbey of Battle, appear to be chiefly in connection with the Royal manor of Wye, with the exception of those in the confirmation charter of Hen. I., viz., Bromham (in Wilts), Crowmarsh (in Oxon), and Limpsfield (in Surrey).

This manor, near Ashford, in Kent, which by a Quo Waranto entry, appears to have been of great extent,

¹ This was the first bridge erected over the Thames, and was of wood, replacing the ferry across the river at the same spot until that time. Later, in the reign of King John, another timber bridge was constructed in place of it, which was destroyed by fire four years after.—(Stow, "Survey of London.")

² William de Ponte-arca (or Pontearch), was Chamberlain in 1 King Stephen, and Sheriff of Hampshire and Berkshire in the same reign. He was one of the attesting witnesses of Stephen's grant and confirmation of the Bishoprick of Bath to Rodbert, and, according to William of Malmesbury, filled, together with Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the office of Treasurer to the same King.—(Malm. Historia Nov., i., 178; Mag. Rot. 5 Stephen, ro. 136; Cod. MS. perantiqua G., in Bibl. Coll. Corp. Christi Cantab, f. 117; Madox Hist. Excheq.)

and to have comprised, *temp.* Edw. I. “Kyngeſnode,³ Dengesnode, (or Dyngesnode), Dengemareys (or Denge-mersh),³ Wachingdean (Wethyndon),³ Anglingeſe,³ and Haukherſt,”³ was part of the firſt endowment of Battle Abbey by the Conqueror, having been a manor retained by the Crown after the Conqueſt, (*regale manerium*), (*Placita de Quo Waranto apud Roff’ 6 Edw. I., rot. 19 & d.*), and one of its moſt important poſſeſſions (*Cart. Antiq. Muſ. Brit., L. F. C. xvi., 13*). According to Lambarde, it comprised a fifth part of the county of Kent. The jurors ſummoned under a writ of Quo Waranto of 6 Edw. I., to enquire as to the Abbot’s right to the manor of Wye, found that it had been held by the abbey from time immemorial; and inasmuch as the ſeveral enſuing grants or conceſſions are in cloſe connection with it, the confirmation charter of Hen. I., although mentioned by Dugdale, is alſo given, ſeeing that additional matter is connected with it, not recorded in the Monasticon. In moſt, if not in all inſtances, the grants in queſtion appear to be made by feudatories, who held under the abbey in the town and vicinity of Wye, holding thoſe parts of the manor which the monks did not keep in their own hands, their holdings being probably by free-ſocage tenure. As the abbey poſſeſſed the entire manor, which was of great extent, theſe grants are not otherwiſe explainable.

(1.)

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Anglorum, Omnibus vicecomitibus in quorum Vicecomitatibus Sanctus Martinus & Monachi de Bello terras habent, Salutem. Mando et præcipio quatenus Abbas et Monachi de Bello, bene et honorifice, et quiete, & in pace, terras suas et omnia sua

³ Kingsnorth, or King’s Node, near Ashford; Denge-Marsh, now part of Romney Marsh, stretching to Dungeness, in which the abbey claimed wrecks of the sea; Hawkhurst, between Tunbridge and Rye; Withersden?; and Anglyngle in Cranebroke (Cranbrook).

teneant, scilt. Wi, Ælfrest', Limensfeld,⁴ et Hou, Bricht, Woldint', Bromham,⁴ Craumareis,⁴ cum omnibus appenditiis suis, et Apeldreham,⁵ quod eis dedi in escambio pro Rading, cum sacha, socha, thol' & theam, & infangen', et omnibus placitis & querelis, & siris & hundr', et wapp', et omnibus aliis rebus, et opere pontium, et castell', et parcorum, & clausuris, et deneg', et geld', et scot', & omnibus aliis operibus et auxiliis, et omni Landirecto ad castella vel quælibet ædificia. Nec ipsi vel homines sui ad quoslibet comitatus, vel sires, vel hundr', venire cogantur; set habeant per omnia maneria sua curiam suam cum regia libertate et consuetudine, secundum cartam regiam Will'i patris mei; Nec præsumat quisquam de his violentiam eis inferre super forisfacturam meam. Teste : Rog' Ep'o Salesb', apud Winton'.

[Hinc constat hanc cartam concessam fuisse ab Henrico primo; post annum verò 1107, quod in eo sacratus fuit Rogerus; ante annum 1134, quod in eo Henricus ultimo transvexit in Normanniam, ubi moriebatur. Sed cœnobium de Rading fundatum fuit an. 1125, et hæc charta certissime præcessit istam foundationem, quia escambium in ea memoratum, indigitat Rading jam jure pertinuisse ad monachos de Bello, ante quam hæc charta concederetur; forsân dabatur hæc charta an. 1120, XXI Hen. I. Mem' Cœnobium Redyngense fundatum fuit sub anno 1113;—Chron. Petrib. p. 63. (*Transcriber's Note.*)

The date of this charter of confirmation is reckoned at 1120 (XXI Hen. I.), and the note appended to it (as above), assigns the reasons for such inference. It is

⁴ This, hodie, Crowmarsh-Battle, or Preston-Crowmarsh, a hamlet near Wallingford, belonged to Battle Abbey; whilst Bromham is the place of that name in Wilts, the manor of which was held *temp.* Edw. The Confessor, by Earl Harold, as was also that of Crowmarsh, having been granted to the monks of St. Martin of Battle, by William Rufus. Liminesfelde, or Limpsfelde, in Surrey, had also belonged to Harold.

⁵ Appledram, in Western Sussex, was the manor which the monks of Battle obtained in exchange for Reading, before the foundation of its abbey by Henry I.

plain, it says, from the wording, that it was granted by Hen. I., but, at any rate, after the year 1107, because in that year it was that Roger was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury; and again, before the year 1134, because Hen. I. passed over into Normandy for the last time in that year, and there died. But the Abbey of Reading was founded in 1125, and this charter most certainly preceded its foundation, because the exchange recorded in it, indicates that Reading already belonged to the monks of Battle, before the charter in question was granted; therefore the probability is that it was conferred in the year stated. According to the "Chronicle of Peterborough," the Abbey of Reading was founded about A.D. 1113 (fo. 63)].

[Rawl. MS. B. 461, fo. 2.]

CHARTERS OF THE MANOR OF WYE BELONGING TO BATTLE.

The lands named in the next charters formed part of the manor of Wye. "Fanescumbe,"⁶ is identical with *Fanscombe*, a valley on the downs, where the races are now held; "Kyngesnode," with *Kingsnorth*; "Plumton," with the farm *Plumpton*, so called; "Cumbe," with *Coombe*, another farm; and "Crundale," with *Crundal*, a small village; being all near or not remote from Wye. It is stated by the Rev. E. Turner (S. A. C. XVII., 26) that the town of Wye is supposed to have stood in early times "in the valley between the Wye-down and Crundal," called "Pett Street," where Dr. Harris further states, several deep wells existed in his day. This rather explains the site of some places in the ensuing charters, amongst others "Bolteshill," which may be either the hill called "Mons," in one of the charters, or Olantigh Towers, the residence of Mr. Drax, M.P.

⁶ Among other entries in the Kent assessments for knighting the Black Prince, we find:—"Fannscombe alias Nether Fanniscombe; Upper Fanniscombe alias Crundale, alias North Combe," proving that the name Fanescumbe, at the date of these charters, comprised a larger district than afterwards.—(Arch. Cant. xi., 33.)

(2.)

Ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno regni Regis Edwardi, filii Regis Edwardi, secundo [2 Edw. II., June 24, 1308], ita conventum est inter Johannem Abbatem de Bello,⁷ et ejusdem loci Conventum ex una parte, et Stephanum de Fanescumbbe ex altera, viz. Quod prædictus Stephanus dedit, et pro se et hæredibus suis imperpetuum concessit prædictis Abbati et Conventui, et eorum successoribus, duos solidos redditus per annum, quos Alexander Attetoune prædicto Stephano reddere consuevit, de tota illa terra, quam prædictus Abbas & Conventus tenent in campo vocato Tunesgrafteghe in Wy, unde idem Alexander medius fuit inter ipsos Abbatem et Conventum et prædictum Stephanum; et octo denarios redditus per annum quos Bartholomæus Attetoune reddere debuit & consuevit dicto Stephano, de duabus acris terræ quas tenet in prædicto campo; & quatuor denarios redditus per annum, quos Amytia, quæ fuit uxor Simonis Godeholte reddere debuit, et consuevit dicto Stephano de dimidio acræ prati in Shytsthonks; Habendum et tenendum totum prædictum redditum et redditus in feodo, et aliis pertinentiis suis, prædictis Abbati et Conventui, et eorum successoribus integre, libere, et quiete imperpetuum. Et pro hac concessione prædicti Abbas et Conventus pro se et successoribus suis, remiserunt et imperpetuum quietum clamaverunt prædicto Stephano et hæredibus, tres solidos de redditu quindecim solidorum decem denariorum & oboli, quos reddere debuit & consuevit per annum ad manerium de Wy, de jugo de Fanescumbe. In cujus rei testimonium hiis scriptis cirograffatis tam sigilla prædictorum Abbatis et Conventus, quam sigillum prædicti Stephani, alternatim sunt appensa. Hiis Testibus: Thoma de Aledon; Adr' Attegate; Ricardo de Bronesforde; Gileberto Dod; Hamone Pistore; Roberto Aghemond;⁸ Simone

⁷ John of Watlington was the 16th Abbot of Battle, from 1307 to 1311 [1-4, Edw. II.].

⁸ The name Aghemond is identified by one of the Kent Fines levied 4 Edw. II., at Westminster, between William, son of William de Beltyng, junior, and Mabilla

Dod; Johanne de Herebaldone; Godefrido Fullone; Ricardo Malekyn, et aliis.

(3.)

Pateat Universis per præsentis, quod Ego Stephanus de Fanescumbe attornavi Alex' Attetoune, ad faciendum et reddendum Abbati et Conventui de Bello, duos solidos redditus per annum, quos idem Alexander mihi reddere consuevit de terris et tenementis in Wy, in campo vocato Tounesgraftegh; et ipsum Alexandrum et hæredes suos de prædicto reddito cum pertinentiis suis, penes me et hæredes meos penitus absolvo, et quietos esse pronuncio per præsentis imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentis scripto sigillum meum apposui. Dat' apud Wy, die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno regni regis Edwardi, filii regis Edwardi, secundo &c. [2 Edw. II.] (24 June, 1308; John of Watlington being then 16th Abbot of Battle.)

(4.)

Noverint Universi me Christinam, quondam uxorem Rogeri de Kyngesnoode, remisisse, relaxasse, et omnino pro me imperpetuum quietum clamasse Abbati et Conventui de Bello, & Roberto filio Roberti Aspail, totum jus et clameum quod habui, vel aliquo modo habere potui, de totâ dote mea contingente de omnibus terris et tenementis quæ fuerunt prædicti Rogeri, quondam viri mei, in Plukele,⁹ Habendum et tenendum eisdem Abbati et Conventui, et Roberto & cuilibet eorum, sine aliquo retenemento vel reclamatione mei prædictæ Christinæ. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis scripto sigillum meum apposui. Dat' apud Cant', die Sabbati in crastino Sanctæ Margaretæ Virginis, anno regni E. filii Regis E. septimo. [7 Edw. II.]

d. of Godfrey Aghemund (plts.); and John, son of Godfrey Aghemund of Wy (defc.); of 1 mess., 24 acres of land, and 2s rent and appurts. in Wy.—(Arch. Cant. xi., 341.)

⁹ *Hodie*, Pluckley, near Ashford.

(21 July, 1314; John de Northburn being then 17th Abbot of Battle.)

[Simon de Fanescumbe, Ricardus et Will'us filii Angeri, et Edmundus Mundekyn, variis terris hanc Abbatiam auxerunt, sed membrana peritura legentium oculos eludit. (*Transcriber's Note.*)

Other grants to Battle by Simon de Fanescumbe, Richard and William Fitz Anger, and Edmund Mundekyn are too indistinct to be deciphered.]

(5.)

Sciant &c., quod ego Gilebertus Attepette, dedi Abbati &c unam peciam terræ meæ in campo vocato Muntfeld laterand' ad terram ipsorum Abbatis &c West, et terram meam Est, ad terram ipsorum Abb' Suth, et venell' quæ vocatur Cherchwey North, Reddendo inde annuatim ad Fest S. Mich' vi denarios.

(6.)

Sciant quod ego Simon, filius Roberti de la Toune, dedi &c Abbati de Bello iiij acras bosci, jacentes in bosco qui vocatur Plumtoneswode, inter boscum Her^d Alic' de la Toune, ab Aquilon', & boscum Thomæ, patris mei, à parte Australi, et extendunt se in longum à strata regia quæ dicitur Plumtonestrete, Est, usque ad semitam, quæ tendit de Cumbe ad ecclesiam de Crundale, West. Pro hac autem concessione et quiet' clam', remiserunt mihi tres denarios et obolum de annuo reddito, quos eisdem reddere solebam in die Sancti Mich., & iiij denarios in Fest' Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

(7.)

Sciant &c, quod nos Walterus le Mogge, & Walterus le Wyth, dedimus &c Abbati &c unam peciam terræ,

quæ vocatur Tornegoldestand, quæ jacet versus Aquilonem à molendino super montem de Wy, scil. in angulo de Fanescumbe, & ij^d annui redditus per annum; unde Thomas de Pirie unum obolum annuatim reddere tenetur die beati Mich., pro redditu septem den', quem dictus Thomas emit de Petro Tornegold, qui proveniunt de Tornegoldesdane apud Fanescumbe. Et Lucas de Fanescumbe et hæredes sui, unum den' et unum obolum die beati Mich' annuatim reddere, de dicti acra bosci, quæ jacet juxta terram prædictam versus Occidens; Reddendo inde annuatim prædicto Lucæ et hæredibus, viginti et tres den' ad F'beati Mich', et unam gallinam ad Nat', et Thom. de Estri quatuor den' et unam gallinam. Et nos warant' &c.

(8.)

Sciant &c, quod ego Simon, filius Stephani de la Toune, dedi Abbati &c. duas acras et dimid', et unam virg' terræ, jacentes in campo vocato Northfeld, inter terram Gilberti de la Toune, patris mei, laterando Suth & North, & capit ad terram dicti Abbatis Est, et terram dicti Gilberti, quæ vocatur Darmdale, West: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis unum den' redditus in F. Sancti Michaelis; et Ego warantiz' et defend'.

(9.)

Sciant &c, quod ego Stephanus de Touna, dedi &c. Abbati &c. unam acram bosci, qui est juxta boscum hæredum Johannis de Tuna versus Austrum, et versus Aquilonem juxta boscum hæredum Augeri de Puteo, videl' integraliter totam peciam terræ et bosci quam ibidem habui. Et ego warant', acquiet', et defend' sicut puram, liberam et perpetuam Eleemosynam &c. Et remiserunt mihi & hæredibus meis, quatuor den' redditus annuales, die beati Mich', de septendecim den' redditus quos eis annuatim debui reddere, de octava parte unius jugeris, quem tenui de eisdem apud Montem &c.

(10.)

Sciant &c, quod ego Will'us de Forda, filius Augeri de Puteo, dedi &c, Abbati &c, unam peciam terræ apud Montem, quæ jacet inter terram eorum Abbatis & Conventus, quam habuerunt de Gilberto Pick, West, & terram de Thomæ de Fanescumbe, Est; reddendo inde per annum die beati Mich. iiij den', et ego warantiz', acquiet', & def' &c.

(11.)

Sciant &c. quod ego Will'us, filius Augeri de Puteo, dedi Abbati &c., tres virgat' terræ jacentes apud Montem juxta domum Radulphi de Monte, illas videlicet tres virg', quas emi et tenui de prædicto Radulpho. Præterea dedi unam acram et unam virga' terræ apud Montem, jacentem juxta terram quæ fuit Simonis Aghemond¹⁰ versus Austrum, quam emi de Ricardo de Puteo, fratre meo, reddendo inde annuatim pro me et hæredibus meis, pro prædictis tribus virgatis, tres den' prædicto Radulpho de Monte ad festum Sancti Mich', et pro predicta acra et una virg' terræ, quatuor den' et obol' ad festum S. Mich'; scil' Thomæ de Estri & hæred', et mihi et hæredibus meis unum obolum de Forgab',¹¹ ad prædictum festum. Et ego warant', &c.

(12.)

Sciant &c, quod ego Ricardus, filius Edmundi de Plumton dedi novem acras et dimid' terræ et duas acras bosci, scil' quicquid remansit terræ et bosci apud la Toune, post mortem Edmundi patris mei, de hæredibus Mabill' matris meæ. Insuper remisi et quiet' clam' eisdem quicquid dictus Edmundus, pater meus, de hæred' matris meæ dimisit. Et concesserunt

¹⁰ See p. 163 *antea*.

¹¹ This word Forgabulum (*Angl.* Forgavel), is quoted by Jacob as occurring in the chartulary of Reading Abbey (f. 88); signifying a small reserved rent in money, or quit-rent.

mihi et hæredibus meis unam plac' terræ cum dom'
desuper, construct' in foro de Wy, proxime adjacent'
mesuagium Jordani Rabel ab Oriente, reddendo prædictis
Abbati et Conventui iij d', ad quatuor terminos usuales
manerii de Wy.

[Rawl. MS. 461, ff. 2, 15, 16.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PLUNDERED MINISTERS RELATING TO SUSSEX.

By FREDERICK ERNEST SAWYER, Esq., F.M.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXX.)

The Christian pastor, bowed to earth
With thankless toil, and vile esteemed.

KEBLE, *Christian Year*.

"Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity."

PART II.

BEFORE resuming this subject, it will be useful to glance again at the administration of ecclesiastical matters under the Long Parliament. The assistance of the Scotch troops against Charles I. was only obtained on condition of the English Parliament taking the Covenant and introducing Presbyterianism. The Scotch Commissioners stirred up the Parliament to reform the Church, and accordingly the latter passed an Act, entitled "An Act for the Calling an Assembly of learned and godly Divines, &c." In forming this assembly, one or two representatives were nominated by the Members of Parliament for each County; the Sussex members accordingly nominated "MASTER Benjamine Pickering, of Easthoatley, and MASTER Henry Ney [Nye], of Clapham."¹ In addition to these, Dr. Francis Cheynell, of Oxford (who afterwards received the Vicarage of Petworth), was a member, and John Maynard (Vicar of

¹ *House of Commons Journal*, 1642, and *Collection of Orders, &c., of Parliament*. Edward Husband, pp. 141 and 209.

Mayfield) was subsequently added by the Parliament, being termed "a superadded Divine." Sussex thus contributed four members to the Assembly (which is better known as the "Westminster Assembly"), and of these Henry Nye did not appear at all, whilst the others gave constant attendance.² Benjamin Pickering was inducted to the living of East Hoathly on December 24th, 1620.³ Sir Wm. Burrell gives no particulars as to Henry Nye, who was presumably Vicar of Clapham (Sussex). Francis Cheynell and John Maynard were both ejected in 1662 for Nonconformity, and Calamy gives their biographies.⁴

The Assembly was only permitted by the Long Parliament to advise and report, and one of its special functions, as already has been seen, was to examine the ministers nominated by the Parliament, or the "Committee of Plundered Ministers," or their local committees, and occasionally to ordain these ministers. The Assembly of Divines first sat in July, 1643, and continued to sit under that name until February 22nd, 1649.⁵ In process of time the Presbyterian majority met with great opposition from the growing sect of Independents (to which Cromwell belonged), and the result was the ultimate downfall of Presbyterianism. This took place some years before the Restoration, and the attempt of an alien race to force an alien religion on an unwilling nation failed, and it was consequently not unnatural that the Presbyterian preachers, who had been for some time in growing unpopularity, met with ejection in 1662.

The "Committee of Plundered Ministers" was assisted in the various counties by local committees. In an "Act for the Punishment of Scandalous Clergymen and Others," it was provided that the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper might issue commissions as after:—

² Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv., 47.

³ Add. MSS. 5697.

⁴ *Nonconformist Memorial*, Vol. III. See also as to Cheynell, S.A.C. XIV., 23; XVIII., 101; XXIV., 208; XXV., 209. And biography by Dr. Samuel Johnson in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1751, and notices in Neal's *History of the Puritans*. As to Maynard, see S.A.C. XXVI., 70.

⁵ *Penny Cyclopædia*—article on WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

“*For the Countie of Sussex.*”

*Richard LORD Buckhurst, SIR Gregory Norton, *Sir William Morley, *SIR Thomas Pelham, KNIGHTS; *SIR Thomas Eversfeild THE ELDER, Henry Gerding, William Michelburne, *Herbert Hay, *John Baker, William Newton, Peter Farneden, *Edward Apsley, Henry Peck, Edward Higgons, *Herbert Boord, Thomas Jeffry, Henry Carleton, *James Temple, John Ailwyn, *Anthony Stapeley, *Herbert Morley, Edward Goring, Thomas Chase, Nicholas Wolfe, Richard Smith, Thomas Baker, *John Downes, George Oglander, ESQUIRES,”⁶ to enquire by the oaths of twelve lawful men of the following offences :—

“Not preaching the word of God six times at least in the space of one whole year by any Ecclesiastical person or persons under the age of Sixtie years, having cure of Soules, and not being thereunto letted or hindered by sicknesse or imprisonment, or of Blasphemy, wilfull and corrupt perjurie, and subordination (sic) of perjurie, Fornication, Adultery, common Alehouse or Tavern haunting, common drunkennesse, common prophane swearing and cursing.”⁷

It seems probable that the persons just referred to constituted the original Committees in Sussex, and that several other members were from time to time added by the Parliament.

With these remarks and quotations, we continue the proceedings respecting the various parishes.

BRAMBER.

On June 17th, 1645, the Committee “Ordered that Mr. ——— Minister of Bramber in the countie of Sussex doe make his psonall apparance before this Comittee

⁶ Those marked thus * were members of the Long Parliament, and sat for the following places :—Lord Buckhurst (disabled 1644), *East Grinstead*; Sir William Morley (disabled 1642), *Chichester*; Sir Thomas Pelham, *Sussex*; Sir Thomas Eversfield (disabled 1644), *Hastings*; Henry Hay (“Recruiter”), *Arundel*; John Baker (“Recruiter”), *East Grinstead*; Edward Apsley (“Recruiter”), *Steyning*; Herbert Borde (died), *Steyning*; James Temple (“Recruiter” and regicide), *Bramber*; Anthony Staply (regicide), *Sussex*; Herbert Morley (King’s Judge), *Lewes*; John Downes (regicide), *Arundel*. See List of Long Parliament in *Carlyle’s Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell* (1871 edit.).

⁷ Husband’s *Orders, &c., of Parliament*, p. 134. This was one of the Acts presented to the King at Oxford in 1643, and to which his assent was refused.

on the first of July next to answer to all such matters as shall be objected agt him vpon an Informacon pferred agt him vnto this Committee whereof he is not to fail at his pill." (Add. MSS. 15,669, p. 92). On Aug. 9th they "Ordered that — Davenport be sumoned to make his apparance &c" on Sept. 3rd (p. 132). The death of Mr. Davenport stopped further proceedings, and on Nov. 29th a resolution "Ordered that the rectory of Bramber and Buttolph in the county of Sussex void by death & in the gift of Magdalen Coll. Oxon^s shall stand sequestred to the use of John Cheese Minister of the word," and referred him to the Assembly of Divines for examination (p. 215).

Burrell gives the following vicars of Bramber :—

"Lawrence Davenport Ind 2 Apr 1623. bur at Charlwood
9 Sep 1645

Jn Cheese Ind 19 Dec 1645 d 1658

Jn Cowdrey Ind 1658 Bur 9 July 1627"⁹

In "*The Contrebuttion of the Clergie &c towards the repair-
inge of St. Pauls Church*" in 1634 occurs "Lawrence
Davenport, parson of Bramburye xs per ann. for five
yeares."¹⁰

HOOE.

The Committee on June 28th, 1645, resolved, "Whereas the pishoners of Hooe in the county of Sussex have peticoned the Coittee y^t Mr. Wm. White minister of y^e word may be noiated to y^e sequestracon of y^e Vicarage of y^e said Church, It is ordered y^t y^e Coittee of Parliam^t sitting at Lewes be desired to inquire & informe themselves concerning y^e life & conversacon of y^e said Mr. White & his good affection to the Parliam^t & to satisfy this Coittee thereof" (15,669, p. 97). On Aug. 9th they "Ordered that the Vicarage of Hooe in the county of Sussex sequestered to the use of — Ward and by him relinquished shall stand sequestered to the use of William White minister of the word," and referred Mr. White to the Assembly (p. 131).

⁸ S.A.C. XXVI., 249.

⁹ Add. MSS. 5698, p. 373.

¹⁰ *Sussex Daily News*, Oct. 17, 1876.

Sir Wm. Burrell gives the following as Vicars of Hooe:—
 “ Jn Gilmore Bur 19 Jany 1625
 Robert Jeames Ind . . . Bur 10 May 1646
 Jn Moore Ind
 Jn Bushnell Ind 1658 July
 Wm. Watson Ind 8 Nov 1660
 Hen Fisher¹¹ Ind 1663 Bur 8 Sep 1680.”¹²

From this it seems probable that Robert Jeames was the Vicar who was sequestered.

ROTHERFIELD.

In the case of this parish we are able by the aid of Walker's MSS. to show clearly the nature and style of the charges brought against the clergy who were summoned before the “Committee of Plundered Ministers.”

On Feb. 25th, 1644, articles being preferred against John Large, Rector of Rotherfield, the Committee for Sussex were requested to examine witnesses for the defence, and to report to the London Committee (15,669, p. 19). Mr. Large then put in his defence, and this most interesting document, which is almost unique, was as follows:—

The humble defense and answeare of JOHN LARG, clerk, parson of Retherfield in the County of Sussex unto certaine Articles or Exceptions presented to the hono^rable Committee of Lewes by some few of the parishioners of Retherfield aforesayd wherein (as he humbly conceiveth) he is unjustly charged of malignancy to Religion and State.

To the first place This Defendant humbly desireth to give notice to this hono^rable Committee that the Articles above named have beene presented against this Defendant not soe much through his demeritts, as through a secret plotte and Combination of John Russell Edward Russell and John Calle who having a minister to theyre kinsman wanting a Living (Brother unto two of them and Nephew to the third) they have used his helpe and assistance in drawing up these Articles against this defendant; and by importunity or perswasion have drawn in John Cheeseman into theyre Confederacy: aiming and entending by the ruin of this defendant to bring in theyre kinsman into his place: whereby (as this Defendant humbly conceives) the Testimonyes of John Russell Edw: Russell John Calle and John Cheeseman w^{ch} they have delivered upon all or any of these Articles are all become of no validity against this defendant as being all partyes and Confederates against him: All w^{ch}

¹¹ S.A.C. XXX., 116, 117.

¹² Add. MSS. 5697, p. 145.

particulars before named this Defendant shall be able to prove by sufficient Testimony from the Confession of some of the forenamed Partyes; and humbly craveth liberty to produce his witnesses for proove of the practise.

This being promised This Defendant proceedeth to his answere of every Article in particular.

1. To the first This Defendant confessith that the Lords Abargavenny successively have bene patrons of the church of Retherfield; but that this Defendant was not presented by the sayd Lord (as in the article is presented) but by a Cittizen of London, to whom the advowson thereof was lawfully passed long before as by the said advowson and this Defendants Institution will appeare: furthermore he denyeth any intimate Correspondency wth any Papists whose erroures he is known to hate, and publicly to refute in all his sermons as occasion is offered; and if at any time he hath bene where such were it hath bene in regard of some earnest businesse wth others in theyre company being ever carefull not to give any cause of offence in this kind: The like alsoe he sayth concerning scandalous Ministers, whose Companies he never liked nor desired, nor did ever admitte any whom he knew to be such to come into his Pulpitte.

2. To the second he answeareth That ever since his coming to the said Parish he hath constantly had two sermons preached by himselfe or Curate every Lords day, except between November and february; when notwithstanding his Accusers in the midst of Sommer seldome or never came in the afternoones to hear the sermons: And that for the space of about three monthes in the shortest dayes of winter he hath usually preached but once a day; but not thereby to spare his own paynes (as his Accusers would suggest by this Article) but as he conceived for the more benefitte of his Parishioners many of w^{hm} dwelling three or foure miles or more from Church and being not able in those very short dayes to come againe thither in the afternoone, this Defendant therefore hath at those times ioyned both his Sermons for the day together and seldome or never preached lesse then neare 2 hours whereby those w^{ch} dwelt farre off might have benefitte of the whole dayes exercise as well as those neare adioyning; And yet notwithstanding this double taste in the morning, whensoever he hath seene any considerable number at church in the afternoone, he hath not omitted preaching to them those times alsoe: And in his Sermons hath delivered nothing but sound and orthodox doctrine and that also in such a manner as he conceived agreeable to the peoples capacityes who doe all (except the accusers) generally professe to have received noe little comfort and edification thereby.

3. To the third he answeareth That the monethly fasts¹³ have ever bene solemnly observed by this Defendant and never omitted at any time since the beginning; but that he hath usually (as is sayd in the former Article) delivered all his meditations for the day together, and preached soe much the longer in the forenoones; the reason whereof hath bene

¹³ These were an institution of the Long Parliament. See *House of Commons Journals*.

because he hath found himselfe in the mornings more fresh and able to performe a double exercise, then to reserve parte thereof till the afternoones when by fasting all the day he hath found himself many times faint and feeble; w^{ch} course and reason of his this Defendant never heard disliked by any untill the exhibition of these Articles against him; and now doth striue wth his owne weaknesse, and preacheth twice those dayes: Neither did he ever knowe or heare of any abuse of those dayes unreproved (as suggested in the Article) or to his power unpunished.

4. To the fourth this Defendant answereth That he hath evermore kept all dayes and in such a manner as hath bene appoynted by Order of the honorable house of Parliam^t: except onely one, w^{ch} he never knew or heard of untill the day was past wherein the Thanksgiving should have bene performed; And then alsoe would have appoynted another day for the same, but that he was advised that he might not doe it of himself without the direction of those in Authority.

5. To the fifth he sayth That never any warrant or any other thing sent from the Parliam^t and directed to be read by the minister coming to his hands or knowledge, hath at any time bene left unpublished And sayth that he hath been ever forward (both by his ready Contribution to all Taxes and by his carefull furnishing those Armes wherewth he is charged) to do his best endeavoure for the safety of this county and kingdome; and hath alsoe advised others to doe the same.

6. To the sixth this Defendant answereth That, that unjust aspersion of being a Neuter or a close enemy to the State expressed in this Article is onely the uncharitable Judgment of those few persons who are his accusers and in noe wise the opinion of the Parishioners concerning him as is here suggested; As it appeareth by a generall Certificate and Testimoniall under the hands of above two hundred of the chiefe Inhabitants (there being but few more housholders in all the parish) amongst whom alsoe almost half those witnesses w^{ch} were produced against this defendant sayth That having bene but a small time in the Countrey he hath little or noe friendship or acquaintance wth any but those of his owne Parish amongst whom he knoweth not any for ill affected as is here suggested: And alsoe sayth that he hath endeavoured often to gaine the friendship (and frequent Company) even of his accusers; striving evermore as much as in him lay, to live peaceably wth all men.

7. To the seaventh this Defendant answereth That beside the generall Testimoniall of the Parishes mentioned in his Answere to the last foregoing Article wherein is testified the solemne taking and giving of the Covenant: This Defendant sayth alsoe that he did publiquely reade both the Covenant and the Exhortation made by the Assembly of Divines unto the Parishioners in the pulpit, and appoynted to them the next Lords day after for theyr subscribing: At w^{ch} time to this Defendants noe little Comforte and as he hoped to the content of the whole parish generally subscribed theyr names thereunto; not any one to his knowledge making the least shew of unwillingnesse: All whose hands are kept upon Record as an undoubted Testimony of the Truth hereof which this defendant is able to produce.

8. To the eighth this Defendant confesseth that in his prayers he hath

usually used such like terms and Phrases as in this Article are expressed: w^{ch} he never heard disliked or blamed by any man before the exhibition of these articles and that now he hath left out whatsoever therein might be taken amisse. But wthall he addeth that he hath never omitted dayly to pray for the grave Senators of o^r land assembled in the high court of Parliament and for a blessing upon all theyre proceedings w^{ch} his accusers have purposely overpassed in this article.

9. To the ninth he professeth That in his most secret desires, he hath ever beene a hartly well wisher unto Reformation, but that he hath beene fearfull of himselfe to innovate or alter any thing established without direction and order from those in Authority: And that he hath often to this purpose professid both to his accusers and others, That whensoever there should come any orders from the honor^{ble} house of Parliam^t or from any others in authority deputed by them concerning these or any other indifferent things in the Church: this Defendant would be one of the first and forwardest that would carefully endeavoure to observe theyre directions.

10. To the Tenth he says That about a month after this Defendant came into the country Mr. Goffe¹⁴ of East Grinstead mentioned in the article came unto Retherfield having formerly some acquaintance with a gentleman of that Parish and proffered to preach on the fast day; and the next day being to travaile about businesse further into the country as he affirmed for that he would not reach home in time convenient to his owne Cure, he desired an exchange for the next Lords day following wth this defendants Curate to whose request upon the Instance of the foresayd Gentleman wth whom he had some acquaintance this Defendant yeilded: But neither was the sayd Mr. Goffe at that time sequestred neither did this defendant know him then to be obnoxious or offensive unto any: And as for those passages in his sermon; mentioned in the Article the Defendant doth not remember any such; neither doe the witnesses produced thereupon (as he humbly conceiueth) agree in theyre relations upon all particulars And as touching Mr. Dawson mentioned in this article, he was sonne unto one who was formerly neighbour to this defendant in Hertfordshire, who coming to teache schoole at Wadhurst, and hearing that this defendant lived soe neare him he came over and proffered himself to preach, w^{ch} he did onely once but neither doe these accusers in this Article any way disallowe his doctrine then delivered; and alsoe at that time soe farre as this Defendant knoweth he was a man of unblamed reputation howsoever afterwards he was reported to degenerate and to followe idle courses.

To the LAST he answeareth That Mr. John Rickner the curate was not a man of this defendants choise or bringing into the Parish but that he had served in that place 3 yeares before this defendants Induction (as all the Parish can testify) during the life of the former Incumbent: And that when this Defendant came first unto the Parish, divers of the chiefe Inhabitants having had so long experience of him, and approving his life and doctrine, desired this Defendant to continue him in the same place w^{ch} he had in the time of his Predecessore: to whose reasonable

¹⁴ See *post*, under EAST GRINSTEAD.

request (as he conceived) this Defendant condescended and hath continued him soe ever since : But neither hath this defendant to his best remembrance ever heard him invective in that kind as is expressed in the Article neither did these Accusers or any other ever make any complaynt concerning him to this Defendant : who would not have continued him in that place if he had found him iustly offensive unto any.

All w^{ch} Allegations expressed in this Answere being cleared by sufficient Testimony this defendant humbly prayeth that he may not be exposed as a Pray to those his few accusers who for their owne private ends have sought his Ruine : But that what imperfections soever shall yet appeare in this Defendant before this wise and hono^rable Committee may be considered as erreours incident to humane frailty and in noe wise proceeding from obstinacy or Contempt : And wthall this Defendant humbly desireth the direction of this grave Committee concerning such things as they shall iudge materiall for the time to come : whose Orders and Admonitions this defendant shall ever carefully endeavor to observe : hoping thereby to live far from any such future trouble or accusation that he may wth quietnesse and diligence attend the duties of his calling. And this defendant shall ever pray &c.

ENDORSED : " Dr. Large's answer to the articles exhibited ag^t him & for w^{ch} his living was sequestered."

The following certificate accompanies the copy of defence :—

I. John Scotchburn¹⁵ Vicar of Frant which was formerly part of Rotherfield parish in Sussex among other papers received this from M^{rs}. Cogger widow of Thomas Cogger executor to D^r Large who was deprived of Rotherfield Living, And it appears by D^r Large's other writings to be his own hand as M^{rs} Cogger and her daughter can attest. I received this paper of M^{rs} Cogger but last January.

Witness my hand

JOHN SCOTCHBURN

Vicar of Frant

September the 4th
1712.

(Walker MSS.)

On May 10th, 1645, "the cause against M^r Large parson of Rotherfield," was appointed for 3rd June, (15,669, p. 71), but on the 15th they appointed 24th June, and "M^r Large is to have convenient notice" (p. 83). On May 24th, a petition of John Large, for a copy

¹⁵ Burrell gives John Scotchburn as inducted to the living of Frant on May 25th, 1702, and buried there Apl. 1st, 1741. He succeeded Thomas Cogger, who was inducted on May 10th, 1671, and buried on Sept. 7th, 1701. Add. MSS. 5697, p. 416. The will of Thomas Fabian, dated Feb. 10th, 1651, refers to his "cosen John Large, minister of Rotherfield," and "Ann Cogger, niece to the said John Large" (S.A.C. XXVIII., 189).

of examination of witnesses, as *he was not allowed* to be present during the examination,¹⁶ was read and referred to the Sussex Committee “to state if he were warned & were present” (p. 80), and on the same day the Committee “sumoned witnesses ad testificand agt John Large” for June 24th (p. 82). A partial examination no doubt took place then, for there is an order on that day for Mr. Large to have copies of the examinations and no further witnesses to be called (p. 94). On July 5th some additional articles were appointed to be heard on the 15th July, and warrants were issued for summoning witnesses (p. 101). Nothing further is stated about the case, but Mr. Large was eventually sequestered, as appears by the following notes in Walker’s MSS. :—

“Mr Large Minister of Rotherfield in Sussex a living of 3 hun. pound a year was also summoned by Cheynel to appear before him to answer to such crimes as he was accusd of, accordingly he came and brought 2 lawyers along with him, the better to secure himself against Cheynills subtily. He was accus’d of being a profane Sabbath breaker in collecting tithes on the L^{ds} day and of being superstitiously inclin’d for breaking a cake over a brides head: to the first he answer’d that his parish was 7 miles long and that after evening prayer when some of his parishioners, y^t lived at a great distance were at Church his servant without his knowledge or concent, did indeed ask a man for some moneys he ow’d but that being no act of his, he hoped he was not to answer for it as to the other he told Cheynel y^t he had indeed broake a cake as was usuall in his parish for the minister over a brides head; yt twas a custom which had long prevailed in his parish and w^{ch} he thought might be inoffensive in itself neither good nor bad, as many other received customs were: when he had made this or the like answer his friends he brought along with stood up in order to second his vindication, but were forbidden to speak and the crimes layd to his charge were judg’d notorious enough by those saints to deprive him of his living tho’ they had not one thing to object against his morals being a person of an unblemished life and conversation.”—(*Walker’s Sufferings, MSS., Vol. IV., Ltr. 876.*)

In his published work, Walker says of Mr. Large, “his judges would not permit his counsel to speak, but sequestered him” (Vol. II., p. 279).

Further explanations are given in the following letter addressed to the Rev. Joshua Thornton :—

¹⁶ S.A.C. XXX., 114.

“ Hamsey, near Lewes in Sussex.

Oct. 8, 1712.

Rev^d Sr

I have at y^r request waited on M^{rs} Cogger who lives in Southover juxta Lewes: She owns her self Neice to D^r Large (made a d^r wⁿ y^e great duke of Tuscany visited this Realme our 2 celebrated universitys) more dignify'd by having been a confessor in y^e days of y^e great Rebellion. The story is short is this (as she informs me) D^r Cheynel y^e Theologist of Chichester and Vintner or Winter¹⁷ whom they call'd Dr alsoe tho' I doubt whether ever a graduate, were travelling together & consulting how to sequester M^r Large they acknowledged to each other y^t they could not attack his moralls but resolv'd on y^e charge of Insufficiency they were in a lane wⁿ they held this conference Mr Couch y^e father of this M^{rs} Cogger Rector of Horsmanden in Kent was leading his horse on y^e other side a thick hedge up a hill & overheard Cheynel and Vintner holding this dialogue (who was B^r in law to M^r Large) M^{rs} Cogger adds y^t one Cawley came in his Rectory wⁿ he was sequestered but whether y^e son of Cawley y^e Regicide she knows not. S^r I am an old man & y^e ways are grown deep and dirty or I would have travell'd farther into this affair but I have engag'd a friend of mine & in y^e neighborhood of Rotherfeild to make y^e nicest search & enquiry into & will send w^t he can get well attested to Mr Rich: Wilkins Mr Walkers Bookseller as soon as possible. I am sorry there was not a more early & timely care to preserve y^e minutes to memoirs of our martyrs & confessors in those days of rebuke and blasphemy. We were on y^e brinks of y^e same precipice very lately: we are yet scarcely safe G^d deliver me from my self & from y^e tender mercys of y^t Enthusiastical Brood y^t has once already sacrificed Ch.: & state

I am Rev^d Sr in all humilyty

Yr fireind & B^r

JO: SHORE.¹⁸

Pardon this scrawl having had company ever since I rec^d y^r letter. ora pro nobis.

Addressed—To the Rever'd Mr Joshua

Thornton Rect' of Sutton

nigh Arundell

Sussex.”

by bag.

(Walker's MSS. Biographical Letters and Papers, Vol V.)

This letter appears to have been enclosed in the following letter:—

“To Mr. Walker.

Rev^d Sr.

Having rec^d an acc^t from a Neighbour of mine, M^r Thomas Newcomb, of your intention to publish an acc^t of the sufferings of the

¹⁷ See notes under COWFOLD *post*.

¹⁸ John Shore was inducted to the living of Hamsey in 1674, and continued until May 5th, 1722.—Add. MSS., 5698, p. 102.

Clergy of the church of England in y^e time of the troubles & the great Rebellion in England &c. And being willing to give you w^t assistance I could in so good a work: At the aforesaid M^r Newcombs request M^r Amey [vicar of Eartham neare Chichester¹⁹] and I my self [who am Rector of Sutton neare Chichester] but nearest Petworth did joyntly concurr in giving you the best account that we could of the sufferings of the Clergy in the West end of the County of Sussex viz^t in and about Midhurst and Petworth and Chichester. But I must beg leave to acquaint you that in the relation w^{ch} we gave you of the sufferings of Mr John Sefton [one of y^e four Residentiaries of Chichester] upon a more narrow enquire, I have found one circumstance thereof not to have been grounded on good authority The particular circumstance w^{ch} I mean was this. That the s^d Mr Sefton did abscond for a considerable time in a Lodge [or Watch-House] belonging to the Warren called the Gumber in Slindon parish neare Chichester w^{ch} I supposed was not inhabited But upon farther enquire into that affair I find that, that Lodge was then inhabited, and that he only resorted thither as he did to his other friends Houses and did not suffer so much hardship there, as was at the first represented.

I desire therefore that y^t Mistake may be corrected before it be made publick.

For one thing more also [in the acc^t w^{ch} we gave you as abovesaid] I must crave your excuse. And that is for the fabulous acc^t given you of y^e sufferings of Mr Large the then Rector of Retherfeild [a parish of great extent in the Eastern parts of Sussex about 40 miles distant from M^r Amey and myself] w^{ch} I had often heard a Gentleman of my acquaintance relate according to the acc^t w^{ch} we then gave you of it, But I have [this present summer] found it to be altogether groundless frivolous and false acc^t as appears by this inclosed copy of Mr Larges his answer to the Articles exhibited against him, w^{ch} were of his own hand writing. This inclosed copy of M^r Large's answer I rec^d the 4th day of September 1712 of M^r John Scotchburn now vicar of Frant very neare Tunbridge Wells who saith he rec^d it in January last past from M^{rs} Cogger widow of Thomas Cogger his immediate predecessor in the said vicarage of Frant And that the said Thomas Cogger was Executor to the said D^r Large; by w^{ch} means all D^r Larges papers came into his hands And altho I had heard that the Articles for which he was sequestered were exhibited against him at Petworth. Yet I find by D^r Larges answer [of his own hand writing as aforesaid] that the Committee met at Lewes in Sussex to do it.

I find also by the said Answer to the said Articles that the right name of the said parish is Retherfield²⁰ & not Rotherfield and that it is a Rectory.

By an account w^{ch} I have very lately rec^d from the Reverend M^r Jo Shore of Hamsey near Lewes in Sussex w^{ch} at my request he went to M^{rs} Cogger for she was now dwelling neare him viz^t in South over near Lewes aforesaid And who also owns her self Neece to D^r Large. I find

¹⁹ Inducted 1664, continued until Aug. 2nd, 1714.—Add. MSS., 5699, p. 483.

²⁰ This appears to be a blunder, though in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. I., p. 339, it is spelt "Retherfeld."

that he was made Doctor wⁿ the great Duke of Tuskany came into England and went to see our two Universities. And that it being resolved on by the Rump party to sequester M^r Large as his title then was Two of the leading and ruling if I may not more properly call them Over-Ruling men among them, D^r Francis Cheynell²¹ the then parson of Petworth upon the sequestration or eject^{mt} of Bp King who held the parsonage of Petworth in Commendam wth his Bishoprick And Vinter or Winter whose Xtian name I think I have heard was George; And I suppose he was the parson of Cowfold not far from Horsham in Sussex, But I dont doubt but that you have had a more particular acc^t of him from some other hand living nearer to him. The two persons before named D^r Cheynell & Vinter M^{rs} Cogger affirm'd to M^r Shore that her father M^r Coach Rector of Horsmonden in Kent as he was leading his horse up a hill on the other side a thick hedge did over-heare them consulting to sequester M^r Large w^{ch} both of them acknowledging in her fathers hearing that they could not do for immorality They therefore resolved on the charge of insufficiency And adds that this conference was held in a lane And to aggravate M^r Larges misfortune if I rightly understand M^r Shores relation of M^{rs} Coggers of her Unckle D^r Large's sufferings which I do also send you the aforesaid Vinter was Brother in Law to D^r Large. But in D^r Large's answer to the articles Exhibited against him w^{ch} I here send you to peruse I dont find any answer at all to any Article of Insufficiency as objected ag^t him Or at least that seems not to have been objected against him by his accusers in his own parish.

But for your farther satisfaction in that affair I here also send you M^r Shores letter to me upon that subject. And if it be thought worthy to record the dangers wth w^{ch} some of our Bretheren were threatened, tho' not actually sequestred. Aquila Cruso²² my predecessor in the Rectory of Sutton near Petworth in Sussex in w^{ch} Rectory I have been inducted full 30 years as my father was likewise before me more than 20 years a small living of about 80^l p ann. though he had lost a prebendary of Chichester of 30^l p ann. value called the Lecture prebend (if I mistake not the name) by the iniquitie of those times in the Common Ship-wreck of the church. Yet not content with depriving him of so considerable a branch of his small Revenue for his subsistence having nothing else to subsist & live upon besides this Parsonage of Sutton (of w^{ch} I am now possest) Three noted Tryers²³ whose names for the credit of there Families I forbear to mention were sent to him being then resident in the Parsonage House of Sutton, to examine his sufficiency who beggin leave of them To give them an acc^t of his faith in writing or to write a letter as my informant called it.

He brought a short acc^t of it written in Greek & Hebrew, w^{ch} none (!!) of his Tryers being able to read, They withdrew from him and tooke w^t he had written along with them. And I dont doubt but D^r. Cheynell

²¹ See *ante*, note 4.

²² Aquila Cruso, B.D., was "Prebendary of Wattering" (Wittering).—Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II., p. 13. Buried Nov. 13th, 1660.—Add. MSS., 5699, p. 242.

²³ In March, 1653, Cromwell appointed a "Board of Triers" to examine all ministers.—*History of England*, Macfarlane and Thomson (1870), II., p. 618.

of Petworth saw it before they went to bed that night. My Parsonage house in Sutton being but 3 miles from Petworth, And my neighbour who gives me these particulars relating to M^r Cruso tells me, that it was thought they suffer'd him to continue in his Living, because he was then about 70 years of Age, & could not live much longer. Neither could they with any colour of truth fix a charge of insufficiency upon him whose faith soar'd in a sphere above their capacity. William Langley a person of about 73 years of Age a knowing and observing man a small farmer or yeoman gives me this acc^t.

The papers of the aforesaid Mr Aquila Cruso descending to me from my father as they did to my father Mr Thomas Thornton Administrator to his immediate predecessor the s^d Aquila Cruso upon acc^t of the Dilapidations, None of the kindred being willing to accept the administration as well knowing it would not satisfie & defray the charge of his dilapidations.

And finding among his other papers the summons sent him from the Commissioners appointed by Oliv^r Cromwell for ejecting whom they were pleased to call Scandalous Ignorant & Insufficient Ministers I have herewith sent you the same if you think it worthy of your perusal But I never found or saw any copy of such articles so exhibited ag^t him as is here said to be sent him together with this summons for his appearing before the said Commissioners at Billingshurst the 14th day of May 1655. Neither do I find that he did ever send or give any other answer to any such articles saue onely w^t is here annexed to his summons w^{ch} I myself know and do attest to be M^r Cruso's own handwriting And w^{ch} Mr Cruso being 70 years of Age and at that particular time labouring under great infirmities of body as by a copy of a letter now in my custody dated July the 10th 1655 sent to Mr Richard Knowles one of those Commissioners and then a Justice of the Peace I find he did and sent to y^e commissioners by two of his parishioners viz^t James Fford and Thomas Standen w^{ch} I think is a sufficient testimonial from his parishioners of his sober life and good learning and that they desired he might be continued to be their minister And utterly disowned their exhibiting any articles of charge ag^t him. And to do justice to his memory if I may be allow'd to cast in my mite I must say y^t he left behind him a general good character for a man of great learning and several of his sermons & papers were sent up to London to his relations by his immediate successor my father, to be printed w^{ch} whether printed or not I never heard

But whether Mr. Cruso's summons to appear before the Commissioners for ejecting Ministers may be of any other use to you I know not save only to shew the general form of their summons to convene Clergymen before them in order to sequester their Churches and Livings.

I must crave leave to add one circumstance as an aggravation of D^r Large's sufferings w^{ch} is That being sequestred he was succeeded by Mr. Cawley as Mr Shore saith in his letter that M^{rs} Cogger owned to him. And M^r John Scotchburn the present vicar of Frant a parish formerly taken out of Retherfield parish acknowledged to me in September last past that the parson who succeeded D^r Large in the Rectory of Rether-

field wⁿ sequestred was Mr Cawley²⁴ as he had been well informed since his settling there. And that he not only continued there untill the Kings restoration But by an agreement made then with D^r Larges continued there one year after the Kings return And was afterwards made Archdeacon of Lincon And that his father was one of y^e Regicides.²⁵ And I had heard a considerable number of years since from other persons towards the western part of this County of Sussex That M^r Cawley son of the Regicide of that name came to Bp King at Chichester and tooke Episcopal orders from him ; at the Kings return and that he continued in a great Living in the Eastern parts of Sussex, and that this Retherfield was the same living There is another instance of one M^r Bradshaw who died possess'd of the small rectory of Egden not worth full 30^{li} per Ann about 2 miles from Petworth & as far from my church of Sutton But not living long there before his death was not so well known abroad as he might otherwise have been. Concerning whom I have been credibly informed That he had been possess'd of a living of much better value in Barkshire but w^t the name of it was or for w^t cause dispossess'd of that living my informer could not tell me who having shewed more than ordinary zeal for & in the cause of the church and the King, was one while so hotly pursued, that he was forc'd to abscond the greatest part of one summer in a Wood and Associate himself with a Collier in Kent, And was reduced to such streights for a subsistence that he was forced afterwards to get his Bread and livelyhood by keeping a small Alehouse a small distance off from the great road w^{ch} leads from Guildford to London between Ripley and Cobbam

John Munger an antient man in Sandy Chappell 5 miles off told me in the month of March last past That he knew the same Mr Bradshaw when he dwelt there and kept the said Ale-house by Thomas Gibson a maltster near Egden told me the same and some others.

Whether you may think this instance worthy of your cognizance I cant tell; But not remembering that M^r Amey or myself gave any account of it among other instances formerly given you & haveing thought it necessary to rectifie some mistakes in our former acc^t I have adventured to give you some account of this too: Leaving it to your discretion to make w^t use of it you judge proper. And having nothing more of this kind to trouble you with at present begge leave to subscribe

Str. Your most humble servant

JOSHUA THORNTON.²⁶

Sutton neare Petworth
in Sussex. October the 18.
1712.

²⁴ His name is not mentioned in the Burrell MSS. John Large appears to have been reinstated after the Restoration, and was buried at Rotherfield, Feb. 7th, 1672-3.—Add. MSS., 5697, p. 570.

²⁵ William Cawley, Esq. (who represented Midhurst in the Long Parliament), was one of the Regicides. See *List of Long Parliament* in Carlyle's *Life and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (1871 edit.).

²⁶ Burrell gives in the Vicars of Sutton—Thos. Thornton, A.M. (Vicar, 1666), bur. Feb. 4th, 1681; Joshua Thornton (Vicar, 1682), bur. Sep. 30th, 1735.—Add. MSS., 5699, p. 246.

The letter enclosed was as follows :—

Rev^d Sir,

How far our Church stands indebted to you for your attempt, is not in my power to express. But y^e encouragem^t you give for further Intelligence has embolden'd me to transmit unto you the following particulars whereof you may make w^t use you see proper.

[Then follows the paragraph about Henry Shepherd. See Vol. XXX. KINGSTON.]

Mr Calamy after his manner censures M^r Wood for saying that D^r Cheynell was little better than distracted towards the close of his life²⁷ He might have said perfectly distracted, by Intervals at least ; w^{ch} is a thing y^t was notoriously known for truth in this countrey (tho' the distemper might run in the blood) I have heard it affirmed by several persons of good credit & particularly by old M^r Zacheus Montagu late Rector of Radmill close by me who had personal acquaintance with the doctor & he gave me this special Instance of his distraction that he appeared one day stark naked in a Balcony I think it was in Lewes town tho I am not certain of this circumstance. He was y^e man y^t behav'd so egregiously at Mr Chillingworth's grave²⁸ upon whose monum^t in Chichester Cloysters there was something inscrib'd at first that expressed Cheynells scurvey treatment of that most worthy person ; w^{ch} was afterwards eras'd by the procurem^t of y^e D^rs son. A very honest and well principled Gent : lately deceased in this neighbourhood M^r Mountagu²⁹ told me that D^r Cheynel had conceived a personal grudge against M^r Chillingworth ever since they were Contemporaries and Antagonists in y^e University, where M^r Chillingworth being his over match, used to maul and baffle him. This M^r Montagu had been himself a man of the times and of considerable note among the parties when he had a congregational church in the cliff by Lewes a Gentlewoman of good repute in that town M^{rs} Panton by name applied herself to him to be admitted to the Sacram^t of w^m he demanded an account of her faith. What acc^t will you have said she ? Shall I repeat the Apostles creed ? No said he but I must have another account in writing under your hand *that I may produce it before Gods tribunal (!)* or else how shall I be able to justify your admittance ? this M^{rs} Panton affirmed for truth to the Rev^d M^r Thomas Whalley³⁰ late Rector of the Cliff (from whose mouth I had it) who was a very honest man a solid scholar and divine and father to M^r Sam Whalley now beneficed in your county and surrogate at Totness.

²⁷ Calamy says, *Nonconformist Memorial*, Vol. ix., "Tho' he had been somewhat deranged, he was perfectly recovered before he left Petworth." Burrell however, says Dr. Cheynell "died crazed about 3 years after the loss of the living." —Add. MSS., 5699, p. 190.

²⁸ S.A.C. XIV., 23.

²⁹ No doubt the same person as Zacheus Montagu, Vicar of St. Thomas-at-Cliffe. S.A.C. XXVI., 26.

³⁰ S.A.C. XXVI., 27.

Six and twenty years ago I officiated at a place called Twineham, Sussex, & boarded with two ancient yeomanly people of a good character. They sometimes talked much of the famous M^r Vinter, w^m they knew originally, & what they said of him was partly confirmed by others. In the beginning of the Rebellion he acted the zealous Loyalist preaching strenuously for church and King till matters going as they went, he changed notes and tacked about to the strongest side, upon the Restoration my Landlady affirmed that she heard him deliver himself thus in Cowfold church close by Twineham. It is said the common prayer must be read again in our churches but I do assure you that if there was a gallows erected in that place and the Common Prayer book laid in this desk I would chuse to be trussed up on that Gallows before ever I would read the common Prayer. Being a leading man among the party many of the neighbouring ministers consulted him in that Juncture about y^e Articles of conformity from which he zealously dissuaded them all, Severall followed his advice and by name M^r Fish who wants not his red letters in M^r Calamy's calendar.³¹ Yet M^r Vinter himself conformed kept Cowfold and together with it got in time the fat benefice of Retherfield³² where in his old age in King James 2 Reign he was preparing for another turn even to Rome itself if times had held and previous to it began to give out He never knew before y^t y^e Papists had such good reasons for their Religion. This the Gentlemen of Mayfield parish next adjoining told me for truth in M^r Vinters lifetime.

Upon your revoking the pretended reasons for M^r Large's ejection out of that living and assigning no others I went to his widow a grave judicious matron who after her former husbands death married M^r Montagu aforementioned and now lives about a mile and a half from me W^a I proposed the question to her she told me that M^r Large was a person every way unexceptionable and that they had no colour of reason for his ejection^{mt} besides the temptation of his benefice concerning which this story was currant. Soon after a certain gent meeting wth one that had done the execution asked him why they turned out D^r Large? For his bad living said the other. No replied the Gentleman, but it was for his good living, alluding to the sole Inducement from the richness of the Prize.

I shall trouble you no further but beg your excuse for this interruption who am

Yo^r very humble servant & Brother

Ri: OWEN.³³

Iford near Lewes in Sussex

May 23. 1716.

To the Rev^d D^r John Walker.

(Walker's MSS., &c., Vol. V.)

³¹ Robert Fish was ejected from the living of Nuthurst, Sussex, in 1662, and afterwards taught a school at Ockley.—Calamy *Nonconformist Memorial*, Vol. III., p. 324.

³² George Winter (? Vinter) was inducted to the living of Rotherfield April 3rd, 1673.—Add. MSS. 5697, p. 570.

³³ Vicar of Iford, June 29th, 1709, ob. Feb. 27th, 1732.—Add. MSS., 5698, p. 129.

In the list of Vicars of Rotherfield, Burrell gives "Jn Large. Ind.—B 7 Feb 1672-3—Geo. Winter. Ind. 3 apl 1673." The *Par. Reg.* records:—"Burials. . . . wife of Jn Large minister Feb 27. 1650 : Jn Large D.D. Feb 7. 1672-3." (*Add. MSS.* 5697, pp. 570 and 571). It is evident that Dr. Large must have re-married, as it appears from the above letter of the Rev. Richard Owen that Dr. Large's widow married Mr. Montagu.

ICKLESHAM.

On June 28th, 1645, it was "Ordered that Michael Suep minister of Iclesham in the county of Sussex doe attend the Coittee on the 10th of July next to answeere the Articles agt him & that warrants shall issue for sumōning pties & witnesses on both sides" (15,669, p. 99). Accordingly on that day it was resolved that "This Coittee taking into consideracon the differences between M^r Suep minister of Icclesham in the county of Sussex and divers of his pishoners they find that it chiefly ariseth in regard he is not in orders & therefore could not officiate as Curate there but for that he is now attending upon the Divines for ordinacon and hath already passed their exaicon & hath pmised that he will officiate according to the Directory³⁴ this Coittee doe dis-misse the said cause" (p. 109).

The authorities (from these resolutions) seem to have been very careless in appointing unordained clergy.

Burrell does not mention Suep, but gives Tho^s Bunbridge as Vicar in 1620 & Jn Harris in 1691.³⁵

LEOMINSTER (OR LYMINSTER).

The only reference to this parish is in a resolution on June 14th, 1645, "Ordered that this Coittee will respitt any proceedings about the Church of Lymster in the county of Sussex for one month upon y^e Lre from y^e Coittee in the said County & in regard it is informed the said Church is in y^e guift of Eaton Colledge it is ordered that y^e lre & peticon therein inclosed be deliued to him (sic.) in the meantime" (15,669, p. 89).

³⁴ An ordinance of the Long Parliament, on August 11th, 1645, established a Directory for Public Worship. See *A Collection of Orders, &c., of Parliament*, Edward Husband.

³⁵ *Add. MSS* 5697, p. 151.

Sir Wm. Burrell states that the Patron was "Eton College The Bishop nominates." He gives the following Vicars:—

"Tho ^s Hearne Ind	1605	Bur 26 Mar 1632
Geo. Edgeley Ind		1634
Jn Gouge Ind		1669 & 1674." ³⁶

In the *Contribution of the clergie towards the rebuilding of St. Paules Church* in 1634 occurs "George Boylee, vicar of Dorington [? Durrington] and vicar of Leominster tenn shilling p ann for five yeeres 00^l 10^s 00^d"³⁷

WIVELSFIELD.

The Committee on April 5th, 1645, resolved "Whereas Thomas Moore of Wivelsfield in the county of Sussex Esq^{re} hath made his Comp^{it} that some of the s^d parish haue uppon false informacon to the Committee for the s^d County procured one James Nicholls to be by them placed in the cure of the church there wch doth solely (as hee alleadgeth) belong to him to provide for being the undoubted patron thereof This Committee doe desire the Committee for the s^d County to make a narrative of the true facts of the case depending or wch hath depended before them in the pmisses and to certify the same to this Committee wth convenient speede" (15,669, p. 52). On May 3rd the cause was adjourned to the 24th, and from then to June 3rd (pp. 66 & 80). On the latter date it was ordered "This Comittee having taken into consideracon the cause betweene M^r Moore Impropriator of the Church of Wieuelsfield in the county of Sussex & the pishoners of the said pish concerning the minister settled there by the Coittee for the said county for the settling of whom the said M^r More claymeth right this Coittee thinke not fitt to make any determinacon therein as yet & doe therefore dismisse the cause for the time" (p. 86).

Sir Wm. Burrell gives no particulars of Vicars at this period. A previous volume states that the pulpit was "filled by a *Presbyterian jack-maker, drummer, and maltman in turns!*"³⁸ We cannot say which of these occupations James Nicholls followed. The rectory was originally the property of St. Pancras Priory, and on the dissolution of the monasteries was granted to an

³⁶ Add. MSS. 5697, pp. 166-167.

³⁷ *Sussex Daily News*, Oct. 17, 1876.

³⁸ S.A.C. IV., 259 *et seq.*

ancestor of Mr. Moore.³⁹ After the restoration (in 1661) there were disputes between the Bishop and Mr. Moore (or More), which are fully set out in Vol. IV. of the Collections.

ARDINGLY.

The Committee on June 24th, 1645, on consideration of "the petition of M^r Braine to whom the rectory of Erthingly in the county of Sussex is sequestred," setting out the opposition and affronts he received, referred the matter "to the Committee for the s^d County sitting at Lewes," who were desired to examine the same calling on the parties complained of and then to certify (15,669, p. 93). The following draft letter appears in the minute book:—

"To the R^t Woth

Spence⁴⁰ Esq these p^{sent}

The Committee for Plundered Ministers (whereof I haue the chaire) haue beene very sensible not onely of the sad condicon of M^r Braine, minister of Erthingly in the county of Sussex, settled there by sequestration of this Committee but of the authority of Parliam^t, much vilified & contemned by certaine turbulent persons by whom his Ministry and the publick exercise thereof is scorned & disturbed, yea his person affronted. They haue therefore commanded me to recommend his case vnto yoⁿ & in their name to desire yoⁿ to secure & p^{tect} the s^d M^r Braine from such riotous & abusive practices by such wayes and meanes as to yo^r wisdome shall seeme meete soe that yoⁿ shall doe herein as it shall tend to the quiet of the s^d place and the encouragem^t of the s^d minister in the comfortable discharge of his duty there soe will the Committee look vpon it as an acceptable service vnto them

Yo^r friend & servant"

[no signature] (*Ib.* p. 93)

Julii 1
1645

³⁹ *Ib.*

⁴⁰ Spence was presumably Chairman of the Lewes Committee, and a Justice of the Peace. In an Ordinance of the Long Parliament, on March 21st, 1643, adding names to the Committee for Sussex, "Robert Spence Esq." is mentioned. See Husband's *Orders, &c., of Parliament*, p. 10.

On July 29th "It is ordered that M^r Brayne to whom the rectory of Ardingly in the county of Sussex is sequestred doe shew cause before this Comittee, wherefore M^r Bladworth from whom the same is sequestred should not have a fift pt⁴¹ of the pfitts of the said rectory, on this day fortnight (p. 121). The Committee on Aug. 19th considered Mr. Brayne's allegations, but Mrs. Bladworth not being present the cause was adjourned to 27th Oct., and unless good answer was made by that day the 5th to be discharged" (p. 142). The opposition to Mr. Braine continued, and the following letter occurs in the minute book :—

"To the right wr^{ll} Spence Esq^r these p^{sent}

Sir

I was formerlie comaunded to trouble you from the Comittee for plundered ministers wth the case of M^r Braine minister at Ardingly whome the violent & outrageous behavior of diuers ill affected p^{sons} hath not only much hindered & discouraged in the exercise of the ministry but hazzarded his p^{son} also, the violence of them is for still soe high that the Comittee now heare of little reliefe the minister hath as yet receiued & have therefore comanded me to comend his case againe to y^r care & assistance wth all desireing you that such p^{sons} whome you shall finde still contemners of the authoritie of Parliam^t in h^{rn} contynued disturbances of him you would please to retorne ther names this Comittee

I am

Yor ffriend & servant "

August 19th 1645

[no signature] (p. 146).

A resolution on Oct. 11th explains the matter somewhat. Brayne then complained again of being opposed by his parishioners which the Committee "conceive doth chiefly arise by the great opposicon of S^{er} Wm Culpeper," the Justices of the Peace were requested to assist M^r Brayne (p. 191). The Committee on Nov. 8th ordered there should be no disposition of the rectory

⁴¹ See S.A.C. XXX., 120, and foot-note. See also note 71 *post*.

until Mr. Bladworth's petition was considered, and on the 15th, "Upon complaint made to this Cottee by M^r Bladworth that notwithstanding he hath made small demands in the behalfe of his wife & children of y^e fift pt of y^e profits of y^e rectory of Ardingly in the county of Sussex of M^r Rotherham & M^r Braine to whose use the said rectory hath beene sequestred who have notwithstanding refused to pay the same It is ordered that the remaining profits of the said rectory be secured for y^e payment of the said fift pt & vntill the same be paid unto them" (p. 208). The views of the Committee appear to have been variable, for on Nov. 29th they appointed the cause for Jan. 6th, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ (p. 218), and on Jan. 8th "The cause betweene M^r Brayne to whom y^e Rectory of Ardingly in y^e county of Sussex is sequestred and the wife of George Bladworth concerning her claime of a fifth pt for y^t appeareth by y^e sd M^r Bladworth his owne confession that hee neuer had inducon to y^e sayd liveinge this Comittee see noe cause why shee should haue a fift pte" (15,670, p. 6). On Jan. 17th, Bladworth (referring to the Order of Nov. 8th) complained that he had attended several days, and had not been heard, and it was arranged he should be (*Ib.*, p. 9), but on March 21st the Committee resolved, "Whereas upon informacon is giuen that S^{er} Wm Culpeper of y^e rectory of Ardingly al Erthingleigh in the county of Sussex to wch he formerly psented George Bladworth who was sequestred therefrom before he had inducon therein is willing to admit of Ralph Rotherham thereto the same being now left by M^r Brayne to whom the same stoode sequestred and y^e said M^r Rotherham is certified from divers godly divines to be of a pious conversacon. It is ordered that the said M^r Rotheram shall officiate the said cure & haue y^e pfitts of the said rectory notwithstanding y^e former order of this Cottee for hearing therein" (p. 45). A further order on March 26th recites that the rectory "was heretofore sequestred from Richard Taunton by Order of this Cottee who is sithence deceased," and the facts mentioned in the last order, and that Mr. Bladworth had petitioned that under the circum-

stances he might have the living, but the Committee confirmed the order (p. 50).

From the above resolutions we may gather what a confused state of affairs in a parish which evidently had three vicars at one time.

Burrell gives the following Incumbents of the Rectory :—

“ Rich^d Teynton als Tanton, instituted 25 July 1625 voted out of his parsonage by y^e Com^{co} of House of Commons Augt 16, 1643 & ejected 29 Nov. follg by a Company of Dragoons sent by Capt. Simon Everinden from Lewes.

John Winge brought in by the Assembly of Divines Oct 29, 1643, took possession 29 Nov. 1643.

Ralph Rotherham Ind 20 May 1662.”⁴²

Among the incumbents of West Hoathly occurs the name of R^d Teynton in 1617-1620 & Sep 1643.⁴³

Wing could not long have occupied the living, and it would seem as if Rotherham did not get inducted until 1662. The sequence is Taunton (sequestered and died)—Wing (?)—Brayne (appointed, never inducted, then sequestered)—Bladworth (instituted and left) Rotherham (appointed — ? when inducted).

Richard Taunton was one of the *Century of Malignant Priests* and Col. White states as follows :—

“43. The Benefice of *Richard Tanton*, Parson of the Parish Church of *Ardingly* in the county of *Sussex*, is sequestred, for that hee is a common drunkard and Ale-house haunter,⁴⁴ and in his Sermons hath wished, *That every knee might rot that would not bow at the name Jesus*,⁴⁵ and hath read in the said Church, Declarations in his Majesties name for raising of horse and money to maintaine warre against the Parliament, and against the *Militia*; and hath stirred up his Parishioners to joyne with the King’s forces, and hath affirmed *That he would bear out his Curate in refusing to deliver the Sacrament to such of his Parish, as would not come to the Railes to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*.”⁴⁶

BEPTON.

On Sep. 11th, 1645, “ This Committee doe appointe to take into consideracon the articles transmitted from the

⁴² Add. MSS. 5698, pp. 8 and 12.

⁴³ *Ib.*, p. 114.

⁴⁴ Walker says this charge was made by the Puritans with great recklessness in many cases. See also under PULBOROUGH. S.A.C. XXX., 128.

⁴⁵ This was declared an offence by an Act (chap. I.) presented to the King at Oxford in 1643, but which never received his assent. See Husband’s *Orders, &c., of Parliament*, p. 120.

⁴⁶ “The Century” was compiled by Col. John White, and ordered (on 17th Nov., 1643) by the House of Commons to be printed.

Comitee of Parliamt for the county of Sussex against Mr Riggs of Bepton, Clarke, on the fifteenth day of October next whereof the sd Mr Riggs is to have convenient notice" (15,669, p. 163), and on Oct. 21st the Committee "ordered that the cause concerning Mr Geourg Riggs minister of Bepton in the county of Sussex be for psent laid aside & that no further proceedings be had agt him therein without new sumons" (p. 200). On Nov. 15th, "Vpon complaint made by Mr Riggs, minister &c that vpon ptence or colo^r of some Order of sequestracon made of the said rectory from him his cure & profits of his said benefice are detained & kept from him This Comitee doe declare that vpon their hearing of the cause against him there did not appeare vnto them sufficient ground to sequester the said benefice from him" (p. 207).

The Burrell MSS. contain no reference to the ecclesiastical history of Bepton, and the parish registers do not go back farther than the beginning of last century.⁴⁷

Depositions were taken at Midhurst on Oct. 18th, 17 Chas. II. (1665), in an action as to tithes, in which George Riggs clk was plaintiff and John Shotter & Alice Shotter Defendants.

The first interrogatory put to the witnesses was :

"Imprimis doe you the parties plt and defend^t and doe you know that the plt is the true and lawfull Rector & parson of the Rectory and Parsonage of Bepton in the county of Sussex. If yea, how long hath he beene Rector and Parson of the said parish, declare your knowledge or belief therein."

"Richard Pannell of Bepton in the county of Sussex, yoman aged foure & forty yeares," being sworn and examined (amongst other witnesses), deposed "that the plt hath beene Rector or parson of the pish of Bepton in the county of Sussex for thirty yeares last past and upwards."⁴⁸

TROTTON.

On July 26th, 1645, "Upon the humble peticon of Robt Thomlinson from whom the rectory of Trotton, in the county of Sussex is sequestred It is ordered that he shall have liberty to be heard in what he shall further

⁴⁷ The writer is indebted to the kindness of the present rector of Bepton, the Rev. Charles A. Nicholl, for searching the registers.

⁴⁸ *Exchequer. Depositions by Commission, 17 Chas. II., Michs, No. 18, Sussex (Public Record Office).*

say for his defence to the matters depending agt him before this Coittee on the xith day of September next whereof the minister to whose use the said rectory is sequestred is to have convenient notice" (15,669, p. 117). What further transpired, as to this petition is not stated, but on March 21st, 164 $\frac{2}{3}$ the Committee "Ordered that the Rectory of Trotton in the county of Sussex sequestred from Robert Thomlinson by Order of this Co^{tee} to the use of — Story shall stand sequestred to the use of Walter Thomlinson⁴⁹ sonne of the said Robt Thomlinson minister of the word. ref." (15,670, p. 46). The resolution is repeated, and further says: "M^r Story is since removed from there to the cure of the Church of Stedham in the sd county" (*Ib.*, p. 48).

The Burrell MSS. give "Robert Tomlinson" as Rector in 1642, and "Walter Tomlinson min^r 26 Aug 1655." The *Par. Reg.* records the burial of "Ann wife of Robert Tomlinson Rector of Trotton July 18, 1642."⁵⁰

In the "*Contrebutioun of the Clergie &c towards the repairinge of St. Paules Church*" in 1634 occurs "M^r Tomlinson parson of Trotton, xx^s 01[£] 00^s 00^d."⁵¹

PLAYDEN AND IDEN.

The only resolution is one on Sep. 14th, 1645, ordering the Committee for Sussex to "receive the articles that shalbe exhibited agt the seull ministers of Playden & Iden in the county of Sussex and to take their respective answeares" and to examine witnesses and certify (15,669, p. 163).

It seems probable from the following notes that the proceedings against these ministers proved abortive or were abandoned.

Playden. Vicars. "Tho^s Burton Ind 18 May 1641 ob 26 (? 23) Nov 1684." The *Par. Reg.* records the baptism of numerous children of his, and the burial of "Tho^s Burton Rector of Pleyden d 23 Nov: Nov 26, 1684."⁵²

Iden. Vicars. "R^d Martin, 1617-1620. Bur 5 Jan 1643. Jn Woodhall 1643 signs as min^r — Inst 24 Jany 1648⁵³ Bur 18

⁴⁹ Matriculated at Magdalen Coll. Oxon. May 8, 1635. See S.A.C. IX., 364.

⁵⁰ Add. MSS. 5699, pp. 668 and 666.

⁵¹ *Sussex Daily News*, Oct. 17, 1876.

⁵² Add. MSS. 5697, pp. 195, 196.

⁵³ Is not 1648 a clerical error for 1643?

July 1688." The *Par. Reg.* records the burial on July 24, 1620, of "Eliz wife of Richard Martin parson of Iden d to Dr Bird Preby of Canterbury under y^e great So window in y^e Chancel." The inscription on Richard Martin's tomb states that he died on "Jan 1. 1643 aged 69."⁵⁴

Depositions were taken at Battle on Mar 26th 1660 in two actions in which "John Woodall clk" was plaintiff and in one of which Matt. Robbins" was defendant and in the other "W^m Pix" the subject matter of both being "the parsonage of Iden."⁵⁵

COWFOLD.

The only resolution relating to this place is on Sept. 11th, 1645, "Ordered that the Rectory of Cowfold sequestred to the use of Simon Jefferson since deceased shall from henceforth stand sequestred to the use of John Watts M^r of Artes a godly and orthodox divine." John Watts was referred to the Assembly in the usual way. (15,669, p. 164).

The name of the predecessor of Simon Jefferson does not appear, but, as in the "*Contrebuton of the Clergie &c*" in 1634 occurs "Thomas Hudson vicar of Cowfould £00 11s 00d"⁵⁶ possibly the latter was sequestered.

Burrell does not mention any vicar at this period but gives "Geo. Vinter BD Ind 7 Jany 1651-1680. Hon Col Jn Downes Esq Patron of Rectory."⁵⁷ The *Par. Reg.* records the burial of "Mary ux. of Geo Vinter Minr Sep 11. 1661."⁵⁸

Calamy describes Vinter⁵⁹ as, "a most remarkable apostate and always turned with the times."

ST. CLEMENT'S, HASTINGS.

We have only one reference to this place in the proceedings. On Nov. 29th, 1645, "Ordered that Car rector of Hastings in y^e County of Sussex be sumoned to ansvere y^e articles exted agt him on the 15th day of January next & y^t warrants shall issue for sumoning

⁵⁴ Add MSS., 5697, pp. 155, 157.

⁵⁵ 40th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1879) app., p. 82.

⁵⁶ See note 51.

⁵⁷ John Downes, Esq., regicide, and "recruiter" sat for Arundel in the Long Parliament.

⁵⁸ Add MSS., 5698, pp. 76, 77.

⁵⁹ See notes *ante* under ROTHERFIELD.

both pties and witnesses in the said cause" (15,669, p. 219).

On Sunday July 9th 1643 when Colonel Morley marched on Hastings Wm. Car fled (as described in a previous volume).⁶⁰ Walker refers to the same event, and says "quære if he was not Totally sequestred."⁶¹

Burrell gives the names of the following rectors:—

"Edw Bennet Ind	— 1637.	Bur 26 Dec 1638.
Carr Ind		1643.
Jo Brook Ind		Bur 22 Dec 1652." ⁶²

It seems most probable that Carr (or Car) was sequestered.

PEASMARSH.

On Sep. 8th, 1645, "It is ordered that the Rectory of Peasmarsh in the county of Sussex sequestred from John Giles shall stand sequestred to the use of John Cosh a godly & orthodox Divine. Referr him to the Assembly to be exaied." (15,669, p. 164). The order (drawn up in full, on another page) recites the sequestration on 15th Novr., 1644. from John Giles, "for seual great misdemeours" (p. 171). Another order on Oct. 8th, recites the sequestration to Wm. Cosh, and gives him all tithes and profits, "arreare and due since the publicacon of the said order of sequestracon" (p. 186). On Dec. 6th, "Upon the humble peticon of John Giles from whome y^e Rectory of Peasmarsh in y^e County of Sussex is sequestred It is ordered that hee be referred & hee is hereby referred to y^e Justices of peace for the sayd County for y^e recovery of such tythes of the sayd Rectory as they shall upon examinacon find to be due of right vnto him who are desired to pceed therein according to the ordinance of Parliam in that behalf for paymt of tythes" (p. 229). A further petition was presented by John Giles, and on Feb. 28th, 164 $\frac{5}{8}$, there is an order for him to be satisfied and paid the profits of the Vicarage due since the sequestration "during such time as he officiated the said cure" (15,670, p. 23).

⁶⁰ S.A.C. V., 78. See also *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 161.

⁶¹ *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II., p. 413.

⁶² Add MSS., 5697, p. 125.

Burrell⁶³ mentions the following vicars :—

“ Jo Wilson Ind	1634. 1631.
Wm. Fraunces Ind	1647.
Gyles Ind	1654.
Saml Eldred AM Ind	14th Sept. 1662.”

In a note as to Fraunces, he adds, “ He came in on the seq^d of the lawfull Incumbent by the Parlt and continued to April 1650.”⁶³

It is not easy to reconcile this list with the resolutions, but perhaps as John Giles was leniently treated (being allowed to retain the vicarage long after sequestration) he may have been restored.

EAST DEAN (NEAR CHICHESTER).

On Oct. 11th, 1645, “ It is ordered that Thomas Palmer minister of East Deane in the county of Sussex doe make his psonall appearance before this Comittee on the 21st day of October instant to ansvere to all such matters as shalbe obiected agt him before this Comittee whereof he is not to faile at his p’ill ” (15,669, p. 188). Mr. Palmer probably thought it more prudent to “ bolt,” and on Dec. 13th the Committee “ Ordered that the Vicarage of East Deane in the county of Sussex seques-tered to M^r Palmer who hath since deserted the same shall stand sequestred from him to the use of Henry Duncanson Minister of the word. Referred him to y^o Assembly ” (p. 225).

The list of vicars given by Sir Wm. Burrell (which is rather confused) comprises :—

“ Marcus Harry A.M. Ind 20 July 1630. seq^d 28 July. Oct. 26. 1644.

Humphrey Hull (Vicar of Friston 1641)

Halsey Rector 1640 sequestred. 1640 & 1660

Thos. Palmer Inst 29 Sept 1644

Arth Donkinson (Vic. 1646)

1653 Aug 27 Wm Wallace. qu Vicar

Heigham Hills

Bur 26 Jany 1673.

Germain intruded Halsey restored 1660.”⁶⁴

Calamy states that William Wallace was ejected in 1662 from East Dean.⁶⁵

Any attempt to reconcile these somewhat conflicting statements, or to put the list in correct order, seems hopeless.

⁶³ Add MSS., 5697, p. 187.

⁶⁴ Add MSS., 5697, p. 386.

⁶⁵ *Nonconformist Memorial*, Vol. III.

The following notes are from Walker's MSS.⁶⁶

“ East Dean.

Mr. Halsy Rec' of East dean Sussex a very Honest and Industrious man; was turn'd out of his living of 30^l p^r Annu upon a p^rtence of Insufficiency: he had a Family of nine children which must have been all starv'd had he not had some few Houses in London w^{ch} preserved him and his family from want; notwithstanding which a daughter of his complained to a gentleman now living that she was glad to feed on half an egg; the poor man came with tears in his eyes and fell on his knees to Cheynell (y^t monstrous composition of Saint and villain)⁶⁷ and desired the favour of him to lett him teach an English school at a penny a week for each child for the support of his family: but was by the monster denyd so reasonable a request. Mr Halsy liv'd in extreme want during the Rebellion but at y^e King's coming in was restored to his living and one Germain a notorious Repub: outed y^t had enjoy'd it during the Rebellion.”

Depositions were taken at Chichester on Oct. 4th, 18 Chas. II., in an action in which Richard Halsey, clerk, was plaintiff, and Owen Ludgater defendant. Richard Keyse, “aged three score & 6,” deposed that he had known plaintiff for thirty years, “and further deposeth that the Comp^{lt} hath officiated as pson or Rector of the said pish of East deane for thirty yeares except for about fiteene yeares of the said tyme the said comp^{lt} was sequestred dureinge the tyme of the late wares.”⁶⁸

FRAMFIELD.

On Oct. 14th, 1644, the vicarage was sequestred from John Willard, by his consent. On Jan. 4th, 164⁴/₅ the Committee appointed John Safford (or Stafford), Minister (15,669, p. 6), and on Feb. 4th they referred

⁶⁶ In Bodleian Library, Vol. III. See also *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II., 275.

⁶⁷ Bishop Hoadly said of Cheynell, “he was exactly orthodox, and as pious honest and charitable as his bigotry would permit.” Neal, *History of the Puritans*, IV., 395.

⁶⁸ *Exchequer. Depositions by Commission, 18 Chas. II., Michs. Sussex, No. 9 (Public Record Office).*

him to the Assembly (*Ib.*, p. 1). The resolutions having been printed in a previous volume, need not be here repeated.

Burrell gives "John Willard" as Vicar in 1620 and 1639, and "John Stafford" [not Safford] in 1644 and 1650.⁶⁹

WADHURST.

On March 11th 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, "It is ordered that the Committee of Parliamt sitting at Lewes in the county of Sussex be desired to examine the articles that shall be exhibited against M^r Breuer" and to take his defence and report (15,669, p. 31). A petition of "divers of the pishioners of Wadhurst" was on July 26th referred with the articles to the Sussex Committee (p. 119). The cause was eventually heard on July 9th, 1646, and Mr. Beauer (or Beaver) stated that his parishioners were mistaken in charging him with "delivering seuall erronious doctrines in the Pulpitt," he was accordingly ordered to make a public declaration of his opinions on some Lord's day, and procure a certificate (15,670, p. 148), which he did on Sept. 10th, and was dismissed. The minute states that the alleged error was in his "opinion of certaine points in Divinitie" (p. 422).

Burrell states that a vicar (unnamed) was ejected, and that Jacobus Wilcocky was vicar in 1653, and bur. 29th Feb., 1661.⁷⁰

EAST GRINSTEAD.

The Committee on Sept. 30th, 1645, "ordered that the cause betweene the minister of Greensteede in Sussex & y^e wife of M^r Gough from whom the same is sequestred concerning the fift pt claymed by her be adiourned till Thursday fortnight" (15,669, p. 178). On Nov. 15th they ordered that Mr. Pretty, to whom the Vicarage was sequestered, should show cause "wherefore he doth not pay vnto the wife of M^r Gough from whom the same is sequestred the fift pt of y^e pfts of the said Vicarage

⁶⁹ Add. MSS., 5697, p. 410.

⁷⁰ *Ib.*, p. 607.

according to a former order of this Committee in that behalfe" (p. 206). Various adjournments took place, and in the meantime, on Feb. 17th, 164⁵/₈, the Committee "ordered that the Vicarage of the Church of East Greensteede sequestred from Gough to the use of Samuel Pretty who is againe returned into the County of Wilts from whence he was driven by the Kings forces, shall stand sequestred to the use of Stephen Watkins Minister of the word" (15,670, p. 21). On April 9th, 1646, "The cause betweene M^r Pretty and M^{rs} Goffe comeing to heareing concerning y^e 5^t pte by her claymed of M^r Pretty to whom y^e vicarage of East Greenstede in the County of Sussex stood sequestred from her husband y^t is acknowledged y^t shee hath 13^l a yeare temporall estate notwithstanding w^{ch} and notwithstanding y^e allegacon of M^r Pretty⁷¹ y^t her husband was psented to y^e sayd Vicarage by y^e Earle of Dorsett since his delinquency w^{ch} is matter of tytle and y^t shee hath but one child this Committee doe thinke fitt y^t y^e former Order of this Committee for y^e sd M^r Pretty his pay^{mt} of a fift pt vnto her shall stand & y^e same is confirmed accordingly" (p. 59). On July 12th, 1647, there is an order for "Robert Pickering, John Budgen, sen., Edward Banister, Thomas Wickens, John Crips & William Driver pishioners of East Grinsted," to pay their tithes forthwith to "Steeven Wattkins, or appear on 23rd July" (15,671, p. 123). On Aug. 27th, the Committee resolved, "Whereas the Vicarage of the pish Church of East-greenstead in the countie of Sussex is & standeth sequestred by this Co^{tee} from Richard Gough to the use of M^r Samuell [*sic. qu.* Stephen] Watkins who hath since relinquished the same It is ordered that the sd Vicarage shall from henceforth stand sequestred to the use of George Blundell a godlie & orthodox divine & that he doe forthwith officiate the cure of the sd Church as Vicar & preach" (p. 216).

⁷¹ Puritan historians take great credit to their party for allowing a fifth to the wives of the sequestered clergy, but it was evidently paid with the greatest reluctance, and after proceedings. See HORSTED-PARVA, XXX., 120; also SEAFORD-CUM-SUTTON, *Ib.*, p. 131.

In the *Contrebuton of the Clergie &c. towards the repairinge of St Pauls Church* in 1634, occurs "Allane Carr, vicar of East-grinstead £00 10s 00d."⁷²

Burrell gives amongst the vicars—

"Jas Jnians Ind —	2 Sep 1637
R ^d Goffe Vicar	1643 ” ⁷³

Richard Goffe was one of the *Century of Malignant Priests*,⁷⁴ and is thus described:—

"88. The Benefice of *Richard Goffe*, Vicar of the Parish Church of *East-Greensted* in the county of *Sussex*, is sequestred, for that he is a common haunter of Tavernes and Ale-houses, a common swearer of bloody oathes, and singer of bawdy songs and often drunke, and keepeth company with Papists and scandalous persons, and hath confessed, *That he chiefly studied Popish Authours*, highly commended *Queene Maries* time, and disparaged *Queene Elizabeths*, as an enemy to learning, and hoped to see the time again that there should be no Bible in mens houses. And hath openly preached, *That such as goe to other Parish Churches then their owne*, are in the state of damnation, and that after the bread and wine at the Sacrament is consecrated it is no more bread and wine but the body and blood of Christ. And in a funerall Sermon at the buriall of a woman said *That she being regenerated in Baptism did live and die without sin*: and hath expressed great malignity against the Parliament, saying, That he hoped to see it confounded and that he cared not a figg for the Parliament."

The last remark, as Walker says,⁷⁵ was in the opinion of the Parliament the worst of all.

East Grinstead appears, from the resolutions, to have had four vicars within four years, three of them Puritans, and some time after there must have been a fourth Puritan, as we find Christopher Snell ejected from the living in 1662.⁷⁶

⁷² *Sussex Daily News*, Oct. 17th, 1876.

⁷³ Add. MSS., 5697, p. 446.

⁷⁴ See note 46.

⁷⁵ *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II., 257.

⁷⁶ *Nonconformist Memorial*, Calamy, Vol. III.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

No. 1.

Short Notice of a "Find" of Roman Coins near Eastbourne.

(JULY, 1879.)

THROUGH the kind offices of Mr. H. Willett, I have had the opportunity of examining the contents of the above-named discovery of Roman Coins. The following particulars in reference to the locality, &c., have been furnished by Mr. Insoll in a letter to Mr. Willett:—

"The Coins were found in one of the valleys between Beachy Head and Birling Gap. The men were digging flints about two feet from the surface. The pick struck against the crock in which the coins were deposited, and they all rolled out. The crock fell to pieces from the blow and exposure to the external air."

The coins submitted to my inspection are all what are commonly termed, "Third Brass," though about forty have been coated with tin or some other white metal. With the exception of a few, they are in fair and legible condition, and can be assigned with certainty to their different owners, and amount to one or two over 680. As is the case with most of the Third Brass found in England, they are not very attractive in appearance, yet many of the impressions are well struck, and several of the Types on the Reverse are interesting, as offering emblematic representations of Roman personifications of Hope, Abundance, Chastity, Health, &c., &c. None of the coins are very rare, with the exception of one of Claudius II., surnamed Gothicus. This represents the Emperor seated with olive-branch in his right hand.¹ This coin is not in our National Museum, nor in the large work of Cohen, and may perhaps be considered unique. A single coin of Valerian begins, and two of Aurelian may be considered to close the series, so that the period embraced by the whole cannot exceed 23 years. Valerian began his reign in 253 A.D., and Aurelian was killed in 275 A.D. So far as I have ascertained the fact, no specimen of a coin, struck either before or after these dates, is to be found in the Eastbourne deposit. This is rarely the case. We usually find stray ones of prior or subsequent mintage amongst the main body of specimens. May we not conclude from the non-appearance of such stragglers, that the coins constituting the "find" in question were deposited in the crock soon after, if not before the year of Christ, 275. I am myself disposed to think that they were the savings of a soldier of the army of Tetricus. This force was almost annihilated by Aurelian in A.D. 273, at the battle of Chalons, in Gaul, whilst we know that the

¹ See "Des. Cat. Claudius," ii. No. 10.

Roman armies, serving on the Continent, were largely recruited by natives of Britain. What was more natural, therefore, than that a Sussex man should return, when a fugitive, to his native downs, and there place in security his hardly earned treasure. I have only further to add that with the kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the owner of the coins, a selection, consisting of 148 different types, has been made and presented to the Brighton Free Library and Museum. The coins are now shown in the Museum, and a Descriptive Catalogue prepared, which, it is hoped, may assist any one who is desirous of giving more than a passing look at the representatives of our Eastbourne Find.

THOMAS CALVERT.

No. 2.

Roman Coins Discovered near Eastbourne.

The Rev. Thomas Calvert has printed the result of his examination of a hoard of nearly 700 small brass and billon coins, discovered in July, 1879, between Beachy Head and Birling Gap.² The earliest is of Valerian; the latest of Aurelian. With one exception, they appear to present no special importance from rarity of type; and coins of this period, as is well known, are very common. But they possess no slight interest in another point of view, to which I direct attention, hoping that my remarks may tend to induce the fortunate possessors of hoards of coins to follow the example of the Duke of Devonshire and place them in the hands of competent persons, such as Mr. Calvert, before they are dispersed and lost to all scientific purposes. Hundreds of hoards have become disintegrated and deprived of the links essential to their being cited as historical evidence; for this evidence can only be relied upon when the integrity of the hoards, as in this case, is preserved unbroken.

The following is the numerical state of the Eastbourne coins, as described by Mr. Calvert:—

Valerianus, A.D. 253 to A.D. 260	...	...	...	1
Gallienus, A.D. 253 to A.D. 268	...	...	...	45
Saloninus, son of Gallienus	...	...	...	1
Salonina, A.D. 260 to A.D. 268	...	...	...	6
Postumus, A.D. 258 to A.D. 268	...	...	...	16
Lælianus, A.D. circa 260	...	...	...	2
Marius, A.D. 267	...	...	...	1
Victorinus, A.D. 265 to A.D. 267	...	...	...	11
Claudius II., A.D. 268 to A.D. 270	...	...	...	42
Quintillus, A.D. 270	...	...	...	7
Tetricus, A.D. 267 to A.D. 273	...	...	...	9
Tetricus Junior, A.D. 267 to A.D. 273	...	...	...	5
Aurelianus, A.D. 270 to A.D. 275	...	...	...	2

148

² A Descriptive Catalogue of Third Brass Roman Coins, selected from a "Find" in July, 1879, near Eastbourne, Sussex, and presented to the Brighton Free Library and Museum by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. Brighton, 1880.

In the entire collection Mr. Calvert found no coins posterior to Aurelian, and only two of this Emperor, so that the deposit may, with certainty, be referred to the closing days of the reign of Tetricus in Gaul and Britain; and the cause of the concealment, the withdrawal of soldiers and recruits from Britain for the contest with Aurelian which restored the revolted provinces to Rome.

To this climax in an eventful period in the history of Roman Britain, may also be assigned the very numerous deposits of similar collections of coins discovered from time to time in this country, and also in France. When I published an account of the extraordinary and interesting Roman remains at Jublains, in the department of Mayenne, I adduced the coins there discovered as testimony of the violence to which the *castrum* and town had been subjected, as I concluded, at this very epoch.³ With some hundreds of coins, chiefly of the Tetrici was one, and one only, of Aurelian; and M. H. Barbe (who may now be styled the historian of the place) informs me that a very large hoard has recently been discovered very similar, and pointing to the very same period.

As an example of the coincidence referred to, I may cite the hoard of coins found at Nunburnholme, in Yorkshire, which was placed in my hands for examination, soon after it had been ploughed up, and before any abstractions or division had taken place.⁴ It consisted of upwards of 3,000 small brass coins which proved to be as follows:—

			Brought forward...	...	811
Valerianus ...	...	4	Claudius Gothicus...	...	321
Gallienus ...	...	310	Quintillus ...	...	13
Salonina ...	...	24	Tetricus Senior ...	...	1097
Postumus ...	...	13	Tetricus Junior ...	...	434
Victorinus ...	...	456	Aurelianus ...	...	4
Marius ...	...	4	Undecipherable ...	...	415
		811			3095

Another instance contributes to show how remarkably these hoards correspond in date of deposit, as well as in general character, and in almost a fixed and definite proportion. It is of recent discovery; and we owe its preservation to Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A., to whom we are so deeply indebted for discoveries on the line of the great Roman Wall; discoveries which have been turned to the best historical account by this gentleman's energy, learning, and liberality. The coins were found in September, 1879, Mr. Clayton tells us,⁵ at a point where the military road from Newcastle to Carlisle has been made on the remains of the Wall of Hadrian; and nearly midway between the Roman stations of Condercum (Benwell) on the east, and that of Vindobala (Rudchester), on the west, in an earthen vessel or urn. The coins amounted to about

³ "Collectanea Antiqua," Vol. iii., p. 117.

⁴ "Collectanea Antiqua," Vol. v., p. 122, *et seq.*

⁵ "Archæologia Æliana," Part 24, Vol. viii. New series, p. 256. The paper is illustrated by three plates of the coins in autotype.

5,000, all small brass, with the exception of a few of billon or base silver. They have been well classified and described by Mr. Robert Blair, from whose report, appended to Mr. Clayton's description, the following summary is taken:—

Otacilia	...	...	...	1	Laelianus	...	...	...	6
Hostilianus	...	...	...	1	Victorinus	...	...	...	1678
Trebonianus Gallus	...	...	...	1	Marius	...	...	...	24
Volusianus	...	...	...	2	Tetricus Senior	...	...	...	424
Æmilianus	...	...	...	1	Tetricus Junior	...	...	...	92
Valerian	...	...	...	49	Macrianus	...	...	...	1
Mariniana	...	...	...	2	Quietus	...	...	...	1
Gallienus	...	...	...	915	Claudius Gothicus	...	...	...	696
Salonina	...	...	...	136	Quintillus	...	...	...	95
Saloninus	...	...	...	21	Aurelianus	...	...	...	8
Postumus	...	...	...	454					
Remaining with the finder; among which there is not									
one later than the time of Tetricus and Aurelianus...					416				
					<hr/>				
					5,024				

I may give another example which happens to be at hand. It is that of a hoard of coins found in 1867, in the rear of Netley Hospital, during excavations for a lunatic asylum. Dr. De Chaumont sent an account to the British Archaeological Association, which was printed in the *Journal* of the same year. The coins, in number 1821, are thus summarised:—

Valerianus	...	...	...	3	Claudius Gothicus	...	...	...	186
Gallienus	...	...	...	162	Quintillus	...	...	...	15
Salonina	...	...	...	13	Tetricus Senior	...	...	...	749
Postumus	...	...	...	26	Tetricus Junior	...	...	...	255
Victorinus	...	...	...	410	Aurelianus	...	...	...	1
Marius	...	...	...	1					
					<hr/>				
					1821				

My friend, the late Mr. Kell, in his comments on the discovery, imagined that the preponderance of the coins of the Tetrici was to be attributed to the especial influence of Tetricus at Clausentum, only a few miles distant; and where, as I have shown, several inscriptions record his rule. But similar hoards are found throughout England; and their interest, which is great, lies in a very different direction, as I hope I have here made evident and clear.

In like manner other hoards of coins are indexes of other important historical epochs. A few years since nearly 30,000 coins were found at Blackmoor, in Hampshire. Of these 545 are of Carausius; 90 of Allectus; but of Constantius there is only a single specimen. The hoard must have been concealed on the invasion of Britain by Asclepiodotus in command under Constantius; the owner probably perishing in the

conflict which terminated the rule of Allectus. This important deposit very fortunately fell into the hands of Lord Selborne, who has published on it an excellent and exhaustive report.⁶

The masses of coins of Arcadius and Honorius, found at Cliffe and Wroxall, in the Isle of Wight, mark the fall of the Roman power in Britain.

The unpublished coin in the Eastbourne collection, which I have referred to, is thus described by Mr. Calvert :—

Obverse. IMP. CLAVDIVS AVG. Radiated head.

Reverse. P.M. TR. P. COS. P.P. The Emperor, demi-nude, seated, to the left, holding out an olive-branch in his right hand. In the exergue, P.

Mr. Calvert informs me that he does not detect this coin in any of the works he has been able to consult. I have since examined the elaborate compilations of Banduri and Tanini, and cannot find it.

C. ROACH SMITH.

No. 3.

The Attack of the Parliamentarians upon Chichester Cathedral.

In Vol. V. of our Collections, the late W. H. Blaauw, Esq., in his paper on the Civil War in Sussex, has given some extracts from a work published in 1647, by Dr. B. Ryves, Dean of Chichester, relative to the grievous desecration of the Cathedral by the Parliamentarians. The following is a more detailed account of their proceedings on that occasion, which I have extracted from an edition of the same work, published in the year 1685 :—

“ The third instance which I shall give of the Rebels sacrilege and profaneness, is in the Cathedral Church of Chichester; Successour in the honour of being the seat of the Bishops Residence to Sealesey, for Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, being driven into exile by Egfrid King of Northumberland, retiring himself into Sussex, and finding the South Saxons wholly given up to Idolatry, his Spirit, like St. Paul’s at Athens, *was stirred within him*; and knowing the *unprofitable servants doom, that buried his talent*, he preached unto them the Gospel of Christ: and Edilwalch king of those parts (not long before converted to the faith, by the persuasion of Wolphere King of the Mercians) willing that the same saving knowledge, which he himself had embraced, should be imparted to his people, seconded the pious endeavours of Wilfred; and therefore amongst other acts of bounty, he gave the

⁶ “ Numismatic Chronicle,” for 1877, pp. 90 to 156, with plates.

Archbishop, Sealesey for the place of his residence. Not long after Cedwalla, conquering Edilwalch, built here a monastery to the honour (as Malmsbury saies) of St. Peter, and erected the Episcopal Chair; where it stood for the succession of 22 Bishops; or as others say (reckoning Wilfred Archbishop of York for the first) the succession of 23 Bishops; from the year 711 to the reign of William the Conqueror 1070, at which time Stigandus translated his Chair from Sealesey to Chichester, and so became the last Bishop of Sealesey and the first of Chichester, where the Episcopal power did flourish ever since, until now; in these last, and worst days, wherein while the heads of a rebellious, schismatical faction, vote down the sacred function and order of Bishops; their enemies are mad to deface, if not utterly to demolish, their Churches. To this purpose the rebels, under the conduct of Sir William Waller, entering the City of Chichester on Innocent's day, 1642, the next day their first business was to plunder the Cathedral Church; the Marshal therefore and some other officers having entered the Church, went unto the Vestery, where they seize upon the Vestments and ornaments of the Church, together with the Consecrated Plate, serving for the Altar, and administration of the Lord's Supper; they left not so much as a cushion for the Pulpit, not a Chalice for the Blessed Sacrament; the Commanders having in person executed the *covetous part of Sacrileye*, they leave the *destructive and spoyling part* to be finished by the common Soldiers: broke down the Organs and dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, *hark how the Organs go*. They break the rail about the Communion Table, which was done with that fury, that the Table itself escaped not their madness, but tasted of the same fare as the rest, and was broken to pieces by them. At the East end of the Quire, did hang a very fair Table, wherein were written the Ten Commandments, with the pictures of Moses and Aaron on each side of the table; possessed with a zeal, but not like that of Moses, they pull down the Table and break it into small shivers. 'Twas no wonder that they should break the Commandments in their representation, that had before broken them all over in their substances and sanction; they force open all the locks, either of doors or desks wherein the singing men laid up their Common Prayer Books, their singing Books, their Gowns and Surplices; they rent the Books in pieces, and scatter the torn leaves all over the Church, even to the covering of the pavement, but against the Gowns and Surplices their anger was not so hot, these were not amongst the Anathemata, but might be reserved for secular uses; in the South cross Ile on the one side, the History of the Church's foundation was very artificially pourtrayed, with the picture of the Kings of England; on the other side over against them are the pictures of the Bishops as well of Sealesey as of Chichester, began by Robert Sherborn, the 37 Bishop of that See, and the series brought down by him to his own times at his own Charges, who as he made that of the Psalmist, *Dilexi decorum*

domus tui Domine, Lord I have loved the beauty of thy house, his imprease and motto, so he made it his work and endeavour.

“These monuments they deface and mangle with their hands and swords, as high as they could reach, and to shew their love and zeal to the protestant religion established in the Church of England; one of these miscreants picked out the eyes of King Edward the sixth’s picture, saying *that all this mischief came from him, when he established the Book of Common Prayer.* On the Tuesday following, they had a solemn thanksgiving, for their success in gaining the City. Men of cauterised consciences, and given up to a reprobate sense, thus, not only to *take the name of God in vain, but damnably to blaspheme it, as if he were the Patron of rapine, blood and sacrilege.* After the sermon was ended, as men not inspired by the holy spirit, of which they so much boast, but possessed and transported by a Bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the Church, with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats, scratching and scraping the walls: Sir William Waller, and the rest of the Commanders standing by as spectators, and approvers of these barbarous iniquities; yet for fear lest in this schismatical phrenzy, the sword in mad mens hands might mistake, Sir William Waller, a wary man as he is, and well known not to be too apt to expose himself to danger, stood all the while with his sword drawn, and being asked by one of the troopers what he meant, to stand in that posture? He answered, that it was to secure himself, you know it is written, *the wicked are afraid where no fear is,* for though the people made him an idol in London, yet being no *popish* but a *puritanical idol* (for they have their Idols and their Idolatry as much as the Church of Rome) there was no danger to his person, to be mistaken for an object of their Reformation, at Chichester. The same trooper added also, *that if his Colonel, in the Low Countries were there, and commanded in Chief, he would hang up half a dozen of the soldiers for example’s sake it not being the custom of the Low Countries (though long time hath made their enmity inveterate, and added much to the animosity of the parties) to plunder Churches it being a mutual stipulation between the Spaniard and the Hollander that what town soever should by conquest pass from the possession of one nation to another, though the conqueror had free plunder of the town, yet Churches with their ornaments, and whatever was conveyed into them should be inviolable, the Church being Sanctuary to whatsoever was under its Rooffe, and if they would have anything from thence it was to be purchased at a valuable price.* These good intimations of moderation, from a man of less command, but more religion, than Sir William prevailed nothing with him to restrain the outrageous madness of his fellow rebels. Having therefore made what spoyl they could in the Cathedral, they rush out thence and break open the Parish Church, standing on the North side of the Cathedral, called the Subdeanery; there they tear the Common Prayer Books, both those belonging to the

Church and likewise those which were left there by devout persons which did usually frequent divine service; and because many things in the Holy Bible make strongly against them, one did contradict and condemn their impious practices, they marked it in divers places with a black cole; tis more than probable that the 13th chapter to the Romans did not escape their index expurgatorius, for certainly if that be the word of God (as undoubtedly it is) they cannot so far withhold the truth in unrighteousness as not to read their doom in that word, shall judge them at the last day: here they stole the Minister's Surpless and Hood and all the linen serving for the communion; and finding no more plate than the Chalice, they steal that too, which they brake in pieces, to make a just and equal dividant amongst themselves; for an Engineer of theirs, Robert Frince a Frenchman with a wooden leg, afterwards shewed the foot thereof broken off; and when complaint was made of these barbarous outrages, Capt Keely replied, *he knew not whether all this were done by order or no.*

"About five or six days after, Sir Arthur Hastlerig, demanded the keys of the Chapter House; being entered the place, and having intelligence, by a treacherous Officer of the Church, where the remainder of the Church plate was, he commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought Crows of Iron, for that purpose, along with them; while they were knocking down the wainscot, Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joy, it was *operative at his very heels*, for dancing and skipping (pray remark what music that is to which it is lawful for a puritan to dance) he cryed out, *there boys—there boys, heark, heark, it rattles—it rattles*; and being much importuned by some members of that Church, to leave the Church but a cup for the administration of the blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman, standing by, *that they should take a wooden dish*: and now tell me which was farthest from a christian, either the impure Scot, or that blasphemous Atheist, who seeing the massy plate, and rich ornaments wherewith the Christian Altars were adorned in the Primitive Church, in indignation and scorn of Christ belched out, *En quam preciosis vasis Mariæ ministratur*; behold with what costly vessels the Son of Mary is served; what further spoyl and indignity they have since done to the House of God, and the habitation where his honour dwelt, is yet uncertain."

C. L. PRINCE.

No. 4.

The Destruction of Chichester by Gurmundus, King of Ireland, in the Sixth Century.

I have extracted the following paragraph from the "Chronicles of England," printed by Caxton, in the year 1480. The same account

is mentioned in the "Chronicles of St. Albans," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in the year 1497.

"How King Gurmond drofe the Kyng Cortife to Chichester and queld the britons and thurgh quentise gete the toune.

"Cortife the Kyng fley then in to Chichestre that tho was a good cite and a strong and ther helde hym xx daies, and this Gurmond it beseged, but the Cite was so stronge that he myght not gete that cite by no maner engyn that he might done. Tho by thought they upon a grete queyntise for to brenne the toune they made engynes with glewe of nettes and token peces of tunder and of fire and bounde it to the sparwes fete and afterward set hem flee and they anone right fley and logged hem in the toune ther that hir nestes were and in stakkes and in evissyng of houses, and the fire began to tende and brend all the toune, and when the britons saw that in every side they hied hem oute and faught but anon they were slayne and discomfited, and whiles the bataille dured the Kyng prively hid hym and stale away in to Wales and men wist never wher he bicom and so was the toune of Chichestre taken and destroyed. And after went Gurmond and destroyed citees and tounes that never were afterward made agen as it is seyn yit in many places."

C. L. PRINCE.

No. 5.

Sussex Ejected Ministers.

The following questions have been circulated among the Clergy of this Diocese by the Rev. Treasurer Borrer, who will feel much obliged by any information concerning the ejected, intruded, and non-juror Clergy of Sussex being forwarded to him, at the Rectory, Hurstpierpoint:—

A.

- 1.—Can you furnish me from your Parish Register books or from any other source with the name of the Parson or Vicar at the time of the great Rebellion, say at or prior to 1643?
- 2.—Was he ejected from the Cure? if so
- 3.—Can you give the name of the Intruder?
- 4.—At the Restoration, did the old Incumbent return, or did the Intruder conform, in 1662?
- 5.—If not either, who succeeded to the Cure?
- 6.—When and where did the rightful Incumbent or the Intruder die?

B.

- 1.—At the Revolution, say in 1689, did the Incumbent take the oath of allegiance?
- 2.—What was his name?
- 3.—If a non-juror, who succeeded him?

C.

- 1.— Kindly give me so far as is practicable the date of your Communion plate, whether of silver or pewter, older than the present century.
 - 2.— If it bear any inscription (beyond that of the parish) name of donor, &c., please give them, with any further account of them you like to render.
 - 3.— If you know of any monuments or other means of shewing the arms, pedigree, history, &c., of any of the above, or of any local traditions concerning them, please furnish me with them ; or any other information connected with any of the above subjects that you would like to be submitted to the Sussex Archaeological Society.
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INDEX TO VOL. XXXI.

INDEX TO VOL. XXXI.

A.

Abone. in Antonine Itin., 74.
Adurni, Portus, 51, 68.
Agents, King's (Jas. II.) secret instructions for, 17-21.
Ague, prescription for (1671), 154.
Alaunii fl. ostia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; the river identified, 36-7, 38.
Alchemy, John Allin's studies in, 135-6, 138, 142, 146, 147-8, 151.
Alciston, manor of, charter exempting Battle Abbey from service in respect of, 158.
Alford, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 8; 15.
Allin, John, sen., 127.
Allin, Rev. John, Vicar of Rye, (1653-1662), notice of (with extracts from his letters), 123-156.
Amulets, worn during the Plague, 137.
Anatomy, John Allin's studies in, 133, 135.
Angel, Gold, used during the Plague, 138.
Antivestaeum Promontory, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 27, 28, 30; identified with Land's End, 32.
Antonine Itinerary, Measurements of, 25-80, gives precise distances, 59;

Rev. J. Reynold's work on, *ib*; Antoninus' method of calculation, 60; Iter iii, 63; Iter iv, *ib*; Iter ii, 64; Iter vii, 67; Iter xiii, 71; Iter xiv, 74; Iter xv, 76.
Apsley, Henry, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12.
Apsley, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 7; 16.
Aquae Calidae, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 45.
Aquis Solis, in Antonine Itin., 74.
Ardingly, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 188-191.
Army, the, and Test and Penal Laws in 1688, 3.
Arrundell, Henry, his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 7; 16.
Arundel, M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95 *et seq.* M.P. in Long Parl., 171.
Ashborneham, Sir Denny, 12.
Ashburnham, John, 13; his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 17.
Assembly of Divines, the, 169 *et seq.*
Astrology, John Allin's studies in, 126, 135, 139-140, 149.
Attrebattii, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 48.

B.

Baker, John, 15; his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 11; 16.
Barton, of Hellingly, 15.
Battle Abbey evidences, 157-168.
Battlelands, mentioned in charter (Henry I.), 158.
Beale, Edward, of Rye, exchanged for Dutch prisoner, 144.
Beard, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 9.
Belgae, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 38, 45.
Bells of St. Mary's, Horsham, 81-94.
Bennett of Rye, proceedings against, 133.

Bepton, action against Rector of, by Committee of Plundered Ministers, 191-2.
Bertram of Copenhagen, his forgery of "Richard of Cirencester," 25; 62.
Bickley, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 6; 15.
Biddulph, Richard, 12; 16.
Bindogladia, in the Ravennas, 58.
Bishop, Sir Cecil, 7, 16; his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 17.
Bisshopp, Henry, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 8.
Blackbourne, Joan, charters transcribed by, 159-168.

- Blackmoor, Hants, Roman coins found at, 204.
- Bladworth, claim of his wife to fifth of sequestered living of Ardingly, 190.
- Blaker, Wm., of Buckingham, 14.
- Board, William, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 9.
- Boston, see *New England*.
- Braine, rector of Ardingly sequestered to, 188; great opposition to him, 188-191.
- Braman, John, of Chichester, 14.
- Bramber, M.P. in Long Parl., 171; sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 171-2; vicars of (1623-1658), 172; during Roman occupation, 68.
- Bridger, Richard, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 10.
- Brige, in Antonine Itin., 76.
- Briggs, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 6; 15.
- Briskcow (Briscoe), Sir John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 7.
- Bromham, mentioned in charter (Hen. I.), 161.
- Browne, Francis, see *Montague*.
- Burolevo, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
- Busbridge, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12.

C.

- Calleva [Nalcuva], in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; its position identified, 48-9.
- Calleva, in Antonine Itin., 71, 74, 76.
- Calleva Atrebatum, in Antonine Itin., 49, 67; in the Ravennas, 59.
- Calvert, Thomas, Short Notice of a "Find" of Roman coins near Eastbourne, 201.
- Camden, his labours in Roman geography of England, 25; his description of Southampton Water, and identification of Magnus Portus, 39.
- Cantii, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 53.
- Cantium Promontory in Ptolemy's Measurements, 27, 28, 30; identified as South Foreland, 52-3.
- Caryll, John, 6.
- Caryll, Richard, his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 9; 16.
- Cenionis fl. ostia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; position of the river identified, 34.
- Chaliner (Chaloner) John, of Linfeild, 15.
- Charters, relating to Battle Abbey, 157-168.
- Chertsey, the Eldridges of, 85, 87, 89.
- Cheyneil, Dr. Francis, Sussex member of Assembly of Divines, 169, 184, 197.
- Chichester, origin of the name, 43; Roman stone found at, 67; M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95 *et seq*; M.P. in Long Parl., 171; Destruction of, by Gurmundus, King of Ireland, in the Sixth Century, 208.
- Chichester Cathedral, Attack of the Parliamentarians upon, 205-8.
- Chowne, Thomas, of Frog Firl, 15.
- Church Bells of Sussex, by A. D. Tyssen, ref. and extract from, 81.
- Cimetzone, in the Ravennas, 58.
- Cinque Ports, M.P.s for (1371-1421), 96, *et seq*.
- Cissbury, Roman remains at, 68.
- Clausento, in Antonine Itin., 67.
- Clubber-lubber, Roman remains, 64.
- Cogidunus, supposed name on stone found at Chichester, 67.
- Coins, see *Roman Coins*.
- Committee of Plundered Ministers, 169-200; its Sussex members, *list*, 171.
- Compton, Henry (Bishop of London), his suspension (1686), 22.
- Cook, John, of Petworth, 14.
- Coombe, mentioned in charter, 162.
- Corinium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; its position identified, 48.
- Corinium Dobunorum, in the Ravennas, 59.
- Cotton, Richard, his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 7; 16, 17.
- Counos, Insula, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; identified, 52-3.
- Courthope, Peter, his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 9.
- Cowfold, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 194.
- Crowmarsh Battle, mentioned in charter (Hen. I.), 161.
- Crundal, mentioned in Charter, 162.
- Cunetione, in Antonine Itin., 74.

D.

- Damnonii, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 33-7.
 Darrell, W, of Scotney, 14.
 Darernum, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; its position identified, 53.
 Deafness, prescription for (1671), 154.
 Deputy-Lieutenants of Sussex and the Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 1-24; *list*, 13.
 Dobuni, their country, in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 48.
 Dorchester, Roman remains at, 36.
 Dorset (Charles Sackville, Earl of), removed from Lord-Lieutenancy (1688), 2, 4.
 Dubris, in Peutingerian Tables, 57; in the Ravennas, 59; in Antonine Itin., 63.
 Duckett, Sir G. F., on the Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 1-24. On Battle Abbey Evidences, 157-168.
 Dunium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 38.
 Durnovaria, in Antonine Itin., 76.
 Duroavernus, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
 Durobrabis, in the Ravennas, 59.
 Durobrivis, in Antonine Itin., 63, 64.
 Durocornovio, in Antonine Itin., 71.
 Durolevo, in Antonine Itin., 64.
 Duroverno, in Antonine Itin., 63, 64.
 Duroverno Cantiacorum, in the Ravennas, 59.
 Durotriges, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 37-8.
 Dutch depredations on New England ships, 139.
 Dyke, Sir Thos., 11.
 Dyne, Edward, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12; 16.

E.

- Earle, Professor, on the word Trisanton, 39-40, 43.
 Eastbourne, Roman coins found near, 201.
 East Dean (near Chichester), sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 196; Vicars (1630-1673), *ib.*
 East Grinstead, M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95 *et seq.*: M.P. in Long Parl., 171; sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 198.
 Ejected Ministers of Sussex, 123, 196, 209.
 Eldridge, Bryan, bellfounder, 84, 87, 89.
 Eldridge, Richard, of Horsham, bellfounder, 81-94.
 Elixir Magnum, see *Alchemy*.
 Elmar, Joseph, of Rye, 148.
 Eversfield, Anthony, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 8.
 Exe, river, question of its identification in Ptolemaic Measurements, 35, 37.

F.

- Fagg, Sir John, of Wiston, 14.
 Fagg, Robt, 15.
 Fanscombe, mentioned in Charter (Edw. II.), 163.
 Farrington, Sir Richard, of Chichester, 14.
 Fowle, Humphry, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, in 1688, 11.
 Framfield, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 197.
 French depredations in Sussex, 141.
 Frewen, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12.
 Fryth, Philip, of Rye, 123; letter to Jeake, 134; 153.

G.

- Gage, Henry, of Bentley, 14.
 Gage, Sir John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12; 16.
 Goring, George, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, in 1688, 10.
 Goring, Sir Henry, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, in 1688, 7.
 Goring, Sir Wm., his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 7; 16.

Gough, Richard, sequestered vicar of East Grinstead, 198, 200.
 Grebell, Allen, of Rye, 135.
 Greenfield, John, of Rye, 128.
 Greenfield, of Peasmarsh, 131-3; his library, 144.

Grinstead, see *East Grinstead*.
 Gunter, George, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 6.
 Gurmundus, King of Ireland, Destruction of Chichester by, 208.

H.

Halsy, rector of East Dean, his sequestration and sufferings, 197.
 Hastings, M.P.s for (1371-1421), 96 *et seq.*; M.P. in Long Parl, 171; see *St. Clements*.
 Hercules Promontorium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 33.
 Hiland, John, of Bodiam, 15.
 Hills, Gordon M., on the Measurements

of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary, 25-80.
 Hooe, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 172-3; vicars of (1625-1680), 173.
 Horsham, churchwardens' accounts of, 81, *et seq.*; M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95, *et seq.*; Vestry minutes of, 92-3; Inscription from the Town Hall clock bell, 94; see *St. Mary's*.

I.

Icklesham, action of Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 186.
 Iden, proceedings by Committee of Plundered Ministers against Vicar of, 193.
 Isacae fl. ostia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; the river identified, 35-6.
 Isca, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 35-6.

Isca Callevam, in Antonine Itin., 71, 74.
 Iscadumnorum, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
 Isca Dumuniorum, in Antonine Itin., 76.
 Ischalis, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 45.
 Isle of Wight, Roman coins found in, 205.
 Itinerary, see *Antonine*.

J.

James II., his attempt to repeal Test and Penal Laws, 1, *et seq.*
 Jamesa Æstuarium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30.
 Jeake MSS., 123 *et seq.*

Jeake, Samuel, of Rye, 128; 134, 138; his astrological studies, 140, 151.
 Jeake, Samuel, the younger, 147.
 Justices of Peace (Sussex) and the Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 1-24, *list*, 14-16.

K.

Kempe, Anthony, his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 6; 16.

Kingsnorth, mentioned in charter (Edw. II.), 164.

L.

Large, John, rector of Rotherfield, his sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers, 173-186.
 Lee (or Leigh) John, of Plaistow, 14.
 Legio Secunda Augusta, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 36.

Lemanio, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
 Lemanis, in the Ravennas, 59; in Antonine Itin., 63.
 Leominster, action of Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 186; vicars of (1605-1674), 187.

Lewes Borough, M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95 *et seq*; M.P. in Long Parl, 171.
 Lewkenor, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 5; 15.
 Lieutenants, see *Deputy*.
 Liminesfelde, mentioned in charter (Hen. I.), 161.

Londinis, in the Ravennas, 58, 59.
 Londinium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 53; in Antonine Itin., 63, 67.
 London, Bishop of, see *Compton*.
 London Bridge, charter (Henry I.) relating to, 158.

M.

Machell, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 8; 15.
 Madus, in Pentingerian Tables, 57.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, its fellows dispossessed by James II., 22.
 Magistrates, see *Justices*.
 Magnus Portus, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; its position identified, 38-44.
 May, Sir Richard, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12; 16.
 Maynard, John, Sussex member of Assembly of Divines, 169.
 Measurements of Ptolemy and Antonine Itinerary, 25-80.
 Members of Parliament for County and

Boroughs of Sussex (1369-1421), 95-122; in Long Parl., 171.
 Midhurst, M.P. 1661, 15 : M.P.s (1371-1421), 96 *et seq*.
 Monke, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 8.
 Montague, the Lord (of Cowdray) made Lord-Lieutenant by James II., 2, 4, 16.
 Moore, Thomas, complaint to Committee of Plundered Ministers, 187.
 Moridunum, in the Ravennas, 58; in Antonine Itin., 76.
 Morley, Sir Wm., his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 5; 15.
 Morton, Sir James, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 9.

N.

Naemagus, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; its position identified, 49-51.
 Nalcaua, see *Calleva*.
 Netley Hospital, Roman coins found in rear of, 204.
 Nevil, George, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, 1688, 11.
 New England, John Allin, sen., goes to, 127; frigates preparing to go with Commissioners to, 130; ships captured by Dutch, 139; difficulty between the Commissioners and Court at Boston, *ib.*; Rev. John Allin's ventures of merchandize to, 139, 144; miscarriage

of letters from, 146; John Allin's property in, 155.
 Newman, John, of Merrifield, 14.
 Normandy, the, at Horsham, 81.
 Notes and Queries, 201-209.
 Noviomagno, in the Ravennas, 58.
 Noviomago, in Antonine Itin., 64.
 Novus Portus, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; its position identified, 51.
 Nunburnholme, Yorkshire, hoard of Roman coins found at, *list*, 203.
 Nye or Ney, Henry, Sussex member of Assembly of Divines, 169.

O.

Ocrinum Promontory, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 28, 29, 30; identified with Lizard Point, 32.
 Orange, William of, his Declaration, 23.
 Ordnance Maps, 25, 26.
 Ovingdean, mentioned in charter (Henry I.), 158.

Owen, R., letter to Walker, relating to Committee of Plundered Ministers and sequestration of John Large, 184.
 Oxford, Magdalen College, its fellows dispossessed by James II., 22.

P.

- Palmer, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 5.
 Parker, Sir Robt., of Ratton, 14.
 Parliament, see *Members of*.
 Peasmarsh, Allin's and Fryth's difficulty in carrying out Greenfield's bequests in, 131-3; sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 195; vicars of (1634-1662), 196.
 Peckham, William, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 5; 15.
 Pelham, Sir John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 10.
 Pelham, Sir Nicholas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 13.
 Penal Laws, and Dep.-Lieuts. and Magistrates of Sussex, in 1688, 1-24.
 Peutingerian Tables, the, 56-8.
 Pevensy Castle, Charter (Henry I.) relating to, 158.
 Physic, John Allin's studies in, 133, 148, 149.
 Pickering, Benjamine, Sussex Member of Assembly of Divines, 169.
 Plague, the Great, from letters of Rev. John Allin, 136-142, *passim*.
 Playden, proceedings by Committee of Plundered Ministers against vicar of, 193.
 Plumpton, mentioned in charter, 162.
 Pontibus, in Antonine Itin., 67.
 Prima Materia, see *Alchemy*.
 Prince, C. L., note on the Attack of the Parliamentarians upon Chichester Cathedral, 205 *et seq.*
 Ptolemy, Measurements of, 25-80; *tables*, 30, 31.
 Puntuobice, in the Ravennas, 58.

Q.

- Questions, regarding Test and Penal | Laws, put to Dep.-Lieuts. and Justices of Peace (1688), 4.

R.

- Raribus, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
 Ravennas, the, 58-9; places in, *list*, 79-80.
 Ravinago, in the Ravennas, 58.
 Rawlinson MSS., James II.'s Questions, and Reports of his Agents regarding Test Act and Penal Laws, embodied in, 3; charters transcribed by John Blackbourne, from Original Registers of different Abbies, among, 159-168.
 Regentium, in the Ravennas, 58.
 Regni, their country in Measurements of Ptolemy, 30, 49-51.
 Rhys, Professor, on the word Trisanton, 42.
 Rice, Robt. Garraway, on Richard Eldridge of Horsham, Bellfounder, and Notes upon the Bells of St. Mary's Church, 81-94.
 Richard of Cirencester, his supposed Itinerary a forgery, 25-6.
 Richborough, Roman Remains at, 53.
 Ridumo, in Peutingerian Tables, 57.
 Ritupis Portus, in Antonine Itin., 64, 65; seat of the Roman Count of the Saxon Shore, *ib.*
 Rivers, Nizell, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 10.
 Roman Coins found near Eastbourne, 201, 205; at Nunburnholme, Yorks., 203; between Newcastle and Carlisle, 203; in rear of Netley Hospital, 204; at Cliffe and Wroxall (Isle of Wight), 205.
 Roman Geography of England, 25 *et seq.*
 Roman measure (lineal) the, 60-2.
 Roman occupation of England, 54-6.
 Roman roads, 59-78.
 Romney Marsh, 51-2.
 Rotherfield, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 173-186.
 Rutupia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; its position identified, 53.
 Rutupis, in Peutingerian Tables, 57; in the Ravennas, 59.
 Rye, M.P.s for (1371-1421), 96 *et seq.*; Vicar of (Rev. John Allin), (1653-1662), 123-156.

S.

- Sabriana *Æstuarium*, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 34.
- Sackville, Thomas, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 17.
- St. Clements, Hastings, proceeding of Committee of Plundered Ministers against Incumbent of, 194; rectors (1637-1652), 195.
- St. Mary's Church, Horsham, Bells of, 81-94.
- St. Paul's Church, contributions of Sussex Clergy towards re-building of, 172, 187, 193, 200.
- Sawyer, F. E., on Proceedings of the Committee of Plundered Ministers relating to Sussex, 169-200.
- Scadum Nuniorum, in the Ravennas, 58.
- Seaford Borough, M.P.s for (1369-1371), 95-6.
- Seamen and Seamen's tickets, in 1667-8, 143-4, 147, 149.
- Selwyn, Sir Edward, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, (1688), 11; 15.
- Sennertus, Daniel, his works in library of John Allin, of Rye, 131.
- Sequestered Livings, see *Committee of Plundered Ministers*.
- Shelley, Sir John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes, in 1688, 9; 16.
- Shirley, Sir Richd., of Preston, 14.
- Shore, Jo., letter relating to sequestration of Dr. John Large, 179.
- Shoreham Borough, M.P.s for (1369-1421), 95, *et seq.*
- Shoyswell, Roger, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 12; 16.
- Silchester, Roman remains at, 72-4.
- Slinfold, churchwardens' accounts of, 88.
- Smart, Dr. T. W. Wake, Notice of Rev. John Allin, Vicar of Rye, A.D. 1653-1662; an Ejected Minister, 123-156.
- Smith, C. Roach, on Roman coins discovered near Eastbourne, 202-5.
- Smith, John, of Crabbett Park, 10; 14.
- Sorbioduno, in Antonine Itin., 76.
- Southampton Water, 39-44, *passim*.
- Spence, John, of Malling, 14.
- Spence [Robert], letters to, regarding sequestration at Ardingly, 188.
- Spinis, in Antonine Itin., 71, 74.
- Springett, Anthony, 10.
- Stapeley, Sir John, 11; his answer upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 17.
- Staples, Alexander, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 11; 15.
- Starkey, George, 146.
- Stenning, Alan H., A Return of the Members of Parliament for the County and Boroughs of Sussex [1369-1421], 95-122.
- Steyning Borough, M.P.s for, 99, *et seq.*; M.P. in Long Parl., 171.
- Stoneslands, mentioned in charter (Henry I.), 158.
- Stuart, John, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 5; 15.
- Studley, Joseph, of Linfeild, 15.
- Stukeley, Dr., deceived as to Richard of Cirencester, 25-6.
- Sussex County, Members of Parliament for [1369-1421], 95-122; M.P. in Long Parl., 171.

T.

- Tamar, river, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 28, 29, 33; its name traced by Camden, *ib.*
- Tamare, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; identified with St. German's, 33.
- Tamari fl. ostia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; see *Tamar, river*.
- Tamaris, in the Ravennas, 58.
- Tamarus, river, identified with Tamar (*q. v.*), 33.
- Taunton, Richard, one of the Century of Malignant Priests, 191.
- Test Act, and Dep.-Lients. and Magistrates of Sussex, in 1688, 1-24.
- Thames, naval action between French, Dutch and English in mouth of, 141-2.
- Thanet island, 53.
- Third Brass Roman Coins, found near Eastbourne, 201.
- Thomas, Sir Wm., his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 11.
- Thornton, Joshua, letter to Walker relating to Sufferings of the Sussex Clergy and the Sequestration of Dr. John Large, 179-183.
- Ticket-money, see *Seamen*.
- Tobacco (in 1667), 147.
- Toliapis Insula, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30.

Trajectus, in Antonine Itin., 74.
 Triers, Cromwell's, at Sutton, 181.
 Trisantonis fl. ostia, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31; its position identified, 39-44.
 Trotton, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 192-3.
 Twyne, Dr. Brian, 127.

Tyssen, A. D., his "Church Bells of Sussex," 81.
 Tythes, due to Rev. John Allin of Rye, 135, 146; of sequestered living of Peasmarsh, 195; of sequestered livings, wife's claim to fifth of, 190, 199.

U.

Uxelis, in the Ravennas, 58.

Uxella, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 33.

V.

Vagniacis in Antonine Itin., 64.
 Vectis, insula, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30, 31.
 Venta, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31; its position identified, 46.
 Venta Belgarum, in the Ravennas, 58; in Antonine Itin., 67, 76.
 Venta Silurum, in Antonine Itin., 74.

Verlucione, in Antonine Itin., 74.
 Vexalla Æstuarium, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 30; position identified, 33-4.
 Vindocladia, in Antonine Itin., 76.
 Vindomis, in Antonine Itin., 76.
 Vinter, George, 185, 194.
 Voliba, in Ptolemy's Measurements, 31, 33.

W.

Wadhurst, proceedings of Committee of Plundered Ministers against vicar of, 198.
 Waller, Sir William, his attack upon Chichester Cathedral, 206-8.
 Wareham, Roman remains at, 38.
 Weekes, Oliver, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes (1688), 5.
 Westbrook, William, his answers upon Test and Penal Statutes in 1688, 7; 15.
 Western, Thos., of Battle, 15.
 Westminster Assembly, see *Assembly of Divines*.

Winchelsea, M.P.s for (1371-1421), 96 *et seq.*
 Winchelsea Castle, saltpetre in vault of, 146.
 Wivelsfield, sequestration by Committee of Plundered Ministers at, 187.
 Woad, offer to purchase, 135.
 Woodcote, Roman remains at, 50.
 Woodward, Mr., his exposure of Bertram's Roman Britain and Itinerary, 26.
 Worlebury, 45.
 Wye, manor of, charters in connection with Battle Abbey, relating to, 159-168; town, its position, 162.

6/108