

◆ Heretics and martyrs in Marian Sussex

NETWORKS AND LOCATIONS

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Between 1555 and 1557, at least 27 people were burnt in Sussex as incorrigible heretics, having been passed to the secular authorities by the church. The cult of the 'Sussex Martyrs', revived or arguably created by the Lewes schoolteacher and historian Mark Antony Lower (1813–76), established a canonical list of the victims of such persecution, and subsequent biographical research has been largely limited to those individuals. This article seeks to broaden the investigation in order to establish a social and religious context for the burnings.

Sussex folk who lost their lives for Protestant beliefs under Mary Tudor (1554–8) have received much attention compared to those accused of heresy but who, as far as is known, avoided execution, whether by exoneration, recantation, escape, prevarication or death. This article amplifies the known picture by treating them together, attempting to ascertain links among them, citing evidence for the careers of the clerical martyrs, identifying likely references to many of the others in secular sources, discussing possible reasons for the choice of dates and towns for holding burnings, and considering the probable locations within the towns. Some existing assumptions or conclusions are queried or corrected. When these findings are mapped it is evident that there were local centres, particularly where the clerical martyr had ministered, and that the dissent was concentrated in a block of parishes down the middle of the Archdeaconry of Lewes (Fig. 1).

Ideally the same treatment should be applied to the Weald beyond Sussex, and better still the whole of Kent, Surrey and London, for county boundaries do not determine the movement of people and ideas. They do, however, define jurisdictions within which heresy was prosecuted, documented and archived: and nearing the end of my eighth decade I cannot realistically attempt to extend this study beyond Sussex. For the political and religious context I can do no better than refer the reader to Eamon Duffy's magisterial reassessment *Fires of faith*.¹ Without retelling the stories or rehearsing the work of other commentators, but conveying enough to ensure intelligibility, this article follows the chronology of the principal sources, Thomas Brice's *Compendious register* (1559)² and John Foxe's *Book of martyrs* (1563 and later),³ quoting days and

months and adding in square brackets days of the week. Readers can thus easily look up the text in any edition. Reference should be made throughout to Figure 1 (map of the parishes with heretics and/or martyrs, and related indicators) and to Tables 1 (Parishes with heretics and/or martyrs, and related indicators), 2 (The people), and 3 (The numbers of martyrs in the sources). The numbers given to parishes in Figure 1 and Table 1 are in **bold** within square brackets. Unattributed information is from Foxe; all other sources are given in endnotes.

THE FIRST YEAR OF BURNINGS, 1555

The Loseley manuscript at the Folger Library transcribed by Gratwick and Whittick⁴ assigns the first four deaths to Mary's second regnal year, namely 6 July 1554–5 July 1555; in the other contemporary sources they come under 1555 on days after 5 July, that is in her third regnal year; the same discrepancy occurs with the following years. Given its arrangement by individual sheriffs, the Folger manuscript can be expected to adhere to shrieval, rather than regnal years, which did not of course coincide. The writ *de intendendo* for the appointment of Edward Gage as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was issued on 13 November 1556, and the prisoners passed into his custody from that of the outgoing sheriff William Saunders on 27 November; Gage in turn passed the prisoners to John Ashburnham on 27 November 1557, which can thus be regarded as the defining date.⁵ On that basis, the year in the Loseley list refers to that in which the appointment was made, but the tenure of the shrievalty by the three named individuals each stretched over into the November of the next regnal year.

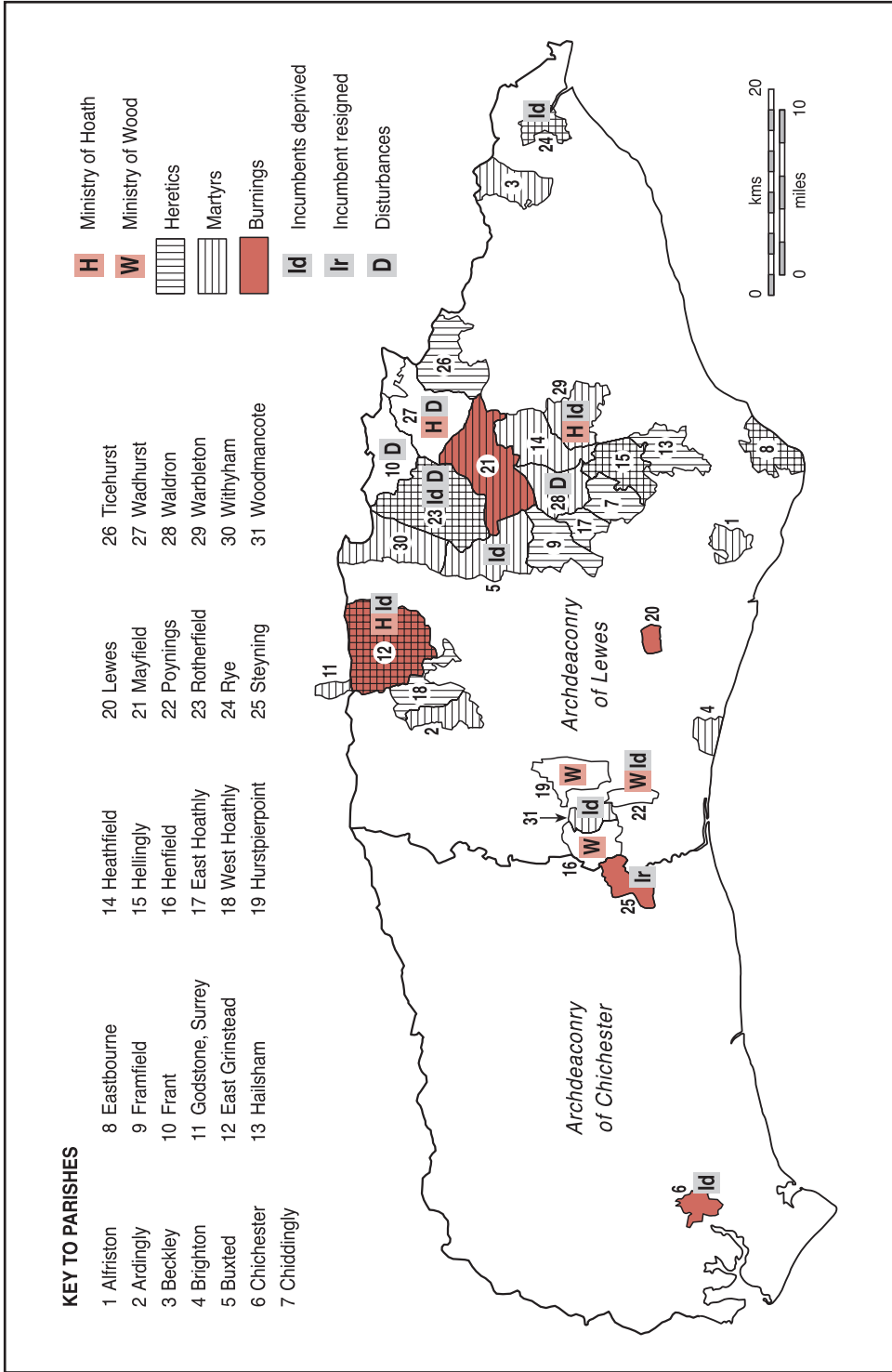


Fig. 1. Parishes with heretics and/or martyrs, and related indicators

Table 1. Parishes with heretics and/or martyrs, and related indicators of Protestantism (Y=yes)

	Parishes	Ministry of Hoath or Wood	Heretics	Martyrs	Location of burning(s)	Location of disturbance(s)	Incumbents deprived	Number of indicators
1	Alfriston			1				1
2	Ardingly			1				1
3	Beckley			1				1
4	Brighton			2				1
5	Buxted			1			1	2
6	Chichester				Y		1	2
7	Chiddingly		1					1
8	Eastbourne		1	1				2
9	Framfield		2					1
10	Frant					Y		1
11	Godstone, Surrey			2				1
12	East Grinstead	H	1	3	Y		1	5
13	Hailsham		1					1
14	Heathfield			2				1
15	Hellingly		1	1				2
16	Henfield	W						1
17	East Hoathly		1					1
18	West Hoathly		2					1
19	Hurstpierpoint	W						1
20	Lewes				Y			1
21	Mayfield			1	Y			2
22	Poynings	W					1	2
23	Rotherfield		6	2		Y	1	4
24	Rye		?	1			1	3
25	Steyning				Y		1 resigned	2
26	Ticehurst		1					1
27	Wadhurst	H				Y		2
28	Waldron			1		Y		2
29	Warbleton	H		2			1	3
30	Withyham			2				1
31	Woodmancote			2			1	2
	UNKNOWN			7				

Table 2. The people.

	Name and sex	Heretic/ Excomm'd	Martyr Burnt at	Parish/area	Occupation, age, etc.
C Chichester, EG East Grinstead, L Lewes, M Mayfield, S Steyning					
1	John ASHDO(W)N m		M?	? Rotherfield	
2	William ASHDOWN m	?=1 H 1556		Rotherfield	
3	ASHDON's wife f		M 1557 L?	Rotherfield	
4	Thomas AVINGTON m		M 1557 L	Ardingly	turner
5	Denis (?Dionysia) BURGESS m/f		M 1557 L	Buxted	
6	Henry BURGESS m	H 1556/7		?	
7	Dirick CARVER m		M 1555 L	Brighton	beerbrewer
8	Thomas CHATFIELD jun. m	H 1556		Chiddingly	
9	Thomas DUNGATE m		M 1556 EG	E. Grinstead	
10	William FAYRWAYE m	H 1556		Hailsham	
11	John FOREMAN m		M 1556 EG	E. Grinstead	
12	Edward FYLTNERSHE m	H 1556		Rotherfield	
13	Stephen GRATWICK m		M 1557 Southwark	Brighton	?minister
14	Christian GROVER m/f		M?	? Lewes Archdeaconry	
15	GROVE's wife f?=15		M 1557 L		
16	John GUELLE (? Jewel) m	H 1556		?	
17	Thomas HARLAND m		M 1556 L	Woodmancote	carpenter/ millwright
18	Richard HARMAN m	H 1554-6		West Hoathly	
19	John HART m		M 1556 M	Withyham	
20	Richard HILLER m?=19	H 1556		West Hoathly	
21	Matthew HITCHERST m	H 1556		?	
22	Robert HITCHERST m	H 1556		?	
23	Nicholas HOLDEN m	H 1555	M 1556 ?	Withyham	
24	Richard HOOKE m	H 1555	M 1555 C	Alfriston	
25	Alexander HOSMER m		M 1557 L	Rotherfield	c.22
26	Thomas (AT)HOTH m	H 1533	M?	?	? 50+, minister
27	Thomas IVESON m		M 1555 C	Godstone, Surrey	carpenter
28	John JACKSON m	H 1556		?	
29	-?- JUXON m		M 1557 C	?Chichester	
30	Thomas KING m		M 1557 ?	?	
31	John LAUNDER m		M 1555 S	Godstone, Surrey	25
32	Henry LONDON m	H 1557		?	
33	Robert MASON m	H 1556		Rotherfield	
34	William MAYNARD m		M 1557 L	?Mayfield	
35	John MILLS m		M 1556 ?	Hellingly	
36	Thomas MILLS m?=35		M 1556 L	?	
37	William MORANT m		M 1557 ?	?	
38	James MORRIS m		M 1557 L	Heathfield	c.30, son of 40
39	John MORRYS m	H 1556-7		Heathfield	weaver, husband of 40

Table 2. continued.

	Name and sex	Heretic/ Excomm'd	Martyr Burnt at	Parish/area	Occupation, age, etc.
C Chichester, EG East Grinstead, L Lewes, M Mayfield, S Steyning					
40	Margaret/Margery MORRIS f	Ex 1552	M 1557 L	Heathfield	mid-50s, wife of 39, mother of 38
41	John NEWMAN m	H 1556		Rotherfield	father of 42
42	Thomas NEWMAN m	H 1556		Rotherfield	son of 41
43	John OSWALD m		M 1556 L	Woodmancote	husbandman
44	Joan PARKER f	H 1555		Framfield	wife of John
45	Thomas RAVENSDALE m		M 1556 M	Rye	
46	Thomas READ m		M 1556 L	?Waldron	
47	Margery RUSSELL f	H 1555-6		Framfield	?wife of Francis
48	John SAXBYE m	H 1556		?	
49	Robert SKULTHORP m	H 1556-7		?	
50	Thomas SLOWMAN m	H 1556		Rotherfield	
51	John SMYTH m	H 1556		E. Grinstead	
52	John SPRINGATE m	H 1556		Ticehurst	
53	Thomas STANDEN m	H 1556		Eastbourne	
54	George STEVENS m		M 1557 L	Warbleton	
55	Cornelius STEVENSON m	H 1556		?	
56	Joan THOMSET f	H 1556		E. Hoathly	wife of Richard
57	Anne (Mother) TREE f	H?	M 1556 EG	E. Grinstead	old
58	John TREWE/TRYE m	H 1556		?Hellingly	survived
59	William VESIE m	H 1555		?Brighton	
60	John WARNER m		M? ?	(East)bourne	
61	Nicholas WHITE m		M 1557 Canterbury	Beckley	
62	Henry WICHAM m	H 1556		?Surrey	
63	Thomas WOOD m		M 1556 L	?	minister/ pastor
64	Thomasine A'WOOD f		M 1557 L	?Mayfield	maid
65	Richard WOODMAN m		M 1557 L	Warbleton	iron maker
?66	a shoemaker m		M 1556 ?	?	shoemaker
?67	a currier m		M 1556?	?	currier

Table 3. The numbers of martyrs in the sources.

		Brice	Foxe	Folger ms	Strype	Minimum	Maximum
1555							
	Chichester	1	1		2		
	Lewes		1		1		
	Steyning		1		1		
	Unspecified	3		4			
	TOTAL	4	3	4	4	3	4
1556							
	E. Grinstead	3	3				
	Lewes	2	6		6		
	Mayfield		4				
	Unspecified	8		14	4		
	TOTAL	13	13	14	10	10	14
1557							
	Lewes	11	10		10		
	Southwark		1				
	Canterbury	1	1				
	Unspecified			12	17		
	TOTAL	12	12	12	27	12	27
UNSPECIFIED YEAR							
	Unspecified		6			6	6
TOTALS		29	34	30	41	31	51

Our earliest authority, Thomas Brice, lists the first four victims as Dirick Harman, Launder and Everson, under **12 July** 1555, with no place name, and Richard Hooke, ‘limbless and lame’, at Chichester on **21 July** that year. Foxe’s first edition (1563) has them as Derick Carver (corrected from Derick Harman in his earlier lists)⁶ and John Launder, without day or place name, and Thomas Iveson, ‘about the same month [July] at Chichester’, but does not mention Hooke. The Folger manuscript has Dyreke Harman, John Lander, Thomas Everson and Rychard Hooke, without dates or place names.⁷ On 12 June the Privy Council had decreed that ‘the condemned persons for heresy ... suffre in thre severall places of the shire; viz, one at Lewes named Derike, a berebrewer, and thother two [unnamed] at Steyninges and Chichester.’⁸ Dates were not stipulated, but later editors of Foxe, unaware of Brice’s work, seem to have concocted some. Thus E. T. Stoneham, who relied on ‘the fourth edition in eight volumes, revised and corrected by the Rev. Josiah Pratt’,⁹ has Carver’s death at Lewes on 22 July, Launder’s at Steyning on 23 July and Everson’s at Chichester on 24 July.¹⁰ The delay of six weeks,

if correct, may have resulted from a disturbance at Wadhurst at the end of June, which was investigated by the assize justices, assisted by ‘the most discreet justices and gentlemen of the county’, in the second week of July. The Privy Council sent a letter of thanks to the Sussex justices on Saturday 27 July, which may well mark the accomplishment of the three executions.¹¹

LEWES, STEYNING, CHICHESTER AND THOMAS WOOD

Such ‘roadshows’, staged at significant centres and intended to leave no doubt that policy would be enforced, had recently been carried out in Essex and Kent.¹² The precise dates of Sussex executions, as of those in Essex and Kent, are unrecorded in any official document, and other sources are contradictory. Although all the heretics and martyrs whose parishes are known came from the archdeaconry of Lewes, two of the three sites are in that of Chichester. The choice of towns therefore deserves investigation.

Lewes [20] as the county town, and with good communications in all directions by land

and water, was self-evidently the most obvious place for burning Sussex heretics and therefore the most frequently chosen. Likewise the market place, used on Saturdays from time immemorial for a 'great and open market' as asserted in 1586.¹³ John Hogsflesh, the penitent Lewes heretic, had to read his abjuration from a special husting there on Saturday 21 November 1534 just as he had at Chichester the previous week.¹⁴ Edward Harffye's statement, dated 1650 in what was held to be Carver's bible, that he 'was Burnt to death in the Castell of Lewes',¹⁵ is not improbable but runs contrary to a strong local tradition. The belief that the martyrs were imprisoned in the cellars under the Town Hall cannot be proved or disproved

Despite the unreliability of the dates, the fact that both the Privy Council's letter initiating the process and Pratt name the sites of execution in the order Lewes, Steyning and Chichester suggests that the first burning may have taken place in Lewes on market day, Saturday 13 July, followed by Steyning on Wednesday 17 July, also market day, with the process coming to an end at Chichester on the day of its annual fair, Sunday 21 (or Monday 22) July 1555. And although not a perfect match, that sequence differs only minimally from that of Brice. News of the events would have reached the Council perhaps on Wednesday 24 July, prompting its letter of thanks to the Sussex justices on the 27th.

Steyning [25], roughly midway between Chichester and Lewes, would have been a convenient staging post for the sheriff, his officers and their prisoners. In 1568 it was described as 'a great market town',¹⁶ with markets every Wednesday and Saturday since 1279,¹⁷ both very busy in 1586.¹⁸ If Launder's burning took place at Steyning, it was perhaps on Wednesday **17 July** 1555, presumably in the market place that was certainly in existence in 1566, when it was the scene of a fatal stabbing.¹⁹ Chantry Green, however, near the church, 'believed' to be the site according to Stoneham,²⁰ is espoused without qualification by Dr Janet Pennington, the historian of Steyning, who suggests 'the town was chosen ... presumably because Protestant worship was known to be taking place there.'²¹

There was certainly Protestant activity in nearby parishes: Woodmancote **[31]** was the home of Thomas Harland and John Oswald, both burnt at Lewes in 1556, and **Thomas Wood**, the cleric burnt there later that year, had ministered in Henfield **[16]**, Hurstpierpoint **[19]** and Poynings

[22]. From 1545 to 1552 Wood witnessed four wills of Henfield parishioners, the first three of whom made traditional catholic bequests, 1545–6, the fourth, in 1552, only a donation to the poor men's box, as preferred by Protestants. In 1546 Wood had witnessed a catholic will in Hurstpierpoint,²² and in 1547 Gerald White, a labourer of Henfield accused with others of murder, was delivered in bail to Thomas Wodde clerk of Henfield.²³ Then in 1549 Thomas Woode chaplain was admitted to the parish church of Poynings on the presentation of King Edward VI. Five years later he was deprived and a successor presented by the catholic Sir Anthony Browne.²⁴ When Wood first embraced Protestant principles we cannot tell, nor how extensive his influence, but he can arguably be regarded as heading a network within Steyning's market area, making that town an obvious location for intimidatory burning.

As the ecclesiastical capital of Sussex as well as the seat of markets and an annual fair, **Chichester [6]** was ideally placed to radiate the news and the message into parishes and along trade routes. The fair listed in the 1586 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and no doubt much older, took place on 21 July.²⁵ The choice of that day, even though in 1555 it was a Sunday, for a burning can hardly be coincidence. (If the fair had to be on a Monday when its date fell on Sunday, people would still be assembling the day before.) No location is given for these burnings. 'Mr H. Aylmore of Chichester', to the Sussex Martyrs Commemoration Council 'an authority on its history', believed it was in the cathedral precincts,²⁶ which is highly unlikely; not only was that a private area under the authority of the dean and chapter, but also the 1401 statute *De Haeretico Comburendo* ruled that heretics be 'burned in a high place before the people to strike fear into the minds of others.' The obvious site, almost everywhere, was a market place. In 1534 erection of a husting in the market place at Chichester had been ordered for the penitent Lewes heretic John Hogsflesh to read out his abjuration.²⁷

CARVER, LAUNDER, EVERSON, HARMAN/HILLES AND HOOKE

Carver, Launder and Everson were possibly involved with a network, based in Brighton **[4]**, where they were arrested in 1554 together with William Vesie and eight others, unnamed. John Launder, a husbandman aged 25, and Thomas Everson or

Iverson, a carpenter, were, like most of those whose occupations are known, of some skill, status and independence, in today's terms a small farmer and a builder. Both were from Godstone [11] in Surrey. Although Godstone church and village are seven miles north of the county boundary, a detached portion of the parish (now in modern Felbridge) adjoined it, marching with the Sussex parish of East Grinstead [12]. That Launder at least lived in that part of Godstone is highly probable: the court book of the manor of Lagham in Godstone records a William Launder responsible in 1559 for obstructing Hegge Court River, about a mile north of the county border, and a John Launder in 1561 neglectful of scouring his ditches thereabouts.²⁸ Their fateful trip in 1554 would have taken them through East Grinstead and Lewes, for both towns lay on the main London–Brighton road, by which also Protestant influences from London must have reached Sussex though not explicitly evident in this county's sources. Launder and Everson probably also had links with the network based in East Grinstead discussed later.

Of **William Vesie**, whose surname seems not to occur anywhere in Sussex, all we know is his subsequent reprieve. The fate of the nameless eight is unknown.

Dirick Carver, aged about 40 and originally from Flanders, had lived in Brighton eight or nine years. He may be the same as, or related to, Dyryk Corvor recorded as an alien in the Hundred of Bexhill in 1540;²⁹ Dyryk was a distinctive Flemish name, also borne by a son of the martyr.³⁰ Intriguingly, the shared occupation and surname suggest a possible relationship to William Carver, a baker and brewer in the borough of East Grinstead in 1503.³¹ However, Carver was also an English name, though very rare in Sussex before 1500.³²

The fact that the earliest listings name him Dirick 'Harman' may, as Gratwick and Whittick surmise, indicate conflation with Richard Harman from Kent, who supplied New Testaments to London from Antwerp in the late 1520s and of whose fate nothing is known.³³ Also possible is confusion with **Richard Harman** of West Hoathly [18], a 'sacramentarie' imprisoned in 1554 for 'lewd and seditious behaviour in Sussex'³⁴ and a fellow prisoner of John Trewe in January 1556.³⁵ If still in prison in March he may possibly be the same as **Richard Hilles** of West Hoathly excommunicated *in absentia* in that month.³⁶ Nothing is recorded of

the fate of either, but we cannot be sure we have the names of all the Marian martyrs; no certification to government of any of the Sussex deaths seems to have survived, if indeed ever required. Harman/Hilles might also have been associated with the network centred on the adjoining parish of East Grinstead. But *pace* Gratwick and Whittick, the most likely explanation is that the name *Harman*—as common in Sussex as Carver was rare—is no more than a clerical error, based on oral transmission.

Although Brice may well be correct in assigning **Hooke's** burning to 21 July (market day in Chichester), he is clearly mistaken about the year, for it was not until 13 October 1555 that his excommunication was signified by the bishop. This document, in which he is referred to as 'of Alfriston' [1] was printed by L. F. Salzman, who stated there was no record of his death.³⁷ The name Hook, widespread in Sussex from an early date, is encountered at neighbouring Berwick slightly later than 1555, but a recent intensive study of Alfriston has found no evidence of the family there.³⁸ It is possible that, despite his disabilities, he was an itinerant preacher who merely happened to be denounced in Alfriston. His burning at Chichester, the only martyr not to share a pyre, remains unexplained.

THE SECOND YEAR, 1556

John Oswald, Thomas Reede, Harland, Millwright and Evington were burnt, according to Brice, on [Saturday] 6 June; where he does not say. Foxe lists John Oseward, Thomas Harland (both of Woodmancote [31]) and Thomas Avington of Ardingly [2] in his supplementary entry for the diocese of Chichester, which lacks place names and dates. Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas a Rede and Thomas Haveington head the Folger manuscript's list of names belonging to 1556. Millwright must be Harland's occupation; I cannot find it as a surname in any 16th-century Sussex sources, nor the modern telephone directory. Foxe describes Thomas Harland as a carpenter, which is entirely compatible with being a millwright; both depended on the same skills, tools and materials. His offence was abstention from churchgoing throughout Mary's reign. With John Oswald, a husbandman, he would have been within Thomas Wood's orbit. No parish is given for Thomas Reed, but he may be the Thomas Rede whom in 1555 the

Privy Council ordered to be examined for 'being the chief mover of a leude tumulte at Wallronde in Sussex'.³⁹ In the Easter term of that year indictments were found against 33 participants of whom four, including Thomas Rede of Heathfield, carpenter, were outlawed at Lewes on 28 April 1558.⁴⁰ Waldron [28] was within the largest bloc plotted on Fig. 1. Ardingly [2] was the home of Thomas Avington, a turner, a fellow signatory with Reed of the statement John Trewe issued from prison in January 1556.⁴¹ Mary Holgate concluded, from his absence from any Ardingly records, that he might have been a newcomer there.⁴² He may also, from the geographical proximity, have had connections with the East Grinstead network.

Under [Saturday] **20 June** Brice has Whod pastor and Thomas Milles burnt at Lewes; Foxe has Whod and Miles 'about the twenty-third of the same month' [June], with no place name; the Folger manuscript has Thomas Hoode 'mynyster' and John a Miles next after Haveington. In Foxe's supplementary entry the latter is John Milles of 'Hellingegh', presumably the same as Brice's Thomas Milles and perhaps the John a Mylles who was a juror in Hellingly in 1553 and 54.⁴³ **John Milles** the martyr could have been associated with **John Trewe**, who, minus his ears, survived the persecution and was of Hellingly [15] when he submitted a petition for redress. Trewe's story is comprehensively covered by Gratwick and Whittick,⁴⁴ and his role in the iron industry of the Weald and beyond has been assessed by Michael Chrimes.⁴⁵ Other indications of a relationship between that industry in Sussex, with its workforce augmented by 'aliens' from the Low Countries conversant with the latest techniques, many from Protestant areas, and religious dissent in the county in Tudor times, are noted later, and have been developed more fully elsewhere.⁴⁶ Compare also Fig. 1 with that of ironworking sites in the *Historical atlas of Sussex*.⁴⁷

EAST GRINSTEAD, WEST HOATHLY AND THOMAS HOATH

Foxe has much about Henry Adlington, aged about 30, a sawyer 'of Greensted, in the county of Sussex', one of 13 'whose dwellings were in sundry places in Essex' burned at Stratford in that county on [Saturday] 27 June. 'Sussex' must be an error; there is an Essex village called Greensted, and the surname Adlington is not found in East

Grinstead before 1587. In January that year Harrie Adlington was married in the parish church,⁴⁸ and in October Henry 'Arlington' defaulted at the View of Frankpledge for the borough.⁴⁹ The only other occurrence of the surname that I have found in Tudor Sussex is in 1559, when Gilbert and Geoffrey Adlington (probably father and son) were members of Chichester cathedral choir.⁵⁰ Henry Adlington does not occur among the Sussex names in Brice or the Folger manuscript. Despite the readiness of others to enroll him with the Sussex martyrs, therefore, neither East Grinstead nor West can claim him.

There is no doubting, however, Brice's attribution to **East Grinstead [12]** of the burnings on [Saturday] **18 July** of John Forman, Mother Tree and Thomas Dungate. Foxe does not name their parishes in his main text, but in his supplementary entry for the diocese of Chichester all three are listed (Mother Tree as Anne Try) of East Grinstead. In the Folger manuscript they come straight after John a Myles.

Anne Tree is also said to be of East Grinstead in her, undated, sentence of excommunication.⁵¹ This is significant because a tradition developed that she was of **West Hoathly [18]**, hardened in 1940 by the installation of a brass plaque in the parish church there. The earliest statement of this attribution that I can find is a newspaper report of 1828 reprinted in Horsfield's *History of Sussex* in 1835.⁵² (Grammatically it can mean Dungate and Foreman were also of that place, but no one has interpreted it so.) The West Hoathly link, and the genealogy of Anne Tree's supposed descendants, have been elaborated in relation to contemporary documents and rebutted as based on a misreading of the East Grinstead parish register; the evidence cited for and against was fully presented, with references, in a local newspaper in 1965.⁵³ 'Mother' Tree implies that she was elderly.

The link between West Hoathly and Richard Harman/Hilles, however, is incontestable—and uncelebrated. Notice has, though, been taken locally of another parishioner, who was at least a sympathiser, **Edmund Benke**. In his will, made on 25 October 1559, soon after Mary's death, he bequeathed 40 shillings 'unto suche poore people as have byn persecuted for the woorde of god And to suche poore as are of honest reporte and good behaviour and followe the same worde to be distributed unto them by the discession of my

overseers.⁵⁴ Implying harassment, possibly not just judicially but also parishioner on parishioner, it gives much scope for the imagination in the absence of documentation of day-to-day realities on the ground. In 1555 Benke was a copyholder of the manor of Plumpton, holding a yardland called Tickeridge, which lies on the boundary of West Hoathly and East Grinstead; Benke's Gate was a landmark there on the survey of the bounds of East Grinstead Hundred in 1564.⁵⁵

Thomas Dungate has a surname found in many parts of East Sussex, but that does not mean his being an East Grinstead man has to be doubted. In 1524 Richard Dongate was taxed in the tithing of East Grinstead Greenhurst (part of the parish that was a peculiar of the archbishops of Canterbury)⁵⁶ and in 1567 John Dungate aged 45 affirmed from his own memory the evidence of other deponents regarding the chapel of Brambletye in East Grinstead dissolved in 1544 or 1545.⁵⁷ A good deal has appeared in print about later Dungates in the parish, none of it establishing a relationship with the martyr or throwing any light on him. **John Foreman's** surname also occurs elsewhere in the county, most commonly in Horsham. I have not found it in any East Grinstead records, but that does not rule out his having lived there.

For this article the most significant words in Anne Tree's excommunication are 'thou art of the same faith as that which Thomas Athothe, lately condemned of heresy, was wont to defend.'⁵⁸ **Thomas Athothe** or **Hoath** and other variants, priest, is listed only by Foxe, in his supplementary entry of those in the diocese for whose burnings he knew neither date or place. Gratwick and Whittick 'guess' he was the same man as Thomas Wood,⁵⁹ the other clerical martyr, but what has been recorded above about Wood's ministry and what follows about Hoath cannot be reconciled. More evidence survives for Hoath's career than for any other Sussex martyr, but it has not previously been brought together, or even in some particulars identified.

Thomas Hoath is first recorded in 1521 as a novice at Hastings New Priory in Warbleton [29], suggesting he was born in the first decade of the century, probably not far away in East Sussex, where the surname was common. By 1527 he was one of the canons but apparently absent without the prior's leave, possibly in Cambridge; he explicitly quoted a lecturer there when tried for heresy in 1533. C. E. Welch printed in full the

surviving documentation,⁶⁰ including Hoath's uncomplimentary reference to 'predyaux and our maister t'gater', apparently his accusers, whose identity Welch declared unknown. The former, however, must be John Predeaux or Prediaux, prebendary of Ipthorne in Chichester cathedral between 1516 and 1550,⁶¹ while the latter is not another surname but 'targeter' conventionally abbreviated, that is the chief victimiser of Hoath's fellow believers. On his second appearance before the bishop he recanted and was given a penance.

Welch could not find Hoath holding a benefice after the priory was dissolved in 1536, but he proves to be one of those religious who 'settled down, often in the neighbourhood of their house, to live on their pension, eked out by such pay as they could get for acting as curates or assistant priests in the parish.'⁶² In 1545 and 1546 he witnessed two wills in Wadhurst [27], one of them with a catholic bequest,⁶³ and may have encouraged the dissent which was to lead to a 'conspiracy' there in 1555.⁶⁴ By 1549 he had arrived in East Grinstead, witnessing four wills there from that year to 1552, all of which leave money to the poor men's chest but nothing to the church. In 1548 Edward Goodwyn of East Grinstead had made an explicitly Protestant will, not witnessed by any cleric but possibly influenced by Hoath if present by then: 'a preacher sufficiently auctorised ... to preache and declare the worde of god'; 'that there be done at my buriall and monthes day according to my degree as well in redyng and other service ... as shalbe then alowed and set forth by the Kyng'; and 3s. 4d. to the poor men's box.⁶⁵ It is also highly probable that Hoath had contact with **John Smyth** of Dallingridge in East Grinstead, excommunicated *in absentia* in 1556 on the same occasion as Richard Hilles.⁶⁶ The sheriff of Surrey and Sussex accordingly seized some of his goods, the only example noted in Sussex of forfeiture (judicial confiscation of goods or lands) as the penalty for political or religious dissent, clearly applicable only to persons of some substance.⁶⁷ No references to him have been found in local records.

Taking all the foregoing into account, and the deprivation of the vicar, Robert Best, in 1554 for being married,⁶⁸ it was to be expected that **East Grinstead** would be a location for a burning. Indeed, by achieving five of the six indicators of Protestantism in Table 1, it outscores every other place in Sussex. Only disturbances are unrecorded, which is not to say there were none. Even without

those factors, East Grinstead may still have been judged appropriate: halfway down a main road between London and the coast, enabling news to travel to either end within 24 hours; a parliamentary borough and (like Horsham) a county town in miniature with market, fairs, assizes and some local landowners' town houses.⁶⁹ Assizes were held at East Grinstead, the nearest town to the Surrey border, for the convenience of the judges on circuit, and William Saunders of Ewell, the sheriff in 1556, would have derived the same benefit when conducting the burnings. The chosen day, **18 July**, was a Saturday, market day, and fell within the octave of St Swithun, the patron saint of the parish church, celebrated on the fifteenth and, recently revived, further provocation to Protestants. Local belief that the martyrs perished at the widest point in the High Street, west of Middle Row, is almost certainly correct⁷⁰ though the supposition, mirroring that at Lewes, that they were incarcerated in the formerly stone-vaulted cellar beneath the building to its south is, equally probably, romantic imagining.

MAYFIELD

Under [Thursday] 24 September Brice has Ravensdale and 'two brethren more', place not stated; Foxe on the same date, at Mayfield, Thomas Ravensdale and John Hart, a shoemaker and a currier; while the Folger manuscript continues from Mother Tree with John Hart, Thomas Ravendalle, Nycoles Holden, a 'showmaker' and a 'coryar'. Holden is in Foxe's supplementary list. Whether the shoemaker and the currier are two men whose names had been lost or the occupations of Hart and Holden is ambiguous. The number burnt at Mayfield could therefore be three (Brice), two or four (Foxe), three or five (Folger), or four, unnamed (Strype, citing 'Cecilian manuscripts'⁷¹). Discussion would be unprofitable.

According to Foxe's supplementary list **Thomas Ravensdale** was of Rye [24]. Given the well documented heresy-hunting in that sizeable and important town in the 1530s and constant religious and political strife through the next two decades, it is surprising that no heretics are named there in the surviving records for Mary's reign and just this one mention of its only martyr. Information about his family has been published by Kathleen Benny,⁷² but she found nothing more about the man himself, neither did Graham Mayhew in his thorough

study of the contemporary local context.⁷³ In the same list **John Hart** and **Nicholas Holden** were of Withyham [30].⁷⁴ Nothing more has been discovered about them, nor anything helpful about others of their surnames in the area. If they are the shoemaker and the currier they are of the same socio-economic group as the others of known occupations. Nicholas Holden was probably the 'one Holden of Withyham' whose arrest by the sheriff of Sussex was ordered by the Privy Council on 1 April 1555. If so, he can be associated with William Maynard of 'Assheridge' (presumably Ashurst across the Medway from Withyham) with whose arrest, with Thomas Woodgate of Chiddingstone, the sheriff of Kent was charged on the same occasion.⁷⁵

One reason for choosing **Mayfield [21]** must have been its position at the heart of the largest concentration of affected parishes, as the map makes clear. Whether it was their spiritual heart we cannot tell, though it possibly produced at least one martyr in the following year. It was also an important parish in the Archbishop of Canterbury's peculiar deanery of South Malling, but there is no reason to suspect archiepiscopal involvement in persecution there: Cranmer had surrendered Mayfield manor and palace in 1545. Judging by the surviving buildings in the High Street, Mayfield was a substantial place by the mid-16th century, with a market every Wednesday granted in 1391.⁷⁶ Earlier in 1556 a fatal accident occurred at the Square,⁷⁷ now apparently an obsolete place name but appropriate for a market place and for a location for burning heretics. By analogy with other places it would have been south of the churchyard, where the war memorial stands today. Alternatively, the broad triangular space, shaped like a market place, at the western end of the High Street where the road forks, shown on the map of 1681 reproduced on the covers of the village guidebook,⁷⁸ looks ideal for a public spectacle. In 1950, however, a memorial was erected still further west 'in the graveyard of the Congregational chapel [now Colkins Mill Church] near where the first party met their deaths.'⁷⁹ No authority is cited for this location; lacking local knowledge, I assume it refers to 'the ground upon which Dr Hall's house now [1903] stands, about fifteen yards south from the road', stated by Miss Bell-Irving to be 'the spot where the Mayfield people suffered.'⁸⁰

THE THIRD YEAR, 1557

GRATWICK AND OTHERS

Foxe gives a detailed account of the trial in Southwark of Steven Gratwick of Brighton [4] by the Bishop of Winchester, to whom he had been sent by the Bishop of Chichester on 23 May following his arrest at Rottingdean. On [Friday] 28 May he was burnt at St George's Fields there, 'beyond St George's church, this side Newington' according to Strype, who adds that he 'seemed to be a minister'.⁸¹ He does not appear in the Sussex Archaeological Society's clergy catalogue, and I have not found anyone of his surname in Brighton, though it occurs elsewhere in Sussex. He is not mentioned by Brice, but in the Folger manuscript he heads the list of martyrs in 1557, followed by William Morant and Thomas King, whom Foxe names as his co-sufferers but with no parish of origin. The former could have had several namesakes, but it may not be coincidence that jurors at an inquest in Chiddingly [7] in 1554 included Thomas Kynge, Thomas Chatffylde, John Mylles and John Mylles the younger.⁸² In Easter term 1555 Thomas Chatfield the younger of Chiddingly, labourer, was indicted for involvement in the 'lewd tumult' at Waldron, and paid the highest fine, £5, in Hilary 1556.⁸³ As Thomas Chatfield the younger of the adjoining parish of Hellingly [15] he had been excommunicated *in absentia* in March 1556,⁸⁴ and a John Mills of an unknown parish had been burnt with Thomas Wood at Lewes in June. Thomas Chatfield and John a Mylles the younger also served on a jury at Chiddingly in September 1557,⁸⁵ and in 1580 lands late of Thomas Chatfyeelde called the Brownes at Chiddingly were mentioned at an inquest into the estate of Sir John Jeffrey.⁸⁶ These references can be interpreted to mean the heretic Chatfield survived or could relate to Chatfield the elder. The name Morant is associated with Battle: two men in 1525⁸⁷ and a testator in 1532;⁸⁸ and John Morant, an alien, was recorded in the Hundred of Henhurst a few miles north in 1540.⁸⁹ These concurrences—Wood/Mills; Mills/Chatfield/ King; King/Morant/Gratwick—and the 'closely linked' latter stages of the trials of Gratwick and Woodman,⁹⁰ together with John Trewe's being of Hellingly, reinforce the likelihood of a network around Mayfield.

LEWES

The biggest and best-documented burning took place on [Tuesday] 22 June 1557 in Lewes. Brice and Foxe identify the same people, in the same order, except that Brice has 'Denis, Burges' where Foxe has 'Dennis Burgis', giving Brice eleven names but Foxe ten. The Folger manuscript has nine, the same as Foxe's but lacking Thomasine a Wood and in a different order.

As was customary in lists of persons, Brice and Foxe begin with the one of greatest substance or quality, **William Mainarde**, as substantiated by their next entries being his maid, and his man (Brice) or servant (Foxe). M. A. Lower in his edition of Foxe's accounts of the Sussex martyrs says he was probably a member of a Mayfield [21] family.⁹¹ It is arguable that he was the husband of Agnes Maynard of Mayfield against whom, by then widowed, proceedings were brought in Chancery in 1561 for taking seven tons of rough iron or sows from John Relfe's place in Mayfield called the Olde Myll. C. S. Cattell regards this as possibly the unnamed furnace in Mayfield held by John Baker in 1574 and Agnes as perhaps related to the deceased Richard Maynard named in 1618 as a former tenant; he does not notice the martyr.⁹² Cleere and Crossley give much information in their definitive history concerning Richard Maynard's involvement in the iron industry in Rotherfield [23], Mayfield's northern neighbour.⁹³ Roger Davey, discussing three of the other Lewes martyrs of 1557, shows that none of the known contemporary William Maynards in Rotherfield can be the martyr and concludes 'he remains elusive'.⁹⁴ Support may be forthcoming from the register of the Privy Council, which on 1 April 1555 ordered the sheriff of Kent to arrest William Maynard 'of Assheridge' (presumably Ashurst across the Medway from Withyham), accused of preaching 'seditiously in corners'; the same day the sheriff of Sussex was told to take 'one Holden of Withyham' [Nicholas Holden].⁹⁵ Twenty years later Ashurst possessed both a furnace and forge.⁹⁶ If William Maynard was Agnes's late husband and involved with the industry, he can be integrated into larger stories and provide another connection between Wealden ironworkers and religious radicalism.

Alexander Hosmer ('Hosman' in Foxe) was Maynard's 'servant', the equivalent of 'employee', which could imply a responsible position in Maynard's business, not necessarily in the same

parish; at death he owned a house and 60 acres. Of all the martyrs, he is the one for whose fate we have irrefutable contemporary evidence, in the court rolls of the manor of Rotherfield [23]. A comprehensive account of the man and his family was constructed from the manor and parish records by Catherine Pullein and augmented from others by Davey.⁹⁷ I can add only the possible family connection with the heretic John Saxpes discussed later. Of **Thomasin a Wood** nothing seems known, despite Bell-Irving's assertion that she was a native of Mayfield.⁹⁸ The surname is too common to permit profitable pursuit.

Davey also assessed what can be known about the mother and son named next by Brice and Foxe, **Margery** and **James Morris**, both of Heathfield [14] in Foxe's supplementary list. Margery's husband **John** was charged in 1552 with withholding tithes, but the case was dismissed on a compromise. Margery was cited for failing to attend communion for two years, given a penance which she did not perform, and then excommunicated. Both James Morris (as of Hellingly, labourer) and John Morris (of Heathfield, weaver), were present at the Waldron tumult. James paid a fine of £2 in Michaelmas term 1555 and stood surety for five other accused; John Morris was outlawed on 28 April 1558.⁹⁹ John had been detected of heresy in 1556, a charge still outstanding in 1557, but his fate is unknown.¹⁰⁰ Davey also establishes that the martyrs left no surviving descendants, thereby tacitly correcting the family tree constructed earlier by Michael Burchall.¹⁰¹ An account of later holders of the surname by Susan Haines claims, but does not establish, their descent from the martyrs, to our knowledge of whom it adds nothing.¹⁰² One of John Morris's many namesakes worth noting in case future research finds a connection is the otherwise unknown and unlocated John Morys from whom 60 tons of iron were purchased for ironworks at Robertsbridge (some five miles east of Heathfield) in 1563 and another 30 in 1567.¹⁰³

In all three lists the Morrises are followed by **Dennis Burgis**, of Buxted [5] in Foxe's supplementary list, punctuated 'Denis, Burges' by Brice. Denis was a common surname all over Sussex in the 16th century, but for lack of evidence to the contrary it is best to interpret the comma as a typographical error. The Folger manuscript's spelling 'Dyones' could support Lower's interpretation as the female name, Dionysia

or Denise,¹⁰⁴ but without corroboration it is more likely a male's. He may have been related to **Henry Burgess**, parish unknown, detected of heresy on the same occasion as John Morris and others.¹⁰⁵ He may possibly be the Henry Burgess assessed at £14 in the Hundred of Loxfield, which included Buxted, in 1524.¹⁰⁶ As Burgess was another common surname in the area, inevitably including some in the iron industry, nothing can be gained by pursuing it further.

Buxted was also the parish of the father of Richard Woodman (discussed below), as its rector, Alban Langdale, reminded him at his trial, and possibly therefore that martyr's birthplace. Dr Langdale, whose predecessor had been deprived, was also Archdeacon of Chichester and a catholic propagandist, but judged 'a moderate man' by Timothy McCann in his summary of his career.¹⁰⁷

Of **George Stevens** nothing seems ascertainable or guessable.

Ashdon's wife in Brice and Foxe is *Thomas Ashedownes wyf* in the Folger manuscript and has the christian name Anne in the edition of Foxe published by W Gregory in 1815.¹⁰⁸ With no means of verifying this accretion to contemporary information it is possible to speculate that the otherwise unknown **John Ashedon** of 'Katherfield' in Foxe's supplementary list could misrepresent Johane/Joan. 'Katherfield' is generally taken as misrepresenting Rotherfield [23]. **William Asshedowne**, John Newman and his son Thomas of that place were among those excommunicated *in absentia* in 1556.¹⁰⁹ Kitch implies he is the same person as John Ashdown.¹¹⁰ As Lower observed, the name, pronounced Ashdon in the vernacular, is common in East Sussex.¹¹¹ Miss Pullein endeavoured to relate all three to each other and various Ashdowns in local records.¹¹² In 1524 a John and Thomas Newman were assessed on lands at £1 and £3 respectively in Rotherfield Hundred,¹¹³ and the will of John Newman of Rotherfield, apparently a blacksmith, bequeathing a copyhold estate to his son Thomas Newman, 23 October 1553, was proved at Lewes, the inventory valued at £8 14s 2d, on 16 February 1559; among the witnesses was John Sloman.¹¹⁴

Rotherfield already had a history of religious controversy. In 1555 the Privy Council required Lord Abergavenny to put it and its neighbour Frant [10] in order. In the following year the rector was deprived and the court rolls record that **Edward**

Fyltnershe, Robert Mason and Thomas Slowman were taken for heresy on 17 October but fled. Two years later the first two reappear in those records. Miss Pullein sets out the story in detail.¹¹⁵ Slowman's disappearance, which she suggests might be because no rolls survive for 1560–87, is more likely due to his death: the will made by Thomas Sloman of Rotherfield, owner of land in Mayfield, on 6 August 1554 was proved on 27 August 1557.¹¹⁶ The year of writing and lack of ecclesiastical bequests may reflect prudent anticipation of trouble for his beliefs. Fyltnershe, a cutler and a prosperous member of the parish, is well documented. He could be the Edward Fyltnasse of Rotherfield Hundred assessed at £2 for lands in 1524¹¹⁷ but by 1575 owned 60 acres of copyhold land, and was actively trading in charcoal. Some of his business transactions are entered on blank pages in the Rotherfield register, perhaps implying that he served as parish clerk. Administration of his estate was granted on 13 January 1581.¹¹⁸ Mason could be the Robert Mason assessed at £20 in 1524.¹¹⁹

There is no reason that **Grove's wife** (Glove's in Brice) should not be the same person as **Christian Grover** of the archdeaconry of Lewes in Foxe's supplementary list. In the 16th century females could be named Christian—witness, e.g., the brass of c.1520 in Bodiam church to 'Thoms Groue and Crestian hys Wyfe'.¹²⁰ In Gregory's 1815 edition of Foxe, however, she has gained the name Mary, again unverifiably.¹²¹ Other instances of the surname provide no clues to identifying her, her husband or their parish.

Richard Woodman of Warbleton [29] is the only Sussex martyr whose experiences we have in his own words, reproduced at length by Foxe. He heads the list in the Folger manuscript, justifiably as a 'maker of iron' capable of finding work for a hundred people (but not necessarily actually employing so many, as is usually stated). His alien servants are identified annually in the subsidy rolls from 1549 to 1552.¹²² His story has often been summarised, amongst others by Tim Cornish in his discussion of his place in the iron industry.¹²³ He is one of the few martyrs to appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and his familial and financial relationships as an added factor in his prosecution have been explored by Paul Quinn.¹²⁴ Thomas Hoath's flirtation with Protestantism in Warbleton two decades earlier might have had a lingering influence.

CHICHESTER

The last dated and located burning is given only by Brice: Thurston's wife and Bourner's wife on [Monday] 5 July at Chichester. Recourse to Foxe reveals that Chichester is an error for Colchester, where Margaret Thurston and Agnes Bongeor were burnt in that year.¹²⁵

OTHER SUSSEX MARTYRS

Foxe's supplementary list contains one name not previously given under year and place of burning: John Warner of 'Berne', interpreted by Lower as Eastbourne [8]. The published histories of Eastbourne ignore the martyr; I can find only a John Warner assessed there at £2 in 1524.¹²⁶ None of the sources or books mentions Thomas Standen of the same place, excommunicated *in absentia* in 1556, although the family was prominent in Ticehurst.¹²⁷

Although his name has not been included with the Sussex martyrs, Nicholas White of Beckley [3], who was burnt at Canterbury on 19 June 1557, was a substantial landowner in the parish and a member of a gentry family based at Northiam with interests in Winchelsea.¹²⁸ He could well be the Nicholas White of Winchelsea who had abjured a number of essentially Lollard beliefs in 1529 and who was one of 20 people accused of heresy at Rye in 1536.¹²⁹ In 1565 a case was brought in chancery by Thomas Kyte, the guardian of his son Nicholas White, to claim lands which his father, fearing 'loss of lyef for Relygyon' in Mary's reign, had granted to a cousin and one John Kyte for safeguarding for his lifetime with remainder to his son. Following White's burning in 1557 his lands had not been vested in his heir, and remained in the hands of his cousin Goddard White of Winchelsea.¹³⁰ In his will of 1612 Nicholas White of Beckley, mercer, bequeathed the property which his martyred father had been left by *his* father John White of Northiam in 1549, leaving the identification in no doubt.¹³¹ Among the beneficiaries was his son Richard White, who after serving as curate and schoolmaster in Beckley in 1609 became rector of Newenden in Kent, although maintaining residence in Beckley and Northiam where he died in 1652.¹³² White's omission from Lower's Sussex martyrology resulted from his death outside the county—other than Woodman, Nicholas White was probably the wealthiest and most prominent of the victims and the one whose death would have caused the biggest stir.

Lower states that in the family pedigree of William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury 1660–82, his father has a brother who ‘suffered for his religion at Chichester, 1557’, identified by Lower as Thomas Iveson or Iueson, ‘a very obvious clerical error for luxon’.¹³³ This does not fit Iveson’s date and occupation, and is contradicted by the family tree published in 1898, which mentions no martyr or (since ‘suffered for his religion’ does not incontrovertibly have to imply martyrdom) heretic.¹³⁴ The future archbishop was born at Chichester in 1582, the son of Richard Juxon, receiver and registrar of the diocese, whose brother Thomas was warden of the Merchant Taylors of London.¹³⁵ An older, martyred brother or brother-in-law is not out of the question, but has left no trace. If anything lies behind the tradition of this **Juxon** it could result from confusion with **John Jacobson**, a fellow prisoner of John Trewe in January 1556 and one of the group detected of heresy that November,¹³⁶ of whom nothing more has been discovered; the name is too common.

HERETICS NOT DISCUSSED ALREADY

The statement issued from prison by John Trewe on 30 January 1556 had eleven counter-signatories, of whom Thomas Avington and Thomas Reed were burnt in June. Richard Harman and John Jackson have been discussed above. None is identified by parish, but of the others, John Saxbye could be the John Saxpes who by 1560 had married a half-sister of the martyr Alexander Hosmer.¹³⁷ He might also be the John Saxpes in the Hundred of Hawksborough (embracing Burwash, Heathfield [14], Warbleton [29] and the eastern third of Mayfield [21]), two of whose alien servants are identified in the 1549 subsidy roll. One of them, Denys Lebbys, then appears in Richard Woodman’s works in Warbleton in the next three years’ rolls.¹³⁸ In 1562 John Saxby of Warbleton, yeoman, quitclaimed a house and land in that parish which he had bought in 1551.¹³⁹ By the 16th century the Saxbys/Saxpes name had spread into nearby parishes from Withyham [30],¹⁴⁰ but rashly venturing conclusions from common names is offset by the likelihood that associates of John Trewe shared his involvement in the iron industry. Thus John Guelle might be John Gue, the elder or younger, in Hawksborough Hundred in 1550, both servants of John Collyn,¹⁴¹ of Burwash Forge, 1525–74.¹⁴² Margaret Russell has a surname too prolific in

the 1524 subsidy and among alien ironworkers in the denization roll of 1544 and subsidy rolls later in the century to facilitate research,¹⁴³ But she may be synonymous with the Margaret Russell, wife of Francis Russell of Framfield [9] in the deanery of South Malling, whose excommunication, along with that of Joan wife of John Parker of Framfield, was signified to the secular powers on 2 February 1555.¹⁴⁴ I can shed no light on Cornelius Stevenson, but, since his forename was not generally used in 15th-century England but brought in by aliens, he too could have been an ironworker.¹⁴⁵ Matthew and Robert Hitcherst have a name I cannot find anywhere in Sussex; perhaps some of Trewe’s fellow prisoners were from other counties.

I have already discussed seven of those summoned by the Archdeacon of Lewes ‘to answer certain questions’ but who did not appear and were excommunicated in March 1556: William Ashdown, Thomas Chatfield, Richard Hiller, John and Thomas Newman, John Smyth and Thomas Standen. The non-appearance of **John Spryngate** of Ticehurst [26] is probably because he was in prison: on 11 July 1555 ‘John Springate, oone of the late conspiracie’ at Wadhurst, had been committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster to be kept ‘without conference with any man’.¹⁴⁶ John Springate was a prominent tenant of the manor of Hammerden in Ticehurst, where the family was already established in the 1440s. He first appeared in 1560, when in what may have been a marriage settlement, the reversion of a tenement called Little Hammerden was granted to him and his wife Elizabeth by John and Alice Wenham of Moorhall in Ninfield, who could have been her parents; a copy of the entry states that he was the lord’s servant, and on that account the fine was excused. He served as beadle of the manor between 1561 and 1587; his death was presented in 1589, when a third of Little Hammerden passed under his will to his widow Joan Springate as dower, and the property to his son John, who succeeded him as beadle.¹⁴⁷ **William Fayrewaye** of Hailsham [13] seems to have achieved even greater respectability, and can probably be identified with the Hailsham man of the name who in 1577 sat as a coroner’s juror there and as a grand juror at Lewes Sessions and who in 1594, described as yeoman of Hailsham, was bound to give evidence at East Grinstead Assizes against Elizabeth Milton of Arlington.¹⁴⁸ **Joan**, the wife of Richard **Thomsett** of East Hoathly [17] is otherwise unknown but Richard, as Richard

Tomset of East Hoathly, husbandman, was among those indicted for participation in the Waldron tumult in 1555, and fined £2.¹⁴⁹ It is not impossible that he is the 'Richard Tompsett of Hodeley aged a hundred yeres & one or thereabouts' who in 1590 gave evidence at an enquiry into former monastic property.¹⁵⁰

With Henry Burgess, John Jackson and John Morris, when the sheriff handed them over to his successor in November 1556, was an otherwise unknown **Robert Skulthorp**, all detected of heresy in Sussex, and **Henry Wicham**, detected in Surrey.¹⁵¹ I can find nothing about the first and only one other of his surname: John Skalkehorpp, curate of Southover in 1547 and parson of St Michael's in Lewes in 1551 and 54.¹⁵² Possibly they were related and Robert a townsman. Henry Wicham eludes me completely; the surname is found mainly in and around Lewes, and Skalkehorpe is a place in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

At the next year's handover Burgess, Morris and Skulthorp were still in custody and had been joined by **Henry London**, also for heresy in Sussex.¹⁵³ He may be related to a fisherman of Hastings, John London, whom the Privy Council ordered in 1554 to be pilloried, deprived of an ear, and imprisoned 'until he makes a perfect submission'.¹⁵⁴ This could be for sedition rather than heresy, but it would seem odd if Hastings was innocent of religious dissent.

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NOTES

- ¹ E. Duffy, *Fires of faith: catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, reprinted with corrections 2009).
- ² Thomas Brice, *A compendious register in metre, containing the names and patient sufferings of the ... tormented and cruelly burned etc.* (1559), reprinted in E. Farr, *Select poetry chiefly devotional of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society **1** (1845) and in A. F. Pollard (ed.), *Tudor tracts, 1532–88* ([London]: Constable, 1903).
- ³ J. Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous dayes* (1563). I have used the edition 'revised and corrected by the Rev^d M^r Madan' (1776).
- ⁴ A. S. Gratwick, and Christopher Whittick, 'The Loseley list of "Sussex Martyrs"', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **133** (1995), 233.
- ⁵ East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), SAS/G 36/9, 10.
- ⁶ Gratwick and Whittick, 231.
- ⁷ Hook's execution must have taken place after 13 October 1555, when the Bishop of Chichester signified his heresy to the Crown and invoked the secular arm for his punishment: L. F. Salzman, 'Sussex excommunicates', SAC **82** (1942), 140.
- ⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council* (hereafter APC) **5**, 147.
- ⁹ Published in *The church historians of England between 1853 and 1870*.
- ¹⁰ E. T. Stoneham, 'Martyrs of Jesus' *The story of the Sussex martyrs of the Reformation*, 2nd edn by A. L. Chapman (Burgess Hill: Sussex Martyrs Commemoration Council, 1952), verso of flyleaf, 18, 24, 25.
- ¹¹ For the disturbance, first described as a new commotion and then as an intended rebellion, see APC **5**, 155, 157, 159–60 and 192; for the letter, its subject not stated, see APC **5**, 167.
- ¹² At Colchester, Manningtree and Harwich in Essex in June, at Rochester, Dartford and Tonbridge in Kent and at Uxbridge, Stratford and Waltham in Essex in July: APC **5**, 141, 154, 158.
- ¹³ R. F. Hunnisett (ed.), *Sussex coroners' inquests, 1558–1603* (Kew: PRO Publications, 1996), no.324.
- ¹⁴ C. E. Welch, 'Three Sussex heresy trials', SAC **95** (1957), 69–70.
- ¹⁵ F. Harrison, 'Deryk Carver's Bible', *Sussex Notes and Queries* (hereafter SNQ) **7** (1938–9), 72.
- ¹⁶ Archiepiscopal visitation report, quoted T. J. McCann, 'The clergy and the Elizabethan settlement in the diocese of Chichester' (hereafter McCann), in M. J. Kitch (ed.), *Studies in Sussex church history* (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1981), 102.
- ¹⁷ SAC **36** (1888), 191.
- ¹⁸ *Victoria County History of Sussex* **6** (1) (1980), 234.
- ¹⁹ Hunnisett (1996), no.30.
- ²⁰ Stoneham, 24.
- ²¹ J. Pennington, 'Steyning martyr was a Surrey man', *FESRO News* (Friends of East Sussex Record Office, Spring 2011), 13, and 'Documentary evidence' in M. Bennell *et al.*, 'New evidence for Saxo-Norman settlement at Chantry Green House, Steyning', SAC **138** (2000), 226.
- ²² W. H. Godfrey (ed.), *Transcripts of Sussex wills ... by ... R. Garraway Rice*, Sussex Record Society (hereafter SRS) **42** (1937), 311, and **43** (1938), 26.
- ²³ R. F. Hunnisett, (ed.), *Sussex coroners' inquests, 1485–1558*, SRS **74** (1985), no.139.
- ²⁴ Card index of Sussex clergy, Sussex Archaeological Society library, Barbican House, Lewes (hereafter SAS index).

- ²⁵ Raphael Holinshed, William Harrison, *et al.*, *The first and second volumes of chronicles ... now newlie augmented and continued ... to the year 1586 by John Hooker alias Vowell gent. and others*, third book, chapter 15 'Principal fairs and markets', 245.
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- ²⁸ 'The early history of Hedgecourt manor and farm', *Felbridge and District History Group Handout* 106 (2011), 10.
- ²⁹ B. G. Awty, 'Aliens in the ironworking areas of the Weald: the subsidy rolls, 1524–1603, *Wealden Iron* (hereafter *WI*), 2nd ser., 4 (1984), 20.
- ³⁰ W. C. Renshaw, 'Derick Carver', *SAC* 49 (1906), 170–1.
- ³¹ Hundred court roll, View of frankpledge, 15 May 1503 (Essex Record Office, D/DL M75).
- ³² R. McKinley, *The surnames of Sussex* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1988), 258–9, 277.
- ³³ Gratwick and Whittick, 240.
- ³⁴ Jasper Ridley, *Bloody Mary's martyrs, the story of England's terror* (London: Constable, 2001), 57.
- ³⁵ Gratwick and Whittick, 239.
- ³⁶ Salzman, 'Sussex excommunicates', 140, who misread the name as *Hiller* – see The National Archives (hereafter *TNA*), C85/41 m. 20.
- ³⁷ *TNA*, C85/48 m. 19; Salzman (1942), 140.
- ³⁸ Juliet Clarke, *Alfriston: A Sussex market town and its makers* (Lewes: Rookery Books, 2011).
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- ⁴² M. S. Holgate, *From generation to generation: notes for the history of Ardingly written during 1915–25* (articles reprinted from the Parish Magazine of St Peter's Church, Ardingly).
- ⁴³ Hunnisett (1985), nos 165, 176.
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- ⁴⁵ Michael Chrimes, 'John Trew is an able man', *WI* 2nd ser., 23 (2003), 23–26.
- ⁴⁶ M. J. Leppard, 'Wealden iron, heretics and martyrs in Marian Sussex', *WI* 2nd ser., 35 (2015), 32–43.
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- ⁴⁸ R. P. Crawford, (ed.), *The parish register of East Grinstead*, SRS 24 (1917), 6.
- ⁴⁹ *TNA*, DL 30/126/1878.
- ⁵⁰ W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The acts of the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Chichester, 1545–1642*, SRS 58 (1959), nos 586, 601, 603.
- ⁵¹ W. H. Hills, 'A sentence of excommunication', *SNQ* 1 (1927), 51–3.
- ⁵² *Brighton Gazette*, 18 Sep. 1828, in T. W. Horsfield, *History of the county of Sussex*, 1 (Lewes: Baxter, 1835), 388.
- ⁵³ Ursula Ridley, the historian of the village (for), and, under his journalist's pseudonym 'Townsmen', local history enthusiast Brian Desmond (against), *East Grinstead Observer*, 5 and 12 Mar. 1965 respectively.
- ⁵⁴ Godfrey (1937), 324, 327.
- ⁵⁵ ESRO SAS/A 19; *TNA*, DL 42/112 (copy at ESRO XA 65); and ESRO, ASH 1171A.
- ⁵⁶ J. Cornwall (ed.), *The lay subsidy rolls for ... Sussex, 1524–25*, SRS 56 (1956), 136.
- ⁵⁷ J. E. Ray (ed.), *Sussex chantry records*, SRS 36 (1931), 185.
- ⁵⁸ Hills, 51.
- ⁵⁹ Gratwick and Whittick, 232.
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- ⁶² L. F. Salzman, 'Sussex Religious at the Dissolution', *SAC* 92 (1954), 27.
- ⁶³ Godfrey, 45 (1940–1), 276.
- ⁶⁴ *APC* 5, 157.
- ⁶⁵ Godfrey (1937), 231, 228, 229.
- ⁶⁶ Salzman (1942), 140.
- ⁶⁷ P. R. Cavill, 'Heresy and forfeiture in Marian England', *The Historical Journal*, 56 (4) (2013), 879–907, at 888.
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- ⁸³ *TNA*, KB 29/188 m. 42.
- ⁸⁴ Salzman (1982), 140.
- ⁸⁵ Hunnisett (1985), no. 231.
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- ⁸⁷ Cornwall, 154.
- ⁸⁸ Godfrey, 41 (1935), 82.
- ⁸⁹ Awty, 32.
- ⁹⁰ Gratwick and Whittick, 238.
- ⁹¹ M. A. Lower, *The Sussex martyrs ...* (Lewes: Baxter, 1851), 12.
- ⁹² C. S. Cattell, 'The 1574 lists of Wealden ironworks', *SAC* 117 (1979), 170–1, citing ESRO SAS/D 131.
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- ⁹⁴ Roger Davey, 'Three Lewes martyrs of 1557', *SAC* 138 (2000), 232, 233.
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- ⁹⁷ Catharine Pullein, *Rotherfield: the story of some Wealden manors* (Tunbridge Wells: Courier Printing & Publishing, [1928]), 269–74; Davey, 231–2.
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- ¹⁰⁸ Quoted SAC 38 (1892), 206.
- ¹⁰⁹ Salzman (1942), 140.
- ¹¹⁰ Kitch, 95.
- ¹¹¹ Lower (1865), 147.
- ¹¹² Pullein, 267–8, 274.
- ¹¹³ Cornwall, 134.
- ¹¹⁴ ESRO, PBT 1/1/4/195.
- ¹¹⁵ Pullein, 265, 267.
- ¹¹⁶ Godfrey (1940–1), 26.
- ¹¹⁷ Cornwall, 134.
- ¹¹⁸ Lease of 60 acres of copyhold to Christopher Cripps, 1580; lease of unspecified but probably the same property to Edward Hodeley in 1575, surrendered by Hodeley in 1578 and 1579; sale by Edward Fyltnes of Rotherfield, cutler, to Thomas Johnson of Cowden, Kent, gunfounder, for £85 of 200 loads of coals to be delivered at the furnace of Arthur Myddleton, gent, called Maynards Gates Furnace in Rotherfield, 6 Dec 1576; all on odd pages of the Rotherfield parish register, ESRO PAR 465/1/1/1; administration granted 13 Jan 1581 – ESRO, PBT 1/3/1/93.
- ¹¹⁹ Cornwall, 134.
- ¹²⁰ C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *SAC* 76 (1935), 87.
- ¹²¹ Quoted SAC 38 (1892), 206.
- ¹²² Awty, 17, 29, 30.
- ¹²³ T. Cornish, 'Richard Woodman—ironmaster and martyr', *WT* 2nd ser., 27 (2007), 1–17.
- ¹²⁴ Thomas S. Freeman, 'Woodman, Richard (c. 1525–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Paul Quinn, 'Richard Woodman's economic rivals', *Notes and Queries* 62 (1) (2015) 46–8.
- ¹²⁵ M. J. Leppard, 'Two Marian martyrs ... not in Chichester', *Sussex past and present* 132 (April 2014), 11.
- ¹²⁶ Cornwall, 110.
- ¹²⁷ Salzman (1942), 140; ESRO, SAS/CO 3, records of the manor of Hammerden in Ticehurst.
- ¹²⁸ Foxe (1583) 2004, 1065.
- ¹²⁹ Mayhew, 143.
- ¹³⁰ Cavill, 904.
- ¹³¹ John White of Northiam, proved 22 May 1549: TNA, PROB 11/32/236; Nicholas White of Beckley, proved 17 June 1612: TNA, PROB 11/110/461.
- ¹³² WSRO, EpII/2/1 f. 98v; PAR 431/1/1/1.
- ¹³³ Lower (1865), 79.
- ¹³⁴ SAC 41 (1898), facing 122.
- ¹³⁵ Brian Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (*bap.* 1582, *d.* 1663)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- ¹³⁶ Gratwick and Whittick, 239; ESRO, SAS/G 36/9, 10.
- ¹³⁷ Davey, 232.
- ¹³⁸ Awty, 29–30.
- ¹³⁹ ESRO, DUN 8/1.
- ¹⁴⁰ McKinley, 406.
- ¹⁴¹ Awty, 29.
- ¹⁴² Cleere and Crossley, 321.
- ¹⁴³ Cornwall, *passim*; B. G. Awty, 'Provisional identifications of ironworkers among French immigrants listed in the Denization rolls of 1541 and 1544', *WI* 16 (1979), 2–11; Awty (1984), *passim*.
- ¹⁴⁴ TNA, C85/27 m. 4; they had failed to appear before Robert Taylor, LLB, the commissary within the deanery of South Malling; the *significavit* was issued in the name of Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, during the vacancy of the archdiocese between Cranmer's arrest and the appointment of Cardinal Pole in 1556; the Russells (she named as Margery) were still alive in 1578: ESRO, SAS/H 45.
- ¹⁴⁵ McKinley, 7.
- ¹⁴⁶ APC 5, 157, 159.
- ¹⁴⁷ ESRO, SAS/CO 3/40–42; his will, as John Springate the elder of Ticehurst, was proved in 1589: ESRO PBT 1/1/8/293.
- ¹⁴⁸ J. S. Cockburn, (ed.), *Calendar of Assize records, Sussex indictments, Elizabeth I* (London: HMSO, 1975), nos 659, 664, 1579.
- ¹⁴⁹ TNA, KB 29/188 m. 42.
- ¹⁵⁰ W. Budgen, 'Otham in Hailsham, 1590', *SNQ* 5 (1934–5), 130.
- ¹⁵¹ ESRO, SAS/G 36/9.
- ¹⁵² Godfrey (1938), 114, 127.
- ¹⁵³ ESRO, SAS/G 36/10.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ridley (2001), 57.