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SUSSEX

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RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

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The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. XIII.

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GEORGE P. BACON,
HIGH STREET, LEWES.

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LEWES:
GEO. P. BACON, PRINTER.

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NOTICES.

The General Annual Meeting of *The Sussex Archæological Society* for 1862 is provisionally fixed to take place at Hastings, on THURSDAY, the 7th of August.

The reprint of Vol. I. at 10s., and Vols. IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., may be had by Members at 7s. 6d. each on application. Vols. II. and III. are out of print.

* * Members having Papers for insertion in Vol. XIV. (which will be proceeded with immediately), are requested to forward them, without delay, addressed to the Honorary Secretaries, Lewes Castle.

REPORT.

THE delay which has occurred in the completion of this our Thirteenth Volume, owing to unavoidable circumstances, involves the necessity of a larger detail of events than would otherwise have been the case, including two general Annual Meetings—one held at Pevensey on the 8th of August, 1860, and the other at Petworth on the 8th of August, 1861—and two smaller gatherings; one at Hurstpierpoint on the 4th of October, 1860, and the other at East Grinstead on the 17th of October, 1861.

The Committee regret that both the general meetings should have been held under very unfavourable circumstances; the weather being bad on both occasions. At the Pevensey meeting in 1860, the trial to the temper and spirit of our archaeologists, particularly of our fair friends, who, amidst storms of wind and rain, rallied at the hour of dinner round us, in our tent, pitched under the roofless walls of Pevensey Castle (many of them having previously encountered the ride of twelve miles to and from Herstmonceux Castle), was indeed severe. This, however, they stood full well, and cheerfulness and good humour were the order of the day. At the Petworth meeting in 1861, though the weather was but little better, the case was very different. Here there was no such call for the exercise of patience; for it would be difficult to find any other mansion in England so well calculated to make a visitor completely independent of all external incidents as Petworth House. He may here stroll through a long suite of stately apartments, around which noble portraits by the greatest painters—many of them associated with some of the most important events in English history—and the landscapes of Claude and Turner, and many other eminent artists, hang side by side in glorious rivalry; and the sister art of sculpture puts forth her most graceful and beautiful models; to say nothing of the wonderfully truthful wood-carvings of Gibbons and Ritson. All these sources of enjoyment were liberally thrown open to the members of our Society and their friends, and were greatly enhanced by the kind and cordial welcome given to us by our able chairman for the day, the Honourable PERCY WYNDHAM, who represented the noble owner of the house.

Among other schemes arranged for this day was a visit to the curious old church of Burton, which, though one of the smallest in the county, if not in England, is rich in monuments to the memory of the Goringes, the ancient possessors of the Burton estate. But this was only partially effected, the rain falling

heavily at the time. Such, however, as did accomplish it, found from the occupant of Burton House a kind and hospitable reception. An inspection of Lavington House, the seat of the Bishop of Oxford, to which we had been cordially invited by his Lordship, who was unfortunately obliged to be absent from our meeting, and the beautifully-restored little parish church of Lavington, was also to have taken place ; but of this very few availed themselves, and those who did so were prevented by the state of the weather from forming any just estimate of the beauty of the scenery by which they are surrounded.

At our autumnal gatherings, the weather was all that could be desired. On the day of the meeting at Hurstpierpoint in 1860, a large party was detained at Ditchling on the way, by a visit to its interesting cruciform Church, on which, and on the Antiquities of the village and neighbourhood, a very agreeable lecture was given by the Vicar, the Rev. Thomas Hutchinson ; the substance of which will be found in the present volume. Danny, with its fine old hall, its family portraits, and the armour of that gallant soldier and gentleman, Sir William Campion, who fell at the siege of Colchester, and the attractions of the site of a Roman villa, discovered in a field close by, backed by a cordial and hospitable welcome, detained our party to the last moment in pleasant thralldom ; and an excellent dinner at the New Inn—a matter never to be disregarded by true archæologists—crowned the operations of this most satisfactory day.

A fine October sun ushered in the day of our meeting at East Grinstead in 1861—that quaint old town, the metropolis of the wide forest district which is one of the most striking features of our county. Few are aware of the exceeding beauty of this wild tract ; and many compass sea and land in search of scenery not to be surpassed by this which lies close at home. Everything here breathes the very spirit of the chase, which doubtless induced Edward II. to enclose an extensive tract near to East Grinstead, called Ashdown Forest, as a Royal Park, and John of Gaunt greatly to enlarge and improve it, and to make it his favourite place of resort, upon its coming into his possession from his father Edward III., in exchange for the Earldom of Richmond.

From the tower of East Grinstead Church, to the top of which many of our younger friends mounted, the view is as fine as can well be imagined. Below lies the town, with its irregular street, many of the houses of which are timber-framed, and retain their high-roofed gables, as well as their mullioned windows and overhanging upper stories ; beyond which, looking towards the south and east, the eye ranges over a vast expanse of the sylvan district, rendered at the time it was so seen doubly beautiful by the rich profusion of autumnal tint which its foliage then displayed. Among the most picturesque and interesting of these houses, two deserve special notice ; one at each end of the street. That near the eastern end is mentioned by Horace Smith in his romance of "Bramble tye," and is called by him "Grinstead House." Though now occupied by cottagers, it still bears externally the appearance of a house once of some importance. At the back of it is an interesting medieval porch. The other house, at the western end, is of dressed stone, and was, in former times, the lodging appropriated to the use of the Judges, when, in alternate years, they were accustomed

to hold the Assizes here, on the very borders of the county ; their lordships prudently declining to go one step farther than was absolutely needful through the airy ways of Sussex.

Sackville College, too, with its spacious quadrangle, and its interesting dining hall and chapel, was kindly thrown open to us. This eleemosynary institution was founded by Robert, second Earl of Dorset, in 1608, and the present college built a few years later. It stands a little to the eastward of the churchyard, and is a striking object on approaching the town from Forest Row.

A lovely evening tempted some of our party to visit the ruins of Brambletye, one of the principal archaeological attractions of the neighbourhood. Since stage coaches have become scant in Sussex, few persons have any knowledge of the beautiful hamlet of Forest Row, close by ; and some of those who passed through it that evening, have since declared that the scenery they were thus introduced to will long be remembered by them. A kind invitation from Alexander Nesbitt, Esq., to visit Kidbrooke, formerly the property of the Earls of Abergavenny, but now of Lord Colchester, by which some profited, closed the proceedings of this most agreeable day.

But to come to plain statistics, the Committee have the gratification of being able to report a decided improvement in the financial condition of the society. Since this branch of the Committee's labours has been placed in the hands of a Sub-Committee, the collection and management of our funds have been prosperously conducted ; and the wisdom of the appointment of such a committee fully proved. In a newly-formed and fast-increasing society, the members of which extended in a short time far beyond the limits of the County, it can create no surprise that the Committee, as at first constituted, should have found themselves unable to cope with the multifarious duties which soon devolved upon them ; and that a considerable falling off in the society's income, owing to a large amount of unpaid subscriptions should have been the consequence. To the recovery of these arrears the Finance Committee at once applied themselves ; and their appeal having for the most part been received in a kind spirit, and liberally responded to, a great portion has been recovered.

For reasons which it is unnecessary particularly to state, the Committee deemed it advisable to recommend to the members, assembled at the annual meeting at Petworth, the adoption of an additional Rule, by which all persons thenceforth to be admitted members of the Society, should be required to pay, upon their election, an entrance fee of ten shillings, over and above the customary subscription. This was agreed to, and it has been added to the standing rules of the Society. The Committee have further to report, that they availed themselves in 1860, after due consideration, of an opportunity of purchasing the capacious Tent in which the members of the Society and their friends have usually lined on the days of their annual meeting, and of the resisting powers of which in heavy rain they have since had very convincing proofs. Although its cost was considerable, they are not without hope that, if they can let it out occasionally, as they have already done, and as they trust they have a fair prospect of continuing to do, it will be found in the end no injudicious investment.

In conclusion, the Committee have the mournful duty of adverting to the loss which, since the issue of the last volume, the Society has sustained by the decease of its two official heads—the Duke of Richmond, K.G., *Patron*, and the Duke of Norfolk, *President*. To the sanction which the distinguished houses of Lennox and Howard gave to the Society at its commencement, it doubtless owed much of its original prosperity. Although the two lamented noblemen took little personal share in the Society's proceedings, they, by throwing open, respectively, Goodwood House and Arundel Castle, for General Annual Meetings, set an example of liberality in that respect, which has been largely followed by other distinguished persons throughout the County.

Council Chamber, Lewes Castle,
19th December, 1861.

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RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. That the general affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, to consist of the Patron, the President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretaries, Local Secretaries, a Treasurer, and not less than twelve other Members, who shall be chosen at the General Annual Meeting; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

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

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

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

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

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

14. That the Committee have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person, including foreigners, likely to promote the interests of the Society; such Honorary Member not to pay any Subscription, and not to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

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

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

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

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ST. NICHOLAS HOSPITAL.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH.



INSIDE OF THE WEST GATE, SOUTH SIDE.

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

SOME MEMORIALS OF OLD LEWES.

BY WILLIAM FIGG, F. S. A.

“What’s to do?
Shall we go see the reliques of this Town?”

Twelfth Night.

“Every lane’s end; every shop, church, session, hanging,
Yields a careful man work.”

Winter’s Tale.

STRANGERS, on coming for the first time to a place of high antiquity, are very naturally led to reflect upon the changes it must, in the course of ages, have undergone, and to marvel what traditions remain clinging about the old streets and buildings, what historical recollections are connected with the place, and what royal, noble, or gentle personages, may, at various periods, have been associated with the spot; how it, and its people, may have been affected by war or politics, during the feudal times and in the civil commotions, by which the country has been disturbed in past days; and the changes that have taken place in the lords, the owners of the property, and the residents within its limits. It is with a view of giving a succinct narration of some of these matters connected with “*Old Lewes*,” that this paper has been written, and, although it may not add greatly to what is already familiar, some perhaps not very important matters may yet be added, which are not generally known about the place, and were unknown to, or may have escaped, those who have previously given their attention to the subject.

The great trackway through the forest of Anderida, which appears to have been in early times the road leading from London to this part of the County of Sussex, was nearly

identical with the present turnpike road through Chailey and Offham; by this road the town of Lewes was entered at its western extremity; but in consequence of the alterations and improvements of the roads, it is now seldom approached by this route.

As a matter of convenience, the description of the locality will commence at the Spital, at which point the old way from Lewes to Brighton, and to the modern race-course, and Mount Harry, crosses the old London Road.

The beautiful situation of the ancient town of Lewes, on a spur of the Downs, sloping to the east, is so well known, and has been so frequently described, that it is not needful to repeat it here.

Passing the Hospital of St. Nicholas by the road on its northern side, and proceeding eastward towards the town, an open road formerly passed over a piece of green land, containing about thirty-eight acres, called the Hides, long since inclosed and partly built upon. The situation of this land, on the ridge of the hill, and sloping for the most part to the south, is very charming; it is sufficiently elevated to afford a view southward of the marshes, or brooks, as they are locally called, and the sea at Meeching, or Newhaven, and on the north over a large extent of the Weald.

“Behold! the Weald, far spread beneath me lay,
Streak'd with green meadows, like the gardener's art,
With darker tracks of ancient forest part,
Whence the grey smoke or whitening spires arise.

This spot so admirably calculated for observation, seems to have been fixed upon by some of the earliest inhabitants of the Downs, for an occasional, if not a permanent residence; for in the year 1834, during the excavation for a reservoir for the Lewes Waterworks, about 200 feet to the west of the Church of St. Mary Westout, several singular pits were discovered, which had evidently been sunk in the chalk for, and used as, habitations. They were about twelve or fourteen feet in depth and eight or nine in diameter; they had been filled up with earth and rubbish, but when cleared out the floors were covered with remains of various animals, amongst which were several boars' tusks of a large size,

together with oyster and snail shells;¹ the sides were blackened by the smoke of the fires which had been kindled there, of which the ashes and portions of charcoal remained in considerable quantities. At a later period, in digging the foundation of the present Grammar School, similar pits were found; but, owing to the necessity for carrying on the building operations with rapidity, it was impossible to clear them out, and the opportunity of examining them was thus lost.

During their abode in Britain, the Romans must have passed over this land in their passage by the open Downs from the eastern to the western parts of the county. Coins and other relics of the Romans have been found in and about Lewes at various times, particularly at the base of the Castle mound, on the south and south-west sides, in a garden in the ancient ditch.

It is a matter yet to be decided whether Lewes was a Roman Station; that it was situate on the route used by the Romans in their journeys between Regnum (Chichester), and Anderida (Pevensey), there can be little doubt. Mr. Wright places Ad Decimum at Arundel, and Portus Adurni on the Shoreham river (the Adur). The discovery some years since, on and in the occupation of Nathaniel Hall, Esq., of a Roman villa of considerable extent to the east of Southwick village, is sufficient evidence of the Romans having established themselves permanently, in close proximity on the north to the old outfall of the river Adur. And with regard to Lewes, he says: "Coins and antiquities found at Lewes in considerable numbers, seem to prove that that town must have been a Roman settlement of some kind, and some antiquaries have conjectured that it was the town or station mentioned by the anonymous writer of Ravenna, under the name of Mutuan-tonis, as being somewhere in the same part of the island as Anderida." (Wanderings of an Antiquary, p. 153.)

At the north-western corner of the Hides stood the Hospital of St. Nicholas, founded probably by the first Earl of Warren for thirteen poor brethren and sisters, and endowed by him. It is said by Leland to have been a cell to the Priory

¹ Not the common snail, but the "*Helix pomatia*," which has been erroneously asserted not to have been indigenous. This species was a favorite dish with the Romans, and is still used as food in many parts of Europe during Lent.

of St. Pancras. It is mentioned as belonging to the Priory under the head "*Perpetua Elimosina*," in "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*," in the transcript of returns 26 Henry VIII., first-fruits office, as follows:—"13 pauperibus fratribus et sororibus hospitalis Sancti Nicholai, in Westowte in Lewes, data per dictum primum fundatorem dicti Monasterii, per annum, £5 10s. 0d." The accompanying woodcut, from a drawing by Lambert in 1779, shows the remains of the hospital, evidently of the Norman period, and the building remains nearly in the same state at present.

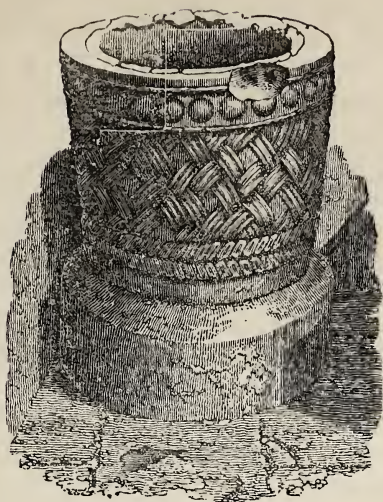
The buildings stood in the south-east angle of two roads crossing each other, the one on the north side leading into the town of Lewes, while that on the western side was the ancient road, which led by Winterbourne Hollow directly to Southover, the Priory of St. Pancras, and Meeching.

This was probably the first building erected on the Hides, and was surrendered with the Priory and its possessions into the hands of the King, Nov. 6th, 1538, by Robert Crowham, the last prior.

Nearly at the north-eastern corner of the Hides stands the fine church of St. Mary Westout, the largest and by far the most perfect church now remaining in Lewes. It is transition from Norman to Early English, and owing to its lofty position is a prominent object in several views of the town. The font in this church is of very unusual form and character. There is one in the parish church of Denton very similar, but smaller. Through the kindness of Mr. W. E. Baxter, I am enabled to give woodcuts of these fonts.



DENTON.



ST. ANN'S.

What a striking contrast to the ordinary repose of this peaceful spot, with perhaps scarcely any other building upon it but the noble church, and the quiet hospital with its poor inmates, its tranquillity undisturbed except by the passing of the traveller, or the processions connected with the services of the church, must have been exhibited on the 14th day of May, 1264, when the Battle of Lewes was fought between Henry III. and the Barons, with Simon de Montfort as their leader. In the early part of the day, Prince Edward, with the flower of the Royalist army, on leaving the Castle for the battle-field, in all likelihood came through the West Gate, by this way, while the King with the Barons who accompanied him, after leaving the Priory (for "the Kyng and his mene were in the Pryorie,") must have passed by the western side of the Hides with his "royal banner of the Dragon"—

"With his ost he wende forth, and areard his Dragon,"

on his route to join his son.

How different the scene later in the day, when the army of the Barons, having broken the ranks of the King's soldiers, the latter, together with the King himself, sought

safety by a hasty retreat to the Priory, while Richard, the King of the Romans, hotly pursued, took shelter in a windmill.

“The King of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,
He saisede the Mulne for a Castel,
With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel.”²

The site of the Windmill has never been ascertained, with any certainty. Mr. Blaauw (Barons' War, p. 180) says: “No precise spot now retains the tradition of this Mill.” In a note, on the same page, he quotes the Lewes Monk: “Hæc omnia facta fuerunt apud Lewes, ad Molendinum Suelligi,” which, according to Spelman, means *Hide*. In an old map of the Wallands, 1618, which on the southern side join the Hides, a windmill is shown on the slip lying between the Wal-lands and the road, and it is not impossible that this might have been the spot on which a mill stood at the time of the Battle of Lewes. Persons flying from the battle-field to the Castle of Lewes must have passed by this way to the West Gate of the Town, and so on to the Castle. That “King Harry's Mill,” as it was afterwards called, stood upon the Hides appears to be pretty certain; and it is a curious fact that the cottage, with its small remains of a Norman wall, which formed part of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, was formerly a public-house, and bore the sign of “*The Windmill*.”

Of the ancient history of the Hides but little is known. They do not appear ever to have belonged to the Priory of St. Pancras.

Horsfield (History of Sussex, Vol. I., p. 196) under the head “Southease,” has the following:

“In the year 966, it (Southease) was given or confirmed by King Edgar to the Monastery of St. Peter, at Winchester, as appears from the following translation of a Charter, now amongst the select MSS. in the British Museum: “Wherefore, I, Edgar, King of all Britain, do give and grant in pure and perpetual alms, to the new church at Winchester, dedicated to the blessed St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, certain vills called Dunkitone, having 5 hides of land, and the

² Political Songs, edited by T. Wright Esq., p. 69 (Camd. Soc.).

church of Southese (Suyesse, in Monasticon, Sueisse) with 28 hides of Land, and the church of Telscombe (Titelescumbe, in Monasticon, Titelescumbe) and 10 hides of land, and a certain portion of the country, viz., two hides of Land in a *famous place*, called by the name of *Winterbourn, &c.*"

In Domesday survey, Southease is described as held by the Abbey of Hyde, and probably the Hides were also so held.

Before proceeding to describe the High-street, leading from St. Mary's Church to the West Gate, it seems but right that notice should be taken of a paper published in 1846, by the Cambridge Camden Society, in illustration of the brass of Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes, 1433, in which, and in the notes, the misstatements are such as to call for remark and contradiction, although put forth as *known to be true*, by the Rev. J. M. Neale, of Sackville College.

"And whanne wee weren att ye top of ye hill over agaynst ye chyrche of *Saint Anne*, thanne sette they downe ye beire." This is supposed to have been written "atte Lewes, ye feste of Saynt Austyn, MCCCCXXXIII." This church is invariably described as *St. Mary Westout*, in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and in *Abstracts of Fines*, 29 Henry VIII., also, and the name of St. Ann has only been applied to this church in comparatively late years. The parishes of St. Peter and St. Mary were united in 1538, sometime after the church of St. Peter had fallen to decay. Of this edifice considerable remains existed after the middle of the last century. With regard to the route described to have been taken by the funeral procession of Prior Nelond, it must have been impossible, inasmuch as there was no gate in the walls of the town by which the High Street could have been reached, except the Water Gate, which was situate at the bottom of a steep declivity, and was probably but a small postern; whilst the obvious course would be from the great gate of the Priory, through Southover, by Winterbourn, and past the Hospital of St. Nicholas, and so towards Cowfold. It will be necessary further to refer to this paper.

On the north side of the High Street, nearly opposite to the east end of St. Mary's churchyard, is a short lane, called Ireland's Lane, leading to the Wallands, over which a bridle-way and footpath lead towards Offham.

Mr. Rowe mentions it as "*Ireland's Lane*," otherwise Buckettwin, where the round (? bound) stone of the borough lieth, over against the east end of the chancel of the church of St. Peter Westout, *alias* St. Anne's." This is obviously a mistake, as St. Peter's Church was considerably lower down the High Street, and some remains of it must have then existed.

Proceeding eastward, on the north side of the street, stands the mansion (so long inhabited by that branch of the Shelleys which settled in Lewes), formerly distinguished as an inn, by the sign of "The Vine;" it was evidently an Elizabethan house, by the inscription in the spandrils of the doorway of the porch, "I. S., 1577." It has since been modernized, and nothing remains to identify it with the late Tudor period, except the front doorway. Adjoining this property is the Grammar School, a building of recent erection. Immediately in front of the school, on the opposite side of the street, stood St. Peter's Church, of which some portions remained about the middle of the last century, and were of late perpendicular character. The site is now occupied by the rectory, and two modern houses.

"Richard Samson, Bishop of Chichester, having received a complaint from the inhabitants of the parish of St. Peter, of their inability to support a rector and repair the church, with the permission and authority of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, the King's Vicar General, with the consent of the Archdeacon of Lewes, and the assent of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester," the parishes of St. Peter and St. Mary Westout were united by deed, dated at Aldingbourne, March 20, 1538.

The ancient boundaries of the parish of St. Peter are now wholly unknown, but it has been stated that it was all within the borough of Lewes. At the eastern end of the two modern houses above mentioned is a short road leading southward into what is called Rotten Row, but which was formerly the north end of a street leading from Southover, called Antioch Street. It may now be easily traced in a southerly direction through the large field in front of the mansion known as Southover House. This street is stated to have been burnt down, and it is probable that the entry in the Town Book, in 1559, may refer to that event: "For men to

watch when the grete fyer was in Westout." In the year 1595, the 37th Elizabeth, this street is reported to have been inclosed.

Eastward of the site of St. Peter's Church, there are several respectable houses, the last of which on the north side of the street, St. Ann's House, now belongs to Mr. M. A. Lower. The following are the names of some of its former owners or occupiers:—John Rowe, Esq., Edward, John, and Thomas Henshaw,³ Sir Roger Newdigate, the founder of the Newdigate prize at Oxford, Sergison, Rideout, Cooper, and Shelley. It contains traces of considerable antiquity.

After passing this house, the street gradually narrows, and turns somewhat to the southward, making a slight bend before reaching the West Gate. On the south side is a very steep street, now commonly called Keere Street. The backs of the houses and premises on the east side abut upon the ancient town wall, and are built in the ditch on its western side. The derivation of the name of this street is somewhat doubtful. Dunvan in his History of Lewes, says: "*Keere Street*, unaccountably corrupted into *Scare Street*, is formed from the Saxon noun, *cerre*, *winding or sloping*, the *c* pronounced hard, to which answers the Teutonic word *Keer*, both in sound and signification." The situation of this street, in the ditch of the town wall, seems to suggest another origin for the name. The British word *caer* appears to be applied to a *wall*, "and any *trench* or *bank* of an old Camp is called *caer*. We premised that word to all places of Britain that had been walled by the Romans;"⁴ now the word *cerre*, winding, or *sloping* can hardly be said to describe this street, which is nearly straight and direct in its descent, and not sloping. The word *caer* seems more fitly to agree with the position of this street, *Caer Street*,—the street in the *trench* or *ditch* of the old wall; for the height of the ground, on the inside of the town wall, shows that there was previously an embankment of some magnitude before the stone wall was erected. At the upper end of Keere Street, on the

³ The Rev. Joseph Henshaw, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, 1633—1678, (who had been rector of Heyshot and East Lavant, and Dean of Chichester), was nephew of Edward Henshaw, being second son of his eldest brother, Thomas, who was Solicitor-General in Ireland.

⁴ D. E. Luidii, *Adversaria Posthuma* 1733.

west side, are two ancient houses, the upper stories of which overhang the street.

On the east side of Keere Street are alms-houses, erected on the site of a house left by Thos. Matthew, Esq., will dated 21st Dec., 1688, for the use of the poor of St. Michael.

On the north side of the street, nearly opposite to Keere Street, is Westgate Lane, (formerly called Cutlers'-Bars, probably from the fact that the cutlers carried on their trade there), leading northward, under the Town Wall, and, before the enclosure of the Paddock, to the open arable land, called the Wallands (in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, "Walland sub Castro") a portion of the tithes of which belonged to the Priory of St. Pancras, valued temp. Henry VIII. at £4 13s. 4d. The land from which these tithes arise was long known by the name of "The Portion."

We now come to the West Gate, which stood across the High Street, about 40 feet eastward of Cutlers' Bars. It is difficult to form an idea of its strength from any existing drawings, of which there is one by Lambert, made in 1772, shewing the inside of the southern tower.

From another view looking at the west front, it seems to have been flanked with round towers, one of which appears for many years to have been used as the town prison. In the articles concluded, and agreed upon, at a general assembly in the Town-house, upon Whitsun-Monday, the eighth of June, in the year of our Lord, 1595, a portion of the 7th article is as follows:—"And if any man, upon reasonable warning by the headboroughs, contemptuously refuse so to do, then, he or they, so refusing, shall be committed to the GATE, or pay, to the use of the poor, *two shillings and sixpence*, at the discretion and choice of the constables."

The 12th article is as follows:—

"12. *Item.* The Headboroughs shall, at all times, carry all such persons into the GATE, and set all such persons in the Stocks, as they shall be commanded by the Constables, or any four of the *Twelve*, to do."

The company of Twelve seem to have been somewhat harsh in their dealings with their subordinates. Whether the Headboroughs in Elizabeth's time were intractable and disloyal, and unlike those of the present day, whose docile and quiet

meaneour is quite notorious, it is difficult to say, but the 14th article would certainly, from its severity, lead us to suppose that they were apt, at times, to be a little unruly.

“14. *Item.* If the said Headboroughs, or either of them, do at any time wilfully and stubbornly, and of a froward mind, refuse to do their office in such sort or manner as in any articles here is set down, or do proudly, scoffingly, and irreverently behave themselves towards the Constables or *Fellowship*, and so adjudged upon examination before the Constables and the *fellowship*, or the more part of them, then they or he so offending, shall be for the first offence committed to the GATE for three hours, and pay to the poor *three shillings and fourpence*; and for the second offence, to be put in the Stocks and pay to the poor *five shillings*, to be distributed by the Constables.”

Such appears to have been *one* of the uses to which the town prison, in the *West Gate*, was put; and if such was the severity exhibited towards their fellow townsmen by this little self-elected, local parliament, as shown in the above articles, what would have been their practice and their dealings towards the less fortunate beings who might have been brought before them, for the infringement of the more important laws of the realm?

As this is the point at which we first reach the Wall of the Town, it may be well, before proceeding down the High Street, to trace the circuit of that ancient work.

Commencing at the West Gate, and proceeding southward, the Wall (which may still be seen) went as far as the bottom of Keere Street, where tradition says there was a round tower. At this point it turned to the eastward, towards the Water Gate; of this portion there are still some small remains. From the Water Gate it extended along the south side of the present road by All Saints Church, Pin-Well, and Friar's Wall or Walk, to the East Gate, which stood in the High Street, where the roads cross each other; from thence in a northerly direction to the Green Wall, from the north end of which, taking a westerly course, it went to the north-eastern corner of a small plot adjoining the churchyard of St. John sub Castro, along the northern side of both the plot and the churchyard; then turning to the south by the western side of the latter, it must have gone,

in a south-westerly direction, to a point where it joined either the Castle Wall, or the Town Wall, on Castle Banks, near the north end of Westgate Lane, where there are still some remains, and where stood another round tower; and so in a southerly course directly to the West Gate.

The church-yard of St. John-sub-Castro, with the small inclosure to the eastward, now a part of the Glebe, containing together 1a. 3r. 20p., formed a small oblong encampment; and judging from the present appearance, it was a very strong position at the period of its formation. It stands high above the marshes, and on the north and west sides, the escarpment is very steep; the south side was defended by a ditch, which is now a garden, and the eastern side sloped rather abruptly down to a meadow. There was a mound of considerable height on the spot occupied by the present church, and it was nearly due south of the west-end of the old church. That this enclosure is a very ancient earthwork there can be no doubt. Some portion of the walls and the doorway of the Church, which was removed previous to the erection of the present unsightly and tasteless fabric, were pre-Norman; and the well-known inscription to Magnus, inserted in the wall, (which is still preserved, together with the ancient doorway) affords another strong presumptive proof of its antiquity.

St. John's Church seems to have been for years in a dilapidated state, and unfit for the performance of public worship. Camden, "*Britannia*," p. 314. 1610, in describing Lewes, has the following:—"Howbeit there remain still in the towne six Churches; amongst which, not farre from the Castle, there standeth one little one all desolate, and beset with briers and brambles; in the walls whereof are engraven in arched worke certaine rude verses, in an old and over-worne character, which implies thus much, that one Magnus descended from bloud roial of the Danes, who embraced a solitarie life, was there buried." See "*Sussex Archæological Collections*," vol. xii., p. 132, et seq., for an able elucidation of this inscription.

Passing through the West Gate, and looking to the east, down the High Street, the view must, in former times, have been somewhat striking; there were at least five churches

in sight, four of which were on the southern side of the street.

These, with the admixture of houses of various descriptions, from the small tradesman's residence with its low elevation and little pent shop with its open front and thatched roof, contrasted with the more imposing dwellings of the superior classes, with their gables and projecting porches, and the large number of Inns with their signs, for the accommodation of the several grades of travellers, must have exhibited a scene both quaint and picturesque.

Adjoining the West Gate, on the south-side of the street, is a large building of late Tudor character, which was the mansion belonging to George, Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich. He was the owner of Danny at the beginning of the 17th century, and unfortunately, through the extravagance of his son, Col. George Goring, was obliged to mortgage his estate, and, subsequently, to sell it. The purchaser was Peter Courthope, Esq., of Cranbrook, who, in 1652, thus became possessor of Danny, and, as appears from a deed of 1719, of this house in Lewes also.

By an Indenture dated the 10th of July, in the fifth year of the reign of George the First, between Samuel Swaine, Maltster, and Samuel Olive, the younger, Gent, both of Lewes, and Thomas Fissenden, of Lewes, Apothecary, and twelve others as Trustees, is conveyed "All that edifice or building, in length from the east end thereof to the west end thereof, 60 feet, and in breadth from the north side thereof to the south side thereof, forty and four feet, either more or less, situate and being in the parish of St. Michael, within the borough of Lewes, near the West Gate of the said borough, and on the south-side of the High-street of Lewes, aforesaid, which edifice, or building, or some part thereof, adjoyned to the south side of a messuage or tenement there, formerly an Inne, and then called or known by the name of the *Bull*, all which said hereby granted edifice and premises, or such part thereof as was not built before the purchase thereof by Thomas Adams, together with the said messuage and gardens thereunto belonging, were formerly sold, and conveyed by Mary Oliver, widdow, and Peter Courthope, Esq., to Thomas Adams and his heirs, and were afterwards, by the said Thomas Adams,

sold, and conveyed to Thomas Barnard, the elder, Gent, and his heirs; and were, since the building some part thereof, by the said Thomas Barnard, sold, and conveyed to the said Samuel Swayne and John Ollive, and their heirs."

Tradition has pointed out the house of the Gorings as having been converted into the Bull Inn, and afterwards into a Meeting-House; but it is evident, from the above extract, that it was called the Bull Meeting-House because it stood "adjoining" to the "Bull Inn," and was already a Meeting House in 1719, and probably for some years previously.

The property, as above described, consisted of the Meeting House, a dwelling house, and two gardens; and in order to reduce the amount required to be raised by subscription among the congregation worshipping there, the Feoffees disposed of the messuage or dwelling-house and the gardens, as appears from the following account of the purchase and disposition of the property :—

"An account of ye money expended in buying the Upper Meeting-House, &c., in Lewes, of the Rev. Mr. Barnard, and putting it into the hands of ye Trustees, in ye year 1719 :—

	£	s.	d.
The purchase of the whole from Mr. Barnard was ...	180	0	0
The deeds of conveyance and a fine was	11	0	0
The Feofment or Deed of Trust	1	1	0
Interest paid while the dwelling-house and gardens } were unoccupied, and ye land tax of Do. both was }	5	5	10
Whole expence was	197	6	10

The above expence was discharged as below :—

	£	s.	d.
Sold the dwelling-house and one garden to Mr. Olive for	100	0	0
Sold the other garden to Mr. Thomas Stonestreet for ...	32	0	0
Received Rent for house and garden before sold ...	5	12	6
Took out of ye quarterly collection money, to pay for Deed of Trust	1	1	0
Received the voluntary benefactions of sundry persons whose names are put down with the several summs an- nexed, for which turn over	54	14	6
Mr. Sam. Swane, Mr. Richard Ridge, Mr. Stephen Weller, and Wm. Attersoll paid jointly and equally to make up the full summ expended as above	3	18	10
So that the Totall received was	197	6	10

The voluntary subscriptions varied in amount from one shilling to £6. The above account is given in order to show

the value of this description of property in Lewes at that period.

The dwelling-house above mentioned has a curious figure of a female satyr or monkey supporting the angle, which has the appearance of considerable antiquity, and seems to have answered the purpose of the ornamental corner-posts used in some counties. In the angle to the westward is a male figure of similar form, which is plastered over. This house, called the "Bull Inn," and described as adjoining the West Gate on the west, and a small lane there on the east, and bounded by the Queen's Highway on the north, and two gardens or orchards, containing half an acre, towards the south, was conveyed, on 17th May, 25th Elizabeth (1585), in consideration of eight score pounds, by Thomas Matthews to Henry Goring, of Burton, Esq. It was the abode of the notorious Tom Paine, during his residence in Lewes as an exciseman.

At the east side of this chapel, and running south, is a narrow lane, now commonly called Bull Lane, from the sign of the adjoining inn; it leads to the west end of a lane running parallel with the High Street, formerly known by the name of "Stewards Inn," from which there are two very narrow lanes leading to the back of the Town wall.

Immediately to the east of the West Gate on the north side of the street is a narrow passage, which led along the back of the Town wall to the Tower at the north west angle.

A few yards to the east of the West Gate and on the southern edge of the Castle Ditch is the church of St. Michael, or St. Michael *in foro*, either from its being but a short distance from the Old Market House, or possibly because the market was held in this part of the High Street. This church is a miserable specimen of the *Gothic* architecture of the last century, it having been built in 1748. The principal remains of the former church is the round tower surmounted by a tall shingled spire at the west end—this being one of the three towers of this form within the county of Sussex. The other two are at Southease and Piddinghoe, villages between Lewes and Meeching, or Newhaven. This Tower is of small dimensions, being about 14 feet in diameter, and is constructed of flints and rough-cast; has on the south and west sides a quatrefoil opening near the top;

is about 30 feet high, and does not batter. It is probably of the Early-English period. These round towers are rare in this part of England; they are most numerous in Norfolk and Suffolk; but there are some to be found in Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, and Essex. One only occurs in Surrey, at Tooting. "Whether these towers owe their form rather to the fitness of the flinty material of the country for the circular shape, so productive of strength, than to caprice and fashion, it is difficult to decide; particularly when we reflect that the building of them is confined to one century, and that they abound in some, and are rare, or not to be found at all, in other districts where flint is the natural product. That they are imitations of the military round tower is I think highly probable; the disuse of that form may have arisen from its being found not well adapted for bells." *Archæologia*, xxiii. 17.

On the 23rd May, 33 Henry VIII. (1541), the Rectory of St. Michael was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and on the 10th Dec., 37 Henry VIII., (1545), St. Michael's and St. Andrew's parishes were united. (Patent, part 17) and Nicholas Sanders, then Rector of St. Andrew's, was named Rector of the united parishes.

About the middle of the XVII. century, there was great enmity shown on the part of the Independents towards the "people called Quakers," which led to the latter suffering a considerable amount of persecution. In "an abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," under the head, "For declaring Truth in Steeple-houses, &c.," 1658, we are informed that "Mary Akehurst, of Lewis, going into the *Steeple-house* called St. Michael's there, and asking a question of an *Independent* Priest, who had then preached, was 'hal'd out by the people, and afterward by her husband so beat and pinch'd, that she could not lift up her arms to her head without pain." Mary's husband seems to have been a great brute, for under date 1656, we find, "Mary Akehurst, of Lewis, suffer'd much cruel usage from her own husband, who, because of her reproving a priest that had belied her, bound her hand and foot, and grievously abus'd her. At another time he bound her with a great iron chain, and kept her so night and day for a month together, because she would not depart from her profession of the Truth, to which she constantly adhered."

This Mary Akehurst is probably the same person who is alluded to in vol. xi. of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, p. 176; and Thomas Akehurst, mentioned p. 178, was of the same family.

In the paper published by the Cambridge Camden Society, before referred to, it is mis-stated in a note that "Sir John Bradford was buried in the church of St. Michael and *All Angels*, and that there still exists a small brass of a Knight, of which the head and legend are unfortunately lost, but which is by tradition said to be his. And this is confirmed by a small brass to a Priest, also extant in that church, and bearing the same name."

Here we have the same kind of error and mis-statement put forth, and calculated to deceive and mislead. This parish was never styled St. Michael and *All Angels*, but as before stated, "St. Michael *in foro*." With regard to the brasses, the small one to the priest is to John Bradford, a former rector, and as to that of the knight, there is not the slightest truth in the statement that *tradition* ascribes it to Sir John Bradford. Indeed, there is no tradition about it; but, judging from the arms on a shield near the right shoulder of the figure, it was intended to commemorate a De Warren or some connection of that family.

A little to the eastward of St. Michael's Church, on the opposite side of the street, is a short lane called *St. Swithin's Lane*, running from the High Street into Steward's Inn. Still further to the east, at the south-west corner of the road, leading to the Castle Gateway, stood the ancient Market House, a wooden edifice, pulled down about the year 1789.

It seems that in Lewes, as in some other places in the kingdom, the market was held in front of, or near to, the Gate of the Castle of the Lord.

A market appears to have been held within this borough in the time of Edward the Confessor, as it is stated in Domesday Book, that, "The seller of a horse pays one penny to the Chief Officer (*prepositus*), and the purchaser another; if an ox a half-penny," &c. By his second charter, the first Earl of Warren makes the following grant, by which he gives the Monks of St. Pancras the sole liberty of selling wood, &c.

"Moreover, I give grant and confirm to the said monks,

the whole market of wood in the town of Lewes, to be kept in the wood-yard three days in the week, viz., on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, from Whitsuntide to the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* (August 1st); and that after the said feast they shall, if necessary, have the market in common with the men of Lewes, as well of flesh as of fish, and of all other things which shall come for sale, and which they may want to buy for the use of themselves and their guests, &c."

Another charter, by which William (2nd) Earl of Warren gave to God and St. Pancrace, and the monks of Lewes, "*totum mercatum lignorum in Villa de Lewes, et primum mercatum in eadem, et in aliis locis ubi forum habetur de carnibus, piscibus, and omnibus aliis rebus.*" Watson, vol. 1, p.90. This seems to be a confirmation of his father's grant above named.

The Castle of Lewes stands in a most commanding situation, having extensive views to the north and south, while to the east and west considerable portions of the Downs are overlooked. From whatever point it is seen it forms a prominent and striking feature in the landscape; its lofty position above the town seems to indicate its former importance, and although it has gone to decay, and but a small portion is now to be seen of the noble structure, which, in the days of the De Warrens, constituted it at times, both the safeguard and the terror of the surrounding territory, still,

"The ruins speak that sometime it was a worthy building."

CYMBELINE, iv. 2.

The Castle of Lewes is of irregular form, and contains within the limits of its walls, about three acres and a half of land; it is situated near the western boundary of the ancient borough, and is in its greatest length, from S.W. to N.E., about seven hundred feet, and in its greatest width about three hundred and forty feet. Its form will be better understood by referring to the plan. At each end is a mound; that on the north was formerly called the Bray or Brack Mount, and it has small remains of masonry on the southern part of the summit; and on the southern one the Keep, or Donjon, was erected. On the north, east, and south, the walls of the Castle were defended by a ditch, while on the west a very steep escarpment sloped from the wall down to the Hangman's

Acre which formed part of the tenantry arable land called the Wallands. It was the fee of that functionary when the lords of Lewes had the power to execute malefactors.

Something more than half the external walls may now be seen, but not the smallest portion of the buildings of the base court can be traced. In all probability the materials were sold to the inhabitants of the town and used in other erections. In confirmation of this view I find in an account book of John Rowe, Esq., "Disbursements about the stone wall near Mrs. Morley's stable in the years 1620 and 1621."

Paid to Callawaye for 6 loads of sand, out of the Castle, and 2 loads,	
and di. from the bridge, and di. load of flints	v ^s . ix ^d .
Paid for carriage of the flints from the Castle at vid. the load.....	xxxix ^s .
For the flints, at 4d. a load	xxvi ^s .

And in this wanton manner, and for the sake of the small amount of money the stones would fetch, how many other of our ancient buildings have been destroyed! We know this to have been the case with the walls of the venerable Priory of St. Pancras, and those of the Castle of Pevensey; but let us hope, now that we have so many societies similar to our own, whose members are continually watching over the remains of the stony relics of the grandeur of past ages, the perpetration of such vandalism will become impossible.

It has been doubted whether the site of the Castle was occupied by the Romans, but there seems much probability that it was; for by far the larger portion of coins and other remains of that mighty people, which have been brought to light in Lewes, have been found within it, and in its immediate vicinity. Many coins have been found in a garden which formed part of the ditch on the south-western side, and lately in clearing away the buildings within the precincts, a very good specimen of the lower stone of a Roman quern was found. It appears to be of the same material as the upper stone described on page 69 of Mr. Charles Roach Smith's "Catalogue" of his "London Museum."

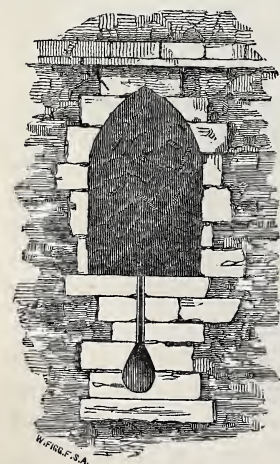
Mr. Smith says: "The upper stone of a hand-mill or quern *mola manuaris*, or *versatilis*. It is formed of the dark porous lava, which abounds in the Eifel, and the neighbourhood of Andernack, on the Rhine, where it is still quarried and worked for various kinds of mill-stones. The lower part of these

hand-mills is fixed and slightly convex. The upper stone, through which the grain ran, was moved round it by an iron handle, the remains of which are seen in our specimen. Hand-mills of this kind were extensively imported into Britain by the Romans, and fragments are found in all parts of the country where there were Roman settlements."

This object is now in the Society's Museum in the Castle; it is seventeen-and-a-half inches in diameter, and very perfect, and has an orifice at the side for the escape of the meal from between the stones.

That the Keep of this Castle was originally a circular Norman building, there can be no doubt, and similiar to many others of the same period; Coningsburgh and Castle Acre, both belonged to the first Earl of Warren, as well as that of Lewes, and were of this form; the Keep of Arundel Castle was the same. This original circular area, about 75 feet in diameter still remains, but at a subsequent period the two octagonal towers were added; these contained three floors, the lowest on the level of the ground, the second on the level of the top of the wall within side of the battlements, the thickness of the wall forming the alure or passage within the battlements, from which the sentinels could watch. From this passage a door opened into the middle floor of the eastern tower, and from thence a circular stair at the north-eastern angle led to the summit of the tower. The arrow slits,

on the lower floor of each of the towers, have been cut away from the top, and a small arched window inserted at some later period; the accompanying wood cut exhibits the external appearance of one of these windows. The windows of the eastern tower were enlarged to their present size when the towers were fitted as a temporary residence by the late T. R. Kemp, Esq.



The doorway of the Western Tower is of a period probably as late as James the First. Over this door is a double rose. Between the Towers is a fire place having an opening of

ten feet, the jambs of which are built from the ground to the height of two feet with small square tiles, similiar to those of which the fire-places in Bodiam Castle are formed. This would place its probable construction in quite the latter end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth, century.

The architecture of these Towers has never been thoroughly examined by any one sufficiently acquainted with the various details of the several styles of our castles.

In Parker's Domestic Architecture of the XIV. Century (p. 16.) it is remarked:—"At the beginning of the century (XIV.) the only edifices really entitled to the name of Castles were fortresses built in the Norman period, and subsequently rendered habitable for ordinary use, by the construction of additional buildings within the enceinte. Of such the main feature was the Old Keep, which was invariably at this time in a very dilapidated condition, having been deserted for the more recent habitations reared within its enclosures or baileys."

It appears to have been a fashion in the time of Henry III. and Edward I. to *remodel* the Norman Castles: at that time Newcastle Castle underwent this process, and it shows, by comparison, "how nearly the remodelled Norman edifice at Newcastle resembled the Plantagenet castle in plan." Parker's XIV. Century.

That the Castle of Lewes has undergone this process of remodelling is quite apparent. The form of the Towers, which were added, is very uncommon, these generally being square, as at Arundel.

These few particulars respecting the Keep at Lewes will, it is hoped, attract the notice of some archæologist, who has made the architecture of English Castles his special study; and by this means we may anticipate a full description of the details, and the dates of the alterations.

In 1530 (22 Henry VIII.) Lewes Castle was the county prison; and the commission of gaol delivery was to deliver the prisoners there.

About twenty-four feet in advance of the ancient Norman entrance in the southern wall of the Castle stands the Barbican or Gateway.⁵ It is flanked by round towers slightly corbelled out, and has a staircase tower at the north-

⁵ See Sussex Archæological Collections, Vol. 6, p. 127.

western angle; it has machicolations, and the low wall at the back of the machicolations, which are perfect, has been restored from the portions remaining. The battlements and their coping stones are ancient; there were *two* portcullises, and a drawbridge. The passage was groined with clumsy ribs, which appear never to have been finished; the two windows are trefoil headed. The interior is now divided into two rooms, the upper one being used as a Council-Chamber and Library by the Sussex Archæological Society, in whose occupation the Castle has been since the year 1850.

The date of the erection of this Gateway is about the middle of the thirteenth century; and not long before the Battle of Lewes. On the eastern side of the way to the Castle Gateway stands the house formerly occupied by T. Kemp, Esq., and T. R. Kemp, Esq., his son, both of whom, for some years, represented the Borough of Lewes in Parliament, and were lessees of the Castle.

The Castle Green, probably that which is now the Bowling Green, appears formerly to have been an open space, and used occasionally for public purposes—among others for religious meetings, it being a retired spot. In 1658 a party of Quakers having assembled for the purpose of worship, were disturbed and maltreated by a mob, on account of their peculiar religious tenets; this seems to have been a common thing in those days, and reflects little credit upon the Christian charity and forbearance of the Independents. In the “Abstract” before mentioned is the following passage: “*For meeting together, and going to meetings:*”—

1658 “After the like barbarous manner were *Friends* us’d at their meetings in *Lewis*; for their windows were frequently broke, and their persons abus’d by water, dirt, and cow-dung cast upon them. At one meeting at the Old Castle Green the rude people, and among them sons of the Independent Professors, came with swords, guns, and pikes, running violently upon Friends as they were kneeling in the time of prayer. And at other times have frequently thrown among them *squibs* of gunpowder and other fireworks, to the burning of their clothes and wounding of their bodies.”

Verily *squibbing* seems to be an ancient institution in Lewes!

On the south side of the High Street, and nearly opposite the entrance to the Castle is a lane leading from thence to the back of the Town wall, a little westward of the Water Gate, and here stood the church dedicated to St. Martin, which gives name to the lane. The east end of Steward's Inn joins this lane a few yards from the High Street.

It would seem that the parish of St. Martin was in some way recognized so lately as 1612, for in "A rolle of several armors and furniture" which the clergy of the Eastern Division of Sussex were called upon to find we have—

"St. Martin's in Lewes—Mr. William Imans, parson }	a Musquet
Plumpton Mr. Higanbothame, parson }	furnished. ⁶

Several houses in this part of the street bear traces of considerable antiquity, and appear to have been of such a description as were probably occupied by professional men and men of independent means, not aspiring to be occupiers of mansions.

The next street on the south side of the High Street is Watergate Lane, a steep street or lane which led from thence to the Water Gate in the southern wall of the town. To the south of this, and within fifty or sixty yards of it runs the Winterbourn Stream, which at the point where it crosses the road leading to Southover, formerly spread itself so as to form a pond, and was traditionally called the *Mill Pond*. Tradition had also fixed upon this mill as the one in which Richard King of the Romans sought shelter, and "saisede the mulne for a castel;" but this matter has been already explained. That there was a mill at this spot I think there is no doubt, and it was probably called the *East Mill*, for in a deed dated, the "Tenth daye of October, in the seaventh yeare of the Raigne of our Souveraigne Lord King James (1609)," there is a description of a piece of land, as follows:—"One parcell of meadowe conteyning by estimacon halfe an acre, be it more or lesse, lyinge in Southover, next *Westmill* bridge aforesaid, als (alias) Pankridge (Pancras) bridge, and boundeth to highe waye leadinge from the said bridge to Lewes on the east, to the water-stream aforesaid on the south, and to the Glebe Landes (of St. Ann) aforesaid on the north and west."

The above is a true description of a garden formerly belonging to the Shelleys, and at the east end of which a row of cottages, called St. Pancras Terrace, has subsequently been erected.

From the above extract of the deed of James the First's time, it is quite clear that there was at some time a mill at Pancras bridge (on the road from Rotten Row to Southover), which was called the *West Mill*, the tradition of a mill having existed near the Watergate, and the name Mill Pond having remained almost up to the present time, affords great reason for believing that this must have been the locality of the *East Mill*, and the fact of two mills being erected on a stream which was but a Winterbourn before the Conquest, is very singular.

In the High Street on the east side of Watergate Lane stood the church of St. Mary in the Market, the last remains of which were destroyed in 1856, when the house into which the church had been transformed was pulled down. Some of the arched timbers which formed the coved ceiling were found in a tolerably perfect state.

To the eastward of Watergate Lane is *St. Andrew's Lane*, The church which stood here belonged to the parish of St. Andrew, which was, as we have seen, united to St. Michael in 1545. On the west side of this lane stands the mansion formerly the residence of William Campion, Esq., and previously of several members of the Pelham family; it was the property of the Duke of Newcastle, whose intimate political connection with Lewes and this part of Sussex in the last century is well known. The house is said to have been erected from a design by Inigo Jones. The dining-room is lined with oak paneling and carving, part of an older house.

Two large shields on the chimney piece contain the following arms, the second differing from the first only in the crescent, marking the bearer as a second son.

DEXTER.—EIGHT QUARTERINGS.

1. A cheveron between three annulets—a crescent for difference. *Goring*.
2. On a chief, two mullets. *Saint John*.
3. On a chief, three plates. *Camoyo*s.
4. Three lions passant between two cotises in bend. *Browne*. (Montagu).

5. Barry of six, on a canton a leopard's head, (blundered by the carver) *Radmyle.*
6. A fesse ermine, between three martlets. An annulet for difference. *Covert.*
7. Three pelicans vulning themselves. *Pelham.*
8. Fretty. *Echingham.*

SINISTER.—THREE IMPALEMENTS.

1. On a fesse between three estoiles, as many mullets. *Everard.*
2. On a bend, three double-headed eagles.
3. A lion rampant crowned. *Darell.*

CREST.—A LION RAMPANT.

These armorials belong to George Goring, Esq., of Ovingdean and Lewes, son of Sir William Goring, of Burton, in this county, who died in 1553. His first wife was Maria, daughter and co-heiress of William Everard, of Sussex, Esq., and he appears from this achievement to have married twice subsequently. His son, by Miss Everard, George Goring, Esq., married Anne Denny, sister of Edward, Earl of Norwich, by whom he had issue Sir George Goring, created Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint 1626, and Earl of Norwich 1646. *Inf. M. A. Lower, F.S.A.*

IHON . HATHORN . 1579., apparently the name of the carver, is on one of the figures. It is difficult to account for these carvings being found in this house, except upon the supposition that about the time it was in course of erection, the interior fittings of the house of the Gorings, in the West Gate, were taken out in order to fit it for a Meeting-house for the Presbyterians, and preserved by some "good spirit" of that day, and placed in their present position.

On the north side of the street, and nearly opposite to St. Andrew's Lane, stands the house which belonged to the family of Court, and was used as a residence by the Duke of Newcastle, during his occasional visits to the borough.

Adjoining this house, on the east, is the County Hall, erected on the site of several houses which were cleared away for that purpose, and finished in 1812.

Opposite the County Hall is the White Hart, which on the south and east sides exhibits in the chimney and in several windows, remains of Tudor, or at latest Elizabethan architecture. This house belonged to John Cressett Pelham, Esq., of Crowhurst Park, near Battel, and was sold after his death.

In the wide part of the street, to the east of the White Hart, stood, up to the year 1810, the Town Hall; it was a brick building of no architectural pretensions, erected in the year 1761. It belonged to the borough, and had been rebuilt and repaired at the expense of the inhabitants. The building which occupied this site previously to 1761 was of wood.

In consequence of the removal of the Town Hall, or, as it was very commonly called, the Sessions House, by an order of Sessions a clause was inserted in the Act of Parliament, obtained in 1808, for the erection of the present County Hall, "To enable the lords of the borough to hold Courts Leet and Courts Baron within the said Shire Hall; and the Constables for the time being, and other inhabitants, to make elections of Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the said borough, or any other public purpose for which they had been accustomed to use the *present* Hall, as often as they shall have occasion." The Borough Elections and the Courts Leet have been held in this building from that time.

We have now arrived at what may be called the centre of the town, where the Town Hall and the chief inns are located; and on the right and left of the High Street, are St. Mary's Lane and Fisher Street, now two of the principal outlets from the town, to the north and south, forming a crossway with the High-street.

The name of Fisher Street appears to be an old one, being mentioned as early as the time of James I., but there is not even a tradition to hint to us that it was ever inhabited by fish-mongers. It was usual, however, for many years for the Juggs,⁷ who brought their fish from Brighton, to congregate at this spot for the accommodation of their customers.

It seems rather an uncommon thing that in so old a town as Lewes there should be no tradition even, of particular trades having been carried on in any particular streets or portions of the borough. Except the street immediately to the west of the West Gate which was anciently called

⁷ Jugg is a local name for the fish-wives of Brighton, who came from that town with their horses or donkeys, as the case might be, laden with fish to be sold in Lewes. Their usual route was over the Downs, and by Kingston Mill. The steep road down the north-east angle of Kingston Downs is what is commonly called a Borstall, and from its frequent use by these people it received the name of Jugg's Borstall, which it still retains. See Sussex Arch. Coll. II. 292, VIII. 186, 187.

Cutler's-bars, and here in Fisher Street, no allusion is known as connecting trades with streets.

At the corner of St. Mary's Lane, on the east side, stood the church of St. Mary Magdalen, which appears to have been a separate parish from St. John sub Castro, with which it was at some subsequent period united.

In the Court Book of the Manor of the Borough of Lewes, is the following entry:—

“42 Elizabeth (1600), 5 Sept. Richard Bishop, and Alicia his wife, surrendered a third part of a croft of land with its appurtenances, lying within the parishes of St. Mary and St. John Baptist sub Castro, within the Borough of Lewes.”

To the east of Fisher Street, on the north side of High Street, stands *The Star Inn*, which is undoubtedly one of the oldest Inns in the town, and is known to have borne the same sign before the time of Queen Mary. The present structure as seen from the street presents little or no appearance of the early origin of the house; the plan of the ample front, with the broad projecting porch, gives no means of judging of the style of the early erection. The interior has no features of a period earlier than a century and a half ago, if we except the very fine staircase, which was brought from Slaugham Place, and fixed in its present position, and some panelling in two or three of the sitting-rooms, which in all probability came from the same place.

In Vol. x. p. 163, of *Sussex Archæological Collections*, is an engraving of the above staircase from a faithful drawing made by Mr. Nynian Lower; and Mr. Blaauw, in speaking of the destruction of Slaugham Place, says:—“When nearly the whole house was pulled down in the last century, the carved oak staircase which formed the communication with the upper rooms was removed to Lewes, and, though somewhat maimed in its proportions, was put up in the Star Inn, where it still remains an object of admiration. The quaintly carved devices on its newels and friezes are very curious and characteristic of the period.”

The Charter-House in London contains a staircase of the same period, having the same style of ornamentation, but of inferior workmanship.

A paper on "Inns and Inn Signs," Suss. Coll., vol. x., p. 185, has the following remarks upon this house:—"The Star Hotel at Lewes bore that designation so far back as 1555, when it acquired a considerable degree of local historical celebrity, from its association with the Marian persecution. It was in the High Street of the town, immediately in front of this inn, that many of the 'witnesses' of the Protestant faith heroically met their doom."

It is in that portion of the Star which now forms the cellar, and the steps by which you descend into it, both from the interior and from the High-street, that considerable architectural remains are to be found, and of a period probably considerably earlier than any to be found in Lewes, except some portions of the walls of the Priory. The arch under the western portion of the front of the house, and the arch on the steps leading from this cellar into the street, exhibit in some of the mouldings, characteristics of work of the XIV. century.

The size of this cellar is about 45 feet by 12 feet; the vaulting is extremely good, and is constructed of squared chalk; it is a barrel arch, without groining or ribs.

From 1272 to 1566 the Sheriffs served for Surrey and Sussex, and the gaol was at Guildford.⁸ In the third year of Henry VII. (1487), the state of this district was such that the inhabitants presented a petition to Parliament for the erection of a gaol, for—

"Whereas that grete murtherers, errant theves, mysdoers, breakers of the Kingis peace, contrary to the Kingis laws, within the Countye of Sussex, have been arrested, and should be committed to the Kingis Gayle, ther to abide according to the Kingis laws; and, forasmuch as there is no Gayle for the King within the same Countye of Sussex, the Kingis sub-jettes ben gretely greved, and annoyed, and many horrible and grete murthers and felonies ben left unpunished; and for that the comon Gayle for the King of the said shire is at Guildeford, in the Countye of Surrey. . . . wherefore that it may please the Kingis highness, considering the premises, by the advice of the Lords spyritual and temporall and the comyns in this Parliament assembled, and by the

⁸ See Suss. Arch. Coll., vol. 12, p. 27.

authoritie of the same, to ordain, establyshe, and inact, that a comyn gayle for the king for the aforesaid shyre of Sussex, shall be had from the daye of the begynninge of this present Parliament forward, in a place convenient within the town of Lewys, in the same Countye of Sussex, in lyke manner and fourme as before time hath ben in Guildeford."

After the above petition, Lewes Castle was, as we have seen, used as a gaol; the fine vaulted cellar of the Star Inn, however, has led to the supposition that it was used as a place of confinement for prisoners

During the persecutions in the reign of Queen Mary, in the year 1555, the vaults under the Star are known to have served as the prison of some of those unfortunate persons who suffered for conscience' sake at that time. It has been before noticed that in 1595, the prison for the town of Lewes was in the West Gate.

On the south side of the High Street, and a short distance eastward of the Star Inn, is *St. Nicholas Lane*, which derived its name from the church dedicated to that saint, which stood in the open space opposite, in front of the present Crown Inn. This lane leads from the High Street southwards, into the way which runs from Southover to the East Gate, and which was within the walls of the Town.

Some time subsequently to the year 1319, the church of St. Nicholas, which probably belonged to the Priory of St. Pancras, and which stood on the north side of the High Street, at the top of School Hill, became dilapidated, and was afterwards long known as the "Broken Church." The tower remained until the year 1761, and in it hung *Gabriel*, the Town Bell;⁹ the lower part being used as a blacksmith's shop. In 1834, when the pipes for the purpose of supplying the town with water were laid, the trench was dug through this spot, and the ashes and other matters found, proved that it had been a smithy.

Little further is known about this church, until the 34th of Queen Elizabeth (1592). On the 30th of March, in that year, the Queen granted (amongst other hereditaments in Sussex, and many other counties in England) to William Tipper, and Robert Dawe, of London, gentlemen, to hold of

⁹ 1555, "The Common Bell" was new cast this year.

the Queen, as of her manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage, "All that the late chapel or church of St. Nicholas, decayed and ruined, commonly called the 'Broken Church,' now converted into a tenement, situate, lying, and being in the town of Lewes, in the county of Sussex": annual rent 8d.

The Constables of the Borough appear to have had possession of this site before the grant to Tipper and Dawe, for in the Town Book in 1571, it is stated that "this year the Constables and Fellowship leased for twenty-one years," a piece of waste ground within the walls of the Broken Church, at the yearly rent of 3s. 4d., towards the defrayment of the town charges.

On the twelfth of April, in the year 1592, Tipper and Dawe sold the Broken Church to John Corle, of Lewes, "shomaker," and on the twentieth day of May, following, John Corle enfeoffed the same unto "Richard Byshopp, Edmund Aspten, George Freeman, William Stempe, John Pelland, William Claget, Thomas Springet, Edward Newton, John Puckell, jun., John Harman, Edward Homewood, Richarde Aspten, William Burrell, jun., Richard Kidder, jun., John Holter, jun., John Byshopp, George Claget, Thomas Trayton, jun., and William Pennell." This deed is witnessed by Lawrence Newton, Constable in 1584 and 1593, and others.

These feoffees appear to have been among the principal inhabitants of the Borough of Lewes, and most of them, either previously or afterwards, served the office of Constable. Richard Byshopp was in that office in 1592, and probably on that account his name stands at the head of the list.

After this time the Broken Church seems to have been held by the Borough of Lewes. On the 18th of January, 1667, another feoffment was made by Richard Kidder "sonne and heire of Richard Kidder, late of Lewes."

This deed of 1667 expressly sets forth the uses to which the Broken Church is conveyed to the new feoffees; namely: "To the intent, neverthesse, that they and their heires shall and doe, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, permit and suffer the Constables for the tyme being for the Borough of Lewes, aforesaid, to receive, take, and enjoy, all

and singular, the rents, yssues, and profitts of the said decayed church or chappell, and premises, for and toward the defraying of the necessary charges and expenses which they are at during the time that they continue Constables, according to the ancient custome, which hath been used beyond the memory of man."

This deed is witnessed by Ferdinand Brian, who was Constable in 1668, 1676, and 1683; and others.

'Gabriel,' the Town Bell, seems to have been used as the curfew bell, for, under the year 1690, the Town Book states that an agreement was entered into with Thomas Barrett, of Lewes, an eminent clock-maker, by which he was to have twenty shillings for mending the clock, "to be paid to him as sone as hee hath mended him." "Also hee is to have four pounds paid to him yearely for ringing the bell at four in the morninge, and *eight at night*."

The remains of the Broken Church continued in the possession of the Constables till the year 1761, when the tower (the only portion left) was pulled down, on account of its ruinous state, and the site was thrown into the High Street.

From this part of the High Street, a way diverges in a north-easterly direction, and forms the modern Market and North Streets, but there is not even a tradition that it led to anything more than open fields. The angle formed by the junction of the road with the High Street was formerly called "Aylward's Corner," but the name has been long lost.

On the south side of the High Street, the next lane eastward of St. Nicholas Lane, is *Walwer's Lane*; this probably took its name from a family who formerly possessed property in Lewes. In a subsidy roll of the Rape of Lewes, in 1296, under the head "Burgenses de Lewes," the second name we have is "*Will. le Walewere*," and farther down in the list "*Matilda relictā Walewere*." William Walewere was M.P. for Lewes in 1319 and 1323. Roger le Walewar, and Roger le Walewar appear as witnesses in Lewes Chartulary, pp. 62, 100, 111. See Sussex Arch. Coll., Vol. II. p. 303.

The next lane eastward is *Church Lane*; the name is obviously derived from the fact of its leading from the High Street directly to the west end of the churchyard of "St.

Peter the Less." Upon the union of the parishes of St. Nicholas, and the Holy Trinity, with St. Peter the Less, the two former churches having gone to decay, the latter edifice was fitted up, and became the parish church of All Saints, the name given to the united parishes.

We then come to a lane called *Brooman's Lane*, which leads in a south-easterly direction from the High Street into the way from All Saints Church, to the East Gate, opposite to the western boundary wall of the Friars. A little to the south-west of this road is an ancient well, called *Pin-well*. It was within the limits of the grounds belonging to the Grey Friary; it was approached by steps, and was to all appearance a way-side well. The road from Pin-well to the bottom of School Hill was commonly called *Friars' Wall, or Walk*.

Brooman's Lane is the last on the south side of the High Street, running into the road leading from the East Gate, southward and westward, by the ancient church of St. Peter the Less, and the *Water Gate* into Southover. On the north side of the High Street there is now a street called Albion Street, which was built about forty years ago, on the site of an old mansion.

The exact site of the Church of *The Holy Trinity* was said to be on the north side of the High Street, within the East Gate. In an old document, the house now occupied by Mr. Robert Crosskey, as a shop, is described as the "Church-house," which appears clearly to fix the before unknown site of this church.

At the cross-roads at the bottom of School Hill, stood the East Gate of the town, but there are not the slightest remains to point out the spot on which it was built. The road to the north from this point led into the fields, but the road which now forms the modern street called Great East Street, was a narrow hollow way, and led into the road from St. Nicholas Church to the north-east. Near to the northern end of this way, and to the river, but within the boundary of the ancient Borough, there was an old tan-yard, and a small house, possibly of the seventeenth century.

The High-street to the eastward of the East Gate, leading to the bridge, seems to be the commencement of a causeway which

included the High Street of the Cliff, and may be ascribed to the Romans. At the narrowest places on the rivers in Sussex, on the main tracks over the Downs, causeways exist. At Arundel there is one which gave name to a religious house there. On the Adur, the one from Bramber to Beeding is sufficiently obvious; there was also one at Lewes above mentioned; and a short one at Glynde, on which Roman coins have been found; and the last, at Long bridge near Alfriston, takes you on to that portion of the Downs which forms their abrupt eastern termination in the parishes of Willingdon and Eastbourne.

The streets to the north of the site of the East Gate, are all modern.

Between the East Gate and the Bridge, on the south side of the street, stood the house of the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors; its walls enclosed about 18 acres of land, and extended on the west, along the street called Friars Walk to Pin Well, and from thence to the bottom of St. Nicholas Lane; on the south it was bounded by the Winterbourne stream, commonly called the Spring-ditch. Besides this messuage, there were a barn, a dovehouse, and a wood. The friars also held the meadow called Swan's Nest, in All Saints, containing two acres, and a meadow called the Wish, containing three acres, in All Saints, on which the workhouse was afterwards built; and also a messuage, warehouse, and wharves, subsequently in the occupation of Ambrose Galloway,¹⁰ and afterwards of Sir H. Blackman, adjoining the other premises, on the west and south, the river on the east, and the highway leading to the Cliff on the north, together with the ponds. They owned also the tithes of corn, grain, hay, wool, and lambs, of the lands called Houndean, Smithwick, and Randolph, Ashcombe St. Mary Westout, and also Ashcombe in Falmer, with some tithes in St. John-under-the-Castle of Lewes, and Barcombe; and the tithe of cheese, and other tithes great and small, in the parish of Plumpton.¹¹ In 1542 the site was leased to Sir John Gage. On the 12th of March, 1544 (35 Hen. VIII), George Haydon, Gent., and Hugh Stukeley, Esq., requested

¹⁰ See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, XI. p. 176. Mr. Galloway's troubles are prominently noted among the sufferings of the people called Quakers.

¹¹ *Old Deeds of the Court Family.*

to purchase or lease the property of the then lately dissolved house.¹² On 14th June following (36 Hen. VIII), a grant of 5d. was made to George Haydon and Hugh Stukeley, and from them it passed to John Keyme, who died seized 15th April, 1585, leaving his niece, Joan, daughter of his brother Richard, and wife of George Powlett, his heiress. In the time of Charles I., the estate was the property of Sir John Shurley, of Isfield, who died here, 25th April, 1631, having married Dorothy, daughter of George Goring, of Danny, and widow of Sir Henry Bowyer, of Cuckfield, Knight. The Alcocks were afterwards owners, and on the death of William Alcock, who was buried in St. Michael's chancel in 1662,¹³ the property went to his co-heiress, Hannah, who married Thomas Pellatt, eldest son of William Pellatt, of Bignor. She made her will in 1691, which was proved 1st February, 1693, entailing this estate on her only son, William Pellatt, High Sheriff in 1688, and his heirs male, and in default to her daughters, Hannah, the wife of Richard Shelley, Esq., and Mary, the wife of Richard Payne. William Pellatt, the son, married Grace, daughter of Apsley Newton, Esq. She died before 1690, and he married a second time, Elizabeth Payne of East Grinstead. William Pellatt, the eldest son by the first wife, died in 1740, a bachelor; his sister, Elizabeth married John Court, of Lewes, ironmonger, and died s. p. 1724. Apsley Pellatt, of Lewes, and Leicester Fields, London, the next son, succeeded; and in 1803, after the death of his son, Apsley, the property was sold by his three sons, and the greatest portion of the estate was conveyed, on 29th March, 1804, to Mr. George Verrall, of Lewes, Sir Ferdinando Poole, being for many years the tenant. Mr. George Verrall sold off several portions for building, and the remainder was purchased, after Mr. Verrall's death, by Mr. Nehemiah Wimble, by whose representatives it was sold to the London and Brighton Railway Company. The mansion, with all the other buildings, was pulled down, and the original Lewes station erected on the spot. The only portion of the ancient buildings remaining was the Chapel, which had been converted into a barn. It contained traces of Early English work.

¹² Inventory in Augmentation Office.

¹³ Churchwardens' Accounts.

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From very early times it seems to have been a custom for outlying manors and places, to have within the walls of fortified towns, or in their immediate precincts, a portion of land, or a tenement, where, in case of need, the inhabitants of such outlying places were able to shelter themselves either within or under the walls of the city or town held of the monarch, or some powerful baron, his tenant *in capite*.

A very early instance of this is cited by Mr. C. R. Smith, in his 5th vol. of *Collectanea Antiqua*.

“A.D. 804. Ceonulf, King of Mercia, and Cuthred, King of Kent, joined this year in a charter, granting to the Abbess Seledhrytha and her family; at the church of St. Mary ever Virgin, which is situate in the place called Limming, where rests the body of St. Eadburg (ubi pausat corpus beatae Eadburgæ), a portion of land in the city of Canterbury, as a retreat in time of need (ad necessitatis refugium).”

The same thing seems to have taken place in early times in Sussex, for in Domesday we find that no less than twenty-four or twenty-five Manors within the Rape of Lewes and the domains of the Earl of Warren, had tenements in Lewes; and in most, if not all, of these are described a certain number of *hagæ* or shops, which would indicate, that, not only were these places of refuge, but also shops or stores in which the produce of the several Manors might be stowed, in order to be brought for sale into the market before the castle gate of the Lord.

Mr. Parker, speaking of the *Town Houses* of the fifteenth century, says: “No doubt, as the wealth of the country increased, they underwent great improvement, but as far as we can judge, wood was still the chief material used in building them; for this reason especially we have few examples remaining.” In mentioning the materials used in the construction of the houses of that period, he remarks: “In the chalk districts the houses are frequently faced with flints, cut and trimmed (locally, snapped), and arranged with great skill and effect, of which there are fine examples at Norwich and Sandwich, and many others in different parts of Kent and Sussex.” p. 23. And further—“Timber houses and half-timber houses of this period are to be found more or less perfect. Even where other materials were abundant, wood was much more con-

venient, especially when a building wanted to be erected in a hurry, that it was continually employed." p. 23.

A little observation of the oldest remains of houses in Lewes will bear out Mr. Parker's observations, as we find these relics to be almost, if not invariably, of timbered and half-timbered houses, and it is not until about the Tudor period that the more substantial materials, flint and stone, came into general use.

After the surrender of the Priory of St. Pancras into the hands of Henry VIII., and the destruction of the church and other buildings for the sake of the lead which covered the roofs, the stones seem to have been used for many purposes, and in all parts of the town of Lewes; and the mansion of the Newtons, one of whom was steward to the Earl of Dorset, was erected entirely from the stones of the Priory after the destruction by fire of his lordship's house there, which gave the name, retained up to the beginning of the present century, of the *Lord's place* to the Priory. And the spacious fronts of some of the more modern houses in the High Street, built entirely of Caen stone, bespeak but too plainly their common origin, the quarry of St. Pancras.

There are a few remains of houses of probably the XV. century, with overhanging stories, still existing in Lewes, and some with gables. Within the present century several of the old gabled houses have been destroyed. In many instances, apparently during the last century, the old houses were new-fronted, the open shops closed with windows, and the gables hipped off behind the new parapets. Some few good chimneys remain.

Mr. Parker, in Part 1, XV. cent., of his Domestic Architecture, p. 126, says:—"Another example from Lewes, Sussex, also drawn by Mr. Buckler, appears to have most distinctly the usual mouldings of the fourteenth century, but this also is doubted by some high authorities." Of this window a very beautiful wood-cut is given.

In Vol. 2, XV. cent., p. 321, Mr. Parker says:—"At Lewes, not very far from St. Michael's Church, is a timber-house, dating apparently from the fourteenth century, as it has reticulated panneling."

This is the house belonging to Mr. S. H. Smart, now used

as a bakehouse, in the High Street, on the west side of St. Martin's Lane. It was formerly known by the sign of the Bull.

On the western side at the top of Caer Street are two ancient houses—one with overhanging stories.

At the bottom of St. Mary's Lane are two small timber houses.

Although, as before mentioned, many of the numerous manors within the Rape of Lewes had tenements in Lewes, but few will be found at this time in the rentals of those manors. The smaller holdings have nearly all disappeared from them, and the larger ones which remain are in but few Manors; but they consist of some of the principal properties in the town, and upon them some of the largest houses have been erected.

The following list of some of these tenements, which I have been able with certainty to identify, shows that some very large portions of the Borough of Lewes, within the walls, were occupied by tenants of out-lying manors. In St. Ann's parish, the property on the south side of the High street, now held by Mr. Robert Hillman, is freehold of the Manor of Plump-ton. The house has considerable architectural remains of the period of Elizabeth; but considerable additions have been made on the southern side, and the east end of the front has been modernized: several of the old gables remain.¹⁴

In All Saints parish are three considerable properties, held of different manors. The house at the top of School Hill, on the south side, long the residence of the Fullers, and now of W. V. Langridge, Esq., is in the Manor of Bishopston. The next house, with all the land lying between Church Lane and Brooman's Lane, except the old churchyard of All Saints, is held of the Manor of Hurstperpoint, and is thus described in 1658:—

“Att this Court the Homage present that John Scotson, Gent., who held freely of the Lord of this Manor, as of this Manor to him and his heirs, a parcel of land called Bugates, containing by estimation two acres, in the parish of All

¹⁴ 25 August, 1693. Richard Payne, Esq., by his will left this house, in which he resided, to his wife Elizabeth, whose maiden name was Alcock, for her life, and then to his younger son, Richard. It is described as having been bought of Throughgood, and to have belonged previously to Boughton.

Saints, within the Town of Lewes, by the rent of ij^s. vi^d., reliefs, &c., hath lately alienated the said premises unto Edward Trayton, Gent., and his heirs."

In 1684 it belonged to Edward Greene. In 1700 Herbert Stiles left it by his will to his wife Joanne. It afterwards became the property of Henry Humphrey, Esq., then of his nephew, Henry Jackson, Esq., whose representatives sold it to — Shewell, Esq.

The whole space on the north side of School Hill, including the houses in Albion Street, together with the road and garden in front of them, is held of the Manor of Houndean.

At a Court held 25th April, 7 James I., 1608, this tenement is thus described:—

"John Lunsford holds of this Manor freely a parcel, One Tenement with Curtilage in the parish of All Saints in Lewes, upon Schoole Hill, paying 8d. a year, alienates the aforesaid parcel, tenement, and Curtilage to Walter Double, sen., Gent., and his heirs." It was in all probability the town-house of the Dobells. There is no further notice of this property in the Court Books until 1739, when Elizabeth Isted held the "Turk's Head," on School Hill.

1765. — Wheatley, widow of Samuel Wheatley, hath lately held the "Turk's Head," and alienated the same to — Barham, Doctor of Physic; after his death, in 1769, it was held by Mr. Frewen. At what date it ceased to be an Inn there is no record, but at the latter end of the last century it was occupied by Victor Amadeè Raymond, a Frenchman, as a school; after his death it was sold to Messrs. Berry, builders, who pulled down the old house, and laid out the ground for the erection of Albion Street.

This house bore the sign of the "Turk's Head," so early as 1679, and it was hither that Robert Brinkhurst, after his apprehension, was "brought before a Justice of the Peace, at the Turk's Head Tavern, in Lewes," for the murder of his friend, William Moore, by poison, a very curious and detailed account of which is to be found in a small pamphlet, published at the time, under the following title:—

A
Warning to Young Men;
OR,
A Man of Bloods:
IN

An Impartial RELATION of
the Horrid Murther Acted by *Robert
Brinkhurst* on his Friend and himself,
at *Lewis*, in *Sussex*, Anno 1679.

With some Remarks and Counsels from the Whole.

Prov. 26. 26. *Whose Hatred is covered by Deceit, his
Wickedness shall be shewed before the whole Congrega-
tion.*

Rom. 3. 15, 16, 17, 18. *Their Feet are swift to shed
Blood. Destruction and Misery are in their ways, And
the way of Peace have they not known. There is no
Fear of God before their Eyes.*

Lege Historiam nè fias Historia, lege judicia nè fias
exemplum judicii.

Multa miser timeo, quia feci multa proterva,
Exemplique metu terreor ipse mei. *Ovid.*

London, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst*, at the Bible and
Three Crowns at the Lower end of *Cheapside*, near
Mercers-Chappel. 1680.

The narrative concludes as follows, alluding to Brinkhurst's death and the burial of his body: "§ XVI. His soul having thus made its *exit*, at the summons of the great and terrible God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, before whose dreadful Tribunal every soul must appear; the Coroner was sent for to sit upon the self-murdered body, and though he could not be there, a Jury was summoned who viewed the Corps. His sorrowful Relations could not put off natural, though he had given way to sinful Affections. They had provided decent Garments to wrap, and a Coffin to put his Body in, desiring

it might be delivered to them to Bury in *St. Michael's* church-yard, in *Lewes*, but when it could not be obtained, they begged the favour of being permitted to interr him in a spot of ground which was his own, but that also was finally denied; and the Constables, in whose Custody the body was, thus ordered his interment, which may be termed¹⁵ the burial of an Asse; we may allude to those expressions:¹⁶ “*Thou art cast out of thy Grave like an abominable branch, thou shall not be joyned with them in burial.*”¹⁷ *And for Violence against thy Brother shame shall cover thee.*”

“On Monday afternoon, being the 8th of December, a dung-Cart was provided, which being littered with Straw, the Body in its wrap, without any Coffin, was cast into it; thus with part of the face and the feet bare, it was drawn through the Town a ghastly spectacle to the beholders!

“At a fair Cross-way, at the *Spittle*, a Grave was ready digged lying North and South, into which the Body was put by two Fellows; their hearts failing them for that other service, a third was prevailed with to drive a Stake through his bowels. If one so merciless to himself and Friends, might be said to have any, and not rather deserve that part of the character which an ingenious Historian¹⁸ gives unto Bloody *Bonner*, viz.: “That corpulent Tyrant, full of guts, empty of Bowels.” The Earth being cast in upon him, a fair bulk was raised over the Grave and covered with green Turf, the Stake being left visible above it. It is said there shall a post be set up on the place plated with Brass, and thereon his Crimes engraven, for warning to others.

“But here, wearied with travelling through this *Aceldama*—this Field of Blood!—I will sit down by his solitary Grave (which brings to remembrance¹⁹ *Kibroth-hattaavah* in the Wilderness, where they buried the people that lusted), and will heartily pray that the Grave of this Person that lusted, may (by the blessing of God on these, his stupendous judgments), be made the Grave of Lusts, unto all that shall read or hear this tremendous story. Deut. 13. 11. *And all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is among you.* Amen.”

¹⁵ Jer. 22, 19.

¹⁶ Is. 14, 19, 20.

¹⁷ Obad. v., 10.

¹⁸ Fuller's Church History to the end, in the history of Waltham Abbey.

¹⁹ Num. 11, 34.

The above extract has been given, as it probably describes the mode of burying the body of the last murderer and *suicide* in Lewes, when the cross-ways and the stake were considered essential to mark the horror of the deed committed by the murderer, and superstition denied his right to Christian burial.

With regard to the architecture of the houses in the town but little can be said, as it is quite apparent that a vast majority of them have undergone great alterations, and although in many the gables may now be traced, they have been hipped off, and are almost hidden by the more modern parapet. The old houses at the upper end of Caer Street have already been noticed. There is at the western corner of St. Martin's Lane an ancient house, which is thus noticed in Parker's Domestic Architecture, Fifteenth Century—"Another example from Lewes, Sussex, also drawn by Mr. Buckler, appears to have most distinctly the usual mouldings of the fourteenth century, but this also is doubted by some high authorities." Near the bottom of St. Mary Lane are two old timber-framed houses, the upper floor overhanging the lower one—and the house built upon the site of the church of St. Mary, on the eastern side of the same Lane, at its northern end, is of a similar description. Several good specimens of gabled and overhanging houses have been pulled down within the last half-century.

In a description of Sussex contained in *Magna Britannia*, published in 1730, Lewes is thus described—"Lewes, one of the chief towns of the county for largeness and populousness. It is situate upon a rising ground, and is thought to take its name from the *Saxon* word *Leppa* (Leswa), which signifies Pastures. It consists of six parishes, which have each of them their church, and are chiefly composed of *Gentlemen's seats*, joyning one to another with their gardens adjoining, some ascending and some descending, according as the hills rise or fall on or near which they stand."

This was in some degree the case at the beginning of the present century, but in the seventeenth century there is no doubt but the Gentry from various parts of the County had their town houses in Lewes. The state of the roads and other circumstances prevented their leaving the County, so that it

became the fashion to congregate in the principal town and spend a portion of the year together there.

This practice among the gentry of congregating in towns in the winter is thus condemned by Henry Peacham, in "The Compleat Gentleman."—"I detest that effeminacy of the most, that burn out day and night in their beds and by the fire-side, in trifles, gaming, or *courting their yellow mistresses all the winter in a city*; appearing but as cuckoos in the spring, one time of the year to the country and their tenants, leaving the care of keeping good houses at Christmas to the honest yeomen of the country."

Dunvan, in his History of Lewes, under the year 1684, p. 210, states, "Many of the Justices of the Eastern Division of the County now resided in *Lewes*."

Among the persons appointed in 1667, feoffees of the Broken Church, there are the following gentlemen, some, if not all of whom had at that time residences in Lewes: "Sir Thomas Nutt, Knight, and Leonard his sonne, (see Sussex Coll., vol. vi., p. 238), Henry Shelley, Esq., and Richard his sonne, Thomas Pellat, Gent., and William his sonne, (of the Friars), Edward Trayton, Gent., and Ambrose his sonne, John Oliver, Gent., and Thomas his sonne, Richard Isted, Gent."

The habits and mode of living of the country gentlemen, who had residences in Lewes during a portion of the last century, and which they thus generally inhabited in the winter months, were such as are described in the following very slight sketch. Having partaken of a bountiful breakfast to enable them to bear the fatigues of the chase, they repaired to the Downs with a pack of the heavy, slow, old southern hounds, whose heads were literally—

"Hung

With ears that swept away the morning dew;
Slow in pursuit, but match'd like bells
Each under each. A cry more tunable
Was never holla'd to, nor cheered with horn."

M. N. Dream, iv. 1.

Having for some hours followed and enjoyed the pleasures of the chase in the clear and wholesome air of the hills, which time was generally found sufficiently long to produce a keen

appetite, they returned home and dined about two or three o'clock. The abundant repast having been partaken of, the cool Claret and old Oporto²⁰ fully enjoyed, for truly—

“ Good wine is a good familiar
Creature, if it be well used.”

Othello, ii. 3.

they retired to the old summer-house in the garden (several of these still remain in Lewes), and there smoked their pipes, filled with the true fragrant Virginian leaf:—

“ Noble weed! that comforts life,
And is with calmest pleasures rife.”

German Song.

When the weather permitted, the game of bowls was played on the Green in the garden, and most of the houses had one; this formed a pleasant and healthful change in the ordinary employment of the afternoon. The coffee-room and the newspaper afforded another resource for passing an hour, when hunting could not be followed.

In the evening the whist club or the card assembly gave both ladies and gentlemen an opportunity of meeting and discussing politics, and the various news and reports that might be in circulation.

The ladies sometimes filled up a vacant half-hour by receiving a visit from a female smuggler, with her pack of foreign laces and silks—and occasionally a morning call was made to the homes of these *free-traders*, one or two of whom were somewhat notorious. They always received them with a hearty welcome, as they were pretty certain of being able to do a little *trade*.

These matters, together with an occasional ball, were the principal means of passing the time, resorted to at this period by the country gentlemen and their families in the county towns generally, during their sojourn there. Society was in many instances greatly enlivened by the presence of the officers of a crack regiment of Dragoons quartered in the

²⁰ Port was little in use till then.

place, which added very much to the gaiety of their gatherings, and gave a pleasing variety to what would otherwise have been, at times, a dull assemblage.

The conjecture on p. 24, that there must have been an *East* Mill and a *West* Mill in Southover has been singularly confirmed by the following extracts from the Register of Lewes Priory, kindly furnished by the Rev. Edward Turner :

“Unum Messuagium in Southenover in Westport prope stagnum de la *West Mylle*.”

“Philippus de Glassworth Capellanus dedit Johanni Foxle de Lewes et suis, quoddam Messuagium Angulare, situatum juxta stagnum Molendini quod vocatur le *Est Mylle*.”

The sites of the East and West ports it is now very difficult to discover, but we have Eastport Lane still existing at the eastern end of Southover, but whether the gate stood at the east or west end of this lane cannot be determined; in all probability it was at or near the east end, as that was close to the *pond* mentioned as lying near the Water Gate of the town.

The site of the West Mill is pretty accurately fixed, and as it appears that the West port was near to this Mill, it seems not at all improbable that the remains of this port are to be found in a block of ancient flint-work on each side of the hollow near to, and northward of, the boundary stone of the Borough of Lewes, in the road leading from Rotten Row to St. Pancras Bridge.

In Vol. XI. of Sussex Archæological Collections, p. 178, there is some account of Ambrose Galloway, sen., of Lewes, having been with others taken before a magistrate and fined for assembling at the house of Jane Kidder, &c.; but it appears that he had been suffering persecution for twenty years previous to that time, as we find in Besse's “Sufferings of the Quakers,” that—

At the Summer Assizes, 1662, Ambrose Galloway was fined and committed to prison for attending a meeting in May at the house of John Luxford, at Hurstperpoint, and he lay in prison nearly four years. On the 6th September, in the following year, his goods were taken in distress for his wife's absence from public worship. Galloway was confined in irons for eight days, for interfering to prevent another prisoner from suffering abuse in the common ward. In 1671 he was prosecuted in

place, which added very much to the gaiety of their gatherings, and gave a pleasing variety to what would otherwise have been, at times, a dull assemblage.

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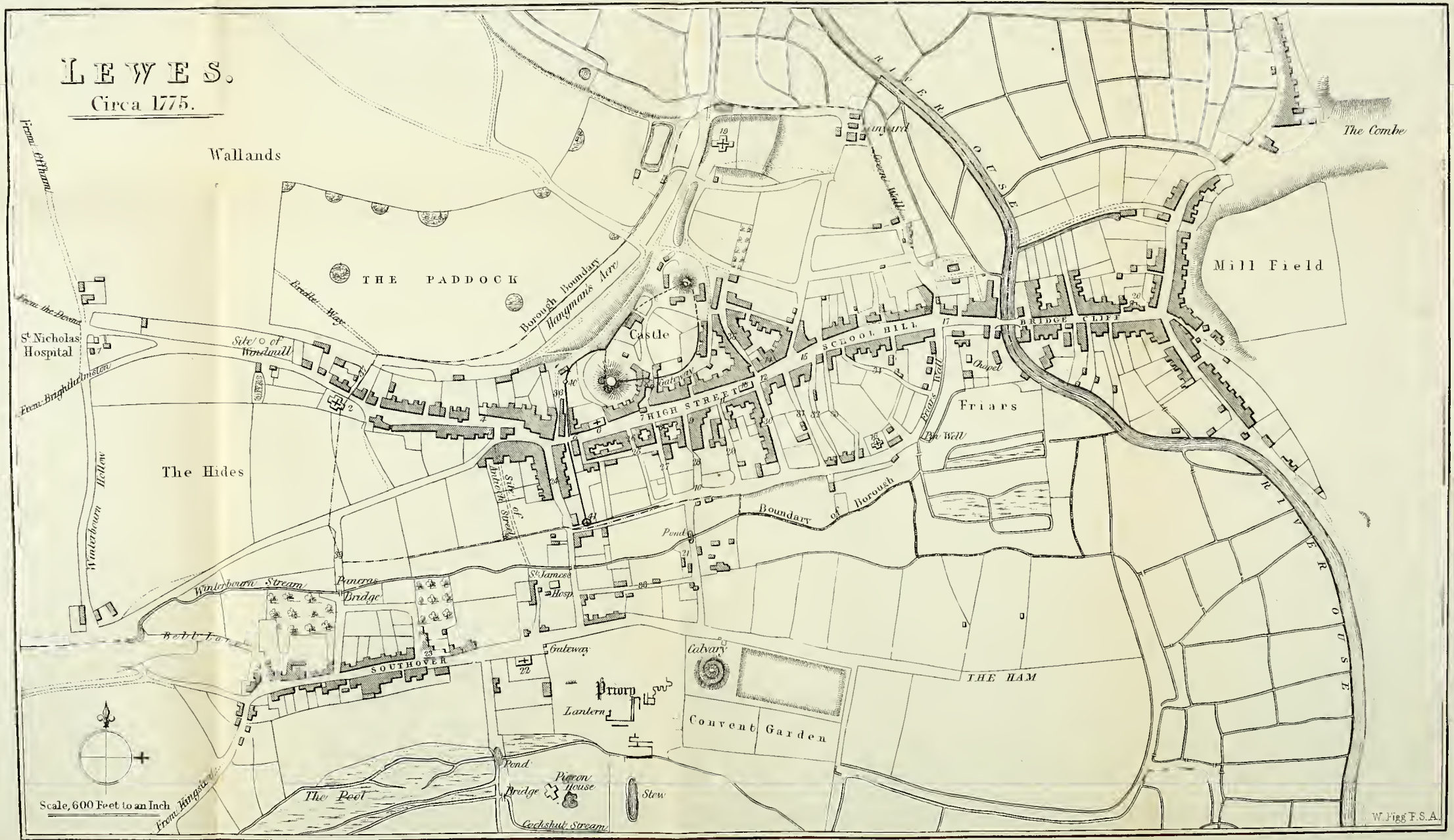
The site of the West Mill is pretty accurately fixed, and as it appears that the West port was near to this Mill, it seems not at all improbable that the remains of this port are to be found in a block of ancient flint-work on each side of the hollow near to, and northward of, the boundary stone of the Borough of Lewes, in the road leading from Rotten Row to St. Pancras Bridge.

In Vol. XI. of Sussex Archæological Collections, p. 178, there is some account of Ambrose Galloway, sen., of Lewes, having been with others taken before a magistrate and fined for assembling at the house of Jane Kidder, &c.; but it appears that he had been suffering persecution for twenty years previous to that time, as we find in Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," that—

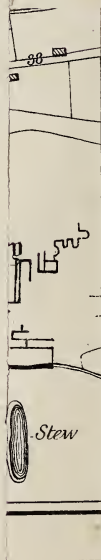
At the Summer Assizes, 1662, Ambrose Galloway was fined and committed to prison for attending a meeting in May at the house of John Luxford, at Hurstperpoint, and he lay in prison nearly four years. On the 6th September, in the following year, his goods were taken in distress for his wife's absence from public worship. Galloway was confined in irons for eight days, for interfering to prevent another prisoner from suffering abuse in the common ward. In 1671 he was prosecuted in

Circa 1775.

Circa 1775.



W. Figg F.S.A.



the Ecclesiastical Court for absence from public worship, and excommunicated: he was also indicted at the Assizes for the same cause, and committed to prison at the suit of William Kemp, of Malling, the Impropriator. In 1677 he was fined for attending a meeting: in 1680 he was fined for neglect of coming to his parish church on 3 Sundays. He and his son, of the same name, were prosecuted at the Assizes in 1682. On 5th April, 1683, they were taken close prisoners to the White Horse in Lewes, till 10th, when they were discharged by the sessions, and they were again excommunicated on 4th January, 1685.

REFERENCE TO MAP.

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. St. Nicholas' Hospital | 22. St. John the Baptist, Southover |
| 2. St. Mary's Church | 23. Old House called the Porched House |
| 3. Site of St. Peter's Church | 24. Caer Street |
| 4. Grammar School | 25. Steward's Inn |
| 5. West Gate | 26. St. Swithin's Lane |
| 6. St. Michael in Foro | 27. St. Martin's Lane |
| 7. Old Market House | 28. Watergate Lane |
| 8. Site of St. Martin's | 29. St. Andrews Lane |
| 9. Site of St. Mary in Foro | 30. St. Mary's Lane |
| 10. Site of Watergate | 31. St. Nicholas Lane |
| 11. Site of St. Andrew's | 32. Walwer's Lane |
| 12. St. Mary Magdalen | 33. Church Lane |
| 13. Town Hall or Sessions House | 34. Brooman's Lane |
| 14. Star Inn | 35. Fisher Street |
| 15. Site of St. Nicholas | 36. Cutlers' Bars, or White Lion Lane |
| 16. St. Peter the Less | 37. Ireland's Lane, alias Bucketwin |
| 17. Site of East Gate | 38. East Port Lane. |
| 18. Site of Holy Trinity | 39. Site of West Port. |
| 19. St. John sub Castro | 40. } Towers on Town Wall. |
| 20. St. Thomas à Becket, in the Cliff | 41. } |
| 21. Old Grammar School | |
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Having obtained, through the kindness of W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A. (to whom my thanks are due for other assistance), a list of all the lands, &c., granted to Tipper and Dawe, in Sussex, I print it for the information and use of such persons as may wish to consult it hereafter:—

30th March, 34th Elizabeth, 1592 (Pat. pt. 2).—The Queen granted (amongst hereditaments in many counties in England) the following hereditaments in Sussex to William Tipper and Robert Dawe, of London, gentlemen, to hold of the Queen as of her manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage, and at various yearly rents.

Petworth.—The salary or stipend of the priest there, and all lands, &c., to the same belonging, at the annual rent of 2s. 6d.

*St. Thomas the Martyr, juxta Lewes.*²¹—All that the late

²¹ Now called St. Thomas à Becket, in the Cliffe.

guild or fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr, juxta Lewes, and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the same belonging or being, late parcel of the lands or possessions of the same guild, &c.—Rent, 4s.

Harsham.—All that close containing 3a., and a moiety of all lands and tenements lying and being in Harsham, called Blackstrode, alias Shade's hernet, Carpenter's Land, Ashmead's, and Bowseyhawes, containing 30a.—Rent, 5s.

Compton and Washington.—All lands, tenements, and hereditaments in, lately belonging to the Monastery or Priory of Shulbrede.

Yapton and Tortington.—All those lands in Yapton and Tortington lately belonging to the Monastery or Priory of Tortington.

Cuckfield.—A tenement in the tenure of Henry Simons.

A croft, called Church croft, in the tenure of George Allfrey.

Another tenement, in the tenure of Robt. Kidd.

A mead in the tenure of Thomas Field.

A cottage in the tenure of one Dumbrell.

A meadow in the tenure of John Pepper.

A parcel of land called Stroade, in the tenure of — Michell.

Lands and tenements called Butler's.

The house called the School House.

These four
at
a rent of
12d.

Wilmington.—The tithes of a certain Grange called Wilmington.

Wootton.—The tithes, &c., granted for the support of a chaplain to the Church of St. Giles, at Wootton.

Keymer.—The chapel of St. John.—Rent 8d.

A lane in Keymer.

Ringmer.—Lands called the Barcary.

Three crofts, called Leaham Field, Layfield, and Motescroft, in the tenure of John Goodwin.

Cookham, Herringham, Barlavington, Egdean, and Barton.—Tithes and hereditaments in, lately belonging to the Priory of Eartham, alias Herringham.—Annual rental, 10s.

Horton Maybank, alias Horton Horsey.—The manor of, with the appurtenances.

Heyshott.—The manor of.

Beeding and Seele.—The lands and tenements in, formerly in the possession of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, attainted.

Seaford.—All those lands called Salts and Beanland, in the parish of; containing 30a., more or less, abutting on the sea on the South, on the Down on the East, and on the town of Seaford, or lands of Edwd. Gage, Esq., on the north.

And all lands, wastes, and passages in and throughout Seaford, used by the freemen and inhabitants.

2a. of land lying on the Down, lately belonging to the church there.

All at a rental of 2s.

Lewes.—All that the late chapel or church of St. Nicholas, decayed and ruined, commonly called the Broken Church, now converted into a tenement, situate, lying, and being in the town of Lewes, in the county of Sussex.—Annual rent, 8d.

Shoreham.—Lands in the tenure of William Bell.—Rent, 12d.

Ticehurst and Lamberhurst.—Lands in, formerly appointed by Edmund Passeley, for the maintenance of a priest or chaplain in the chapels of Passeley and La Leahe.

Portslade.—1a. of land in the tenure of John Fuller, formerly granted for the maintenance of two wax candles in the parish church of Portslade.

A tenement called the Church House, formerly in the tenure of Agnes Owen, was theretofore granted for the observance of an obit.

Southwick.—Two tenements in the tenures of Thomas and John Emery, formerly given for an obit by Nicholas Goodmerich.

Land, formerly in the tenure of John Michelborne, given for a free candle, for the support of a light called "A TRINDLE" (*Trental*—Thirty masses for the dead).

Street.—1a. of land called East town, given for the support of a light.

West Hoathly.—Lands and tenements called Philpott's and Barley's, lately in the occupation of one Comber and others.

Bersted and Pagham.—The advowson and patronage of the churches of.

Bargham, Wiggonhold, and Greatham.—The Manors of.

Hamsey.—Lands and tenements in.

Lawghton.—5a. of land now or late in the tenure of one Spunger.

Chichester.—The advowson and patronage of the Church of All Saints, in the Pallant.

Whappingthorne and Wickham in Steyning.—The tithes of the tenements of.

Newick.—Lands, called Buddes Slyde.

Kingston Bowsey.—A tenement lately called Bullock heartes, otherwise Bullockers.

The Manor of Kingston Bowsey, alias Kingston Bowcey.

WILL OF A SUSSEX CLERGYMAN

THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

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

THE light which is thrown upon the manners and habits of our ancestors by their last wills and testaments is generally recognized. Many of these interesting documents have already appeared in our "Collections," but few, I am disposed to think, are more curious than that of HENRY MARSHALL, parish priest of Wilmington, which I here transcribe from the registry of the archdeaconry of Lewes (Liber 2, folios 30, 31). It may be regarded as illustrating the domestic life of a country clergyman of the period, his household furniture, his library, his wearing apparel, his social relationships, and to some extent the *vie interieure* which regulated his external actions and his habits of business. Henry Marshall, who, by the bequest of the lease of a Lancashire coal-mine, and a charitable donation to the poor in that county, appears to have been "a northern man denizened in the south," lived in an age full of events in church and state. His will, dated in the fifth year of Edward the Sixth, shows him to have been theologically in a transition state between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, for while he makes no provision for masses, "month's mind" and "year's mind" which was almost invariably made in the previous generation, he still adheres to the intercession of the Virgin and some other articles of the ancient faith. He appears to have been a person of substance for the period, as will be seen by the copious array of household stuff which he bequeaths. His great chargers, brass pots, andirons, silver spoons, fire jacks, spits, dripping pans, flesh-hooks, and other culinary and table requisites, bespeak him a man who enjoyed the good things of this life; while the array of feather beds and their appur-

tenances proves that he had the means of providing lodging as well as board for his friends and kinsmen. The inventory of his costume, which may be gleaned from the document, shows us that his wardrobe contained (*inter alia*)—

A best coat;	A long gown for work-
Two fustian doublets;	a-days; and a vel-
Hose;	vet night-cap;
Two bonnets;	A coat of frieze;
A best gown;	Sundry shirts;
A sarsnet tippet; ¹	A pair of shoes;
A worsted jacket for work-	A hat;
a-days;	An old frock;
A best kerchief.	

Mr. Marshall also possessed two suits of armour (harness), and a halbert, which, being a man of peace, he did not use *in propria personâ*, although he was liable to furnish forth, according to the custom of those days, an armed man, for the defence of the country, as occasion required. He probably cultivated the gentler science of music, since a lute formed part of his household stuff. His library must have been a curiosity, comprising as it did a Bible, a Catena Aurea, the Pauline Epistles in manuscript, and various works on medicine and distillation. Whether the book called *Opus Aureum* was a theological or a scientific treatise, I know not.

The simplicity of manners which existed three hundred years ago is also illustrated by this document. Our good honest priest not only bequeaths to the great man of the district, Mr. Gage of Firle, forty shillings for taking the oversight of his will, but he remembers other aristocratic neighbours in his testamentary arrangements. Thus Mrs. Burton of Eastbourne gets an angel noble; Miss Burton a pair of sheets and other articles; and Mr. Thomas Parker a diaper table cloth. Of his friends among the clergy he is equally mindful, giving to one his fustian doublet, his worsted jacket,

¹ A kind of hood or scarf much used at this date, and originally made of Saracenic silk, *unde nomen*. In Edward Underhill's autobiography he states that he witnessed the procession of Queen Mary to her coronation, but to prevent recognition by his enemies, he says: "I muffled me with a *sarcenett*, wiche the rude people in the strettes wold murmure att, sayinge, 'What is he? Dare he nott show his face?'" *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Camd. Soc., 1859.

and other articles of wearing apparel, and to another (his cousin, and evidently his favourite legatee) a best gown, a tippet of sarsnet, a bonnet, a velvet night-cap, a lectern, the books before mentioned, and many other articles.

Mr. Marshall applies to the several clergymen, whom he has occasion to mention, the epithet "Sir," then the usual designation of a priest or curate who had taken his first scholastic degree. See Shakspeare, *passim*. He was himself doubtless "Sir Harry" in the mouths of his neighbours, and a well-to-do personage, since, besides his vicarage house at Wilmington, he had a lodging at Westham, with a gelding to convey him thither and back.

The distribution of alms and drink at a funeral, and the ringing of a *peal* of bells on the same occasion, are curious traits of old and forgotten times.

The good vicar was not unmindful of the work of church-restoration, leaving, as indeed was usual in his day, a small legacy to each of the fabrics of Wilmington and Westham. Nor did he forget the mother church of the diocese, but bestowed upon the "church-works of Chichester" the then considerable sum of forty shillings. We know from the Cathedral archives that, even at the distant period of three centuries, that glorious spire which has but now tottered to its fall was deemed to be in a dangerous condition, and that efforts were made to avert the grievous calamity which it has been reserved for our own time to realize. Early in Elizabeth's reign the plate belonging to the suppressed chantries was sold, and the proceeds were devoted to the reparations of the church and spire, and here, a very few years earlier, we find the incumbent of a parish remote from Chichester, bequeathing a portion of his worldly goods to the same worthy object. May his example of liberality be followed by all—both clergy and laity—without distinction of creed, now that the downfall so long anticipated has taken place, and may all contributors to the pious work live to behold the restoration of that noble fane upon the ancient model,—“pointing with taper spire to Heaven!”

“In the name of God, amen. The IXth day of August, 1550, I, Henry Marshall, prest, vicar of Wilmyngton, beyng

of hole mynd and good remembraunce, thanks be to Ihu Christ, do orden, and make, and declare, this my last will and testament, in maner and forme under writyn. In primis, I bequeth and comend my soule to almyghti god, my creator, redemer, and saviour, unto whose great mercy I do lowly submyt me, and intercession of his most blessyd mother and virgyn, our lady, St. Mary, and the blessed company of hevyn, and my body to be buried in Xten buriall. Item, I bequeth to so many prests as comys to my buriall, [and] dothe minister the most blessyd communion, and prayer for all christen soules, every one xij^d, and to such wel disposed persons as resayvith with them, and will take it, iiij^d. Item, to be distributed among pore people at my buriall, xliij^s. iiij^d. Item, to the reparacons of the church of Wilmyngton, vj^s. viij^d., and for a charitable drynkyng to the parishoners vj^s. viij^d. Item, to the povertie of Wilmyngton, xxiiij^s. iiij^d., to be distributyd accordyng to a bill thereof made. Item, to the povertie of Westham parishe, xx^s.; to the church works, vj^s. viij^d. Item, to make a charitable drynkyng to the parishoners there, x^s.; and if the curate dispose hymself to mynister the holy comunion and praier for all christen souls, a xij^d., and to [every] one that doth prepare to receyve with him iiij^d.; and if the clerke or sextan do cause a peal with all the bells, to move godly people to prayer, and to call to remembraunce that all are mortall, xvj^d. Item, to the poore people of Helsham, iij^s. iiij^d.; at Folkyngham, vj^s. viij^d.; and to the povertie within the parishe of Litlyngton, iij^s. iiij^d. Item, to the povertie within the parishe of Lullyngton, ij^s. Item, to the spytyll at Shoreham² xx^d., and to the povertie at St. James, near Chichester³ xx^d. To the povertie at Padiham⁴ xiiij^s. iiij^d. Item, to John Scrase, iij^s. iiij^d., to John Honye⁵ xx^d., to Bartholomew Hart iij^s. iiij^d.; to Thomas

² There were two hospitals at Shoreham, one of Jesus Christ, and the other of St. James. The latter seems to have survived the Reformation, though it was granted away by Queen Elizabeth. See *Monasticon*, vi. 777.

³ The Hospital of St. James without the east gate of Chichester, some remains of which still exist near the bridge, was an asylum for lepers, and existed as early as the time of King Richard I. or John. See *Hussey's Churches*.

⁴ Padiham, where the testator had a coal mine, is a township in the great parish of Whalley, in Lancashire.

⁵ Honey was the name of a respectable family who resided at Wilmington for several generations. I have a pedigree of them drawn up by my late friend, Mr. Charles Ade. John Scrase was buried at Wilmington, in 1569. See Pedigree in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, vol. viii., p. 16.*

Lovard xx^d.; to fyve poore folks, at the discrecion of my executer, v^s. Item, to Maistres Burton⁶, in recompence of her charges, and costly restoratives, send to me in tyme of my sekenes, one angell noble. Item, to my god-doughter, the doughter of Mast. Jams Burton, a paire of fyne shets, a great charger, and an iron racke for iij potts. Item, to every one of my godsons that will aske it, xij^d.; and every one of my goddoughters, not married, xx^d., and to every one that is married, and doth aske it, viiiij^d. Item, to Thos. Dawtry, the fether bed in my great parlor, with bolster, ij pylous, with pylow-bers, a paire of blanketts, a coveryng, a quilt, with curtyns, di' [$\frac{1}{2}$] a doson napkyns of diaper, a paire of shets, and vj^s. viij^d., and to every one of his children, iij^s. iiij^d. Item, to the church-works of Chichester, xl^s. To William Hakford, my old servant, vi^s. viiiij^d. Item, to my cosyn, Sir John Heighe, a sylver spone, and vi^s. viij^d. Item, to my cosyn, Thos. Rylay, a sylver spone, and to every one of his dowghters, not married, xx^d. Item, to my servant, William Marshall, if he do lerne an honest occupation or handycraft, x^{li}., to make hym a stocke, to be d(elivere)d when he hath sufficiently lernyd the same; and if he refuse so to doo I will that he shall have but vi^l. xiiij^s. iv^d., to be d(elivere)d at tyme of my death, xl^s., and iiij^l. xiiij^s. iv^d. at tyme of his mariage, and the overplus, vj^s. viij^d., to be d(elivere)d to his mother, and iiij^{li}. to his iij sisters not married, by equall porcions. Item, to the said Willm Marshall one fether bedde, ij paire of shets, ij blanketts, a bolster, ij pylows, ij pylow bers⁷, a hillyng⁸, a great chest, my third brasse pot, a great charger⁹, ij platers, ij pewter dishes, iij saucers, ij candelsticks, a chaffyng-dishe, a table cloth, iij napkyns, a drippyng-pan, ij awndirons¹⁰, a pewter pott, a lute, my best cote, a rownd pan, a kychyn knyff, and a fire jake. Item, to Elizabeth

⁶ James Burton, Esq., of an ancient family at Eastbourne, married Alice Palmer, of Angmering, who was probably the legatee here so gratefully remembered. The only daughter assigned to her, the 'god-doughter' of the testator, mentioned in the next 'Item,' was Alice, who married Thomas Gilderidge, Esq. The final heiress of the Burtons married William Wilson, Esq., who was created a Baronet 13th Charles II. a quo Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart. See *Berry's Sussex Genealogies*, p. 333.

⁷ "Pillowbere, a pillow-case." *Hallivell*.

⁸ A healing, or coverlet.

⁹ A charger was a large dish or platter to hold meat. The tyrant Herod presented to the lascivious *danseuse*, in reward for her saltations, the head of John the Baptist "in a charger."

¹⁰ Andirons, or fire-dogs—doubtless of Sussex manufacture. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, ii., 179, *et seq.*

Marshall, his mother, my lease which I have of the Colmyne at Padiam, with the profetts, and vj^s. viij^d., and to every one of her iij sons, John, James, and Lawrance, vi^s. viij^d., and every of her iij dowghters, not married, xiiij^s. iiij^d. Item, I forgyve Richard Marshall all suche detts as he owes me, so that he do suffer his mother, Elizabeth Marshall, peaseably to occupie the said Colmyne duryng the lease; and els I bequeth the said dette to Elizabet his mother, and will that such as I do put in trust wth this my last will shall asiste and ayde the same Elizabeth to recover the said dette. Item, to John Mathew, the poore man, a cote of frice,¹¹ pc. (price) iij^s. iiij^d, a shirt, pc. xvj^d., a doblet of fustian, and a paire of showes. Item, to his wiff, in recompence of her payns takyn with me and my servants in tyme of my sekenes, a matres with bolster, pylow, a coverlett, a paire of shets, with the clothes about it, as my servant dyd ly upon hit, my white barow hogge, a pygge of my great sowe, a bz (bushel) of malt, and the mylke of my cowe to Mychaelmas, [she] fyndyng the pasture. Item, to ether of her ij sons, iij^s. iiij^d. Item, to Jone Mathew, in recompence of her payns takyn in my howse, a pot of Iron, a brode posset¹², a rownd pan with bryms, a skellet pan, a lytill spyt, a paire of pothangers, ij plates, ij pewter dishes, ijsawcers, a candelsticke, a lytill chest with locke and keye, and a paire of canvas shets. Item, to her syster Kateryne, a plater, a pewter dishe, a sawcer, and xx^d. Item, to Sir William Chranche, my best fustian doblet, a shert, my hose, a bonet, my worsted jakett which I waire the worke dayes. Item, to Kateryne Rylay, my long gowne which I were the worke dayes, the bedde whereon she lyeth with that [which] perteynyth thereto, my best kercheff, my hat, and the chest in the parlure, with all my woole in her chamber, and an old frocke. Item, to Lawrence Rawston, vi^s viiiij^d. Item, to Mr. Thomas Parker¹³, a table-cloth of diaper, conteynyng iiij yards. Item, to my godson, Thomas Jorden, an ironbon chest,¹⁴ a great balance of iron, the grete chere (chair) in my

¹¹ A coat of friese—a kind of narrow cloth originally imported from Friesland It was usually worn by plebeians, while patricians invested themselves in cloth of gold. Hence a well-known antithetical rhyme.

¹² A *posnet* is defined by Bailey as “a skillet or small boiling vessel.” They were generally of brass, and Sussex was famous for their manufacture in later times. See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, ii., 196.

¹³ Of Ratton, in Willingdon. He died in 1580.

¹⁴ Iron-bound. The Jordans were an old Wilmington family.

chamber, and a complete harnes with a halbert. Item, to the mendyng of the hye way betwix the church of Wilmyngton and the *grene strete*¹⁵ xi^s. under this condition that the parishoners will se it well bestowed within a year and di' (half) next after my decease, and els to remayne to the mariage of vj of my god daughters within the parishe, whose nams shall appere by a byll of my hand. And if any of them decease afore tyme of their mariage, that then the porcion or porcions of the deceased shal be gyvyn to other poore maydyns, by the discretion of the curate and parishoners. Item, I wyll that my executor shall do well and truly all suche tokyns and bequests as I have appoyntyd in a byll of my hands to my frynds and povertie. Item, I forgyve all such as are indettyd to me, and not able to paye without great hynderance, and suche as are able to paye, and yet denye their dewties, onles the matter be very playne, my mind is that rather than that they should pishe (punish?) their conscience, to take as they wilbe content to pay (*sic*). Item, to my Cosyn, Sir Mylies Rylay, whom I do orden and make executor of this my last will, for his payns, my best gowne, a typett of sarcenet, a bonet, a nyght cappe of velvet, a lettron¹⁶ for a boke, with locke and keye, a boke callyd *Cathena Aurea*, *Pauls pistyls* in parchement, *Opus Aureum*, a Bible, with my boks of distillacon and phiseke, and such other boks as are necessary for hym, and not bequethed. Also a paire of my best andirons, a fire chaffer, an iron rakke, a spytt, a hangyng pan, a posenet, a fire pan, a drepyng pan, a chaffyng dishe, a fire prong, a kychyn knyff, a flesshe hoke, a grate for breade, my round table at Westham, a cheyre, a chest, a harnes, ij lytyll tables, a crosse mattoke, and such other

¹⁵ The phrase 'Green Street' is applied to many localities on, or forming part of, Roman roads, and it is certain that the *via* which connected Anderida (Pevensey) with Lewes and the west of Sussex, ran through a part of Wilmington parish. It has been clearly traced at Polegate eastward, and at Berwick Common and Glynde westward, of Wilmington. With respect to this 'Green Street,' the Rev. G. M. Cooper, the present Vicar of Wilmington, observes: "There is a turf road leading up the slope of Windore Hill from the foot to the summit. It is sometimes designated amongst ourselves 'The Monks' Walk,' but without authority. This goes out of the ancient road which was once the principal line of communication through the villages between Eastbourne and Lewes, though now utterly neglected. I imagine (he continues) that Mr. Marshall's bequest was for the repair of that part of this road in the direction of Folkington (at present called Gillatt's Lane), between the east end of Wilmington church and the point where the above-mentioned green path turns off and pursues its course up the side of the hill."

¹⁶ A *lectern*, *lettern*, or reading-desk.

thyngs as remaynyth there of myne, a brasse pott, and my geldyng. Item, I desyre my frend Sir Lawrance Waterhouse, parson of Terryng,¹⁷ to be associate with the said Sir Mylis, and to help hym with his counsell and aide in all the doying of this my testament, when he shalbe thereunto desyred, and for his so doying, I bequeth him xx^s and his costs. And in my humblist wise I beseche the Right Worshipfull Mr. Edward Gage, esquier,¹⁸ to assist and aide my executor with his good councell and furtherance in the causes of this my testament, and to be supervisor thereof, and I bequeth to his mastership in recompence of sum parte of his payns xl^s. The resydew of my goods, my detts paid, with charges of this my last will and testament, I will shalbe devided into iiij partes, whereof one parte to be distribute to my nerist and porest kynsfolks, by the discreccion of my cosyns, Sir John Heighe, priest, and Thomas Rylay, or suche other as my executer will appoint, and the other ij parts by evyn porcions and bylls indentyd to be d(elivere)d to the churchwardens, and iiij or sex of the honest parishoners of Wilmyngton and Westham, in the presens of the parishoners upon a sunday or holy day, at tyme of divine service, and to remayne in the poore men's chests unto suche tyme and tymes as it shalbe thought necessary to make distribucion to the povertie within the said parishons (*sic*) and they openly, upon sundays and holidays in the presens of the people assemblid, to heare divine service, the curate and churchwardens, with assent and consent of iiij or more of the honest parishoners, to distribute, after theire discreccions as nede shall requyre, and to indorse the sum of the said distribucions upon the bill indentyd. Witness hereof myselff, which wrote this with my hands, Sir Lawrance Waterhouse, parson of Terryng, and Thomas Jorden the elder. Approbat' in eccl(es)ia p(ar)ochiali exempt(æ) jurisdic(tionis) de Bello,¹⁹ 17 Februarij, 1550, et anno R(egis) Edwardi Sexti quinto.—S(u)m(m)a I(nventor)ij 65^{li} 17^s. 3^d."

¹⁷ Tarring-Neville, near Newhaven.

¹⁸ Of Firl Place, high sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, 4th Queen Mary.

¹⁹ For an account of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbot of Battle, which still exists, including all rights of visitation, of holding courts, of *granting Probates*, and *Administrations* and *Licences for Marriages*, within the Leuga, in as ample a form as was possessed by the Bishop of Chichester, see vol. vi., p. 62. It is not obvious, however, why the will of the Vicar of Wilmington should have been proved at Battel.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SAMUEL JEAKE, SENR., OF RYE.

BY T. W. W. SMART, ESQ., M.D.

A LARGE collection of MSS. preserved at Brickwall, Northiam, contains interesting details relating to Samuel Jeake, Town Clerk of Rye, in the time of the Commonwealth, and a person of considerable celebrity in the annals of his native town.

The name Jeake is variously spelt Jake, Jaque, Jeakes, or Jacque, all being corruptions of the French Jacques, and probably appertained to a family who emigrated from France to this country.¹

There is no evidence to shew when the Jeakes first settled in Rye; but about the year 1600 we find Henry Jeake exercising the trade of a baker² in the town and port. He married Anne, the daughter of John Pierson, clerk.³ They had issue a son and two daughters, besides the subject of this memoir, who was born October 9th, 1623. His mother appears to have been a woman of decided piety and

¹ After the plague of 1563 Rye "was replenished by the French, who sheltered themselves here from the massacre in France, 1572, and of the troubles of the Protestants there, so that anno 1582, upon an accompt taken, were found inhabiting here 1534 persons of that nation."—*Charters of Cinque Ports*, p. 108. See an article *post*.

² The trade of a baker was then of more consideration than it is now. It was regulated by special enactments termed the assize of Bread.

³ The Rev. John Pearson. His letters are dated from Peasmarsh, and there is a petition from the Mayor and Corporation of Winchelsea, 1589, "to the Reverende Fathers in God," desiring to have him for a teacher of God's word. His wife Elizabeth was buried at Peasmarsh, June 10, 1596, and was probably the sister of Ursula, dau. of Richard Knatchbull, Esq., of Mersham Hatch. She married Alex. Shepherd, of Peasmarsh, died in 1582. John Pearson addresses his letters "to my verye loving sister Mrs. Ursula Shepherd att Tenterden."

seriousness of character, and the following letter, written by her old friend John Wilmshurst, of Mayfield, shews the tender care and concern with which he watched over her best interests. The letter is dated March 12th, 1628, and he thus warns her: "In this time there are many ungodly and erroneous conceites and opinions sprung up: even by men of our owne communion. I thinke it not necessary to name them; be you dilligent in the use of the meanes aforesaid, and for the better stablishing of youre selfe in the holy truth, I desire you of all love, that you would buye a booke sett forth by Mr. John Downehame⁴ called "The Summe of Divinitee," a book worthie to be read of all good Christians in these dayes, and read the same heedfully." Upon her settling herself in the town of Rye, he thus raises his warning voice: "O remember to have a care of yourselfe, for you are gotten into a Towne which is given to much prophaneness, as I have been certified; sweareinge, curseing, whoredome, skolding, and many such sinnes, they say, doe there abound, wherefore take heede to yourselfe. Easily may you decay in goodness, but hardly will you recover agayne that which is once lost."

His mother's death occurred in March, 1639-40, and the following letter gives an interesting account of her last days:

"My letter to Mrs. Wenborn, of Mayfield, who before was y^e wife of Mr. John Wilmshurst.

"GODLY FRIEND,

"You may thinke me too bold in p'suming to p'sent these confused lines unto yo^r view, which will but trouble you to read, but more trouble me to write, in regard of y^e old friendship and acquaintance betweene you and my mother; having now this opportunity could not but acquaint you with that which I wish you had beene an eye witness of, even y^e death of my dearest friend under God. It is now 22 weekes ago she finished her course; she sickened first like an ague upon y^e 29th of October, being Tuesday; on y^e Wednesday she went out to Goodman Miller's to repetition; y^e Thursday y^e fit tooke her againe and held her as before, and on y^e Friday she went out to a buriall which was y^e last time she was forth. On y^e Saturday she was tooke againe, and so it held her all night, and y^e next day being Sabbath she was very sicke, yet in y^e Afternoone she rose, but still continuing sicke, on y^e Monday as she lay, she read y^e 102 Psalme—For y^e Lord seemed to hide himselfe from her, but he did not forsake her over long. In that night hee revealed himselfe to her in a sweete manner, so y^t her bruised bones leapt for joy; in the morning she repeated to us what a sweet night she had enjoyed and how y^e Lord had let out himselfe to her from these words of y^e 36 Psalme, 5. 6. 7. 8.

⁴ The Rev. J. Downeham was the youngest son of the Bishop of Chester (in which city he was born), and brother of the Bishop of Derry. He was of C. C. College Cambridge, and B.D. Besides the pious work here alluded to, he was the author of "a Guide to Godliness," and some other useful treatises. His ministry was chiefly exercised in London, where he died in 1644.

9. verses, and that now she had found by experience what we have yet but by promise, that heaviness may endure for a night but joy cometh in y^e morning. Continuing sicke we sought to y^e Physitian; this weeke, like a Saint, her words ministered grace to y^e hearers, and she was p^swaded she should die on y^e Sabbath, and y^t having done a weekes worke she should enter into his rest; yet God otherwise prevented, and that Satan might take his last farewell of troubling her, took occasion hereby to molest her, but at length y^e Lord revealed himselfe to her more fully than before, so that about y^e middle of y^e weeke she told us she was full of joy as her heart could hold. The Lord had now afflicted her with a sore mouth, which much troubled her to speak: about y^e latter end of y^e weeke we had good hope of her recovery, but God ordered it better for her gaine, though for our losse; on y^e Saturday night and Sabbath following she could take downe nothing but beere and sugar with a feather, and on y^e Monday and Tuesday she waxing worse and worse, we had little hope of life left in her; on y^e Wednesday, being the 20th day of November, about 4 a clocke in the Afternoone she sweetly yeilded up her soule into her Father's hands; catching up her hands together, uttered these words—"Come Lord," but what more could not be heard. Thus, as you had acquaintance of her in her life, you are acquainted with a true relation of her death, that you may rejoice with her and weepe with me; and that God to whome alone belong the issues of life and death, helpe us to glorifie him in either or both conditions.

"So praieth

"YOUR POORE FRIEND, LATELY ROBBED OF
HIS CHIEFEST JEWELL."

Rie, March, 24th, 1639-40.

It is not known where Jeake was educated, but it is very evident that he was well instructed. The works he left behind him prove this. In 1640, the year after his mother's death, when he was yet only 16 years of age, a curious incident laid the foundation of an important change in his religious views. This is the account of the circumstance:—

1640.—When Mr. John Harrison was minister at Rye, one M. M. had a bastard, and in her lying-in being dangerously ill, was praied for in y^e publique congregation; also old Mrs. Ann Threele, as I minde, or another professed Papist was buried, and in y^e doing of either my tender yeares and apprehensions tooke offence, being then under the ministry of the Church of England, as so called; this occasioned me to say something of my dislike, and the same misreported to John Coulton⁵. Their differences being made up they became, he says, "loving friends, and both, with others, disliking the national way, some differences arose betweene Mr. Beaton⁶ and us, whereupon betweene us y^e following letter was sent him, but never had any answer." [The purport of this joint production was to defend their views on the subject of Baptism, for it appears they had given offence by going out of "y^e parish assembly" when the children of "visible unbelievers" were baptized. The propositions which they endeavoured in this letter to prove from Scripture, were;—

1st.—"That the Churches instituted by y^e apostles in the primitive times are only particular Churches, and not national."

2ndly.—"That the faithfull onely and their seed being a Church Communion, are the proper subjects of Baptisme."

3rdly.—"That it is high sacriledge and a profanation of the name of God and his Ordinances for either Church or officer to dispense Baptisme upon any other subject, save onely y^e faithfull and their seed."

The letter concludes by entreating him "either to give y^e blessing *before you*

⁵ John Coulton was a soldier and chaplain in the Parliamentary army, under Captain William Morley. There are several letters from him, written in 1643, 1644. Vide vol. viii. Suss. Arch. Coll.

⁶ Mr. Beeton. See subsequent List of Vicars of Rye.

baptize, or else not to be offended at us if we go out of y^e assembly." In a note at the end of the copy of the letter, he adds:—"This letter was signed by John Coulton, myselfe, and several others, who, when we sent it were thus minded, but some of us afterwards seeing further into the point of Baptisme, laid by y^e Baptisme of all Infants, as well those of y^e immediate as more remote believing parents, and only annexed Baptisme to Believers making profession of their faith."]

Imbued with these principles he soon became the Minister of a conventicle, and one Joseph Nichols, of Faversham, thus remonstrates with him:—

"Take heed, Samuel, you run not before you are sent, for although you can speake well, and seduce the people, and have an eloquent tounge and the like (I envy not your gifts) yet let me persuade you to take heede of pride, with which I heare you are mightily puffed up, &c."

About this time the Magistrates of Rye had imprisoned one Nicholas Woodman, which called forth the following letter of remonstrance from Mr. Christopher Blackwood,⁶ of Marden, dated March 11th, 1646:—

"To the Mayor and Jurats of Rye.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am right sorry (and y^e rather in this respect y^t I have beene formerly a leader unto you) that you or any of you should give one of y^e first leading examples to imprison any of y^e saints of God, for conscience, as I heare you have imprisoned one Nicolas Woodman, now (as I heare) your prisoner, not for preaching but for praying in y^e presence of some of y^e Saints met at Mr. Miller's house, for (if my informer faile not in his relation) Mr. Maior, as soone as he had done praying, came and tooke him away. This man was a Baptist, and so farre as I ever saw by him, a man of godly life, and for his abillities, I wish that hundreds of p^rish Churches (as they are called) had but one so able. Beside the man is a poore man, having a wife and child, whose groans cry for present relief, when their father that shall provide for them lyes in a stinking prison, and cannot provide for himselfe."

He ends his letter with a prayer for the prisoner's release, and beseeches them "to cast a favourable eye upon the rest of y^e godly living in the Towne with them, though differing from them in judgement."

The year 1651 was an important epoch in S. Jeake's career. He had now reached the age of eight-and-twenty, and had become an Attorney-at-Law; in this year he was made a freeman of the Borough, the Common or Town Clerk,

⁶ He had been curate of Rye 1632—1635, under Brian Twyne, B.D., of whom see list of Rye Vicars in a subsequent part of the volume. In a letter from Anne Petter, dated Hever, Jan. 23rd, 1632, to Anne Jeakes (S. J's mother), she writes:—"The two mayne things you know we desyred on, the one you doe enjoy, too wit, Mr. Blackwood's Ministerye; the Lord make you and the whole towne thankfull, and we desyre to joyne in thankfulness with you for the other," &c. For some particulars concerning this eminent Nonconformist, vide Neale's Hist. of the Puritans, Tegg's Edit., vol. iii., p. 379—410. At this time, 1646, he was the incumbent of Marden, Kent, but seceded from the Church of England on the question of baptism. He was the author of "The Storming of Anti-Christ; Apostolical Baptism; Expositions and Sermons on the first Ten Chapters of Matthew; and Soul-Searching Catechism."

and also took unto himself a wife,⁷ Frances, daughter of Thomas and Mary Hartridge,⁸ of Pepenbury or Pembury, Kent, born in 1630, and sister to the wife of Christopher Blackwood. The following extracts from Jeake's letters relate to his courtship and marriage. Some impediments presented themselves at first relating to his religious opinions, and the lady's jointure, so that the business for a while is represented as being "in a negative posture," but these difficulties were soon removed, and Jeake writes that—

"Afterwards having some discourse with Mr. Blackwood, and receiving some encouragement I went againe, and after a right understanding of things, she consented upon the proposalls following readily granted by me, and we were happily married July 17th, 1651."

Propositions which I judge reasonable, which
being granted, I know not of any other thing
I shall desire.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.—I desire libertie of conscience, and that I may have all conveniences for a journey to y ^e Church, where- of I am a member, fower times in the yeare. | } | "This wasp'formed as oft as shee desired after marriage." |
| 2.—For y ^e goods w ^{ch} were yor father's, because I am not stablished in conscience about y ^e title of them and so consequently not of y ^e use of them though you yourself be, I desire that so much of it as will be worse for using may be changed with what convenience may be, and some other which will be of a right propertie in my conscience purchased, which I may use in the roome thereof. | } | "Some goods were sold and others the property altered and she better satisfied therein." |
| 3.—That forasmuch as I know not y ^e manner of yor worship nor whether there be any thing that will offend my conscience therein, I desire y ^t if there should be such worship as my heart cannot close withall nor my bodily presence allow of without sin, that it may be no alienation of conjugall affection if I should absent therein. | } | "She never tooke offence y ^t I ever learned, nor at any time when in Town or to go forth did absent herselfe." |
| 4.—That whereas my brother Mr. Blackwood told me that he had proposed no other condition about temporall estate save the jointure of yor house unto me, yet this thing I shall adde, that in case we have no issue, and if you should dye first, I desire it may be given to me and my heires for ever. | } | "The joynture was accordingly made, but I being y ^e survivor and she leaving issue is voide." |
| 5.—That you will be pleased, for as much as I see my sister Blackwood overburthened with young children, to let me keepe Mary Blackwood her daughter till we have children of our owne. | } | "Mary Blackwood brought down and kept here till my wife desired to send her home." |

Which things being by you subscribed, I trust I shall shew my selfe a loyall, loving, and dutifull wife.

⁷ From the Register 1651, July—"Bee it remembered that Thursday, the 17th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1651, Samuel Jeake, of Rye, Gent., and Francis Hart-ridge, were joined together in marriage in the presence of Mr. Christopher Blackwood, Mr. John Hartridge, uncle of the said Francis, Mr. Thomas Boys, and many others."

⁸ The family of Hartridge are, or recently were, resident at Pembury. *M. A. L.*

These preliminaries being arranged, in a letter to her future husband, dated July 9, 1651, a week before their marriage, Frances Hartridge writes—

"I have all things ready for our busines, be assured of the tender affections of her that loves you till time and death sever; things are appointed towards the nuptials according to your appointed time on Thursday, July 17th. Hast calles me away, I shall not word any further, which is but superfluous where affections are not questioned, so desiring your prayers for a good succes upon the intended busines, I rest,

"Yours till death,

"F. H.

"July the 9, 1651.

"I desire you to buy me a ring with a diamond in it, and bring it with you, and be not unminfull of the gloves I spoke to you of.⁹

Their happiness, however, was not destined to be of long duration, being terminated by her death from small-pox in the fourth year of their marriage, Dec. 9th, 1654. They had three children, two of whom died in infancy. The survivor lived to be a person of some note in his native town. The Restoration now took place, and several Acts were put in force against Nonconformists.¹⁰ In consequence of this persecution Mr. Blackwood had in 1662 withdrawn to Holland, and it appears from his correspondence that Jeake at this time entertained the intention of joining his brother-in-law at Amsterdam. He remained, however, at his post, and as a preacher of sectarian doctrine rendered himself obnoxious to the laws then in force against Dissenters, and, among others, the Vicar of Rye thus attacks him:—

"These to Mr. Samuel Jeake.

"MR. JEAKE,

"The insolence of some of ye zealots (I believe animated by you to ye contempt of all good order and government) hath moved mee to take yt notice of ye extra regular meetings yt otherwise I should not have done. Not but that I perswade myselfe to bee able to convince you (if you list to undergoe yo^r triall) how intolerable an injury it is you doe y^rselfe, in ye first place, y^r ignorant followers, ye King's authority, ye credit of the towne, and ye progress of Xianity in general, in these parts, by y^r schisme and separation. Sr, I must let you know yt I have lately rd some instructions in pursuance of his Majesty's comand for ye totall suppression of Conventicles, and yt y^r impunity hath been lately objected to mee as ye great support of some men's contumacy. Know in short yt I cannot, nor will any longer beare it; but if you will dare to continue y^r holding forth, notwthstanding this, thanke yorselfe if worse come of it. You cannot but out of your great skill

⁹ The value of the female Postscript is well illustrated in this early example by F. H.

¹⁰ 13. Car. 2. Excluding Dissenters from Corporations.

14. Car. 2. The Act of Conformity. Bartholomew's Act.

16. Car. 2. Against Schismatic Worship.

17. Car. 2. The Oxford Act. The Five-mile Act, banishing Dissenting teachers to that distance from Corporate towns.

22. Car. 2. For the suppression of Conventicles.

in law, know to wt distance you are comanded if you refuse to conform. I am comanded to persist in case you desist not. Sr, if you can any way satisfy mee and justify yrselfe upon score of reason and Religion, I shall be ready to embrace yr opportunity. But if you have no more to say for yrselfe, yⁿ I suppose you have, viz., a little popular applawse, besides wt profitable arguments are best known to yrselfe, I must presume at last this ultimate advice, *noli amplius ne q^d deterius*. I hope you will take ye advice, and desist, and save all further trouble to yr

“Lo: friend in all X^{ian}. offices,

“J. ELMER.¹¹”

“Rye, Nov^r. 19, 1670.”

(Endorsed.) R^d. this letter, Nov. 21, 1670.

A MS. entitled “The Nativity of Samuel Jeake, junr., astrologically handled, &c.,” contains a chronological summary of the most important events in his life, which are termed in astral language “Accidents.” Amongst them the following entries occur:—

“Aug. 29, 1681. Usurpation of ye Maioralty at Rye, by T. Crouch,¹² upon which my father was sent before the Council, and the meeting shut up, and in fine my father persecuted out of the town and myself also. In Dec. of that year he had been prosecuted with several others for Jenaife (Geneva) Recusants, wholly abstaining from the s^vice and sacraments of the Church of England.”

“May, 1682. My father persecuted on the Oxford Act, and forced to be private.”

“Nov. 23. News that I was informed against in the Crown Office at —, and of an attachment against my father on the Oxford Act. Upon which he went to London next day and tarried till 1687.”

“May 11, 1687. Journey to London to accompany my father back to Rye after his exile.”

“May 24, 1687. Father returned to Rye and spake in the Meeting till his death.”

The following letters have been selected from a series of others, written during the interval of his retirement:—

“Feb. 15th, 1682-3.

“DEAR SON,—

“ I answered your queries, and gave you an account of my paine that then continued from 3 to 8 since which through mercy my paines are abated, though some remnants remain: what the issue of these often visits from Heaven may produce at last, you may see, and prepare to see me no more. Though yo^r desires and filial affections (of which I never doubted) should be denied,

¹¹ See subsequent list of Vicars of Rye.

¹² In August, 1682, Thomas Crouch had usurped the office of Mayor, though Mr. Thomas Tournay was legally chosen, and served him with an Order of Council, in consequence of which he was compelled to appear before the King and Council at Whitehall, with Jeake and other dissenters who voted for him. The King was informed by Crouch that Jeake was a preacher at a seditious Conventicle, whereupon Jeake denied that he had preached sedition. The King asked him why he so transgressed the laws? To which Jeake replied that if he did so transgress, his Majesty's courts were open. Then the King told him that if he were so much for the Law he should have it, and bid the Attorney General prosecute him upon the Oxford Act, and commanded Crouch to shut up the Conventicle. In May, 1682, the Bodar of Dover Castle came to take him on the Writ—de excom. capiendo—and he was served with a summons by the Crown Office to appear upon the Oxford Act, but he withdrew from the town for some days. In Nov. 1682, an attachment was issued against him, upon which he set out for London, where he remained until 1687, two years after Charles's death, and when his successor James had extended his pardon towards dissenters.—*Holloway's History of Rye*, p. 555.

they shall have paternal reciprocations; yet I know nothing, but if God spare my life, and the aspects from above be more propitious, I may see Rye. If in my absence I shall find my life in jeopardy I shall be willing you have timely notice, that I may set mine eyes upon you before I dye, and you may put yo^r hands upon mine when dying. God Almighty bless you, your wife, and issue he shall give you, and give me your society in Heaven, though I should have no more of it on earth, w^{ch} would be as acceptable to me as you. And whether our iniquities as well as y^e iniquities of y^e times have not been conjunct to the accomplish^{mt} of this present dispensation, may be considered by us distinctly; and whether I only have eaten y^e soure grapes, though yo^r teeth are set on edge. But whatever y^e cause on earth hath been, I am sure y^e cure is in Heaven; I am willing to look thither; and should I look any where else can see nothing from men, means, policy, power, care, contrivance, or such like, that may render a prospect of help to y^e distresses, distrusts, distractions, feares, snares, trials, &c., of y^e sons and daughters of Zion. I am sometimes ready to fear instead of my coming to Rye you will be forced from thence, and bless God, you have yet been able to bear up ag^t y^e storm, and desire, if it be his will, you may dwell quietly under your own vine. I am not without hopes that in measure God will meet this storm, now that it is shot forth, and debate with it and stay his rough wind. But if otherwise, let all go rather than Christ and a good conscience—ffear not them that can kill the body, but Him that can kill and cast both body and soule into Hell. My true love to you, my daughter, your mother, and all friends.

“ I remain,

“ Your truly lo. father,

“ SA. JEAKE.”

“ DEARE SON,

“ I thank you for yo^r invitation to Rye, but were I weary of y^e City I cannot yet take y^e journey, being not wholly freed of my paines, though by the good hand of God upon me much abated. I heard this week by a gentleman as if they were intended to be a little milder with y^e Dissenters, and y^t y^e L^d Keeper had order to stop the Capias writs ag^t Excommunicats, and y^e Judges in their Circuits to be favourable to Dissenters, and would they have petitioned they had been indulged, but some hint as if a design were if any had petitioned to compound wth them for a yearly sume, for money is precious at Court sometimes, yet they continue to stop y^e people from going in at their Meeting-houses, and some y^t get in before y^e officers come, turned out, though some of y^e officers are so friendly as to let them know when they will come that they may be gone before, and few carried to prison. The Court is gone to Newmarket, some say y^e D. of Mon.¹³ is coming in favour again, and y^t Hyde is going to Ireland, and Y. to Scotland again, how true I know not. Yesterday I heard y^e Earl of Yarmouth is dead. The French were buzzing into the Europeans. Y^e prize to be won at a horse race, at which time the K. had a design to surprise Charleroy and some other towns whose Governors we had corrupted, but it was discovered and prevented.

Your truly lo. father,

SA. JEAKE.

March 10, 1682-3.

“ MY DEARE SON,

“ As to y^e outlaw, w^{ch} you mention Mr. Knight informed Mr. Skinner of, would come out against me for next terme, I think it will be to no purpose to throw away £30 to keep it off for a 12 moneth, seeing if that on y^e Oxford Act be stopt, it will be no stop to y^e Capias upon y^e Excommunicacon, but I may as well be taken upon that and sent to prison as upon y^e other, so I yet am resolved to rest on Providence, and let y^e Lord do with me as seemeth good in his sight. It is no little refreshment to me, and a great mercy to you, to heare you are yet spared from prosecution, which if you should, I doubt you must be forced to come away. As long as you are not prosecuted y^e books may remain as they are; But if there be any thing else that was mine w^{ch} you can spare, you may sell and put into money.

¹³ Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Clarendon, and Duke of York.

The Great Table and stooles you may sell if you can get 40s., though it be worth more; or any thing else you have a minde to sell. The parcell of Books you mention y^t stood upon y^e shelf under y^e great Map neere y^e window, if you send me a Catalogue I may see what I can get for them. On y^e 5th instant I received a letter from Mr. Markwick¹⁴, dated April 2, wherein he informs me y^t by y^e vigilancy of y^e Adversary he thinks you will not be able to gaine any opportunity to meet with more then 5 above y^e family, and would have my thoughts on that; touching which the Lord direct you for I cannot: But if you cannot meet otherwise to enjoy any season of joyning yo^r forces to send up yo^r petitions to heaven without distraction, you were better meet with that number then not at all. If y^e Lord deprive or suffer y^r adversaries rather to deprive you of your solemne assemblies, the sin will be y^e enemies, y^e sufferings y^{rs}. I do not think the loss or deprivation of some ordinances will separate God and his people, seeing he was with y^e congregation in y^e wilderness when they wanted circumcision and y^e passover, and at first had no settled priesthood or ministry among them. If you did take some weeke day to set apart and seek God in y^e case, and make it a particular request whether to meet with 5 or more as you have done, and run the risque of it. The God of Jacob be yo^r refuge, and put underneath you His everlasting arms, make yo^r enemies y^t promise to themselves great things liars, and make you to tread on their high places. If there be any worth or strength in my prayers you may all be sure you shall not want them, and I perswade myself I have a share in yours; and if I knew when you would set apart any time to seek God, as above, I would let my spirit be p^sent with you, and send up one sigh and groane for you. I can send you no news: sometime a talk of a parliam^t, sometime none; things are in y^e city much as when Mr. Markwick was here, only it is expected a great many will be excommunicate for not receiving the sacram^t at Easter or y^e next Lord's day according to y^e order of y^e B^p of London. E. of Salisbury some say is dead, and E. of Musgrave. With kind love,

I rest, y^r very lo: ffather
SA. JEAKE.

(April 12) 1683.

"DEAR SON,—

"I hope these will find you, yo^r wife,¹⁵ and mother¹⁶ in health, though I have not had a line from you this fortnight, but I understand by Mr. Tournay and Mr. Gillart that yo^r mother got home well, and that you were well when they left Rye; so I am the better satisfied. I have little to write to you only y^e opportunity of conveyance by Mr. Gillart hath put y^e pen in my hand. Stand fast in the ffaith, and having bought y^e truth sell it not. Be thankfull for what mercies you have; put yo^r trust only in y^e Lord and feare not; let not y^e example of any that relapse stagger you; nothing venture nothing have, is an old saying, and may be verified in a Christians adventures for God. . . . I had rather see you a martyr than an apostate. . . . I have no greater joy in y^e earth than to see you walke in y^e truth as you have received a comandment from y^e ffather. The end will crown yo^r work; fight y^e good fight of ffaith, lay hold of eternal life. . . . Be instant in prayer, often in meditation; trust not uncertain riches; avoid all distrustfull and distracting cares; delight yo^rself in y^e Lord and he

¹⁴ Mr. Markwick. "June 4, 1683. By a warent vnder y^e hands and seals of Jos. Radford, Majore, Lewis Gillard, Robert Hall, Miles Edgar, and Tho: Odiern, Jurants, was seized from Thomas Markwick in Goods of his Shop to y^e valew at first cost of £37 5s. 2d., and sould by y^e Constable for £20 5s. 0d., for his pretended preaching in a Conventicle."

¹⁵ S. J., jun., married Elizabeth daughter of Richard and Barbara Hartshorne, of Rye, by whom he had six children. R. H. was master of the Grammar School; his wife was the widow of — Harding. During his courtship he writes thus to her: "Thou toldst me thou marriedst twice against thy will; why not a third time to thy poor friend?" Her maiden name was Holman, probably of Beckley.

¹⁶ Wife's mother.

shall give you yo^r heart's desire. The God of all grace stablish, strengthen, and perfect you, bless you and all yours, make you a seed of y^e blessed of y^e Lord, and yo^r offspring with you. True love to you and all friends with you from
Yo^r truly lo: and tender father,

SA. JEAKE."

June 7th, 1683.

Holwell hath set out an appendix to his former piece; I have bought it for 6d.

Jeake did not long survive his return home after his exile. In 1690, Jan. 26, his son writes:—

"My father was taken ill with a pain in y^e finger, with gangrene; he was never well after till his death, which was Oct^r. 3rd following; but one distemper after another."

The reader is referred to an interesting and striking description of the closing scene of his life in the words of S. Jeake, jun^r., supplied to us by Mr. Holloway in his History of Rye.

Jeake was a Puritan, and an honest and conscientious one, but his religious views varied from time to time, as may be gathered from his own letters:—

"I have," he says, "great tenderness and large charity, if I am not deceived in myselfe, for believers of different persuasions, even to all that walke conscientiously under any forme of Scripture cognizance. . . . I would be a companion to all that feare Him." (Letter to Mr. Morris 1667).

He lived in an age of great religious excitement, and entered deeply into the controversies of the time; his own views being of a bold and speculative character, but always tending towards primitive forms and purity of doctrine. We have seen that he left the Church of England on scruples concerning infant baptism; he did not rest here, but adopted the opinions of Saltmarsh and others, that none ought to give baptism now, because there is none can give the Holy Ghost with it. . . "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." "The fulness of time is not yet come for ordinances." In an Essay on these subjects to "his respected friend Mr. Deane," (of Tenterden?) dated Oct. 11, 1675, Jeake writes:—

"I wonder not why some dissent from me who would have churches and ordinances of the primitive paterne; or that I dissent from others that will have churches and ordinances of any sort rather than be without, or at best will set up churches and ordinances as well as they themselves can make them; both which I must leave warming themselves with the sparkes of the fires of their owne kindling, till God shall reveale even y^e same to them"

To "his respected friend Mr. Peter Larke in Sandhurst," he thus writes in 1663 :— . . .

"Scotland, with her kirke sessions, classes, provincially and generally assemblies, the moderne Rutherford (in his *Paul's Presbytery*) with as much confidence as Jewell and others for her sister England, affirms to be a visible church of Christ; yea, blessed Brightman (in his *Exposicon of ye Revelacon*) conceives her much nearer y^e primitive patterne. But what difference between Lord Bishops and lordly Presbyters? Parochiall churches in England, and congregational in Scotland, including whole parishes, and reckoning within y^e pale of y^e church, and admitting to church priviledges there,¹⁷ as profane, mixt, and confused multitudes; and reteining amongst them as little evidence and demonstration of y^e Spirit as here; changing y^e name and keeping y^e thing, so that being laid in y^e ballance, they will be found wanting."

Of the Independent Churches he observes :—

"They may be called *Babell* from the differences that have happened among the master builders."

Among these papers there are two Essays on controversial subjects dated 1666-67, addressed to Thomas Morris, of London, who, although his "unknowne friend," had heard of his pretensions as a religious teacher, and being perplexed in certain inquiries "concerning the true church and the true worship of God," had applied to him for advice in the matter. In a preliminary letter Jeake bids him remember that—

"I see but in part, and but as in a glass darkly, and therefore dare not say I speake as the oracles of God, but according to the sent sight of things, in my judgement, yet if it may not be construed a presumption, I think I have y^e Spirit of God."

This reply called forth from Mr. Morris a long Essay, entitled "Some animadversions and considerations on my much beloved and esteemed freind Mr. S. J. his epistle," dated London, 28th Nov., 1666, in the writing of which he was interrupted by the breaking out of the Fire of London :

"Thus farre," he says, "Dear Sr, had I proceeded before the great calamity of that dreadfull fire begun the 2nd of Septemb^r, 1666, which put a stop to it till now."

In this paper he enters largely into the question of the pretended miracles of those days :—

"There are some among us," he says, "that doe pretend to miracles, as for instance in a society of those called Baptists that I know now dwelling in South-

¹⁷ When they shall read this clearly in your charge,
New Presbyter is but old priest writ large.

Milton.

warke, who both printed and published to the world (one Mr. Clayton beeing their teacher) their casting out of devills, or severall uncleane spirits, out of a youth that was possesst; the youth a little while after he was dispossesst (as they say) I myselve did see with his father, and spake to him, and he did affirme it to be really true. So some of those called Quakers doe in like manner pretend to have wrought miracles, and to have power to work them, though I must confess, to see some of them, as I have seen a woman acted in their meetings here in Southwark (this woman was taken just as women are when they have fitts of falling sickness coming on them) a rationall person that is in his right senses should rather judge them to be absolutely (for the time) possesst with some violent or evill tormenting spirit, then acted by the sweet and gracious still influences of the Spirit of God. . . . I have spoken to some that say they have fasted 13 or 14 days without receiving any outward sustenance at all; besides it is not unknown to you, I presume, how long it is certainly related that David George could fast. One Charles Bayly, that had been at Rome with a message from the Lord, as he told me, when he came back, he was put into the prison at Dover, where I did goe severall times to visitt him, and conferre with him; and he did there endeavour the casting out of a Devill in one Woolly (as I remember his name) which the congregation of Baptists there without doubt well know and remember for they had some cause soe to doe. This Charles Bayly whilst there allso pretended to have the gift of healing with washing with faire water onely, and others that were troubled with convulsion fitts and agues (as I remember allso) to cure them; as Mr. Thomas Fidge, of Dover, who was the keeper of the prison, can testify. This Charles Bayly affirmed to me, in the presence of God, that one time as he was in the prison (or the Inquisition) of Rome, a transcendent light and brightness shewne round about him and filled the roome; and that he heard the Lord speaking to him in an audible voyce, with the outward organs of his eares. Here was lately one Gratrix, a gentleman that came from Ireland into this city, one of the Church of England as it is now model'd by law, of whom the common and generall report from Ireland and throughout this city was, that he had the gift of healing all distempers by stroaking or touching onely; I know of two persons in p'ticular that went to him, a young maid with the King's Evill, or somewh^t like it, of which she was helped and cured; the other a gentlewoman with sore eyes, but she received no benefit at all that she perceived: here is enough not to say anything how much the Papists and Jesuits pretend to miracles, &c.¹⁸"

Jeake's rejoinder is entitled "Some contranimadversions and counter considerations to y^e animadversions and considerations of my much respected and ingenuous freind Mr. T. M., in his last epistle," dated Dec. 28, 1667, extends to 54 closely written folio pages, with numerous marginal notes and references to Scripture, and the works of learned divines. I shall content my readers with the following extract:—

"The spiritual man can always discern between the forgeries and fopperies of Satan and man, and the things of God. I never read y^e Sammaritanes were troubled to distinguish betweene y^e miracles of Phillip and y^e sorceries of Simon, or that true miracles ever wanted evidence to enforce conviction . . . the credit of the miracle must be taken on the credit of the relator . . . if y^e vulgar gaze and wonder at aiery apparitions and thinke them reale, y^e skilful astronomer counts it easie to difference betweene y^e true sunne and parellii and y^e rayes and influences of either. . . . In the next place instances of floure sorts furnish yo^r paper, as all pretending to miracles, viz —those called Baptists and

¹⁸ *Brief account of Mr. Val. Gratrix and diverse of his strange cures. Edward May, Lond. 1666.* The great Mr. Boyle looked upon him as no ordinary person, and attested many of his cures.

Quakers, and those of y^e Prælatiſtical and Papiſtical profeſſions, of all wh^{ch} none ſave y^e firſt are likely by miracles to advance their reput^e to be true adminiſtrators of water baptiſme by dipping believers (the point in hand), ſince y^e next deny water baptiſme, witneſſ Naylor in his '*Love to y^e Loſt*,' and practiſe it not upon any ſubject; and the other two uſe y^e ſprinkling of infants for y^e true water baptiſme. Neither may y^e Baptiſts themſelves, if they be all like minded, advantage their adminiſtrations by miracles, ſeeing one of the beſt of that profeſſion, in print hath boldly affirmed, upon the authority of Chryſoſtome, there hath bene no miracle done theſe 13 hundred yeares. (Blackwood in his *Soul-ſearching Cat.*, p. 51.) Dæmoniaks, whether really poſſeſt with devills, or rather infeſt with a raving inſania of y^e worſt kind as ſome thinke (*Mede. Works*, Tom. 1, p. 83, 84 *Blackwood's Expoſit. Matt.* 8, 16, p. 108) it matters not greatly, be it as you will have it. But however y^e youth in Southwarke you mention was affected or afflicted, in y^e written relacon which I ſaw thereof, I remember no other meanes uſed for his cure than ſolemn ſeeking God more daies than one, by faſting and prayer, wh^{ch} avaieth much from y^e righteous when fervent, and that in this kinde. (James v., 17, *Matt.* 17, 21). This then was not done in an inſtant as miracles uſe to be, ſo as the greateſt ſymptoms of a miracle therein was y^e ſpeedy returne of their prayers, and of ſuch gracious effects of prayer and ſome as ſpeedy (though not reckoned miraculous) many inſtances long ſince may be had even to ſome of y^e like kind, as in y^e diſpoſſeſſing of Thomas Darling by Mr. Darrel and Mr. Moore (*Darrell's Trial and Anſwer to Harsnet. Clark's Martyrology in the Life of Bradshaw*), and another of one ſtrangely fascinated (as believed) whereof my grandfather was an eye-witneſs and p^t actor in the ſolemnity of the day above 60 yeares paſt. . . . The Quakers ſo called are not of that temper to hide their talents in a napkin; had they the gift of miracles as well as the gift of pretenſion thereto, the world had long ere this rang againe of their attainments. But I thinke I may appeale to yo^rſelfe whether any of y^e p^ticulars inſtanced by you . . . may be credited for miracles, laying by all prejudice and præcipiſtancy of y^e judgement. As for y^e firſt of theſe, they are ſo unlike y^e actings of y^e Spirit of God (as you well obſerve) in his ſervants of old, and y^e poſture wherein y^e primitive Apoſtles appeared in working miracles, that it much more reſembles what Virgil in his *Æneas*, Lib. 6, writes of the ſybill Cuma, Poſcere fata, tempus ait, Deus, &c., which Sandys in his *Travells* has thus Engliſhed—

Time ſerves, ſaid ſhe, now aſke and know thy fates,
The God, behold the God, before the gates :
This ſaying, her lookes chang, y^e white diſplants
The red, red white, hair ſtands on end, breſt pants,
Her heart with fury ſwells, ſhe ſhews more great,
Nor ſpeakes with human voice, now when repeat
With the inſpiring power————

What is this but fury and madneſs, and madneſs may never be duely counted a miracle. The reports of their long faſtings, viſions, voices, &c. (beſides y^e ſuſpition they carry of great legerdemaine being witneſſed either onely by themſelves or their p^ties, or by too credulous receivers of incircumſpect obſervers) have not bene ſucceeded with like effects or employments to thoſe memorized in y^e Scriptures (Moses, Elijah, Eſther, Chriſt, Prophets, Apoſtles) with y^e ability of long abſtinence or privilege of viſional and vocal discoveries, and declaracons: y^e iſſue of theſe were eminent workes of God, but of all y^e other late pretenſions hath bene to gaine credit to their own doctrines, I might have ſaid of ſome of them, dotages, for when they ſaw their firſt pretences of authority and great ſwelling words of y^e Lord, and thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, &c., with their commands of ſilence to all others p^{reſent} would not beare pawne with well grounded profeſſors whoſe hearts were eſtabliſhed with grace, they began to ſtep higher and imitate or counterfeit the acts of y^e prophets of old (though they had condemned others telling them they ſtole y^e prophets words becauſe they uſed them, which they themſelves alſo did) as putting on ſackcloth, ſprinkling aſhes on their heads, going about and crying out Woe to p^{erſons} and places not receiving or owning them, and ſometimes outſtripping thoſe, as y^e woman in y^e open congregation at Rye that ſtript herſelf to her ſhift²⁰

¹⁹ Such was the woman who came into Whitehall Chapel ſtark naked in the miſt of the public worſhip, the Lord Protector being preſent.—Neale, vol. 2, p 662.

to deliver her message, and others elsewhere that I could name, that denudated themselves even to y^e discovery of their nakedness, to beare their testimonies,²⁰ yet these things not doing what they would have them, it seems (by yo^r writing) they have in some places pretended further even to miracles, to propagate (if they may be so called) their principles, and practises otherwise like to perish with y^e using, as some others before them have done. . . . Gratrix²¹ (if his name be soe) whom you next mention, let him be one of y^e Church of England, as you write, or what he will, yet by all I could ever learne of him, never took upon him to publish any doctrine as true upon y^e accompt of his cures, nor so much as to defend y^e doctrine and discipline of y^e Church of England, so called, to be any whit y^e sounder for y^e same. And as for his healing distempers by stroaking or touching, it seems by yo^r relacon and also by what I have credibly heard, his endeavours have proved ineffectual to some, which I never found followed y^e touch or laying on of y^e hands of Christ or his apostles after him. And moreover I cannot believe that to perfect their miraculous cures they used physical or chirurgical assistance, as Gratrix did to one Richard Chiswell, who after long affliction with a sciatica was carried to London 60 miles out of y^e countrey to be touched by Gratrix; he finding his touch faile of y^e cure, caused incision to be made, and imprudently letting out too much of the matter there, putrified at once, y^e cure next day ended in y^e death of y^e party. There is as much difference betwene medicine and miracle as betwene a miracle and no miracle, a doctor of the one and a doer of y^e other, so that all these things considered, to say nothing of y^e person, let it be granted y^t some cures have beene done of Gratrix, yet it will be hard for one swallow to make it summer.

In y^e last place y^e Papists are brought in p'tending to miracles: but might have been set first as being y^e greater p'tenders to miracles by farre than all y^e others, and y^e more ancient; but be their pretensions what they will, I am of opinion it will puzzle y^e whole colledge of Cardinals to produce one true miracle since Rome hath beene as she is, not as she was. One of our countrey men (Scot, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*) hath well coupled y^e Popish miracles with y^e feates and slights of jugglers; for take away juggling, deceit, imposture, and counterfeited contrivances from their miracles, no miracles are left remaining for them to boast of. Sufficiently have many writers already spoken thereto; the parliamt rolls are not without their testimoney in y^e statute of Hen. VIII. made agst Barton and her abettors²² Every child almost can laugh at Dunstan's holding y^e devill by y^e nose; suspect y^e images friendly nodding at Leonards in Winchelsea²³ (*Lambard's Perambulation of Kent*) when y^e supplicant brought a large offering. The demolishinge of Cheapside Crosse and other such statues²⁴ could not but discover how easie it was to make y^e breasts and sides of y^e images then give milke and blood at pleasure, as easie the living mouse could lately make the dead skull move miraculously at Somerset House. As y^e Apostle speakes of them that resisted y^e truth in his daies, their mad-

²⁰ "It is reported credably here that a woeman distracted com into the great church at Canterbury, where they were at their service, and plucked off all her cloathes to her smok, to the shame of many women there, she telling them that she wolde be as the Priest was, and no cloaths colde they get her to put on till the priest had puled of his surpliss." Letter from John Osmenton to S. Jeake, 1661.

²¹ It is now understood that Greatorex performed his reputed cures by the practice of mesmerism.—Vide the *Zoist*, Vol. 3, 1848.

²² Stat. 25 Hen. 8 c. 12, by which Elizabeth Barton (the Holy Maid of Kent) and her abettors were attainted of high treason, inasmuch as she declared that she had knowledge by revelation from God that God was highly displeased with our said Sovereign Lord, and that if he proceeded with the said divorce (Catherine's) and separation, and married again, he should no longer be king of this realm; and that in the estimation of Almighty God he should not be a king one hour, and that he should die a villain's death.

²³ The image of St. Leonard in the interior of the church held a vane instead of a sceptre, which was moveable at pleasure, and persons desirous of a fair wind to restore to them their friends at sea were allowed, by making pecuniary presents, to have the vane set in any direction they pleased.

²⁴ Cheapside Cross and others were demolished May 2, 1543; the Rood of Grace, near Maidstone and other images were destroyed in 1538.—Vide Original Letters, Parker Soc., vol. ii., p. 606.

ness shall be evident to all men (2 Tim. 3, 9) so it may be said of these, unless men be willingly blind, and little adoe will distinguish their miracles from reall and unfeined ones. It is comonly the punishment of lyers not to be believed when they speake truth, and though y^e Papists should be able to shew a reall miracle, they would hardly redeem their credit therein. I am not so greedy of miracles as to conclude with y^e Spanish proverbe, Let y^e miracle be done though Mahomet do it. (*Hagase el milagro y hagalo Mahoma*). Miracles when performed by administrators of God to confirme a truth shall be true, real, and convincing; when by pretended administrators to establish a lye shall be but lying wonders. And if for o^r triall God suffer any signe or wonder given by some false prophet or dreamer of dreames to come to pass (Deut. 17) (which he often doth not) comparing their doctrines and lives with their signes and wonders by y^e guidance of y^e good Spirit of God, no such difficulty as supposed will be impregnable to demonstrate y^e designe, and discover y^e authors no administrators of God's appointment for his Gospel ministry. And thus much (if not too much) for adminstrators, miracles, and this ninth section."

Mr. Morris, in acknowledging the receipt of the Essay, desires to present Mr. Jeake

"With the sight of a small book printed about 20 yeares since, called *A Sober Word to a Serious People*,²⁵ the author thereof and you agreeing so exactly in most (if not all) things there declared. I have p^ticular acquaintance and familiarity with the author here, and indeed he is a very understanding, sober, and judicious person, as any I know, and desires much (if it might be) to have acquaintance with that friend that wrott me the answers to the Queries, saying he never knew any in England that came so nigh him in his sence as you did."

Jeake replies that he had never seen the book; but in a memorandum dated March 26, 1668 he states that he had received it by Mr. Joseph Boys; and in a letter dated "Rye, May 16, 1668," says

"I have not only received it but value yo^r gift at a considerable rate, and if I may not deprive you of such a treasure by detaining it, shall lay it up in my treasury as a choise jewell. In the reading I called to mind that some yeares since I had seene y^e booke at y^e house of one Mr. Miller of this towne, which in my last letter was altogether forgotten by me, and yet am not able to say that I ever read it through before I had yours."

He was addicted to the practice of astrology, which may be termed a weakness of great minds, for there were but few celebrated men, if any, of his age, that were not more or less imbued with the same propensity. If in this respect he erred, he certainly erred in good company. To adopt it as an intellectual pastime, for the pleasure and amusement derived from complex calculation and curious inquiry, is one thing; to study it as the revelation of the destinies of life, is another; and it seems that it was under the latter and more serious aspect that Jeake applied himself to the mysteries of this celestial science opprobriously designated, "*ingeniosissimam artem mentiendi*."

²⁵ By John Jackson. 4^{to}. 1651.

Among Jeake's MSS there are the horoscopes of 150 persons residing at Rye and in other parts of Sussex and Kent, &c., including the members of his own family. One of the most elaborate of his treatises, is the nativity of John Greenefield, of Rye:—

"Johannes Greenevile, gen, natus est Ano. Dom. 1617° Die 8 Aprilis 1. hor. 00'. 33" 22" 49 $\frac{1}{3}$ " ante meridiem. Calculationes locorum planetarum, &c. Mr. J. G. died March 6, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$."

Here is a letter from Jeake:—

"To the wor^{pp}l and his very good freind Mr. John Greenefeilde, health, &c.

"SIR,

"Hitherto it hath beene the manner of the most in this earthly habitation to judge everythinge through a reversed perspective, the best of men and things being accounted the most nauseous, each p'ty hugging what he should abhorre, and contemninge what with complacency he should most affect; some few only excepted, who by celestia^l ordinance and divine strength, when like to be stifled wth ye sulphurous and corrupt ayre issuinge from the tenebrated fountaine of vulgar understandings gladly ascend the forked hill²⁶ where only they may live like themselves, that being only p'portionable to noble man w^{ch} transcends the rurall touch of brutified fingers. But at what a distance are most men from y^t heroic^e spirite and ingenuity of inclination when some will not be perswaded there are any sweeter founts, than those themselves drinke of, though they are plunged in nothing but muddy phantasmes. Others grow weary in the way and Tantalus like, though y^e waters are up to ye chinne, never taste them. And a third sort worse then ye former seeke to corrupt and stench what is too pure and fine for them, both reproachinge and bringinge under an odium all art and Artists, when as Ovid saith; *adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes, emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*; and as amongst colours, those are most subject to soile that are most transparent; soe what arts and sciences are most sublime, those are most apt to be stained with unhallowed hands. Amongst which, as an art depressed under many cartloads of ignominy, has the tres-noble and excellent art of astrology layne smothered a longe tyme, in w^{ch} Art though such non-proficients as I are fitly represented by the old riddle, a man and no man threw at a bird and no bird, &c., yet I dare be bold to say that in the doctrine of Nativities I have reaped a thousand tymes twice told the use and benefit for the labour I bestowed in the springe of my study therein; ffor w^{ch} cause I have borrowed a little tyme from my ordinary employm^{ts} to scribble the ensuinge papers that yo^r wor^{pp} (having already washed at y^e foot of Parnassus and began to breath in more purer ayre, while some are carpinge at, others condemninge, and a few studyinge this celestia^l science) might retire a few of yo^r most serious thoughts unto y^e readinge of y^e ensuinge lines, by which you may not only prove y^e verity of the Art and learne the true coyne from counterfeit, but also may take a speculum of y^e true method in judginge a Nativity in w^{ch} you may be y^e more serious because it soe nearly concernes yo^r selfe, and if you shall find yo^r experience to jumpe with Art, yo^r encouragements to proceed in the study thereof may be y^e more augmented. Some errata possibly may be worthy of co^rrection, ffor I had not y^e punctual tyme of any accident for y^e emendation of y^e Ascendant, wherefore were you not my singular freind I would never expose my judgement to censure in so curious a case as this is, yet am I confident I have missed very little of the truth therein. But yo^r piercinge judgment with experience may correct hereafter ad punctum, if you be artificially scrutinous, not that herein I complement, for I am very sensible I have through carelessness committed a grosse error, when in reducing y^e meridian of Lond: to the meridian of Rye, I have added 4' 36" where I should have subtracted, w^{ch} I never espied till y^e dirrections were framed, and I came to erect y^e revolutionall scheame, so there will arise some difference in y^e seconds of each planet, whereby also y^e dirrections may happily vary a day or more

²⁶ Parnassus.

from y^e tyme lymited in ye followinge papers. But if you please to take some few punctuall observations upon some dirrections of y^e Ascend: M.Cœli, &c., I shall willingly bestowe one houre more (Deo permittente) to correct ye errors yet remaininge (though they are not much materiall) and proceed in an Annuall judgement *usque ad annum fatalem*. Sir, I am not hereby ambitious to merit ye name of an artist, I am indeed a lover of Art and have been a *puero*, and gladly would be a student therein if helpes and tyme did not faile me. And did I not presume on y^t noble nature (whose generosity is such as will accept what is zealously offered, though not always or ever deservedly excellent) I should never have given breath to this misshapen birth, but should more willingly intombe it in a comburunge urne and smother it in its own smoke, then thereby procure displeasure to yo^r wor^{sh} or any reward to myself but love. My only request is that when you are tryinge the truth of y^e ensuinge lines you will reject *quod nihilo* whatever I have not spoken *Artis secundum legem*, for explanation of wh^{ch} or any thinge to my power how should I rejoyce if in any measure I could expresse myselfe serviceable, and for yo^r ever livinge favours eternally thankfull, that in fine I might justly deserve the tittle of

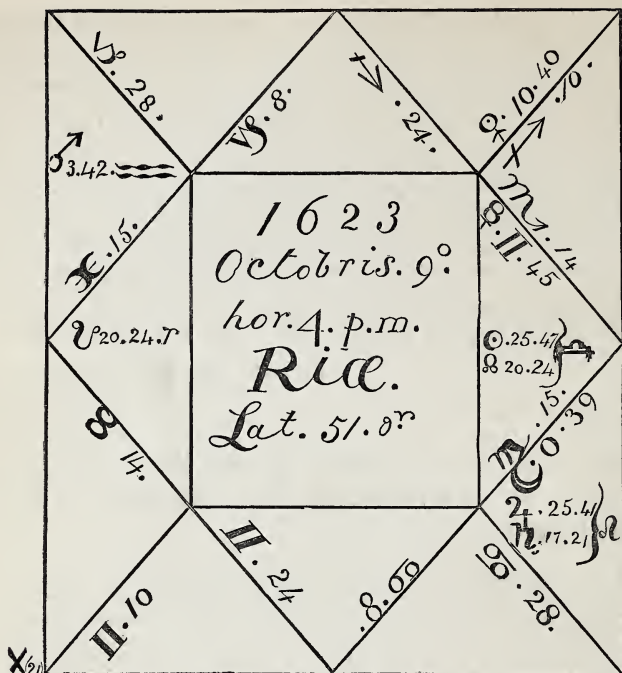
Yo^r assured freind and servant,
SAMUEL JAQUE."

Rye, Novemb. 24, 1651.

He seems to have indulged his taste for the celestial science to a late period of his life. On Jan^y 6, 168 $\frac{2}{3}$ he writes to his son—

"When you have leisure write me up y^e places of y^e Planets in Long : and Lat : for y^e 10th and 11th daies of July, 1647; also their places for y^e 30th and 31st of January, 16 $\frac{50}{51}$, likewise for y^e last of August and first of September, 1664, and for the 24th and 25th daies of March, 1665 and 1666, and for the 12th and 13th daies of December, 1667, and for the 22^d and 23^d of August, 1669; also y^e years, daies and houres answering to 1. degree, and the daies and houres to 1. minute, by Naibod's Table in Lillie's Introduction; and y^e Long : and Lat : of London and Ipswich by y^e table in Lillie where I thinke Ipswich is, that so I may get y^e difference of Meridians.

I have subjoined his own Horoscope which accompanieth a most elaborate treatise by himself: and a pure specimen of the celestial jargon, dictated by filial reverence.



Thema Natalitium Sa : Jeake, Senioris.

IN PATRIS GENESIN.

No Planets here by exaltation proud ;
 None by a rest supine in House bestow'd :
 But congruous Heav'n at his Birth disposed,
 T' inspirit a clear soul in flesh enclos'd.
 The mildest Dodecatemorie springs
 In beauteous Orient: the encircling Rings
 Of her Cœrulean Lord's Quaternion
 By starry Regulus in Triumph shone.
 That bright Superior's domination fixt
 In Heaven's Culmen; Gen'rous aspects mixt:
 His fiery Partil Trine to actuate
 The Active House to a more active fate.
 Nor was it vain; the happy site of this
 Æthereal Ruler of the Genesis,
 A judgment firmly form'd; whose Adjutant,
 Mnemonic pow'r, did by Celestial grant
 Of Saturn's seminated Beams ensue,
 In Platique Synod with proportion due—
 As when the skilful artist to compose
 His mighty Theriaque, weighs y^e Critick dose.
 Of Theban opium; which with Virtue full
 Quickens that Brain, its least excess would dull,
 The wit's Dictator from the brighter scale
 Suits his harmonious Trine, whose rays may fall

On th' Eastern Point: whilst the Hesperian face,
Resplendent Venus, doth the ninth House grace.

S. J. AUTHORIS FILIUS.

Dec : 14^o. 1685.

Alchemy, another prevalent fancy of his times, seems also to have engaged a share of his studies and pursuits; and it was probably in allusion to the Universal Elixir that he thus writes to his son, Dec^r. 31, 1685: "*Spero te Magistrum secreti magni Philosophorum facero ante morior.*" I find in a list of his MSS., "Papers about the Elixir," 4^{to}. And thus, in the pursuit of phantoms, he appears to have solaced the weary hours of his exile. Philosophy was dreaming then; the night had not yet fled, but the light was breaking.

If a man's library be any proof of his literary tastes, we have the means of forming an opinion as to what were those of Jeake, from the "Register" he has left of his "Books, Pamphlets, and Manuscripts." It is drawn up with great clearness, and gives the cost price of each article. It comprises works in fifteen languages; and most of the celebrated authors of that age are represented, with the exception of Shakespeare, Milton, John Bunyan, and—Butler. There is of course a copious sprinkling of Puritanism and controversial Theology; a large number of various editions of the Bible and Testament in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Italian; and a list of Almanacks by sixty-two different hands, issued from 1605 to 1689.²⁷ The total number of volumes is 949; of pamphlets 163, besides fragments and MSS. The total value £145 5s. 11d.; a sum which very inadequately represents its worth according to present estimation. Some of the pamphlets are still preserved with his papers and letters, but the books have been dispersed. Jeake published no work during his lifetime, but he was an industrious writer, and two of his original works were given to the world after his death. I find the following memorandum by his son:—

"Works written by my father—

"Logisticologia, or Arithmetic," folio.

"Chronological Speculum," unfinished, folio.

"Charters of y^e 5 Ports, with Annotations," folio.

"Letters and Answers," folio, &c. &c.

²⁷ This list is given in Notes and Queries. 2 S.. V. 134.

The former is thus entitled:—"Logisticologia, or Arithmetic Surveighed and Reviewed: In four Books, &c., by Samuel Jeake, Senior. London, Printed by J. R. and J. D., for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's-Head, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and Richard Mount, on Tower-Hill, near the Postern, MDCXCVI." Folio, 664 pages. Dedicated by S. J., Jun^r. to Sir Robert Southwell, K^{nt}, President of the Royal Society; the Dedication is followed by his Father's Horoscope, and the lines previously given. The work is prefaced by "the Author's Epistle to his well-beloved son, Samuel Jeake." In this quaint production, he says—

"Perhaps some may think, it is but to light a candle to the sun, since so many already have wrote on the subject: as if *Nihil dictum quod non dictum prius*. To which I may plead with the Lawyers, *Non modo & forma*, and put the Issue on the Countrey to try. True it is most new models are but the Light that sometime shined in anothers Lamp, with an addition of fresh Oyl out of a new Vessel. *Facile est inventis addere*. But he that is sensible of the charge of buying and trouble of turning over many Books to learn some one thing, will I doubt not excuse my further plea herein, and plead for me; especially if he knew that I speak not without Experience, of no little time and trouble to glean so many Fields for one Grist, having pickt up the knowledge of *Integers, Fractions, Figurals, Cossicks*, and *Surdes* principally from *Record*, *Decimals* from *Johnson*, *Astronomicalls* from *Blundeville*, *Logarithmes* from *Briggs*, *Species* and *Equations* from *Oughtred*, with a conference of many others. It follows therefore that each may have his due, what is here may be accompted anothers, yet is it all my own, and some things therein so far my own, as will be found in none extant that I know of."

But the most important of his works was the latter—"The Charters of the Cinque Ports," which was not published until thirty-eight years after his decease, and was afterwards deemed so valuable a work, as to be appealed to as an authority in the Courts of Law. It is entitled—"Charters of the Cinque Ports, two Ancient Towns, and their Members. Translated into English with Annotations, Historical and Critical thereupon. Wherein divers old Words are explain'd, and some of their ancient Customs and privileges observ'd. By Samuel Jeake, Sen., of Rye, one of the said Ancient Towns. London, Printed for Bernard Lintot, at the Cross-Keys, between the Temple-Gates in Fleet Street. 1728." Folio, 190 pages. The advertisement informs us that the work was written in 1678, and then had the approval of Lord Chief Justice North, but was ultimately published under the patronage of Lord Chief Baron Gilbert. Both these works are now scarce.

Enough has been cited to shew that Jeake was a man of no ordinary parts—multifarious; industrious; exemplary in

the domestic relations of life; respected in the discharge of his public duties; and if any feel inclined to condemn his errors, let the Spirit of the Age be his apologist, and accord him at all events the merit of consistency of conduct. His conscientiousness cannot be disputed. I shall conclude this imperfect sketch with a copy of verses addressed to him by one of his fellow-townsmen, more remarkable for their good feeling than for their poetry—A.D. 1661.

"My humble service unto thee I wright—
Most worthy Jeake, O that I could indite
But matter fittinge to set out thy name
According to thy well deserving fame.
Then would I think myself happy to bee
And counte it for a greate felicity.
Happy are they that often heare thee preach
For thou to them God's worde dooste truly teatch;
Even as in Sacred Scripture coated [quoted] is,
To expounde to them thou naught at all doost mis,
Thou sheewest them the righte pathway to heaven
Though it be narrowe, croocked and uneven,
Thou levelest it, and makest so playne a way
That none but willingly needs go astraye,
Thou watchest them with such a carefull eye
That the old Serpente cannot them come nye;
Although the Lyon Roare and wolfe do howle,
They get not wone poore lame oute of thy foulde,
Lyke a good Sheparde thou dooste keep them still
And dooste defend, and keepe them from all ill.
Since of Christ's flocke thou haste sutch regarde,
Be sure of Christe that thou shalte have rewarde,
And sitte with him in his eternall blis,
Which he prepared hath for him and his.
God send thee in this life heere Nestor's dayes,
That thou mayest do more good and gayne more prayse.

Vale.

To the much honored
Mr. SAMUEL JEAKE,
Towne Clarke of Rye."

Your servante to Commande,
WILLIAM HIGGONS.

The site of Jeake's House in Rye cannot now be identified. In 1673 John Holcom addresses a letter "ffor My very Loving friend Mr. Jeake, Liuing In Rye, neare unto The Sine of the Quens Arms." But this inn is unknown. One Michael Cadman kept it in 1672; and as a person of this name was Captain of the Market Ward in 1679, it is probable that this inn, as well as Jeake's house, stood somewhere in the Market Ward. I have also the authority of Mr. Holloway for stating that the place of Jeake's sepulture is equally unknown. There is no memorial of him in existence except the simple record in the Parish Register of his burial—"1690. Oct. 9th, Mr. Samuel Jeake, Senior."

PEDIGREE OF S. JEAKE, SEN., COMPILED

JOHN PEERSON = ELIZABETH KNATCHBULL ?
(clerk) of Mersham Hatch, Kent.
bur. at Peasmarsh, June 10, 15

Anne = ob. 1639	Henry Jeake, Freeman of Rye, Baker, b. circ. 1600, m. Feb. 11, 1617.	Robert, " of Act a Witsham Eile of (n
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William Dallet 1st = Anne of Rye, m. circ 1637 b. Nov.23,1618 † ob.Sep.21,1655 William Key, 2nd = in childbed of Rye, ob. Dec. 20, 1666.	Samuel = b. Oct.9,1623 bap. Oc. 12, "Sammewell Jake," Attor- ney, Freeman of Rye, &c. m. July17,1651 ob. Oct.3,1690	Frances, dr. of Thomas & Mary Hartredge of Pembury,Kent, b. May5,1630, ob. Dec.9,1654, of small-pox. Sister to wife of Rev. Chr. Blackwood.
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Elizabeth = John Mackley, Mar. 26, 1674, TallowChandler, Tooley St. Lond.	Samuel = Elizabeth, dr. of = 2nd Josep T b. July Richard & Bar- of Rye. 4, 1652. bara Hartshorne, ob. Nov. of the Grammar 23, 1699 School, Rye, b. Oc. Merch- 2, 1667, m. Mar. ant, 1, 1681, living in freeman 1748. July 2, 1690.
Anne = James Wightman, Apl. 8, 1675, Watchmaker, " over against the Salutation Taverne in Lombard Street."	
Sarah = Richard Frebody, of Udimore, Ap. 20, 1675.	
Jane = John Holt, of Peasmarsh, Dec. 18, 1677.	
Mary = John Jaye, Apothecary, "at the signe of the Golden Lion in Fenchurch St.," 1681.	

Elizabeth b. Dec. 10, 1682.	Elizabeth b. Mar. 16, 1684	Manasseh b. Aug. 13, 1688.	Francis b. Apl. 11, 1700;	Samuel " Counsellor Jeake." b. June 3, 1697	Barbara = ... Howard? b. May 2, 1695. living at Rye 1748.
		ob. July 14, 1690.	articled to a lawyer in Lond. 1716.	ob. cœlebs. Freeman, Aug. 19, 1719. ob. cœlebs.	

FROM HIS MSS., THE HISTORY OF RYE, &c.

Elizabeth = 1st Abram, Goph, of Rye

June 10. m. Ap. 16, 1649.

1626 or 1627

†

= 2nd Nath. Bonnick

m. Nov. 11, 1667, obt.

Oct. 11, 1670.

†

= 3d. Chr. Dighton "glaiser

in hartly chooke lane, nere

the Armytage in Wap-

ping," mar. Mar. 20, 1673.

John

bapt. Aug. 23, 1629.

bur. Aug. 12, 1630.

Thomas Frances

b. June b. Dec. 2

28, 1653 ob. Dec. 3 } 1654

ob. 1656

Philadelphia

b. May 20,
1707

Thomas Frewen,
of Rye, M. D. of
Lewes.

b. 1704. ob. 1791.

bur. at Northiam.

Joseph?

Philadelphia
b. Dec. 31, 1750.
ob. 1841 at
Northiam.

Edward =
D. D. Fel-
low and
Tutor of
St. Johns
Camb.,
rector of
Frating,
Essex.

Sally, dr. of
Rev. Richd.
Morton of
Moreton
Hall,
Cheshire.

John,
Surgeon
at Rye.
(and other
children
who died
young).

Morton = Sarah, dr. of
Frewen, Rev. David
Esquire, Jenkin, of
of Dyffrynburn.
Northiam.

WALDRON:

ITS CHURCH, ITS MANSIONS, AND ITS MANORS.

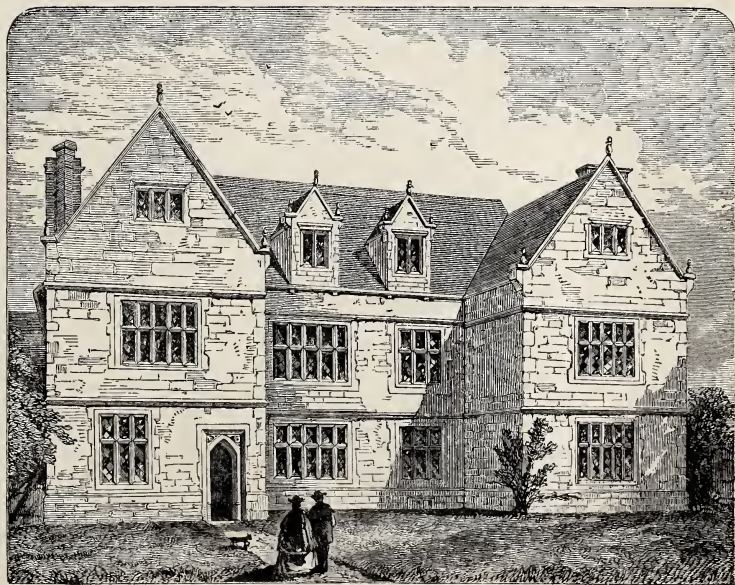
BY THE REV. JOHN LEY, B.D.

IF it were not obvious that in a few years the objects of greatest interest to the archæologist within the county will have been treated of in the Society's volumes, this paper would never be offered to its notice. But, when the records of places of greater note have been collected and published, unless the archæologist considers his occupation gone, he must condescend to search the memorials of obscurer corners of the land. This was foreseen from the commencement of the Society's labours. For it purposed to itself to collect materials for a County History; and this never could be complete without a close survey of the Manors and Residences of the Gentry of olden times, which, though they have long been deserted by their owners, are still occupied by a sturdy tenantry.

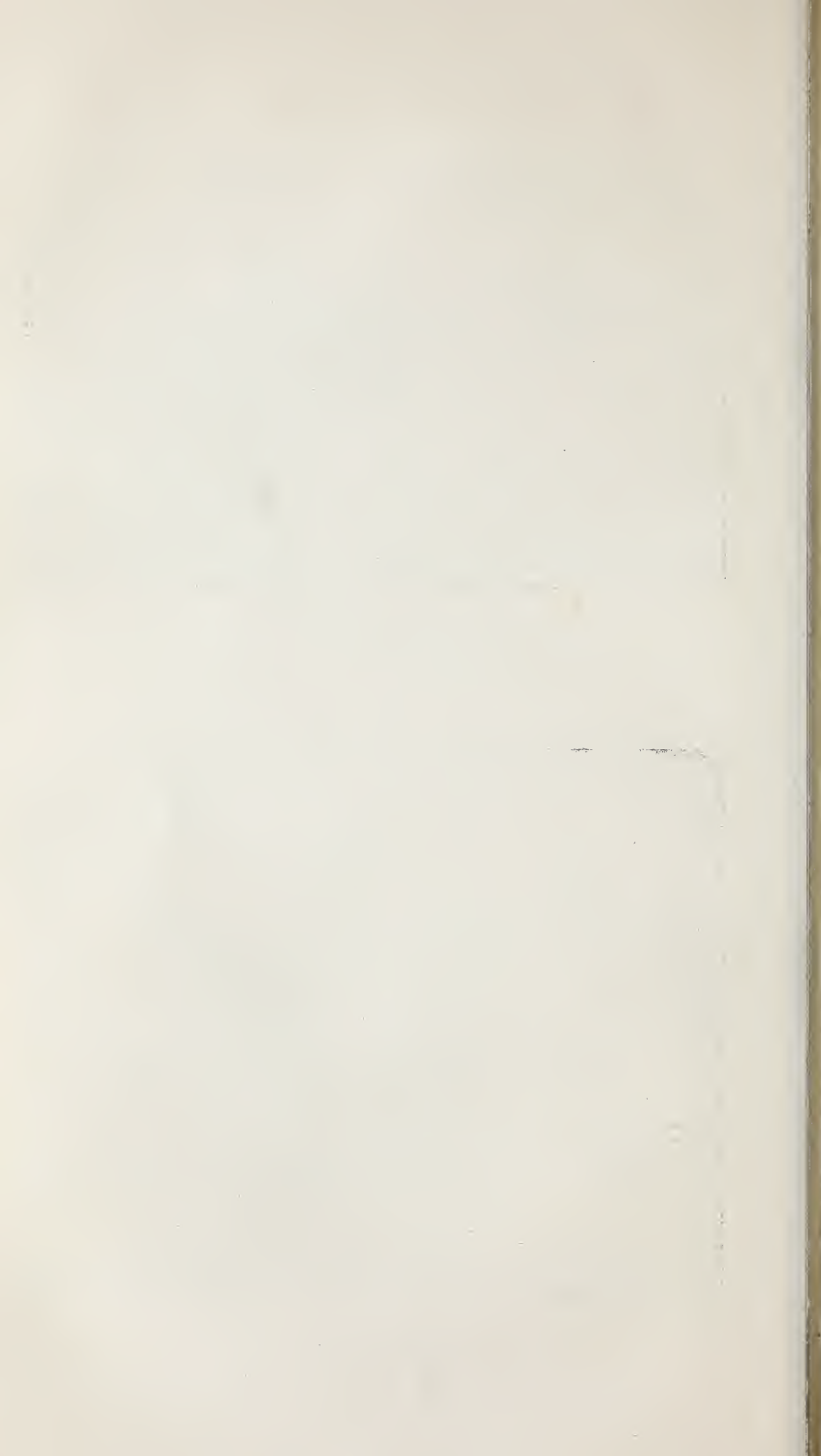
Such has been peculiarly the case with the mansions of Waldron. In past times Waldron supplied the county with various Sheriffs, and Members to represent it in Parliament. Tattered hatchments still hang within the church, and tell of departed greatness. Three mansions of wealthy families, shorn of much of their original dimensions, remain to testify that Waldron has seen better days. Two iron brackets or rests still project from the south wall of the church, from which at some time have hung the banners of a Sackville, a Pelham, or a Heringot, or of some Crusader, whose military adventures may have originally given name to the well known hostel of the Cross-in-Hand.



POSSINGWORTH.



TANNERS.



A living parishioner tells me that he has heard his grandmother talk of seeing three carriages driven to the church on each Sunday; and that such was the state of the roads in her day that these family coaches were sometimes drawn by oxen. My informant also states that his uncle was the only carrier between Waldron and London, and that he usually conveyed his goods by riding one horse and leading another, on which his packages were borne.

Of Waldron then, as it has been, I purpose to give such records as by the aid of Sir William Burrell's and Mr. Hayley's MSS. in the British Museum, and by the Rev. Edward Turner's and Mr. M. A. Lower's kind assistance, I have been able to collect. I must acknowledge also my obligations to the contributions of my friend, the Rev. G. M. Cooper, in our previous volumes, whose notices of Waldron necessarily belong to my subject.

The name of the parish has been differently written at different times. In Domesday Book it is Waldrene and Waldene; afterwards Walderne and Waldern; and in modern days it is Waldron. Of the derivation of this name I profess to give no better account than that offered by Mr. Cooper, in a foot note to p. 158, of vol. viii.

In the Norman survey it is twice mentioned, as follows:—
Edluestone Hundred.¹ “Ansfrid holds one hide of the Earl in Waldrene, which is assessed at such quantity. Ælveva held it of King Edward by allodial tenure. The arable is three plough lands and a half. There is one plough with a villain in the demesne. Twenty shillings have been the constant estimate.”

In Havochesberie Hundred.² “Ælveva, a free woman, held half a rood land in Waldene, exempt of Land tax. Here Osbern³ has a villain with five oxen. The value is two shillings.”

After the Conquest, Waldron became the property of the Earl of Mortain, and its several Manors were held under him and his successors in the lordship of Pevensey.

¹ Transl. p. 155.

² Transl. p. 132.

³ Of Osbern and Ansfrid see a notice in Mr. W. S. Ellis' paper on the Earls of Eu., vol. x, 65.

But, first, the Church must be noticed, though it is more picturesque than beautiful, and more remarkable for its situation than its architecture. The best feature of it is the tower, which is of the Pelham pattern, low and square, with battlements. But it has not the insigne of the Buckle. It is of the Perpendicular order, and its west front is very good.

Besides the tower, the church consists of a chancel, nave, and north aisle with a porch. The masonry of the south wall of the nave is very rude, and shews it to have been of a very early date. It has long been supported by buttresses equally unartistic. Two windows of the decorated period and of flamboyant character have been inserted, and leave no trace of the original openings.

The chancel is of the Early English period, as one of the original lights, a plain single lancet, still remaining, testifies; and when the walls were lately re-plastered, a jamb of each of two similar lancets was found on the east, the centre one and part of each of the other two having been cut away to insert a window of three lights. The jambs of the original window on the south are also preserved beneath the plaster. It has been filled up, and at different times a window inserted on either side of it. There is in the chancel what appears to be the remains of a pillar piscina, and on the floor of the church lies a marble slab having five crosses rudely carved on it, which induce the suspicion that it was the original altar stone.

The pattern of the present east window is peculiar, and of the period of transition into the Perpendicular style. Sir William Burrell informs us, that in it was formerly painted a man in armour, kneeling, and under him in old text characters was written—"Pray for the soul of John Pelham." This may give a probable date for its insertion.

The north aisle has been a later addition, and yet it is not easy to assign the period of its erection. The east window is Perpendicular; those on the north are of much earlier date. Indeed there is so much of irregularity and patchwork in its construction, that I cannot help hazarding the conjecture, that its materials once composed the Chapel of Sybilla de Icklesham, hereafter to be mentioned. This is a theory at least more credible than the legend mentioned by my friend,

the Rev. A. Hussey, in his *Churches of Kent, &c.*, page 300, viz., "that an attempt was made to build the church in 'the Church field,' at Horeham; but that the stones laid in the day-time were, during the night, invariably removed by some preternatural influence to the spot where the church now stands." A barge-board in front of the porch, though now fast decaying, is of elegant design and deserves to be copied. The ancient standards and oak seats have been partially preserved.

The church is dedicated to All Saints. The Rectory of Walderne was granted to the monks of St. Pancras in Lewes, by Robert de Dene, and Sybill his wife, for the health of the souls of their ancestors, their own, and their successors, with the glebe lands and tithes, and with two parts of the tithe of the corn of Chalvington; so that the parson or vicar Incumbent of Walderne, was to pay yearly out of all these to St. Pancras half a mark of silver; and the Patron was to hold the church of Walderne of the Prior so long as he behaved himself well, and lived chastely and religiously. But for any offence or fault, he was either to be corrected or reproved for the same by the judgment of the Prior of Lewes. The deed to this purpose was made about the time of Henry II., "*coram duobus Hundredis apud Handestuph*," and is as follows:—

"Ego Robertus de Denâ et uxor mea Sybilla, pro animabus antecessorum nostrorum et pro salute nostrâ et successorum nostrorum, concedimus Deo et Sancto Pancratio Latosiquensi, Ecclesiam de Waldernâ cum terris et decimis, et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, et cum duobus partibus decimarum bladorum de Calvintona, ita videlicet ut Sacerdos de Waldernâ de his omnibus solvat Sancto Pancratio, singulis annis dimidiam marcæ argenti, &c."

By this it would appear that while a certain portion of the tithes was paid to the Priory, the donor retained for himself the patronage of the Living. Some years later we find the great-great grand-daughter of Robert and Sybill de Dene applying to the Priory for leave to have a chapel of her own at her house at Walderne; which shows that the Prior had a kind of episcopal supervision of the benefice, besides a portion of the tithes.

With the consent of the Priory it was agreed between her and Richard, Rector of Walderne, that she should have a chapel to be served by the said Rector at her own expense,

but without a baptistery or suspended bell; and that she was to attend the mother church four times a year. The licence, dated August, 1233, is as follows:—

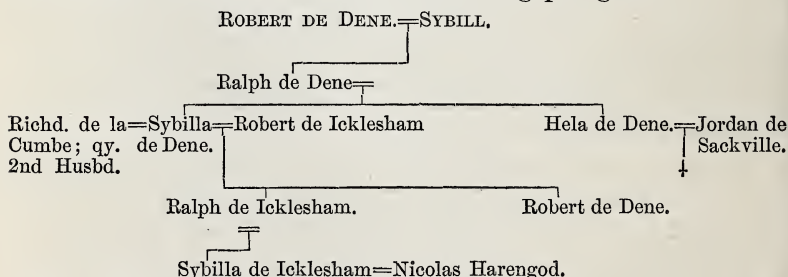
“ Ut liceat mihi (nempe Sybillæ) habere Capellam in curiâ meâ de Walderne meis sumptibus, per prædictum capellanum deserviendam, sine tamen Baptisterio et Campanâ pendente.” ⁴

For a licence in some respects similar in its reservations to this, see Hussey's Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, under the head Penshurst, p. 128.

This lady was Sybilla de Icklesham, of whose family we learn something from the following extracts:

In 11th Hen. III. (1227) Sybilla, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Icklesham, came into the Exchequer and prayed for justice against her grandmother and uncle. Her case is thus stated—Sybilla, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Icklesham, and wife of Nicolas Haringot, complains that Sybilla de Dene, wife of Richard de la Cumbe and mother of Ralph de Icklesham, her own father, permits Robert de Dene, brother of the said Ralph, to receive homages which belong to her, in disherison of her, the complainant, and she prays justice may be done in her case.⁵

In Collins' Peerage, we find also that Jordan de Sackville married Ela, co-heiress of Ralph de Dene, and had with her a hide of land in Walderne, with the church of the said Vill. From these notices I collect the following pedigree:



This Nicolas Harengod, and his wife Sybilla, are frequently mentioned in the Battle Abbey Charters, to which house they were considerable benefactors. He is there called, sometimes “Lord of the Manor of Icklesham,” at other times “Lord of the Manor of Battle.”

If we may presume that the patronage of the church, which

⁴ See vol. II, p. 17. Register fol. 74.

⁵ Rot. 1, 6.

was reserved by Robert de Dene, was that which passed to Jordan de Sackville with his wife, Hela de Dene, still the question arises, where was Sybilla's mansion? This must be discussed hereafter, that we may pursue the history of the church and its rectors.

The following deed is among the Cotton MSS. Vespasian F, xv. Carta 43:

Carta qualiter Joh: comes Warrenn: dedit licentiam, ut Episcopus Cicestr: et Prior et Conventus de Lewes de novo facere possint unam præbendam de ecclesiis Walderne et Horsted Keynes. 20 Edw. III., fol. 35. See Dugdale's Mon., V. 7, note d. Ed. ult.

In this Vol. (F, xv), Charters at fol. 73, 73^b, 74, 74^b, also refer to Walderne Church.

The Rectory continued to belong to the Priory of Lewes till its dissolution, when it was given by the King to Lord Cromwell. On his attainder, it returned to the Sackville family, who presented to it so lately as 1784.

The appropriation to Lewes Priory was £13 6s. 0d.

Pope Nicholas' Taxation has "*Ecclesia de Walderne xvi. mrs.*" (£10 13s. 4d). From the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, taken fifty years later, I make the following extract, because it gives an authentic account of the pastoral state of the parish, and I shall have to allude to it again.

"On an inquisition taken at Lewes, 1 Edw. III. Robert de Claveregge, William Horam, William Alcerst, and William Cobford,⁶ say, on their oath, that the Church of Waldron is taxed at £10 13s. 4d.; and that the ninth of the sheaves, of wool, and of lambs, is not worth more, for that the Rector hath three meadows of the pasture, which are worth 40s. per ann. They say also that he hath the small tithes and offerings, which are worth £5. They also say that there are not any traders (*mercatores*) in the parish, except those who live by agriculture and their sheep."⁷

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* are the following entries having reference to Waldron:—

"Fol. 327. *Prioratus de Lewes. Pensio ecclesiæ, ibidem per annum, iiij^s.*"

This payment continued to the present incumbency in the form of a Fee-Farm Rent

Fol. 340. *Will'mus Hoo, clericus, rector ibidem valet clarè per annum, cum omnibus proficuis et commoditatibus, in tenurâ Joannis Dyne, et reddit inde per annum, £xiii. iiij^s. vjd. X^a inde xxvj^s. vjd. ob.*

These sums represent the first fruits and tenths paid to this day to the fund known as Queen Anne's Bounty.

⁶ Horeham, Alehurst, and Cobford are three adjoining estates, which now pass under the name of the first.

⁷ *Nonarum Inq.*, fol. 393.

For the following list of rectors I am mainly indebted to W. H. Freeland, Esq., M.P., of Chichester:—

DATE OF ADMISSION.	INCUMBENTS.	HOW VACANT.	PATRONS.
1225	Richard	... ..	... ..
1373	Robert Willoughby	... ..	... ..
... ..	Matthew Brandreth	... ..	... ..
1484 Jan ^y . 20	William Mill, B.C.L.	d. Matt ^w . Brandreth	{ The Prior and Con- vent of the Monas- tery of St. Pancras, Lewes.
... ..	Robert Frankysse	... ..	... ..
1504 June 21	Giles Banys	res. Rob ^t . Frankysse	The same.
1535 Mar. 27	William Hoo or Howe	d. Giles Banys	The same.
1542	Hugh Harris	dep. Hugh Harris	The same.
1554 Aug ^t . 22	John Fisser	res. John Fisser	Sir R ^d . Sackville, Knt.
1558 Apr. 28	John Atherton, A.M.	res. John Fisser	The same.
1595 May 24	James Tompsett	... ..	The Queen. ^s
... ..	Richard Melborne, S.T.P.	... ..	... ..
1610 March 3	Ralph Keyllway, A.B.	res. R ^d . Melborne	Rich ^d . Earl of Dorset.
1614 March 14	John Willard, A.M.	... ..	The same.
1617 Aug ^t . 6	Robert Damville, A.M.	cess. John Willard	The same.
... ..	Ezekiel Chark	... ..	... ..
1670 Feb ^y . 17	John Tattersall, A.M.	d. Ezekiel Chark	The same.
1707 Nov ^r . 5	Richard Lidgould, A.M.	d. John Tattersall	{ Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.
1729 Nov ^r . 10	James Hargraves, S.T.P.	d. Rich ^d . Lidgould	{ Lionel Cranfield, Sackville, Duke of Dorset.
1742 May 5	Thomas James, M.A.	d. James Hargraves	{ Lionel, Duke of Dorset.
1757 Feb ^y . 5	William Delves, A.M.	d. Thomas James	{ Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset.
1784 Oct ^r . 16	Henry Poole, LL.B.	d. William Delves	{ John Frederick, Duke of Dorset.
1821 Nov ^r . 7	Thomas Raynes, A.B.	{ d. the Rev ^d . Sir Henry Poole, Bart.	{ The Rev ^d . Edward Robert Raynes.
1850 July 4	John Ley, B.D.	d. Thomas Raynes	{ The Rector and Scholars of Exeter Coll. Oxford.

Of these incumbents Ezekiel Chark was a grandson of the Judicious Hooker. Walton, in his life of this eminent English divine, says that Margaret, his youngest daughter, was “married unto Ezekiel Chark, B.D. and Rector of St. Nicholas, Harbledown, near Canterbury, whose son Ezekiel is now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex.”

An old man told me that in his youth he “could read on the tomb on the south side of the church, the name of Ezekiel Chark, minister of this parish.” The words were almost ob-

^s See vol. xii 259.

literated, but by this clue I could easily trace EZEKIEL CHA, and I have had the name engraved afresh.

It was this rector or his successor who held a disputation with Mr. Matthew Caffin, to the conviction of Mrs. Fuller, as mentioned by Mr. M. A. Lower in vol. ix. p. 34.

To this account of the church I must append some extracts from the wills of former parishioners, which are extant in the Probate Office at Lewes, and to which my attention has been called by Mr. M. A. Lower.

1527. 12 Nov. Isabell Woodman, widow.

I bequeth to the light of the herse within the church of Waldron iiij^d.

1542. 6 Jan. John Bodill.

I gyve and bequeth to an honest priest, to preeche iij sarmons within the parish church of Waldron, aforesaid, iij Sondayes next and immediately after my decease. Hew Harris, clerke, parson of Waldron, witness.

Sermons were then rare.

In Dei nomine Amen. Anno Domini 1543.

4 Jan. I, William Mosse, of the parishe of Waldron, parishe clerke, hole of mind and seke of body, thanks be unto Almyghti God, do make and orden, this my present testament and last will in maner and forme foloyng, that is to say—first, I gyve and bequeth my soule unto Almyghti God, my maker and redemer, to our blessed lady St. Mary, and to all the celestyall company of hevyn, and my body to be buried in the churchyerd, besyde my ij wiffs, or els where it shall please God that my sowle shall departe out of this present world. Item, I gyve and bequeth unto the hye altar of Waldron, for my tythes negligently forgotten or withholden viij^d. Item, I gyve and bequeth unto the hye beme vj^d.

There being no rood-loft in Waldron church, the rood was probably placed on the transverse beam, which takes the place of the chancel arch; and this bequest was probably intended to supply a beam light.

1542. 22 Jan. Thomas Basok of Waldren. I gyff and bequeth towards the reparations of the church of Waldren aforesaid v^s.

1544. 8 Jan. Richard Browne of Waldron. I gyve and bequeth towards the making of the great bell vi^s viij^d.

1545. 17 Dec. Thomas Bodell. Item, To the hye altar for my tythes and oblations negligently forgotten and withholden, iiij^d. Item, I bequeth to be distributed at my buriall by my exors, to priests, clarks, and poore people xx^s.—at my moneth's day xx^s. Item, I will to the church of Waldron vi^s. viij^d. if other men do bryng their stocks.

A considerable part of the parish of Waldron is in the manor of Laughton, which has been the property of the noble house of Pelham more than four centuries; and a portion of it in the manor of Chiddingly, which belongs to Lady Amherst, the elder of the two female representatives of the Sackville family. Besides these there are within the parish the manors of Foxhunt, Herindales, Possingworth, and Isen-

hurst, or parts of them; and old deeds mention the now extinct manors of Tanners and Horeham.

In times soon after the Conquest, Waldron was little more than a forest country, in which the lords of the surrounding estates had the privilege of hunting and feeding cattle—rights originally granted by the owners of Pevensey Castle, as lords in chief of the Rape which bears that name. Hence in the courts of our earlier kings, suitors claimed free warren in the woods of Waldron, and pasturage for their hogs. The name of “Walderne,” if Mr. Cooper’s derivation of it be correct, and the appellation of “Foxhunt,” bear witness to this uncultivated state of the country.⁹

So lately as 1842, when the tithes of the parish were commuted, one-third of it (or 2,000 out of 6,000 acres) was declared tithe free, as being woodland, or as yet uncultivated.

In the reign of Edward III. the manor of Laughton belonged to Giles Badlesmere, who had also the wood called “Walderne,” which was excepted out of that manor. On his death the manor descended to his sister Maud, wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; and “Walderne Wood” became the property of Margery, wife of Lord Ros of Ham-lake.¹⁰

A wood of about seven acres in extent, and part of the manor of Chiddingly, is still known by the name of Waldron Wood, and is probably part at least of the wood in question.

How the manor of Laughton passed into the hands of the Pelhams may be seen in vol. x. p. 212.

Of the manors of Waldron, that of FOXHUNT, which of late has given its name to a farm originally called “The Scrip,” was in 1327 the property of Ralph de Camoys, K^t. Adjoining to this farm are the “East and West Darn” estates, which belonged to the Abbey of Robertsbridge; and hence the action brought by the Abbot against this Ralph at the Castle of Pevensey, spoken of by Mr. Cooper (vol. viii. p. 158), and the decree that the Abbot should hold his messuage and land by

⁹ See Vol. iv. pp. 40 and 53.

¹⁰ Horsfield’s *Sussex*, vol. I, p. 359, note from Hayley’s MSS. in the British Museum.

feoffment and suit of the same Ralph at the court of Foxhunt.¹¹

It afterwards became the property of Sir George Brown, of Beechworth Castle, in Surrey, who in 2 Ric. III. (1485) was deprived of it for assisting the Duke of Buckingham in his opposition to this king; and it was then granted to John Duke of Norfolk, to hold by the same service, by which it had been held, before it came to the crown.

In 32 Hen. VIII. this manor was owned by Thomas Threele, who in 1553 settled it on the marriage of his son Thomas with Dorothy, eldest daughter of John Apsley of Thakeham. In this family it continued for four generations, until 36 Eliz., when Richard Threele, who describes himself as of Loxwood, in the parish of Wisboro' Green,¹² sold it with divers farms and lands to Thomas Pelham, Esq., for £780.

From the last date till 1775, Foxhunt belonged to some member of the house of Pelham, when Frances and Mary, co-heiresses of Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham, sold it to Josiah Smith, Esq., of Lewes.

Both the manor and the estate of Foxhunt now belong to William Gilliat, Esq., of Barham, in East Hothly.

The manor of HERINDALES (as it is now called) was originally the "manor of Walderne," and took its later designation from the family of Heringaud, who once possessed and had a residence on it, and whose seal on green wax is affixed to a Battle Abbey Deed, of the date of 1273. The name of this manor has been variously spelt, Haringhales, Haringdales, Herringhales, Haryngales, and Haringards. But there can be no doubt of its identity with the ancient manor of Walderne, or of its deriving its name from Herin-

¹¹ The value of the estate to the Abbey at the date of the dissolution, is thus stated in the Valor Eccl., fol. 350.

"Firma certarum terrarum ibidem vocatarum Derne in tenurâ Ricardi Amylton. Redditus inde per ann., £ iij.

"Proficua provenientia de precio decem quarteriorum frumenti et decem quarteriorum ordeï annuatim soluta per Edwardum Godfrey, estimantur ad cš."

¹² The Threeles were an ancient family residing in Wisborough Green. John Threele was marshal to the household of William Earl of Arundel. He died in 1465, and was buried in the collegiate chapel of Arundel. Over his grave is a large slab of Sussex marble, inlaid with brass, on which is his figure in armour under a rich canopy, with his arms, and around the stone a long but imperfect inscription in Gothic letters. His son John was in the commission of Oyer and Terminer for Sussex, 1453.

gaud, or Harengod, its early possessor. These arms were, az: semée of cross crosslets, *six herrings* in pale, or.

We have already seen that Sybilla de Dene, wife of Nicholas Heringaud, in 1227, obtained leave of the Prior of Lewes, to build a chapel in her court at Walderne; and the site of this court appears to me to be clearly identified by the almost perfect remains of a large moat on the Herindales estate, at a short distance to the west of Waldron Church. This moat is circular, and its diameter about 150 feet. There are also the remains of other defences or embankments round about it. All buildings have disappeared from it, and it is now covered with wood—a circumstance which has preserved it from the levelling of the ploughshare. Within or near this no doubt stood Sybilla's Chapel, and its proximity to the Glebe House explains the proposal, that the Rector of Walderne should also be priest of this lady's Chapel.

It is probable that Herindales had been the property of Robert de Dene, who gave the Church of Walderne to the Priory of St. Pancras, and a hide of land within the parish to Jordan de Sackville, with Hela his wife, and that it was part, at least, of the dowry of Sibylla de Icklesham, on her marriage with Nicholas Harengod.

How long the Heringauds continued to reside in Waldron is uncertain. We find notices of Ralph Harengaud and Lawrence, his son. Circa 1270 we have Wm. Harengod (Dering MSS). There is a bond in the register of Battle Abbey, dated 19 Edw: I., obliging Robertus de Sevanz and Robertus de Burghers to stock the manor of Waldron for Sir W. Heringaud, which makes him appear as an absent landlord. He and his wife Margery are subsequently mentioned (p. 92). In 1302 Sir John Harengaud is named (Batt. Abbey records), and subsequently (1346-50) his son, Sir Thomas, and Elizabeth, his wife (Dering MSS). Some years later we find a member of the same family purchasing the manor of Possingworth. But at that time Herindales had passed to another owner.

In 12 Edw: II. (1319) Nicholas de la Beche, (a name frequently mentioned in the Battle Abbey Charters, both as benefactors to that Monastery and as witnesses to the bene-

factions of others, but without mentioning their place of residence,) obtained a charter of free warren for this and the manor of Chiddingly, which also belonged to him. He was Governor of the Castle of Pleshy, in Essex, in 1322, and Constable of the Tower of London in 9 Edw. III. "He left no issue, nor any heir that we can find," says Sir William Burrell; "therefore we suppose that he sold or gave this manor by will to Sir Thomas Poynings, Lord Poynings, who died possessed of it 49 Edw. III." From Thomas de Poynings it passed to his brother Richard, who 2 Ric. II. 1378, "*die quo obiit, tenuit manerium de Walderne de Duce Lancastri; ut de honore de Aquilâ per servitium militare.*" By his will, this Richard Lord Poynings, directs one of the advowsons of his churches to be sold, and the purchase money to be expended in masses and trentals for the souls of his relatives and friends; and among them for those of Sir Thomas Heringaute, and two others whom he calls his "benefactors." He was probably the Thomas, son and heir of Sir John Heringaud, mentioned in the account of Possingworth. Richard was succeeded by Robert Poynings, and he again by his daughter and heir, Eleanor, Countess of Northumberland, who possessed "Waldern alias Haringauds." In 1536, the Earl of Northumberland sold it under the name of Poynings for the use of the Crown; and Dec. 24th, 1538, it was granted to Sir Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague¹³ with the rest of the Poynings estates. Viscount Montague sold to John Fawkenor, yeoman, for £500 "all that manor of Harringdale in Walderne, Heathfield and East Hothly," which is afterwards described as "The manor of Waldron, alias Haryngales," and is said to consist of "two messuages, two gardens, and 450 acres of land." Within ten years it was again sold to J. Middleton, of Beaubush, in Upper Beeding, gent., when this further description occurs:—"The manor of Waldron and all lands thereto belonging; also all that principal messuage called Pithouse in Waldron, and all the lands thereto belonging, by estimation 300 acres; also all those lands called Court."

"Courtwood" is still known by that name; but of Pit-

¹³ The deed of exchange and letters patent are given at length in the Burrell MSS., Lewes Rape, fol. 575. dated 30 Eliz: June 20.

house I can learn nothing. It may be that at this time a house still stood in the moat already spoken of, and that the Manor of Waldron and the Herindales estate were separate properties, though held together; for at present they belong to different proprietors. In this case "Pithouse" may mean "the Moat"-house. But the present farm-house, though it bears the marks of some antiquity—especially by a fine stack of fluted chimneys—from its elevated position, could not well be called Pithouse.

After another 20 years (Nov. 30, 1619) all that manor of Waldron or Harringdales was sold for £1300 to Richard Fuller, who was not connected with the Fullers, afterwards to Tanners. In 1628 the Manor and Court were alienated of Rd. Stone, gent., J. Baker, and others, for £1400; and 10 Nov., 1630, a license was granted to alienate the manor of Waldron, alias Heringdales, with one messuage, two barns, a garden, 250 acres, and 50s. rent, to Sir T. Pelham, in whose family it was vested until 1773, when Frances and Mary, co-heiresses of the Rt. Honble. H. Pelham, sold it to Josiah Smith, Esq., of Lewes.

The earliest mention of POSSINGWORTH known by me I copy from vol. viii. p. 152:—

By deeds preserved in Penshurst House, it appears that the manor was conveyed by John, son of Lawrence de Possyngewerse,¹⁴ the last owner of the property named after the estate, to Sir William Harengaud and Margery his wife, by whom it was afterwards given to their daughter Margery and her heirs. In 1333, Margery conveyed it to Wm. Stannyn den, of Lamberhurst, and Roger Laket, of Blechynton, near Sefford; which conveyance was confirmed by Thomas, son and heir of Sir John Harengaud. In 1334, Stannyn den surrendered to Laket all his right and title to the estate, which was held in capite of the Priory of Lewes, and he, in 1336, assigned it to the Abbey of Robertsbridge, with the sanction of Peter de Joceaux, Prior, and in consideration of an annual payment of 10d.¹⁵ together with a rent of iv. shillings and v. pence farthing, which John de Maryham paid for another tenement in Waldron called "Atte-Watere."¹⁶

Of the value of the manor we have an account the reverse of what was to be expected. In 1417 a quarter's rent was 16s. 8d., while in the Valor Ecclesiasticus the yearly reserved rent is only £2.

¹⁴ In her will deposited in the registry at Lewes, dated 1527, Isabel Woodman mentions a son-in-law, Richard Adams and his wife Anne, the daughter of Thomas Possynworth.

¹⁵ See vol. iii., p. 200. In 1335 Wm. de Stannyn den and Roger Laket had given a messuage and one carucate of land in Waldron to Robertsbridge priory. Rot. Pat.

¹⁶ This tenement of Atte-Watere cannot now be certainly identified. But a tenement lately stood near the foot of Possingworth hill, which was known by the name of "Waterland."

Among the Battle Abbey Charters, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, is one shewing that Thomas, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary the Virgin, of Robertsbridge, and the Convent of the same, leased for fourscore years, from Nov. 23rd, 1528, to William Palmer, of the parish of Framfylde, in Sussex, yeoman, "one of the King's Guard," all their manor and lordship called Posyngworth, within the parish of Waldorne, in the same county, subject to certain reservations, and to a yearly rent of £10. There was a covenant in this lease, binding Palmer to erect a dwelling-house on the manor.¹⁷

Until its dissolution in 1535, the Abbey retained possession of Possingworth. In 31 Henry VIII. (1541), the King by letters patent granted it to William Sidney, Kt., and Agnes his wife, in fee, subject to the same annual rent. In 27 Eliz. (1585), Sir H. Sidney, K.G., sold to Judith, widow of Sir J. Pelham, for £600, "all that manor of Posyngworth with its appurtenances."

How and when the property passed from the Pelhams to the Offleys, I have no evidence; but it was before 1635, when the baptism of Elizabeth Offley is recorded in the parish register.

The Offleys were connected with the city of London, and one of the family honourably discharged the office of Lord Mayor, as the following extract shows:—

"1566. The xxviiij day of October the new mayre toke ys oythe, and so whent by water to Westmynster [with] trumpets and the whettes [waits] ryalle [royally] and a galent [pinnacle] deckyd with stremars and gonnes and dromes [guns and drums] [The new] mayre master Hoffeley, marchand tayller, aud marchand of the stapull of calles, and the ij Frenchmen in cremesun velvett in-brodered with gold an elle brod; and iiij^{xx} [poor bachelors] and they dyd gyff iiij^{xx} blue gownes, cape, dobelet, and hose to the iiij^{xx} poure men; and there was a godly pageant; and the trumpets had skarlet capes, and the whetes."¹⁸

"The 8th day of February Master Offley, the lord mayor, and divers aldermen, taking their barge, went to Greenwich to the Queen's grace, and ther she mad ym [knight, he] behyng mayre."¹⁹

Of this "worthy," Fuller records that—

"The useful custom of the night bell-men (preventing fires and more felonies) began in his mayoralty. He was the Zacchæus of London, not for his low stature, but his high charity, bequeathing the half of his estate (computed by a reverend Divine to amount to £5000) unto the poor."

¹⁷ Thorpe's Battle Abbey Charters and Deeds, p. 139.

¹⁸ Diary of Henry Machyn, Camden Society, p. 117,

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 125

After noticing two other citizens of the names of Hugh and Robert Offley, Fuller adds:—

“I believe it was of the first of these three Offleys on whom the rhyme was made:
Offley three dishes had of daily rost,
An egge, an apple, and (the third) a toast.

“This,” he continues, “I behold neither sin nor shame in him, feeding himself in plain and wholesome repast, that he might feed others by his bounty, and thereby deserving rather praise than a jar.”

This last remark probably had reference to Stowe's Hist. of London, in which, besides recording that Sir T. Offley “appointed by his testament, the one halfe of al his goods, and 200 li. deducted out of the other halfe given to his sonne Henry, to bee given and bestowed in deedes of charity by his executors, according to his confidence and trust in them,” he adds—“he bequeathed the one halfe of all his goodes to charitable actions, but the parish receyved little benefite thereby.”

While speaking of “citizens of credit and renown,” I must introduce in passing another Lord Mayor of London, mentioned both in Stowe's London, and in Herbert's Livery Companies, vol. i, p. 246.

Sir William Walderne, son of Geoffery Walderne of Walderne, in Sussex, was Sheriff in 1399, and twice Lord Mayor, first in 1412 and again in 1422. Besides this I have nothing to record of him, good or bad, excepting that he “behaved well to the [Brewer's] company, until two or three weeks before his retirement from office; when beginning to annoy them, they ‘assuaged his displeasure’ by presenting to him a boar, price 20^s. and an ox, price 17^s.” Ibid. i. 57.

This Geoffery Walderne was probably descended from William de Walderne, who, in 1310, was one of the witnesses to a deed of covenant among the Battle Abbey records, by which John, son and heir of Hugh de Codynges, grants permission to the Abbot and convent of Battle to drain the lands of their manor of Bernehorne through the middle of his foss or dyke, called Meneflete.

The first Offley who possessed Possingworth was probably Humphrey Offley, Esq., who died in 1643, and whose widow survived him fifty-four years. Both were buried in Waldron, the latter in 1697. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was baptised at Waldron Sept., 1636, and who built

Possingworth House, which bears the inscription T. O., 1657. He died at Lamberhurst in 1673, like his father, at an early age, and left a widow, who survived him 42 years; she having lived till 1715. These too were both interred at Waldron. She was the daughter of Richard Bathurst, Esq., of Finchcocks, Kent, and had previously married Richard Thomas, Esq., of the Middle Temple. A white marble slab on the floor of the church commemorates the virtues of a son by her first husband, who, while a student at Oxford caught the small-pox, of which he died in 1677. To the kindness of this lady the poor of Waldron owe a benefaction of 50^s. per ann., their only charitable bequest.

Hugh Offley,²⁰ their son and heir, married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Lade, of Warbleton. Both were buried in Waldron church, the former in 1747, the latter in 1739, and both at the age of 70. Their only daughter married Stephen Fuller, fourth son of Capt. John Fuller, of Tanners, Waldron. Elizabeth Fuller, their daughter and ultimately heiress, became the wife of John Apsley, Esq., of Lewes, and died in 1751; and their eldest child, subsequently heiress, Cordelia Apsley, married James Dalrymple, Esq., the grandfather of Mrs. Morgan Treherne.

ISENHURST, also the property of Morgan Treherne Esq., is a manor, best described by a return of the Jurors, on an Inquisition taken in 1579, who say—

“That the Borough of Isenhurst is within the liberty and Duchy of Lancaster, and the parishes of Heathfield, Waldron, and Hellingly, and parcel of either of those parishes, and that there is no church or town within this Borough. It boundeth first to Waldron Furnace, to Skinner's Brook; and thence to Witchens Knapps, thence to Downley, thence to Dunstone's Bridge, thence to lands called Newick, thence to Horeapletor; so to the Gyll that lyeth thro' Bayly to Bennett's Brook, thence to the midst of Bowriter, then to Hale Hall, thence to a croft of Rd. Asyles and so along the east side of Tanners and Holcate to Burnt Oakes, and so to the lower corner of Fynall; thence to Beard Lane's Bridge, thence to Gyll bridge, so to Synderford stream, thence to the further side of the lands that Wood House standeth in, and so down to the brook that cometh from Waldron Furnace, and so to the Furnace where the Jurors began.”

In 53 Hen. III. (1269) John de Gatesden and Hawesa, his wife, held lands in Waldron (Rot. Pat.), which passed to Walter de la Hyde (Plac. de quo warranto fo. 760), who, temp. Edw. I., claimed to have, without charter, in his

²⁰ One of the church bells bears this inscription—“Mr. Hugh Offley, Samuel Durrant, Churchwardens. R. P. made me.” The five bells were made A.D. 1732.”

manor of Waldron, view of frankpledge, and twice a year assize of bread and ale broken, and it was found that part of his tenants used the hundred court of Tylle (i.e., Dill for Hellingly), and part the hundred of Shiplake.

In 13 Hen. IV. Sir Thos. de Burton, Kt., and Joanna his wife, gave by deed to the Prior and Canons of Michelham, all their tenement in Isenhurst in Mayfield, with its principal messuage, woods, mills, &c. After the dissolution of the monastery by Henry VIII. it became the property of Rd. Sackville, from whom it passed to the Bakers of Mayfield (1 Edwd. VI).

3 and 4 Ph. and Mary, June 12. On an Inquisition taken at Lewes, the jury found that John Baker, senr., died seized of the manor of Isenhurst, and a watermill in the said manor, holden of the king in capite by 1-40th part of a knight's fee.

The Bakers still held the property 17 Geo. 3. It afterwards belonged to the Rev. J. Kirby, and has lately been sold to Morgan Treherne, Esq. "Old Mill, in Mayfield," is the manor farm. The value of the manor was £2. See vol. vi., p. 140.

Of the manor of TANNERS I find no mention until the 12th of Elizth, when a court was held by Edw^d. Worsley, for Thomas Lord Buckhurst. From the survey of the manor at this date the following is copied:—

"John Howell holds freely 20 acres called Selwine's, lying by the highway leading from Waldron Down to Waldron Church, by suit of court, heriot, relief, and rent, 2s. 6d. yearly.

"Thomas Kenward, a messuage &c., called Pookreed, the same, and 8d. rent.

"William a Wood, lands called Towner's and Willard's, olim parcel of Selwine's 2s. 2d.

"John a Wood for Towner's, 1s. 8d.

"Ditto for Willard's-wish, 1s. 6d.

"James Dippery for 1a. 2r. 0p., 1d.

"Total, £0 6s. 1½d."

"Selwyn's Wood" still bears the name of a family that was once of some importance in this parish; and on a part of this property there remains a moat, within which a "Selwyn" probably once resided.

The only notice of the family in the parish register is that of the burial of Humphrey Selwyn, Sept. 1st, 1581.

The Attwoods were also at one time persons of considera-

tion in the parish, but the family is now decayed, and the property has passed into other hands.

In 1585 Sir P. Sidney died seized of this manor, and left it to his wife Elizabeth, who married secondly Roger, Earl of Rutland. Its value was £10 3s. 0d. Of its extent at this time I find no record.

From 1603 to 1617 it belonged to the Sackville family. At this latter date the manor of Tanners, with a part of the estate on which the house now stands, was purchased of the Earl of Dorset by Mr. Samuel Fuller. But the Fuller family must have occupied the premises before this time, for as early as 1583 mention is made of John Fuller of Tanners in the parish register, as if to distinguish him from another of the same name.

Over the front door of the present mansion is engraved SF., and Mr. Hayley appears to have seen IF. on the back door, but both inscriptions were without date. Samuel Fuller was in possession of the estate from 1615 to 1653. The engraving shews the front as built by him. One wing of it was taken down about 60 years since, when other extensive alterations were made, in order to reduce it to farmhouse dimensions.

The place probably derived its name "Tanners" or "Tanhouse" from a tanyard, of long standing and well known, only a short distance from it, and destroyed within living memory. It was long the possession of the Mittel family, and was occupied for some generations by Hammonds, whose name appears in the register so early as 1566; and the grandson of the last of that family, who lived in Waldron, still occupies the estate.

The Fuller or Fulwer family were originally from London, and an elder branch of them settled at Uckfield.²¹ They soon became possessed of Waldron Furnace, and then began to amass the fortune which had resulted, 19 Geo. 2, in the following description of the manor of Tanners, copied by Mr. Hayley from an original document at Rose Hill—

"The manor of Tanners consists of 20 messuages, 1 mill, 1,000 acres of land, 150 of meadow, 150 of pasture, 200 of wood, 100 of marsh, common of pasture for all manner of cattle in the parishes of Waldron, Heathfield, Chiddingly, Pevensay, Hailsham, Hellingly, Berwick, Alceston, Selmeaton, Willingdon, and Brightling."

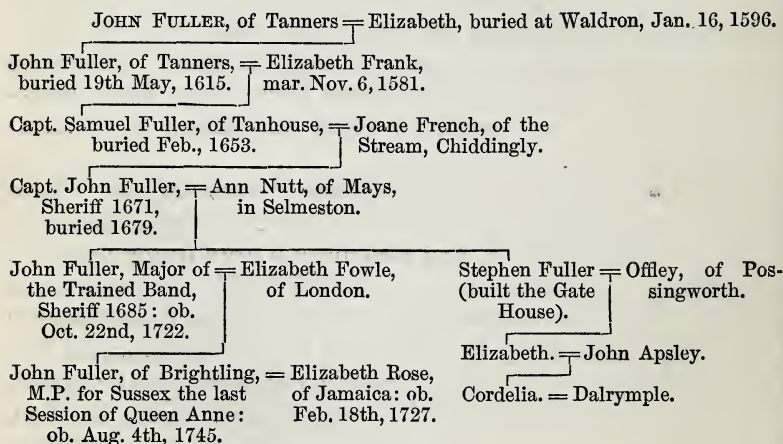
At what times, and in what portions, other parts of this

²¹ See vol. xii, p. 18.

property were acquired I know not; but it is curious, as showing how the increase of wealth in a single hand diminishes the number of small proprietors in a parish, to state, that in about 120 years the Fuller property in Waldron was increased by 30 different purchases.

By his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Fulke Rose, Esq., Mr. John Fuller acquired the property at Rose Hill, in Brightling; and, having built there the present mansion, he left Tanners. None of the family have since resided in Waldron. The house and estate from that time have been in the occupation of the highly respectable family of the Bonnicks, one of whom, Wm. Bonwyke, became a tenant of the Sackville family in 2 Edw. VI., and the burial of Wm. Bonik is recorded in the register Nov. 19, 1565.

Of the Fullers who possessed Tanners, and resided there, the following is a correct list:—



Ann, the daughter of the third of the above John Fullers, married George Courthope, Esq., eldest son of Sir George Courthope, of Whiligh, in Ticehurst, Knight, and was buried in the nave of Waldron Church, having died Dec. 16th, 1675, aged 26 years.

The Hammonds attained considerable wealth, and built, in 1622, a very picturesque house on the Cross Farm, opposite the church in Waldron Street. In 1851, being very much out of repair, it was greatly altered, one beautiful stack of chimneys out of three alone remaining to shew the taste of the architect.

The vault of the Hammonds is in the north aisle of the church. After leaving Waldron many of the family were brought to it from Lewes to be buried; and in 1766 these singular entries were made by the then incensed and avenging minister in the register:—"Oct 30. Ann Hammond, aged 35, wife of Wm. Hammond, of Lewes, Tanner. N.B.—There was a vault erected without any consent ask'd; but having buried the corpse, could demand only 6^s. 8^d. for breaking the ground, and 2^s. for reading the service; but might bury any one in the same vault." "Dec. 30. Thomas Ifold buried in the vault of Tanner Hammond's wife, of Lewes, no satisfaction having been made for the said vault. (N.B.—From the workhouse)."

The officiating minister on these occasions was most probably the Rev. T. Bennett; for the Rev. Michael Johnson, curate, was buried in Jan. of the same year, and a child of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bennett baptized, Sept. 5. The rector was Dr. Delves, who resided at Frant, of which he was vicar, but the handwriting seems to betoken that the memoranda were made by the rector himself.

In the 7th of Edw. I., at a court held at Chichester, Walter de la Hyde claimed to have without writings, in his manor of Walderne, view of frank pledge²² and assize of beer and bread broken twice a year; privileges which his predecessors had enjoyed beyond living memory. The jury found that the said Walter had enjoyed these rights, but that *quo warranto* he, or John of Gatesdenne before him, held them, they knew not; but that one part of the tenants in the time of the said John paid to the hundred of Tylle, and the other to the hundred of Shiplake.

Now as the only point at which Waldron, which is in Ship-lake, touches the hundred of Tylle or Dill, is in the immediate vicinity of Horeham, it would seem that Walter de la Hyde was the possessor of that manor. But I have no direct evidences of the fact.

Until the reign of Hen. VIII., I find no record of the

²² The law of "frank pledge" was confirmed by particular statutes of Wm. the Conqueror; and we have one of Henry II., which says—

"That it shall not be lawful for any person in a borough or town to lodge in his house any stranger whom he would not put under pledge, above one night, unless such stranger had a reasonable cause to allege for his stay, which his host was obliged to declare to his neighbours; and the guest when he departed, was not to go off, but in their presence, and by day." Littleton's Hist. of Henry II. Book II., p. 259.

manor of HOREHAM; only of the family of that name. In the Nonæ returns (A.D. 1341), William Horam appears among the jurors giving evidence as to the value of the rectory of Walderne; and in 47 Edw. III. (1373) "Hawkinrigge de Waldryn grants all his estates in Waldryn to Robt. Wylughby, Rector of the church of Waldryn, and to Robt. son of Thomas de Horeham. In the following year "*W^{mus.}* Wyllughby reconveys Waldryn." My authority for this is Sir Wm. Burrell, who quotes Pelham old deeds, A. No. 9. And in 30 Edw. III., William Sewale and Thomas de Horam held lands in Walderne of the manor of Laughton, and of the honour of the Eagle.²³

What estates these were, and who Hawkinrigge was, I have not been able more precisely to discover. But before 32 Hen. VIII., the Horeham estate had become the property of Thomas Walsh, Esq., and had probably belonged before him to Robt. Walsh, his father.

Thomas Walsh, and Joan his wife had bought in the previous year Halland, in East Hothly, which in 1557 Goddard Walsh, their son, sold to Sir Nicholas Pelham. Horsfield (vol. I., 358) calls him *Goddard* Welsh, of Brightling, Esq., but as that is a family name among the Walshes, there can be little doubt that he belonged to the Horeham family.

On an Inquisition taken at Lewes, May 29th, 1541, the jury found that Thomas Walsh (son of Robert), gent., died Feb. 11th last, leaving Goddard Walsh, his eldest son, heir, aged 12 years and 11 months; and that the said Thomas died seized of the manor of Horeham, of 40^{s.} value, in Waldron, a messuage, garden, 30 acres of pasture, 6 of meadow, 5 of wood, holden of Thos., Earl of Essex, by fealty, and 2s. 6d. rent. Also of a garden called Staunton's, 60 acres of land, 20 of meadow, 50 of pasture, and 2 of wood in Walderne, holden of Wm. Cheyney, gent., by 6d. rent. Also of 16 acres of land, 20 of meadow, 50 of pasture, 6 of wood in Walderne, holden of Thomas Threlee, Gent., as of his manor of Foxhunt by fealty, and 16s. rent. Also of 20 acres of land, 10 of meadow, 10 of pasture, 6 of wood in Walderne, residue of the said lands, holden of Anthony Brown, Gent., as of the manor of Walderne by fealty, and 6s."²⁴

²³ Tower Records, No. 29 and 56.

²⁴ J. Cole's Collection, vol. v, p. 339.

Goddard Walsh inherited Horeham, for in 1550 on an exemplification of recovery of the manor of Horeham and Birche (1060 acres) he appeared by his attorney as defendant.

Thomas Walsh, the next possessor, was probably his son or younger brother; for in 1572 he married Margery Selwyn of Friston. The Waldron register records the baptism and death of Goddard Walsh in 1580, the baptism of Beatrice in 1585, and the marriage of Joan in 1608, to Mr. Thomas Dyke.

The Walsh family were from Worcestershire, where at an early period John Walsh married a Wyard, whose arms Miss Walsh quartered. She also bore on another quarter a lion rampant, supposed to be the coat of Horeham of Horeham; for Collins, in his *English Baronets*, vol. 3, p. 608, says that Mr. Dyke married the daughter and heir of Thos. Walsh of Horeham, in Sussex, Gent. (by the daughter and heir to Horeham of Horeham). At p. 189 he tell us also that Lewis Monnoux, of Wotton, Esq. (whose burial took place at Waldron, Dec. 25th, 1616), married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Walsh, of Walderne.

She as well as Beatrice may have been a sister of Joan, who became the heiress of Horeham on the death of her father in 1616.

The Dykes were originally from Dykesfield, in Cumberland, whence a branch came to Sussex, and another settled at Cranbrook, in Kent.

The mansion of Horeham was built about the time of James I., and probably by Mr. Thomas Dyke. The north front still retains most of its original features, but the rest of the building has undergone great changes, having been converted into a farm house. A great demolition took place about 60 years since, when large foundations of what had probably been buildings of a more ancient date were dug up, and a considerable quantity of the materials of the house, then reduced in size, were carried to Southbourne, to fit up a cottage for Sir John Dyke. The terraces and bowling green of the old mansion may still be traced, and one room retains its tapestry. A large culvert also, which extends from the house quite across the turnpike road in front, bespeaks it the remains of a mansion of great extent.

I have seen an estimate of the timber standing in and

about the grounds, and ready to fell in the year 1702. The trees were 1883 in number, and among them were—

30	trees of two tons.
902	about a ton.
150	near a ton.
420	about 30 feet.

But the park has been given up to the ploughshare, and Waldron can boast of no such timber now.

Of Mr. Thomas Dyke and his wife Joan it is remarkable, that they both, as well as Abraham, their eldest son, died within the space of one year, 1632. The mother died in January, aged 46; the father in April, aged 69; and the son in October, aged 24. They were all buried in Waldron Church. He was succeeded in 1632 by his third son, who became Sir Thomas Dyke, Knight, and married Catherine Bramston, daughter of Sir J. Bramston, of Skreens, Essex, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, temp: Ch^s. I. Sir Thomas died Dec. 13th, 1669, aged 51; his wife May 28th, 1695, aged 76; they are buried in an "alley" of the Church. They had twelve children, of whom Thomas, the second son, became the Baronet in 1676, having represented Seaford in several Sessions of Parliament.²⁵ In 1687 he was elected Knight of the shire, and continued so for one session; and afterwards sat as M.P. for East Grinstead.²⁶ He married Philadelphia Nutt, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir T. Nutt, of Mays, Knight, to whom the church owes its handsome silver flagon, which bears the Dyke arms with those of Nutt in a lozenge; with the inscription:—"Y^e gift of y^e Lady Philadelphia Dyke, An^o Domⁱ 1708." The alms dish, which was doubtless included in the same gift, has only the date 1708.

The Chalice and Patten have the Dyke and Walsh arms, and this inscription:—"Joanna Dyke relictæ Tho: Dyke arm: calicem hunc Eccl^{iæ} Waldernensi dedicavit. 1638."

Sir Thomas died October 31st, 1706, aged 57 years; Dame Philadelphia, his wife, August 22nd, 1720; and are also buried in Waldron Church.

Sir Thomas, the second baronet, by his marriage with Anne, relict of John Bluett, Esq., of Holcombe Regis, Devon,

²⁵ 1660 to 1681, three sessions.

²⁶ 1688 to 1698, three sessions.

and daughter and heiress of Percival Hart, Esq., became possessed of Lullingstone Castle, Kent, which he made his residence soon after his mother's death, 1720; since which time the house at Horeham has been in the occupation of a family of the well-known and respected name of Mannington; Mr. Isaac Mannington being its present tenant.

The parish contains 6218 acres and its population in 1851 was 1106. Its gross estimated rental is £3713 2s. 6d., and its rateable value £3250 12s. 6d. The six parishes of Chiddingly, East Hothly, Framfield, Mayfield, Heathfield, and Hellingly adjoin it.

For an account of the ironworks in this parish, in the occupation of, and belonging to, the Fuller family, from which they are supposed to have derived much of their wealth; as well as an unsuccessful attempt made by John Fuller, Esq., of Rose Hill, in conjunction with Mr. Francis Newbery, of Heathfield Park, in 1801, to turn the lignite coal found on the eastern border of the parish, to a profitable account, see vol: ii., pp. 211 and 219. And for a reference to its Chalybeate Springs, and other matters connected with its history, see vols: vii., p. 230, and xii., pp. 175, 188, 189, and 202.

ROYAL LICENSES TO FORTIFY TOWNS AND HOUSES, IN SUSSEX.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

AT the present time when every one may freely build when and how he pleases, with whatever materials and in whatever form or style which an architect or his own caprice may suggest, it may seem a strange contrast to refer to the following copies of Royal Licenses permitting the towns, gentry, and clergy of Sussex to secure their own dwellings from outward violence by ditches and walls. The consideration may make us more conscious of the happier state of society, when no such means of defence are required, and when the unseen but universal influence of equal laws has provided for all a far more powerful protection than "foss and stone wall." It is, however, very interesting, both for architecture and the genealogy of families, to trace up to a fixed date the foundations of many buildings, all of which have survived their original purpose, and have now become the admired objects of antiquarian enquiry.

The Latin copies of the documents in the public records, and nearly all the materials of this paper have been most kindly furnished by W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., and to him I am also much indebted for many valuable suggestions relating to them.

The first license of the series relating to Sussex is also one of the earliest patents preserved in our Record Offices, and relates to Sedgewick, near Horsham, on which the Rev. E.

Turner has contributed much information in Suss: Arch: Coll: vol. viii., p. 31, though he has not noticed the following documents :

Sedgewick had been long held under the Lords of the Rape of Bramber by the family of Le Savage, without change, until the time of Hawisa, the heiress during the reign of Henry III. In those troubled times John Maunsell, whose name occurs in all the transactions of his day as an eminent ecclesiastic and a wealthy courtier, obtained the following grants to fortify "his house of Seggewik," and probably there was no castle on the spot previously. By what arrangement with the Savages and Braoses John Maunsell became entitled to this privilege does not appear, but it may be remarked that, though after the death of Maunsell, W. de Braose claimed the land as an eschaet, a lawsuit ultimately restored it to the Savages. During the civil war of the Barons the castle changed hands for a time, and was in the custody of Peter de Montfort on behalf of the Barons. In 1268 Hawisa procured for Sedgewick, from the Lords of Bramber, an exemption from murage dues, and in 1272 John le Savage and his son Robert exchanged it for other lands of W. de Braose. (viii. 35).

The situation of this castle, though expressly described as in Sussex, yet not being in a parish of the same name, but lying detached from its distant parish church of Broadwater, has led to a perplexity in Parker's excellent work on Domestic Architecture, p. 402, where it is placed in the parish of Heversham, in Westmoreland, as "it seems more probable that the Treasurer of York should have a house there than in Sussex."

"November 4, 1258.—For John Maunsell. The king to all persons, &c.—Know that by the advice of the Great Men (*procerum*) of our Council, we have granted on behalf of ourselves and our heirs to our beloved and faithful John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, that he may strengthen (*firmare*) his house of SEGGEWIK, in the County of Sussex, with fosses and a wall of stone and lime (*fossatis et muro de petra et calce*) and krenellate and fortify it (*kernellare et infortiare*) as may seem to him and his most expedient, without contradiction or impediment from us or our heirs, or of any person or

of any other persons. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, on the fourth day of November." (Pat. 43 Hen. III., m. 15.)

"March 15, 1262.—For John Maunsel, Treasurer of York. The king to all, &c.—Know that we have granted on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to our beloved and faithful John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, that he may fortify his house of SEGGEWIK, in the County of Sussex, with fosses and a wall of stone and lime, and krenellate and fortify it, as may seem to him and his most expedient, without contradiction or impediment from us or our heirs, or of any person or any other persons. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Wyndesor, on the 15th day of March." (Pat. 46 Hen. III., m. 13.)

July 18, 1263.—The king commits the custody of the Manor and fortalice of SEGGEWYK of John Mansell to Peter de Montfort. Thomas de Appelton and Eustace Hoyron are commanded to deliver the said manor and fortalice to the said Peter. (Pat. 47 Hen. III., m. 7.)

September 18, 1263.—The king commands Peter de Montfort to deliver to John Mansel, junior, or to his attorney, his castle of SEGGEWIK, which had been seized by some persons by reason of the disturbances in the kingdom, and had been committed to the custody of the said Peter by the king. (Pat. 47 Hen. III., m. 2.)

In the year 1324, on Sept. 5, king Edward II. visited "Neubrigge," in the parish of Pulborough (see vol. vi., p. 49), belonging to Alard le Fleming, and to his house, thus permitted to be rebuilt, the following refers:—

1251-2—The king gives license to Alard le Fleming to rebuild his houses, accidentally burnt in his park of PULBOROUGH, where his ancestors used formerly to dwell without krenellating (*sine kernellare*). (Pat. 36 Hen. III., m. 10.)

Percingeres or Percing in the following documents, is probably the Percinges of Domesday, a manor in Edburton, since Perching. A Robert de Aguylon died seized of Edburton in 1261. Cartwright's Rape of Bramber, p. 237.

“ March 16, 1260.—For Robert Aguilon. The king to all persons, &c., greeting—Know that on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, we have granted to Robert Aguilon and his heirs, that they may inclose and fortify the manse of their manor of PERCINGERES, in the County of Sussex, with a foss and wall of stone and lime, and may krenellate it at their pleasure; and may hold the same so fortified and krenellated for ever, without penalty (*occasione*) or impediment from us or our heirs. In witness of which, &c. Witness the king at Oxford, on the 16th day of March.” (Pat. 48 Hen. III., m. 17.)

“ February 8, 1268.—For Robert Aguyllun, concerning the strengthening a certain house of his. The king to all persons, &c., greeting—Know that we have granted on behalf of ourselves and our heirs to our beloved and faithful Robert Aguillon, and his heirs, that they may inclose and fortify the manse of their manor of PERCING, in the County of Sussex, with a foss and wall of stone and lime, and krenellate it at their pleasure, and hold it so fortified and krenellated for ever, without penalty or impediment from us or our said heirs. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king at Westminster, on the 18th day of February.” (Pat. 52 Hen. III., m. 27.)

For particulars of the family of Husee, see vol. viii. p. 46.—also vol. x. p. 134.

“ April 9, 1266.—For Henry Husee. The king to all persons, &c., greeting—Know that at the instance of Edward, our first-born, we have granted for ourselves and our heirs, to Henry Husee and his heirs, that they may inclose and fortify a certain place (*placeam*), at his manor of HERTINGE, in the County of Sussex, wherever, indeed, within the said manor they consider most expedient, with a foss, and wall of stone and lime, and may krenellate it at their pleasure, and may hold that place so fortified and krenellated for ever without penalty or impediment of ourselves or our heirs. In witness of which, &c. Witness, the king at Windesore, on the 9th day of April.” Pat. 50 Hen. III., m. 20).

1349.—The third part of the capital messuage at HER-

TYNGE was assigned to Katherine, widow of Henry Husee—all chambers (*cameræ*), near the west gate, and beyond the said gate, with the herb-garden (*herbario*), near the said chambers towards the west, and two smaller granges towards the garden. Also all chambers near the west gate and beyond the said gate, except that the house of the prison (*domus prisonæ*) shall remain to Henry the son of Henry Husee, so that the aforesaid gates shall be common, both for the aforesaid Katherine, and for the aforesaid Henry, son of Henry Husee, with free entrance and outlet. Also the third part of two pigeon-houses (*columbariorum*) with the houses annexed to one pigeon-house. Also all her easements at her will in the bake-house of the same Henry, for the service of the kitchen, bakehouse, and brewhouse, for the aforesaid Katherine, with free entrance and outlet, until the said Henry shall build a competent house at his own charges for the above-said offices near the west gate. Also a certain house between the great grange and the lesser grange, called *Chasshus*; also a certain small house called *Le Carterestable*. Also a certain house near the small pigeon-house, called *Le Hynehous*, with a certain stable existing in the said house. Also a certain house, called *Le Pressonshous*, in common, to be repaired and upheld at the charges of the aforesaid Henry and Katherine. Also a house called *Hoggehous*, in common both for the aforesaid Katherine, and for the aforesaid Henry. —(Close R. 23 Edw. III., p. 2, n. 2, d).

Borne, as it appears in Domesday, now Westbourne, is at the extreme western boundary of the county adjoining Hampshire.

“April 24, 1307.—For Mathew de Mount Martin. The king to all bailiffs, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given license on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our beloved and faithful Mathew de Mount Martin, that he may enclose and krenellate his manse of BURN, in the County of Sussex, with a wall of stone and lime, and may hold that manse so enclosed and krenellated for himself and his heirs for ever, without penalty or impediment from us, or our heirs, justiciaries, sheriffs, or

others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Carlisle, on the 24th day of April."—(Pat. 35 Edw. I., m. 14).

The ancestor of the present Baron Leconfield, to whom the following grant of three fortifications was given, was the husband of Eleanor Fitz-Alan, daughter of John, Earl of Arundel.

"October 4, 1309.—For Henry de Percy.—The king to all bailiffs and his liegemen, to whom, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given licence on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our beloved and faithful Henry de Percy, that he may fortify and krenellate with a wall of stone and lime his manses of SPOFFORD AND LEKYNFELD, in the County of York, and of PETWORTH, in the County of Sussex, and that he may hold them, so fortified and krenellated, for himself and his heirs for ever, without penalty or impediment from us, or our heirs, justiciaries, eschaetors, sheriffs, or others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king at Westminster, on the 4th day of October." (Pat. 2 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 19.)

La Mote, in the parish of Iden, near Rye, has been frequently confounded with the Moat in Kent.

The chapel of La Mote was founded or rather newly built by Edmund Passele, and he, on July 18, 20 Edw. II. (1326), obtained the king's licence to endow Ralph de Clifton, parson of the chapel, with a messuage and 40 acres, and seven marks' worth of rent in Brooklands, Farefeld, Dodemaneswyke and Saltelonde. In 8 Hen. V. (1420-1), Philippa de Swinborne died, seized of one-third part of the manor of le Mote, in Iden. In 31 Hen. VI. (1452-3), Sir John Passhele, K^t., died seized of it, and the patronage of the chapel, as also that of Pashelee in Estborne, and Great Pashele in Tyshurst. In the return of the Colleges and Chantries, 1 Edw. VI. (1547), the chantry of Le Mote is returned as of the value of 36^s.

Sir John Harrys was then incumbent, and it is stated that the vicarage of Farley, of the yearly value of 6^l. 9^s. 1^d., belonged to the gift of the chantry. In Cardinal Pole's Book of Pensions (f. 25), 24 Feb. 1556, Sir John Harris was still receiving the pension, but it is returned at 30s. a year only. The Manor of Iden was distinct, and belonged to the Tregoz family, and was in the king's hands in 24 Edw. I. (1295-6), and in the early part of Edw. III. it belonged with the patronage of the church to Nicholas de la Beche and Margaret his wife, who died seized, 19 Edw. III. (1345). In 1361 they belonged to Simon Joyce, whose sister and heir, Alice, in 1370, sold her half to William Taylour, of Rye, and he in the next year held the entirety as of the king in capite, but in 1375 they had passed to Thomas de Graunson, who also held Iham, on which New Winchelsea was built. The crown reserved the rents of £8 on the manor, and these passed through many noble families, belonging in 1385-6 to Johanna, Princess of Wales, mother of K. Richard II. (Inq. p. m. No. 54.) In 1396-7 they belonged to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Alicia his wife (Inq. p. m. No. 30), forming part successively of the dowries of Elizabeth, widow of John, and of Alice, widow of Thomas, Earls of Kent, and in 1434-5 of Johanna, widow of Henry de Braunflete, Knight, late Duchess of York; in 1443-4 they belonged to John, Duke of Somerset, after which they passed to the Nevilles, and were held (2 Ric. III.), 1484-5, by Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. On March 30, 1592 (Rot. Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. 2), the lands in Ticehurst and Lamberhurst, formerly appointed by Edmund Passeley for a priest or chaplain, in the parish of Passeley and La Leche, were granted to William Tipper and Robert Dawe.

"December 10, 1318.—Concerning the krenellating a manse.—The king to all bailiffs and his faithful liegemen, to whom, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given licence on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to our beloved and faithful Edmund de Passeleye, that he may fortify and krenellate his manse of LA MOTE, in the County of Sussex, with a wall of stone and lime, and may hold the said manse so fortified and

krenellated for himself and his heirs for ever, without penalty or impediment from us or our heirs, justiciaries, sheriffs, and others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king at York, on the 10th day of December." (Pat. 12 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 8.)

This document is printed in fac-simile in Holloway's Hist. of Romney Marsh, p. 89.

I am indebted to N. Wetherell, Esq., for the following information respecting the grantee in this document.

Edmund de Passeleye (whose name has survived to our times, represented by the old mansion of Pashley, near Battle) had, many years previous to this Royal Licence of fortifying LA MOTE, received in 1283 a grant of Free Warren from King Edward I., in his demesne lands of "Smeth and Whutrichesham, in Kent, of Farley, Tichesherst, Mundefeld, Brightlinge, Battle, Maghefeld, Hertefeld, and Pageham, in Sussex, and of Merstham, in Surrey," with a penalty of £10 upon trespassers, reserving however the King's rights within the boundaries of his forest. This Writ of Privy Seal was witnessed at Clarendon, on February 24, 1383, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Hugh le Despenser the elder, John de St. John, William de Montacute, Steward of the Household, and others.

"January 25, 1329.—For Robert Ardern. The king to all bailiffs and his liegemen, to whom, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to our beloved and faithful Robert de Ardern, that he may fortify with a wall of stone and lime, and krenellate his manses of DRATTON, in the County of Oxford, and of PERCHING, in the County of Sussex, and may hold them so fortified and krenellated for himself and his heirs for ever, without penalty or impediment from us, or our heirs, sheriffs, or others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king at St. Albans, on the 25th day of January."—(Pat. 3 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 38).

The manor of Dixter, or Dixthern, is in the parish of Northiam. See also subsequently, the grant of August 19, 1479.

"September 30, 1330.—For Thomas Tregoz. The king to all, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to our beloved and faithful Thomas Tregoz, that he may fortify with a wall of stone and lime, and krenellate his manse of DACHESHAM, in the County of Sussex, and may hold that manse so fortified and krenellated, for himself and his heirs, for ever, without penalty or impediment, from us, or our heirs, or our officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Worcester, on the 30th day of September."—(Pat. 4 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 40).

"June 9, 1338.—License to krenellate the manse of the Abbey of BATTLE.—The king to all his bailiffs and liegemen, to whom, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given licence on behalf of ourselves and heirs, as much as in us lies, to the beloved by us in Christ, the Abbot and Convent of Battle, that they may fortify with a wall of stone and lime, and krenellate the site (*situm*) of that Abbey, which is of the foundation of our progenitors, formerly Kings of England, and may hold that site so fortified and krenellated for themselves and successors for ever, without penalty or impediment, from ourselves, or our heirs, justiciaries, eschaetors, sheriffs, or others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Lopham, on the 9th day of June."—(Pat. 12 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 28).

1360.—John, Earl of Richmond, Lord of the Rape of Hastings, had permission to take as many carpenters, and masons, and other workmen, as might be necessary for repairing the houses, walls, and other buildings of his manors of CRAWEHURST and BURGHERSSH, in the County of Sussex.—(Pat. 34 Edw. III., p. 1, m. 33).

"July 1, 1360.—For the Prior of Lewes concerning license to krenellate—The king to all persons to whom, &c., greet-

ing—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given license, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to the beloved by us in Christ, the Prior and Convent of LEWES, that they may fortify with walls of stone and lime, the said Priory, and church, and houses (*domos*) of the same Priory, and to krenellate, and to hold them so fortified and krenellated, for themselves and their successors for ever, without penalty, or impediment, from us, or our heirs, justiciaries, eschaetors, sheriffs, or others our bailiffs or officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the first day of July.”—(Pat. 34 Edw. III., p. 2. m. 21).

“*March* 3, 1369.—Concerning the enclosing the Town of RYE.—The King to all persons to whom, &c., greeting. The Mayor and Commonalty of the town of LA RYE have petitioned us, &c. We assenting to their petition in this particular, have granted and given license on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty, that they may with a wall of stone and lime enclose, fortify, and krenellate the said Town of la Rye, and may hold the same so enclosed, fortified, and krenellated for themselves, their heirs, and successors of us and our heirs, by the services due and accustomed thereon for ever, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the third day of March.” (Pat. 43. Edw. III. p. 1. m. 26.)

1377—1378. The city of CHICHESTER having been anciently enclosed and fortified with a wall and turrets of stone and mortar, which, in process of time, for want of repair, had become ruinous, and the city without ditch or any fortification, the Mayor and Citizens now propose to repair the walls, turrets, and gates of the city, and construct a new ditch round the city 50 feet wide. The King empowers them to compel the men of the city to contribute to the expenses of the said repairs. (Pat. 1. Ric. II. p. 2. m. 20.)

The documents giving the Abbey of Battle and the Priory of Lewes the liberty of fortifying their religious houses, have been already given. The following provides a fortified palace for the Bishop of the Diocese; and much of Bishop Rede's external walls still remains, though it was probably never a very strong fortress. When an assessment for the defence of the kingdom was levied for King Charles I., at the commencement of the civil war, the collector received £12 3s. 4d. for the castle of Amberley.

"*December* 10, 1377.—Concerning krenellating a manse. The King to all persons to whom, &c., greeting. Know that of our special grace we have granted and given licence on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, to the venerable father in Christ, William, Bishop of Chichester, that he may fortify with a wall of stone and lime his manor (*manerium*) of AMBERLE, and krenellate it, and may hold that manor so fortified and krenellated for himself and his successors for ever, without penalty or impediment from us or our heirs or our officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c.—Witness the King at Westminster, on the 10th day of December." (Pat. 1. Ric. II. p. 2. m. 13.)

The following License has been already printed in Mr. Lower's paper on "Bodiam, and its Lords," vol. ix. p. 290.

"*October* 21, 1385.—Concerning the krenellating of a manse. The King to all persons to whom, &c., greeting. Know that of our special grace we have granted and given license on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our beloved and faithful Edward Dalyngrigge, Knight, that he may, with a wall of stone and lime, fortify and krenellate the manse of his manor of BODYHAM, near the sea, in the County of Sussex, and may construct and make thereby a castle for the defence of the adjacent country for resistance against our enemies, and may hold the aforesaid manse so fortified and krenellated, and the castle thereby so made for himself and his heirs for ever, without penalty or impediment from us or our heirs or our officers whosoever. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, on the 21st day of October." (Pat. 9. Ric: II. p. 1. m. 22.)

“February 5, 1441.—For Roger Fenys, Knight.—The King to Archbishops, Bishops, &c., to whom, &c., greeting—Know that of our special grace we have granted and given license on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to our beloved and faithful Knight, Roger Fenys, that he may with walls and lime, enclose, krenellate, entower and embattle (*turrellare et batellare*), his manor of HURST MOUNCEUX, in the County of Sussex, and that he may hold the aforesaid manor so enclosed, krenellated, entowered, and embattled, for himself and his heirs for ever, without impeachment (*impetitione*), from ourselves, or our heirs, or our other officers or heirs whosoever. Given by our hand, at Westminister, on the 5th day of February.”—Chart. 1 to 20 Hen. VI. 19, No. 21).

After the attack upon Winchelsea by the French in 1449, active measures for its defence were taken, especially in 1457, see W. D. Cooper's Hist. of Winchelsea, p. 102.

“June 5, 1463.—For the Mayor and Commonalty of the Town of WYNCHELSE—The king to all persons to whom, &c., greeting—Know that whereas our beloved Mayor and Commonalty of our Town of WYNCHELSE have long had and held the same Town, for themselves and their successors of us, and our progenitors, for a certain Fee-Farm (*feudi firma*), of £14 11s. 5³/₄d., and whereas they have and hold them of us at the present time, for the aforesaid Fee-Farm, and the site of that town is so wide and spacious, that all dwelling in the said Town would by no means suffice, or be able for the defence and protection of the same, if it were assaulted or besieged by enemies, which may God forbid, without the assistance and support of the adjacent parts, and on that account the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty now propose by means of our license, to fortify the aforesaid town with a certain wall of stone and lime, and with a certain foss in a lesser circuit as well upon our land in the Town, which is called the Waste (*Vastum*), as also upon the holdings of others of the same Town, which are held of us as parcels of their said Fee-Farm, for this purpose to be bought, provided, and made by the same Mayor and Commonalty, and they may enclose, krenellate, entower, and embattle, the said wall, and

may enclose with the same foss, the said town so fortified, entowered, krenellated, and embattled, we are earnestly desirous that those places which are adapted for fortification should be made strong for the security and defence of the people subject to us, and for the terror and repulse of our enemies, and considering how the said Town lies situated on the coast of the sea, and on the frontier of our enemies, and is to all and singular our lieges, and our friends passing at sea by there as it were, the key, refuge, and guard of those parts against the tempestuousness of the sea, and the insults of our said enemies, and wishing, moreover that the good and laudable proposal of the same Mayor and Commonalty in this particular should result in a due and speedy effect, of our certain grace, and of our certain knowledge, we have granted and given license, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty, that they, their heirs and successors may fortify our aforesaid Town with a certain wall of stone and lime, within a lesser circuit in the manner that may seem most expedient to them; may krenellate, entower, and embattle it, and also enclose it with a certain foss, both upon our own foresaid land, and upon that of others, as is premised, and may have and hold that Town so fortified, krenellated, entowered, and enclosed, together with the residue of the site of the same Town, for themselves and their successors, of us and our heirs, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, on the 5th day of June.”—(Pat. 3 Hen. V., p. 2, n. 28. Extracts).

“August 19, 1479.—For John Elryngton, Knight—The king to all persons, to whom, &c., greeting—Know that we of our special grace, in consideration of the good and faithful service rendered to us in diverse manners, by our beloved and faithful John Elryngton, Knight, the Treasurer of our household (*hospitii*), have granted and given license on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, as much as in us lies, to the same John, that he and his heirs, at their own will and pleasure, may build, make, and construct walls and towers, with stones, lime, and sand, around and within his manors of Dix-

THERN and UDEYMER, in the County of Sussex, and may enclose those manors with such walls and towers, and also may embattle, entower, krenellate, and machicolate the same walls and towers, and may hold those manors so enclosed, and those walls and towers so embattled, entowered, krenellated, and machicolated, built, made and constructed, for himself and his aforesaid heirs, for ever. Witness the King, at Guildford, on the 15th day of August."—(Pat. 19 Edw. IV., m. 20).

John Elryngton was Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery, and Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward the IV., Clerk of the Hanaper and Treasurer of the Household to Edward V., and Justice of Sewers (*see 9th Report of Deputy Keeper of Records, App. 11, p. 3*). On the 28th of October, 1483, (1 Richard III.,) as one of the Knights of the Royal Body, he had a grant for life of the office of Constable, or Lieutenant of Windsor Castle, with all emoluments, as the same had been held by Thomas Bourghchier, Knight (*ib. app. 15*). He was also Bailiff of Winchelsea (*see W. D. Cooper's Winchelsea, p. 116,*); and died, June 14, 1484. He married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Thomas Echingham. In 1735 Mr. L. Allies exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries Sir Charles Merrick's drawings of a plan of the old church of St. Leonards, Shoreditch, with the monuments of Sir John Elrington, Treasurer of the Household, K.B., on the marriage of Richard Duke of York, 2nd son of Edward IV., and his Lady in a North aisle; also its East window, with their arms, and the figure of St. George (*Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 6350, p. 128, and Gough's Brit. Topogr. I, p. 567*). Edward Elrington, Chief Butler to Edward V., who died 1538, and bore the Arms of Echingham quarterly, was buried at St. Peters church, Cornhill. (*Strype's Stowe. B. 2, p. 139, 140*).

INVENTORIES OF GOODS, &c.,

IN THE MANOR OF CHESEWORTH, SEDGWICK, AND OTHER PARKS,
THE MANOR PLACE OF SHEFFIELD, AND IN THE FOREST OF
WORTH, WITH THE IRON-WORKS BELONGING TO THE LORD AD-
MIRAL SEYMOUR, AT THE TIME OF HIS ATTAINDER, TAKEN 1549.¹

BY SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.S.A.

INVENTORIES have a peculiar value, in giving us some notion of the domestic life of our ancestors; and those now given have this additional worth, that they afford evidence of the mode in which the Sussex residence of the Howards (including the room of the poet-earl of Surrey, and his sister, the Duchess of Richmond) was furnished in the time of Henry VIII., and they give us details of the price of iron, the number of workmen, the wages of the foremen, and the places of sale, which have not been as yet printed.

A notice of Cheseworth and Sedgewick will be found in the eighth volume of our *Sussex Arch: Collections*, (pp. 31 and 97). On the attainder of Thomas, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, 1546, his vast estates in Sussex and other counties, fell into the King's hands: and after the accession of Edward VI. they were granted (19th August, 1547) to Thomas Lord Seymour.² Little more than sixteen months however elapsed before Seymour himself was in prison and his property seized.

¹ Edward VI. Domestic VI., art. 3.

² Rot. Pat. pt. 2.

³ The bill for his attainder was read a first time on 25th July, and received the Royal Assent on 14th March, 1548-9.

The names of some of the rooms—the lady of Richmond's⁴ chamber, and the late Lord of Surrey's chamber—and the dilapidated state of the furniture "very old and sore worn," and the ragged curtains show that the goods and effects had belonged for many years to the family so recently disposed; and indicate no great luxury. The beds especially do not give a very grand amount even of comfort; since there was but one trussing or lady's bedstead, and the other 20 were "livery bedsteads of boards in quarters knocked together."

The subjects of the Tapestry are curious. The stories of Hawking and Hunting,⁵ and of the Magistrates, are well known: the story of Jason is still represented on the Gobelin Tapestry, in the state ball room at Windsor Castle; and the story of Christ, and the Bishop of Rome, is mentioned in the inventory of the furniture of Henry VIII.,⁶ as painted on a table of wood at Westminster; it may possibly allude to Pope Gregory.

The furniture of the Chapel alone seems to have been worthy of a ducal residence.

The store of deer in five parks, and of oxen, betoken also good cheer: whilst the knife in the bakehouse to scrape off the moulding of bread, is anything but inviting.

At Sheffield there was a furnace for casting raw iron only, with 23 workmen; at which 14 oxen were employed for draught, with two wain-men, and a hammer-mill, the iron of which had been sold for £8 12s. a ton, and some had been taken, amongst other places, to the White Hart in Southwark, which had been Jack Cade's head quarters, and which is fully noticed in Mr. Corner's paper on the Inns of Southwark, in the 2nd vol. of Collections of the Surrey Arch: Society (p. 64). In the Forest of Worth there was a double furnace to cast ordnance and shot, as well as raw iron, and a forge also, at

⁴ Mary, only daughter of Thomas, 3rd Duke, married, in 1533, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII. Mr. J. G. Nichols has printed a full notice of her in the Gentleman's Magazine, for May, 1845; and of her husband in Vol. iii. of the Camden Society's Miscellany.

⁵ The Harl: MS., 1419, contains an inventory of the furniture of Hen. VIII., in his several palaces at his death. At fol. 209 we have the Hawking, fol. 210, Hunting of Wild Beasts, and 215, Hawking and Hunting at Hampton Court; and the same subject occurs in the tapestry at Oatlands and Greenwich.

⁶ Harl: MS. 1419, fol. 116.

which 33 workmen were employed. All the workmen were paid by task work, but over each forge was a manager to superintend the work and workmen, and weigh the iron, with a yearly salary of £4 and a livery, or 10s., and meat and drink.

The Manor of Cheseworth in the Countie of Sussex. { An Inventorye takyn there the xxth day off Januarie, in the second yere of the reign off Kyng Edward the vjth, by Sir Thomas Cawarden and Sir William Goryng, Knyghts, by virtue of a comyssyon off assistors, w^t a Memoryall of Instructions to them directed, and delyvered for the same purpose, by my Lorde Protector's Grace, [Somerset] wth the others of the kyng's moste hon'able counsell, dated the xvijth of Januarie, A^o predicto, as well of all the Goodds, Catalls, howsold stuffe, and other Implementts, beyng in and abowte the Manor place aforesaid, as also in the Park, Forests, and other Offyces of the Lorde Admyrall, withyn the Countye aforseyd, as hereafter folowythe:—

Hanggings in the Hawle. Off Tappestry verye olde and sore woryn, iiij^{or} pec^s. The storie of Hawkyng and Hunttyng.

Greate Chamber. Of Tapestry very olde, v peces of the Story of Jason.

Dynyng Chamber. Off Tapestry olde, the Storye of the Byssope of Rome vj peces, i olde Clothe of Estate blew Velvete upon Golde.

My Lord's Bed Chamber. Off Tappestry, the Storie of Magistrates, very olde, vj. peces.

Chapell Chamber. Off verders,⁷ wth brade levys, and whyte lyons, in skutcheons—olde, v. peces.

Inner Chamber to my Lord's Bed Chamber. Off dornyx,⁸ olde, iiij^{or} peces more lying there, for Hanggyngs of dornyx, olde. viij. peces more there for Hangings off Tapestry, sore woryn, and lytill worthe, vij. peces.

Chapell Closett. Off saye,⁹ olde, red and whyte, and red

⁷ Forest work, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, are represented. See *Suss: Arch: Coll.* vol. vii. p. 38.

⁸ A coarse sort of damask, originally manufactured at Tournay. Serge, or woollen cloth.

and yellow, thoroughly hangged, w^t one lytill pece
more there of say hanggings, red and yellow, olde.

Inner Chamber in the Lady of Richemond's Chamber. Off
dornyx, verie olde, iij. peces, sore woryn.

Next Chamber to the same. Off dornyx, ij. pec^s, and one
of Tapestrye, olde and sore woryn.

The litill Closett. In boxes of evidences, xxj.

Treasaurer's Chamber. Off olde saye panyd sore woryn
thoroughly hanggid.

Clarke, Controller's Chamber. Off olde saye panyd and
sore woryn, thoroughly hanggyd.

Almener's Chamber. Off olde say panyd w^t red and whyte,
sore woryn.

Awdytt Chamber. Off dornyx, iij peces, olde.

Chamber over the Ewrye. Off dornyx, iij. peces, olde.

Itm. Chamber to the late Lorde of Surr's Chamber. Off olde
red clothe, j. pece.

Chappell. Off olde tapestrie, ij. peces.

Nurserye. Off olde verdure, over the chymney, one pece.

Nether Tower Chamber. Off olde verdure, wth lyons, iij.
peces, and one chymney clothe off olde tapestrye.

The Upper Tower Chamber. Off olde verdure, ij. peces.

Wyndow Clothys. Off tappestrye, sore woryn, and
some nothyng worthe, iiij^{or}.; Turke worke, olde;
dornyx, very olde; verdure, olde and woryn . x.

Cupborde Clothes. Off Turkye worke, olde, iiij.; tapes-
trye, very olde, iij.; Dornyx, olde; verdure, olde ix.

Carpetts. Ffor borde carpetts and ffote carpetts, of
Turkye worke, olde and woryn. . ix.

Of Cusshyns—covered wth olde red damask; wth olde
raggid couwerings, xiiij.; wth grene sylke for the
chappell xvj.

Chayers—covered wth red velvet, olde, i.; wth black
velvet, olde j. ij.

Bedsteds. Off trussing¹⁰ bedsteds, j.; lyvery bedsteds,
of bords in q^tters, knocked to gethers, xx. . xxi.

*Testorras*¹¹. Off tysshewe and red veluet, painyd, im-
brodered w^t droppys of golde, w^t curtins of sar-

¹⁰ Camp bedsteads, that could be packed for travelling.

¹¹ The upright bail and top of the bed.

senet, paned blewe and yellow, j.; blewe bawdekyn,¹² with curteyns of blew sarsenette, olde, j.; old red saye, steynid, without curteins, i.; raggid sarsenet, withoutt curtaynes, i.; tynsell satten and velvet, payned with curteyns of olde grene sarsenett, i.; olde sarsenet, without curteyns, i.; sarsenet, w^t curteyns, in the nursery, i.; grene velvett and bawdekyn, imbroderid with crownes and starrs, w^t curteyns of red and grene sarsenett, j; velvett, imbrowderid with basketts and letters off golde, w^t raggid curteyns of sarsenet, panyd yellow and incarnation . ix.

Beddyng. Fether bedds, good and bad, lxxiiij.; bolsters, good and bad, lxiiij.; pyllowes of downe, good and bad, xiiij.; mattresses, thoroworyn, and lyttill worthe, ix.; flock bolsters, thoroworyn, and litill worthe, xij.; pyllows of fflox,¹³ covered wth canvas, olde, i.; blanketts, good and bad, cxviiij.

Couerletts and Quyllts. Dornyx, olde, xxij.; couerlett worke, olde and toryn, xj.; whyte and grene¹⁴ cloth, wth white lyons, i.; white and grene cloth; quyllts of lynnyn cloth, olde, xix. . liij.

Naperie. Shets, olde and woryn, xviiij. peyer.

Tabyll Clothys. Damaske, iiij^{or}.; course dy^{ap}., viii.; playne cloth course, xvj.

Towels. Of ffyne dyaper damaske werke, iiij.; course dyaper, x.; playne clothe, xj.; sewyng towells, vj. xxx.

Cupbord Clothes. Of dyaper, iiij^{or}.; playne clothe, ij. . vj.

Tabyll Napkyns. Of dyaper, viij. dossyn viij.; playne cloth, j. doss. . ix. doss. viii.

Hand Towells. Of course playne clothes . . vj.

Ffurnytur of the Chappell—Alter Clothys. Red velvet w^t whyte lyons, j.; satten of Brugges, panyd w^t white and grene, w^t droppys of golde, ij.; red and russatt vellat, panyd imbrodered w^t lyons gryffons hedds, j.; lynnyn clothe, iiij^{or}.; covering of red say for the altare, j.; curteynes of saye, ij. viij.

¹² Bawdekin cloth—blue and white.

¹³ Flick or hair of hares and rabbits.

¹⁴ Tudor colours.

One frounte of sarsnet blak and yellow; one vestement, wyth appertenances of whyte sattin of Briges; one chalys, syluer and gylte; one masse boke; one sakeryng¹⁵ bell; iij. crewetts of pewter; ij. super altaries; one raggid banner clothe of sylke w^t flowers of golde.

Tables. xj. with trestyll and other portatyvys and formes incident to the same furnysshyl.

Cubbards. viij. of bords knokkyd together to stand in chambers; i. andyeron; j. fyreshovell; j. fyer forke.

Candylstykk. Of lattyn,¹⁶ viij.; tyn, iiij. xij.

Plats. In the ewrye, v.; in the hall, ij. vij.

iiij. chests; vj. chamber potts; basons, olde, x.; basons, new, vj. xvj.

Smythys Forge. A payer of newe belowes; a cove iron; a grete andvyle; a slege; ij. hand hamers; ij. payer tonggs; one peyer of plyers; a stampe; a pounche; a horse nayle toole; a perser to make holys in horse shoys; a chesell; a shovyll for colys; a poynttyng stethye;¹⁷ a pan to dres horssez fete; a pece of a brokyn pan; a pece of a swadyng iron; a payle; a markyng iron; a small perser; a bedsted in the smythe's chamber; a perser iiij^{or}. square.

Bakhowse. ij. flower basketts; i. water cowell;¹⁸ a payle; a brake¹⁹ w^t a bolle of iron; fyve pelys of woode; a trough crate of iron; ij. pannys; a trevett; a a trough crate, wth a stele of wood; a flower shovyll; a box for salte; a basket to cary bred; a knyfe to scrape the moldyng of brede.

Brew House. A grete copper in the fornase; iij. grete fatts; a grete covyll of ffyr;²⁰ smale kelters xix.; stykmands, viij; hop mands, j.; a long trough from the wall; a peyer of slynggs; ij. towells; copper kettys, ij.; stykforks, ij.; rothers, iiij.; shovylls, ij.; skopatts, ij.; coole bak, j.; an ax,

¹⁵ Sacrament.

¹⁸ A large wooden tub.

¹⁶ Plate tin

¹⁹ A kneading trough.

¹⁷ Small anvil.

²⁰ Fir or deal.

j.; kymells, ij.; ffyer prongs, ij.; baralls, xxxvj.; a carte w^t whelys; a payer wooddyn tonggs.

Slaughter Howse. Bedsteds, ij.; playne formes, j.; Ropys to hang up befe, ij.; pynnys of iron for the same, ij.; hand hoks, j.; an olde lede in a furnys, j.; a peyer of skales, wth beamys of woode, to wey tallowe; an axe.

Kechyn and Pantrye. Long brochys,²¹ xx.; shorte brochys, xiiij.; rakks of iron, j. payer; pottys, ix.; pannys, x., where of one in the boyling place, and one in the skoldyng house furnayse; brasyn ladylls, ij.; thereof one w^t an iron stele; skymmers, ij.; colanders, ij.; pot hokes, payers ij.; trevets, iij.; a bras'n mortar w^t a pestyll of iron; ffyllyng ladylls, ij.—KNYVYS, a courser, j.; mynsyng knyvys, j.; chopyng knyvys, iij.; chopyng knyvys, j.—Chafyng dysshis, ij.; a posnet²² of bras, lakkyng a handyll; a skyllett; a a brokyn chafer; ffryingpannes, ij.; lachyng pannys, iij.; trene bollys, ij.; watercowlis, ij.; a grete olde maunde, j.; empty hoggysshedds, ij.; a bucket to draw water; payles, iij.; ffyer shovell, j.; a stone mortar w^t a pestyll of wode; a olde crate; a cheste in the pantry to kepe spycys; a lether jak;²³ rough basketts, ij.

Scullery. Chargers, viij.; platers, ix. dossyn ij.; dysshes, ix. doss, ix.; sawcers, vij. doss. iij.; plates, ix.; a stone mortar w^t a pestyll of woode; mustard quernes,²⁴ peyers, ij.; a fyer shovyll; a box for mustard; formys, ij.; pannys, ij.

Barnes. Hay, by estymacyon, xl. lodes; Bryke, by estymacyon, xx^m.

CHESEWORTH PARK.²⁵—*Catall.* Nyne fattyng oxyn, and one bare and syk ox; a stonyd horse for a stallant; vj. oxyn latelye sold to Richard Weller, of Shepley, for vij^{ls}. whereof the money ys yet unpayed, by reason that he had a day gevyn hym to pay the same.

²¹ Spits for roasting.

²⁴ Hand-mills.

²² See *ante*, p. 54.

²³ A large leather bottle.

²⁵ See also Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. x, p. 57.

KNAPP PARK.—One hundred fattyng oxyn, and one cow
liij. fattyng shepe, whereof ij. beyng nott dryd, and
marked with an S.

SEGEWYKE PARKE.²⁷—In the same parke, x. porkers, worth by estymacon, xx^d. a pece, dere in the same parke, by estymacion, c. dere.

LITILL PARKE IN THE FOREST.—In the same parke, by estimacion, iiiij^{xx}. dere.

All which are unaccomptyd for one hole yere,
 endyng at Michalmas, A° sc^{do}, R. Edwardi, sext.

{ W. CAUERDEN.
{ WYLLYAM GORYNG.

The House and Park of Cheseworth. Henri ffoyce, keper there, havyng for hys ffee yerely, vj^{li}. xx^d. The same Henri, understeward there, havyng for his ffee by yere, xl^s.

²⁷ *Ib.*, vol. viii., p. 31, and *ante*, p. 105.

Barony of Brambr and Lewes. The same Henri, receuor there, havyng for hys ffee, by yere, xl^s, w^h therbage of xiii. bests, ij. horsys, and also ij. horsys founde in my lord's stable.

Knap Parke. Wylliam Skoterall, keper there, hauyng at my lordd's plesure, w^h therbage of xiiij. bests, ij. horsys, and ten hoggs.—George Bernard, vnderkeper there, having the goyng off vj. bests or naggs, and vj. hoggs there.

Segewyke Parke. Wylliam Barwyke, keper there, hauyng for hys fee iiij^{ls}. xj^s. iij^d. per ann., and the rate of viij. oxyn, xii. keane, vi. marys and geldyngs, and xvi. swyne.

Bewbushe and Shelly Parke. John Berde,²⁸ keper there, hauyng for hys fee vj^{ls}. xx^d. per ann., ix. catall, and xx^{ti}. hors bests.

Lytell Parke in the Forest. John Myles, keper there, hathe for his fee lx^s by yere, and the goyng of serteyn catall.—John Roose, water-bayliffe there, hauyng for hys fee, by yere, xxvj^s. vij^d.—Thomas Bradbrige, bayliff errant, having for his fee iiij^{li} per annum.—John Carrel, Esquyer,²⁹ hygh-steward of the Baronye of Brambre, and for his Counsell, lxxvj^s. viij^d. by yere.—Edmond Mychell, gent.,³⁰ steward of the Barony of Lewes, hauyng for his fee xl^s by yere.—Richard Gybson, of thage of iiij^{xx} yeres, hathe injoyid one almes-house, at Shoreham, about xvj. yeres, w^{ch} is worth to him, yerely, fower marks, hauyng no other ricompense but that for l. yers service to the late Duke of Norffolke and his ancestors.—Wylliam Barrow, bayliff of Shoreham, w^t the fee off lx^s. x^d. by the yere.

²⁸ "John Beard had lands in Cowfold, in Sussex, and served the Duke of Norfolk, when his Grace lived at Chesworth, in Sussex, and was Ranger of St. Leonard's Forest, temp. Queen Mary, and lieth buried in the parish church of Cowfold, aforesaid, under a fayre marble, and having no issue, Beard of Abberton (Edburton) did inherit his estate."—*Visitation of Sussex*, 1634. This gentleman was a branch of the old family of Beard of Rottingdean, who have held lands there more than four centuries. ARMS: Ermine, on a quarter Sable, a saltier Or, charged with five fleurs-de-lis, Gules. *M.A.L.*

²⁹ John Carrell was eldest son of Sir John Carrell, of Warnham, Sergeant at Law, 1510. The son was of the Inner Temple, and was himself made a Sergeant at Law in 1540.

³⁰ There were two families of Michell in Sussex; the Michells of Horsham, now represented by the Shelleys and the Pilfords; the other was a refugee family. See post.

SIMILAR INVENTORY OF GOODS, &c.,

BELONGING TO THE LORD ADMIRAL, AT THE MANOR PLACE OF SHEFFIELD, AND IN THE FOREST OF WORTH. A.D. 1549.

THE MANNOR OF SHEFFIELD, IN THE COUNTIE OF SUSSEX.

AN INVENTORIE taken at the Manner Place, ther the xxjth daye of Jenuarye of the ij^d yere of the raigne of Kinge Edward the Sixte, by Sir Thomas Cawarden and Sir Willyam Gorynge, Knights, in vertue of a Commyssyon of Assistans, w^t a Memorandum of Instruccions for the same purpose, to them directed and delyvered by my Lord Protector his Grace, and others of the King's Ma^{ties} most honorable Counsaill, the xvijth of Jenuarie last, of all suche gooddes, cattalls, and other store or flocks remaynyng there of the Lorde Admyrall, in the charge and custodie of Sir John Sherief, Clerke, saruante unto the said Lorde Admyrall, hereafter apperythe:—

Ffyrst, there remaynyth of fatte oxen, xxx^{ti}. *Item*, drawynge oxen, for thuse of the iron mylles there, xiiij. *Item*, ther remayneth of haye, by estⁿ, for the fynding of the said laborynge oxen, xx^{ti} loodes. *Item*, ther ys within the said mannor a ffurnace to cast rawe iron, with all implements necessarie for the same:—*Item*, in coole, by estⁿ, ccc. loodes; *Item*, in sowes of rawe iron, xxxviiij; *Item*, in myne or ower, by estⁿ, mm^{ll} loode; *Item*, in whode cutte for the sayd furnes, xij^c loode, that is to say, eu'y loode by measure, iiij. fote of highe and viij. of lenghe, wiche amounteth to more then of whode, xij^c loodes; *Item*, in myne drawn and not caryed, ccxix. lodes.

Item, a fforge or hammernylle, nere unto the said Mannor, withe all implements apperteynyng unto the same:—*Item*, in sowes of rawe iron, xxv.; *Item*, iron in barres, vj. tonne, whereof v. tonne are sold to a man of Devonshire, at viij^s li xij^s le tonne, and the money paid unto the said S^r John Sherief; *Item*, in cole

ther, in the colehous, ccc. loode; *Item*, in whode cut for the same, vj^c iiij^{xx} corde;³¹ *Item*, ther was delyvered to the Whithart, in Sothwerk, at Mydsomer, in anno secundo, C. sext, and remayneth ther as yet, xxiiij. tonne, and x. c^t.

Item, ther was delyvered by my lorde Admyrall's comaundment, at Mydsomer, in anno primo, R. E. sext, unto one Cornelius Smithe, dwellynge at the Strande, viij. tonne of Iron, the wiche is not paid for to the knowlege of the said Sir John Sherief.

Item, delyuerid by my Lord Admyral's commaundement, to one Smarkwhode, in Bow lane, at mydsomer last, also to his knowlegge, v. tonne of Iron.

The some or number of the workmen apperteyning unto the said fforge and ffurnace, xxiiij^{tl}: whereof, hammerman and seruaunts, ij.; ffyners, ij. seruaunts, ij.; a founder, j., and a fyller, j.; coleyars, ij.; sarvants, vj.; myners, ij.; servaunts, iiij. All these persons are hyred after a rate, by taske work.

Item, one man, hyred by the year, to attend upon the works and workmen, at all tyme, and wey the iron ffrom the workman to the merchaunte, and hath for his wages, by the yeare, iiij^{li}, a lyeurie or x^s, mete and drinke; *Item*, ij. wyenmen,³² hyred by the yere, for all careges, and their wages yerly, euery of them, xl^s, a lyu'ry, mete and drinke.

THE FORESTE OF WOURTHE, IN THE SAID COUNTIE.

AN INVENTORIE taken ther the xxijth of Jenuarie, in Anno dicto, by the said Sir Thomas Cawarden, and Sir William Gorynge, Knights, by vertue of the Comys syon before expressid, of all siche gooddes, cattells, and other store or flocks remaynynge ther, of the Lorde Admirall's, hereafter apperethe.

³¹ A cord of wood in Sussex measures when piled up 8 feet in length, 4 in width, and 4 feet 2 inches in height—the 2 inches in height being allowed for springing or settling. The price of cutting was, in 1546, 3d. per cord. Colliers were paid in wood and money after the rate of 22d. the load; myne diggers, 7d. the load; sandmen, 6d. the load.

³² Waggoners.

Ffyrste, a duple ffurnace to caste ordynaunce, shotte, or rawe iron, w^t all implements and necessities appertenynge unto the same:—*Item*, there ys in sowes of rawe iron, cxij.; *Itm*, certen peces of ordynaunce, that is to say, culverens, xiv.; dim. culverens, xv.; *Itm*, of shotte for the same, vj. tonne v. c^t; *Itm*, ordynance caryed from thens to Southwark, and remanyth ther as soleth sakers, xv.; ffawkons, vj.; mynnyons, ij.; and dim. culverens, j.; *Itm*, in shotte for the same delyvered at the h. st^d, xiiij. tonne; *Itm*, in myne or ower at the furnace, redye receved, xvj^c. lode; *itm*, in myne, drawen and caried, Mix^x. lode; *Item*, in whode, viij^c. corde.

Item, a forge ther w^t all implements necessary for the same:—ffyrste, in sowes ther of rawe iron, and redy to worke, cxxx^{li}; *Itm*, in barres of iron, viij. tonne; *Itm*, iron caried from thens to the White Hart, in Sothwark, xxv. ^{tonne} vj.^c; *itm*, in blomes at the forge, iiij. ^{tonne} dim.; *itm*, in cole, iiij^c. lode; *itm*, in whode, vij^c. corde.

The sum or number of the said workmen appertaining unto the said fforge and furnace, xxxiiij^{ti}. wherof, a hammerman and a servant, j.; finers and ij. seruants, ij.; founder, j., ffyller, j.; iiij. coleyers, and ij. servants, v.; myners and iiij. seruants, iiij.; gonfounders and viij. seruants, x. All these persons are hyred after a rate by taske work.

Itm.—One man hyred by the yere to attend uppon the work and workmen, weying the iron from the workmen to the merchants, and his fee or wages yerlye ys iiij^{ls}., a lyuerie, or x^s., meate and drynke.

Me^d That all the premisses, stock, and store w^t in receyted with th'order of the workmen are commytted and appoynted to the custody and charge of S^r John Sherief, Clerk, and for his better assystance Henry Foyce, Gent.

The some or value of iron in barres remayning at the fyrnyces, forges, and hammer-mylls within written, as also in London, as we are credably informed amounteth by estimation to cccc iiij^{xx} xvij^{li} xv^s.

The some or value of th' ordynaunce remaynyng at the said places amountethe to $vj^c xx^{li}$

The some or value of the shotte there $lxxvj^{li}$.

The some or value of the sowes $cclj^{li}$.

The some or value of the whode $xlij^{li}$.

The some or value of the cole $iiij^{xx} iiij^{li}$.

The some or value of the myre $ccclix^{li}$.

The some or value of the blomes $xxvij^{li}$.

The value of the drawyng oxen $xxiii^{li} vj^s viij^d$.

The some or valew as well of the implements apperteynyng unto the said forges and furnaces, as also weyns and other siche like amounteth to x^{li} .

M^d that P'son Levett owythe uppon a rekenyng for shott to hym delyuered in anno primo regis E sexti from the furnace of Wourthe by estimacion $lxxvij^{li}$.

Summa totall Mmxxxvij $vj^s viij^d$

Whereof to be allowed unto certan gonnefounders and other workmen in the said ffurnyces and fforges for ther wages nowe dewe by estimacon clx^{li} .

And so remayneth the $m^t ix^c xvij^{li} vi^s viij^d$.

Itm to be remembred to knowe what the gonnefounders shall do, whether they shall caste any more ordynaunce and shott or no and of what kynde.

M^d that S^r John Sherief, Clerk, confessesthe, that he hath not made none accompt of the furnyce and mylles of Shefeild sync the feast of All Saincts in Anno xxxviij, Henr. viii, and hath not accompted for the ffurnyce and mylles in Wourthe syns the Na^{te} of our Lord in Anno dicto: and nowe desyrethe instantlye to come to his accompt.

Wyttnessys, T. Cawerden, Wyllyam Goryng, John Sheryf, clerke, Henri Foyce.

The Woreste and Parke of Wourthe. Thomas Michell, gent, Raynger ther, havinge for his fee, per diem, by the year, $lx^s. x^d$. The same Thomas hath also the herbage and pannage of the said fforest and parke, by patent, during his leif. Robert Monke and Robert Cowstock, keepers within the said parke and foreste, hathe yerly for their wages, every of them, xl^s , with the keypyng of sertenynne cattall ther $iiij^{li}$. *Item*, Thomas

Cowstock, bayly of the Barronney of Lewis, for the Lord Admyrall's parte, his fee by the yere, xxxv^s.

Wyttnes, T. CAWARDEN, } of Sheffield.
 WILLIAM GORYNG, }
 JOHN SHERYF, Clerke.
 HENRI FFOYCE.

For an account of Lord Admiral Seymour's intention to build a town somewhere within the Forest of St. Leonard, see vol. x., p. 127.

THE COLLEGE AND PRIORY OF
HASTINGS,
AND THE PRIORY OF WARBLETON.

BY THE REV. EDWARD TURNER, M.A.

AMONG the objects of archæological interest with which HASTINGS abounds, its *Castrum*, or Castle, now in ruins, is one of the most renowned—the page of history teeming with important incidents connected with it. Founded in Saxon, but much altered and improved in Norman, times, to adapt it to the requirements of a baronial residence, it is situated on the summit of a lofty eminence, to the west of the old town; the hill on which it stands, called, from this circumstance, “the Castle Hill,” forming one side of the deep valley in which this part of the present town is built. And although, on three sides of it, little more than the lower portion of its outside walls remains, enough is left to shew the substantial nature of the building, and that, when in a perfect state, it must have been a fortress of great strength.

But it is not so much with the *military* as with the *ecclesiastical* character of this Castle that I have now to do. For within it was established, at a very early period, a College of Secular Canons, called, from its position, “The College or Free Chapel of St. Mary in Castro.” Its foundation charter is supposed to be lost; on which account neither its original founder, nor the date of its first foundation, can be very accurately ascertained; but it is generally believed, if not to have been founded, to have been very liberally



HASTINGS SEALS.

J. Basire del. et sc.

endowed, by the Earl of Augo or Eu, a Norman nobleman, who, like many other of our ancient Sussex magnates, came to this country with Duke William, and he bestowed upon him, as a requital for his services in the struggle that took place for its sovereignty,—(at the battle of Hastings he was one of the Norman Duke's principal generals)—the Rape and Honour of Hastings. The College, as he established it, consisted of several secular Canons Prebendal. The exact number is not known, but they are supposed to have been ten, each of whom was distinguished by the name of the Prebend which he held.

A Dean appears not to have formed a part of the original foundation, but to have been added at a subsequent period, when a head of the College was found necessary to keep order, and to superintend the affairs of the house, and to make the collegiate establishment complete. At what time this essential addition was made, I have been unable satisfactorily to discover, but it was certainly prior to the year 1280, when a Dean of the College is specially mentioned. In the 3rd of Edward I. that King issued a mandate to certain Commissioners to visit the College, and to place in it a Dean. But this cannot be considered as an allusion to the first appointment of such a spiritual head, for Thomas à Becket is stated by Lord Littleton, in his History of Henry II., to have been *one* of the first, if not *the first*, Dean; and this will carry back the existence of such a dignitary presiding over this Free Chapel to a period anterior to the year 1171, when his murder took place.

But although, following the best historical sources of information accessible to me, I have stated the Earl of Eu to have been mainly instrumental in founding the College—for he placed it upon a broader and more enduring basis—some doubts have been expressed on this point. There are some writers who are disposed to think, with Tanner, that this Norman Earl had nothing to do with its establishment. Their doubts, however, appear to me to be based upon very insufficient grounds. These differences of opinion are easily reconciled. Such writers as maintain that the Earl of Eu had nothing to do with the foundation of the house, allude to its *first* foundation, which they look upon as Saxon, and,

consequently, as established long before he set foot on British soil; while such as assert that he was the founder, consider what he did in reconstructing the Saxon college was equivalent to a re-founding, and that he was thereby justly entitled to be looked upon in the light of a Founder. The Prebends were, almost all of them, more extensively endowed by him than they had previously been, and his enlarged endowments were subsequently farther increased by his successors and other benefactors.

Among the records in the Tower of London is a confirmatory Charter of Henry, Earl of Eu, of the date of Henry II., in which he regrets his inability to make much addition to the benefactions which his grandfather and father had made "to those hallowed places and sacred edifices" which they had founded and endowed, and which he held in the greatest veneration. On which account he felt it to be a duty more especially incumbent upon him to protect and preserve what they had thus devoted generally to God's honour and service, but more particularly what they had given to the Church of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings, the rents and other emoluments of which were beginning to be diverted from their legitimate purpose into other channels. He, therefore, summoned before him the Canons of this Church and his Barons, and caused to be recited and scheduled in their presence such gifts as his ancestors and others had made to it. This deed is valuable, not only on account of its mentioning the number and names of the Prebends, with the names also of some of the benefactors by which they were distinguished, and the benefactions each had made, but as distinctly stating that Robert, Earl of Eu, was the founder of the College. He is called in it, "Fundator et Edificator Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Hastingses."

The Prebends, with their endowments, are stated in this deed to have been—

1.—The Prebend of the Chapel of WERTLING or GUYAMERDONS. Who or what this Guyamerdons was does not appear, but it was probably the name of the holder of the Prebend at the time, or of a benefactor to it. Its endowment is stated to have been—the Chapel of Wertling, with the tithes of all the demesne lands of the adjacent manor;

two virgates and one wist of land in the same manor, together with the hospes¹ attached to and dwelling upon it; the tithe of all the salt made on any of these lands, and a portion of land in the same manor for saltpans; the Chapels and tithes of Hou and Ninnefield; two wists of land in the marsh of Hou; the meadows and tithes of the Franchises; the tithes of Duingate, Cocherste, and Codingge; and one house within the Castle, probably as the prebendal residence; and the oblations made at the altar in the Castle at particular times.

2.—The Prebend of WILLIAM FITZALLAK, to which two benefactors only are named, viz., Robert, Earl of Eu, and Ralph de Balliol. Earl Robert gave to it the Church of Beckley, with the tithes, and half an acre of land belonging to it; the Chapel of St. Mary, at Bulverhithe; land near to the Monastery—by which is probably meant the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Hastings; one thousand herrings, or mackerel, yearly, with a certain portion of other kinds of fish; the Church of Stotting, with its tithes and lands; the tithes of Chiteham; a third part of the tithes of Blakebrooke; and two houses, one *in* and the other *beneath* the Castle. Ralph de Balliol gave to it a garden, situated at Besham.

The principal foundation of this Prebend was at Bexlei—now called Bexhill—on which account we find it designated at a later period, the Prebend of Bexhill. This Prebend was probably dissolved upon the Bishop of Chichester claiming and recovering Bexhill (which was attached to the Bishoprick in Saxon times) from the Earls of Eu, who had unjustly seized and detained it upon the Castle and Rape of Hastings being granted to them. In the 26th of Henry VI., a license was granted to Adam (Moleyns), Bishop of Chichester, to empark 2,000 acres of land in Bexhill, and to embattle the manor house, and, at the same time, to enclose

¹ Resident householders on a manor, paying a certain acknowledgment for the privilege of such residence, were called Hospites. They were also sometimes called Stagiarii, from whence, doubtless, comes our term, "an old stager." The following deed shows that, like the soil on which they resided, they were at the disposal of the Lord:—"Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego, Henricus, Comes de Augo, confirmo Monachis de Sancto Pancratio (apud Lewes), unum hospitum in Belewarchum, quem Willelmus, frater meus, in sua vitâ ibi dedit; et tres, quos ipse moriens similiter donavit; quorum nomina sunt, Lardus, Stanardus, Seile, et Edmer Stumba; et cum hiis concedo eciam hospitum, quem Robertus de Criole ibidem dedit apud Springfeldam. Testibus," &c.

it with stone. The Bishops of the diocese had a residence here from a very early period.

3.—The Prebend of HUGH DE FLOCER, to which Walter Fitzlambert, who is mentioned in Domesday as holding Crowherste of Earl Robert, and Geoffry—who was probably the Geoffry de Flocer reported in the same survey as holding Gestelinges of the same Earl, and who is called below the brother of Hugh, from whom this Prebend is designated—are mentioned as benefactors. Its endowments consisted of lands, and the tithes of his own lands, and of those of his ancestors in Haylesham. This Walter is called the founder of this Prebend. In the foundation deed it is stipulated that, after the death or resignation of Hugh de Flocer, the then holder of the Prebend, his brother Godfrey should, with the Bishop's approval, be the next Canon; and that he should have, in addition to what the previous Canons had received, the tithe of Casebury, the Church of Gestlinges, with its tithes, and a house in the Castle.

4.—The Prebend of HUBERT DE MAYBENT, the emoluments of which Earl Robert is said to have increased by a gift of land, in what situation does not appear. Besides this, it possessed the tithes of Gygyntone, and a meadow just beyond the mill beneath the Castle.

5.—The Prebend of EUSTACE, to which Rainbertus, the Sheriff, with the full and free consent of Earl Robert, is stated to have been a benefactor. He gave to it the Church of Salehurst; the land and tithes of Somerville; the Church of Mountfield, with the tithes and a virgate of land belonging to it; the tithes of Hegea; the Church of Edymere, and lands and tithes in Boreham; the tithes of Marseland, of land under the Castle, of the meadow of Soanellus, of a meadow which Colebertus held, and of lands at Gertselle; a house in the Castle; and a meadow at Salenta. This Prebend was subsequently transferred by Henry, Earl of Eu, with the Lordship of Worste, to Robertsbridge Abbey.

6.—The Prebend of AUCHER. No benefactor is mentioned by name to this or any of the following Prebends. The land with which this Prebend was endowed was situated at West Thurrock, in Essex, on which account it was sometimes called the Prebend of Thurrock. Its endowment was

the Church of Thurrock, and the land belonging to it, with the meadows, marshes, and tithes of the manor. It also possessed one virgate of land at Castlebergh, and two houses, one at Hestrega, and the other in the Castle. To this Prebend was attached the supervision of the Grammar School.

7.—The Prebend of THEOBALD, to which the Churches of Peasemarsch and Dallington were attached, with the land belonging to them; the Church of Iden, with its land and tithes; the Chapel of Pleyden; half the tithes of Cicenore and Totton; two virgates of land at Haldenesham; the tithes of Bosenore, Checkingham, and Palisemore, at Rye; and the tithes of Hamstrete. To this Prebend belonged the superintendence of the singing school. It was sometimes designated the Prebend of Peasemarsch, probably from the circumstance of its endowment being derived principally from that parish.

8.—The Prebend of GEOFFRY DE BLANCHE. This Prebend was endowed with two houses in the Castle; and half a hyde of land at Gildewelthmere, with the tithes accruing from it; together with one and a half virgate of land “de Tinturna;” and two sheaves of the tithe of Blakebrooke; and the tithe of Estflete.

9.—The Prebend of RALPH TAYARD, the endowment of which was a house *in* and a garden *out* of the Castle; the tithe of a meadow, and of the lands generally of Osbert and of Underpark; half a hyde of land at Herthberga; the chapel of Wilting, and the tithe belonging to it; the tithe of Vilesent; the Chapel of Hollington, with the tithe appertaining to it; the Church of Yewerste, with its tithe and land; a meadow, with three virgates of land, at Prelham; the Chapel of Bodyham, with its tithes; and the customary fees arising from the burial of the parishioners of the same Chapel dying in Yewerste; and half a hyde of land at Tennegate.

10.—The Prebend of ROGER DANYELL, to which belonged a hyde of land in Bokeleary, and three virgates at Certesella; half a virgate at Smallfield; one virgate at Bargeham; the Church of Breseling, with the tithe and land belonging to it; one virgate, which Turnus held; and the Monastery

of Botherd; the tithe and land of Molma; and the Church of St. Andrew.

Besides these separate endowments of each Prebend, there belonged to the Canons in common, four ambras of salt, at Rye, the gift of Earl Robert; common of pasture for all their cattle, and pannage for their hogs upon the whole waste of the Lord. The clerks of the different Prebends engaged in duty are declared to be the Lord's Proctors in the different manors in which the churches served by them were situated, so long as they were so engaged. So far the endowment has reference to the food and clothing of the canons engaged in Church service. What follows belongs to the ornamentation and necessary uses of the church, and to the supply of its customary wants. To be so applied was the tenth penny upon the rendering of a valuation upon any part of the Earl's property in the Rape of Hastings, wherever it might be situated. Ralph Fitz-Ralph gave to the canons the tithe of his meadow under the Castle for the supply of incense for the church. Ranulphus, the vicar of Odymer, gave to them fifteen acres of land in that parish, with the consent of the Earl, the value of which was 40s., and which formed part of the dues of his church. He also gave to them the church of St. Andrew in Hastings, on which account this church might have been called, as we sometimes find it, "St. Andrew's of the Castle;" at other times, "Castle parish." In Odymer, Ingeramus de Augo gave to the canons the tithes of Wilting and Perrich; and Robert de Creol, for the salvation of the souls of his father and mother, gave to them a house which he held of the Earl, the situation of which is not mentioned.

In the 8th of John (1207) Reumond having been appointed to one of these prebends, while resident at Rome, had the King's license granted to him for safe conduct to and from England to take possession of it.

But although the original foundation charter of this college is supposed to be lost, we learn something of its contents, and of the free prebends of Hastings from a deed of inspeximus for John Duke of Brittany, dated the 22nd of Edward I. (1294), which refers to this confirmatory charter

of Henry, Earl of Eu; and it is called by the king "our free chapel." The tenor of this deed seems to imply continued irregularity in the payment of the rents and other pecuniary emoluments of the prebendal canons, as it directs the proceeds of their property to be paid over to them "entirely and without molestation." It then proceeds as follows:

"Moreover I grant and confirm to the treasury of the same church pertaining—(the collegiate church, that is, or free chapel in the Castle,) the tenth penny of my demesne lands to be paid yearly by my sheriff—viz., of Burgherse 12^d: of Chedinges (supposed to be Chiddingly), 2^s; of Filesham, 4^s; of Rokeland, 2^s; of Sandherste, 12^d; of Lunnesforde, tithe of the demesne of Robert Straborne, 6^s; of Knelle, 8^s; of Oxenbrigg, 14^s; of Leges, 4^s; of Uppene, 2^s; of Merlay, 12^d; of Overflagg, 12^d; of Crocker, 18^d; of Barsellie, 18^d; of Hora, 2^s; of Battel, 2^s; of the tithe of Winchelse, 12^d; of Forherste, 12^d; of Petersham, 12^d; and four houses (mansuræ) in Yestrece, which were given to it by William Fitz-Robert—viz., two houses which were Reinbert's, a third which was Kiss's, and a fourth which was near to the postern of Wigelsel 2^s; and a tenth of the profits of the Shrievalty of the county, then held and retained by William Fitz-Wibert."

These tenths he gave to the treasury of the Church of St. Mary, to be held by the canons belonging to it in perpetuity. He also confirms to it the lands of Betanasse granted to it by Engeler de Scotinges. Although later benefactions were made to this college, its possessions could never have been large; for at its dissolution the value of the deanery is stated to have been £20 only; and the aggregate value of the prebends, then reduced to seven, £41 13s. 5d.

Tanner mentions that the tithe of the earnings of the boats of Winchelsea belonged to the canons of the free chapel of St. Mary, Hastings.

In 19th Edward III. there is a visitation of this free chapel in the castle.²

Among the volumes of the Battle Abbey Charters in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps is a folio book in which many monastic rentals are bound up together; one of which is the rental of the College of Hastings, with the prebends and pensions belonging to it in February, 1594. It is headed—"Rents of the prebend of Hoo," &c, in the same college.

Thorpe in his descriptive Catalogue of the Battle Abbey Deeds pp. 147, 148, speaking of this rental, remarks that—

² Second Report of Public Record Commissioners, p. 188.

"In the rental of Hastings College are some interesting notices of the heirs of William Barker, for a rent going out of their lands called Parkegate hill, in the parish of St. Marye, within the Castle of Hastings—xij^d; of John Tufton, Esqre., for a rent going out of his lands within the parish of Northam, called Horner, xij^d; of William Shelley, Esqre., for a yearly rent going out of the manor of Knelle, in the said parish of Northam (Beckley?) viijs."

Knelle was an ancient seat of the family of Bealknap; from whom it passed by the marriage of Alice, daughter and heiress of Hamon Bealknap with Sir William Shelley, of Michelgrove, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas,³ and an ancestor of Sir John Villiers Shelley, Bart. and M.P., of Maresfield Park. "This rent," the account continues, "is not to be had because it is in the Queen's hands."

A schedule of the property held by the college at a later period is given in a subsequent charter. But as none of the original property possessed by the prebends is there mentioned, this deed may be looked upon rather as a confirmation of after augmentations, than as having reference to the whole endowments of the college. The separate prebendal endowments are entirely omitted in it.

The descent of the Castle and Honour of Hastings may be very satisfactorily traced from the Conqueror to their present noble possessor. Having been granted to the Earls of Eu, they were held by them successively until the time of Henry III., when they passed to William de Yssenden in default of heirs male, by marriage with Alice Countess of Eu; and from their son to the Crown by escheat. Here they continued with but few interruptions till the time of Henry VI.,⁴ when they passed by grant into the family of Pelham, but in the same reign they were granted to Sir Thomas Hoo, afterwards created Baron Hastings, who is said to have been descended from the family of Eu: in 1st Edward IV. they were conveyed by his feoffees to William Hastings,⁵ in whose descendants they remained till 1591, when they were purchased by the Pelhams, in which family the manor and honour of Hastings still remain. The college, however, as we shall presently see, did not descend with the castle; but having escheated to the Crown, was not afterwards separated from it. The castle is stated to have been abandoned as a place of defence,

³ See Foss' Judges, iv. p. 31.

⁴ See Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. ii. p. 161.

⁵ See also Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. iv. p. 151, and vol. viii. p. 120.

and the site of it to have been given to the canons of Hastings, during the reign of Henry III., to enable them to enclose it against marauders, and the encroachments of the sea, by a wall; the Crown, by whom the grant was made, reserving to itself the right of resumption in case of foreign invasion.⁶ At the dissolution of this and other monasteries, the revenues of the college were given by letters patent⁷ to Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII. Of the value of these revenues two statements have come down to us, one of which was probably based on an estimate taken at the time of the dissolution; the other a few years later. In the first valuation the Prebend of Ewhurst is, for some cause or other, omitted, though it is evidently included in the grant; and in the grant the Prebend of Brightling is omitted, though it is included in the valuation. How this happened it would at this distant period of time, be difficult to account for, particularly as accessible records are silent on the subject. Several of the members of this college must have been alienated at a very early period; the college at first consisting of ten prebends, while at the dissolution they were reduced to six. That the Prebend of Ewhurst had been suppressed appears from a grant made by the King in or about the year 1480 to Simon de Shoreham, in fee and of him of all the lands in the parish of Ewhurst formerly held and granted to him by the Prebendary of Ewhurst, for an annual rent of 6s. in money, and half a pound of wax for a light in the church. At this time the deanery of the college was endowed with the privilege of holding one prebend. The dean had also a residence, and some lands adjacent to the church, and rent charges and services arising from several prebendal and other manors and lands. He also had pensions varying in amount from the other prebends; retaining his pension from the Prebend of Salehurst, even after its transfer to the Abbey of Robertsbridge. Besides which he had 3s. 4d. as a pension from the vicarage of Fairlight; an annuity of 20s. from the Prebendary of Hollington, and the advowson of the Vicarage of St. Mary, also called *in* the castle, but which must

⁶ Horsfield's *Sussex*, vol. 1, p. 44.

⁷ *Repert.* original: MS. in the British Museum, vol. iv., fol. 266 b; and also MS. Harl: 4316, p. 107.

surely mean *within* its precincts;⁸ and of which the present Church of St. Mary is the substitute; for no traces are to be found of a second church *in*, that is *within* the castle buildings; and to which church a parochial district was attached.

On the opposite page are engravings of two seals of this college, the only two I have been able to meet with. They are taken from a volume of drawings by Hewett in the possession of Charles Bellingham, Esq. of Brighton; one of which has already been published by Moss in his *History of Hastings*.⁹ To these I have added the seal of the reputed founder of the college, for which I am wholly indebted to the same work. As Moss's book came out in the year 1824, and is perhaps in the hands of but few members of our Society, a deviation in the present instance from our rule not to admit into our Collections representations of objects which have been already published will not, I trust, be deemed inexcusable. Without an engraving of these seals my paper would manifestly have been incomplete.

Much confusion now exists as to the location of the seven churches which Hastings appears at one time to have possessed. As the Church of St. Andrew is known to have stood beneath the Castle, another church near to it would scarcely have been required; and hence a difficulty arises in placing this Church of St. Mary in a similar position. To obviate this difficulty, it has been conjectured that there was a Church of St. Mary Magdalen attached to a hospital in Hastings, of this name; because, in the grant of this hospital, by Queen Elizabeth, to the Corporation, it is described as comprising "Magdalen and the Church fields." This, then, it has been thought, might have been the Church of St. Mary here alluded to. No church of this name is mentioned in Pope Nicholas' taxation; and the Hospital lands were in fact in the old parish of St. Margaret, the church of which has been submerged. The only churches there taxed are St. Andrew's sub-Castro, at £4 13s. 4d.; St. Clement's, at £5; St. Margaret's, St. Michael's, and St.

⁸ On 8th May, 1594, the Crown presented John Hodgekyns to the rectory of St. Mary *prope* Castrum de Hastings. Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. xii. p. 257.
⁹ P. 95.

Peter's, which are taxed together at £10; and All Saints, taxed at £5 6s. 8d.

But even if such a church had ever existed, it would have been too far distant to be described as *in* the Castle. Possibly, then, the free chapel of the Castle became, before the dissolution of the College, a parish church; and this conjecture seems to be supported, as will be presently seen, by its description in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne.

The value of the endowment of the Prebends in Pope Nicholas' taxation (1291), is—

“Prebenda de Wirtling, £16 13s. 4d.; ditto, de Hou, £16 13s. 4d.; ditto, de Ninnefeld, £16 13s. 4d.; ditto, de Brightling, £13 6s. 8d.; ditto, de Hollington, £4 6s. 8d.”

And at the time the dissolution took place, it was as follows:—PEASMARSH Prebend, the holder of which possessed the advowsons of the Rectorial Churches of Northiam, Beckley, Iden, and Playden, with pensions charged on them. He had also the Vicarage and Rectory of Peasemarsch, with the entire tithes of corn and hay accruing within the parish; and a prebendal manor, lying in the parishes of Peasmarsh, Northiam, and Beckley. From the Bishops' Registers we obtain the names of the following Prebendaries, with the dates of their incumbencies: 1492, Henry Medwale; 1502, Robert Wrothe; 1535, John Ducatt. The value of the patronage of this Prebendary, after deducting £3 6s. 8d. paid annually to the Dean as a pension, was £6 13s. 4d.

That of the HOLLINGTON Prebend comprised, among other grants, the advowsons of Ewhurst, Hastings—(which of the churches is not stated, but it was probably the Church of St. Michael, the boundaries of which are not now known, but the foundations of which were discovered near the White Rock, in 1814)—Bodyham, and the free chapel of Hollington. From the Battle Abbey records we learn that this Prebend was endowed with twenty-five acres of land in Hoo marsh. Its prebendaries, derived from the same and other sources, were—1390, Thomas Hilton; 1399, William Erydsale; 1412, Richard Bolton; 1435, Thomas Fynes; 1438, Richard Vincent resigned, and John Wraby was appointed. The value of the patronage was £3 9s.

The Prebend of Hoo was endowed with the Church of Hoo, and with lands and tithes in the same parish besides. In 1535, Robert Phipps was Prebendary. Its value was £3.

The Prebend of NINFIELD had attached to it the Church of Ninfield, and a pension from the Wartling Prebend. In the valuation this is stated to be the most richly endowed of the Prebends. In 1535 Simon Fowles was Prebendary. Its value was £2.

The Prebend of WARTLING was endowed with the Church of Wartling and thirty acres of land, and with the corn and all other tithes of the parish. In 1535 Thomas Garratt was Prebendary. Its value was £2.

These last three Prebends were at first but one Prebend—Wartling and Ninfield being comprised under the Prebend of Hoo, and their churches forming part of its endowment. But by an ordinance of Ralph, the second Bishop of that name, who held the see of Chichester from 1217 to 1222, each became a separate Prebend. This alteration is stated in the deed to have been made by letters patent, at the request of Peter de Collemede, chaplain at the time to the Pope, but formerly a canon of St. Mary's Hastings, with the full consent of Alice, Countess of Eu, the patroness at the time of the church; he having resigned the Prebend of Hoo for the special purpose of enabling the separation to be effected. It appears from the Episcopal Registers, that even after their ordination as three distinct Prebends, they were sometimes—the three, at other times, two of them—held together by one canon. The Prebendaries so holding, were—1406, Hugh Holbache, of the three parts; 1408, John Brandrethe, a third part; 1440, Henry Faukes, the same; 1504, James Whitstone resigned the three parts, and Robert Phillips was appointed to them.

Of the Prebend of BRIGHTLING no particulars are given. That it had a prebendal manor attached to it, and called by its name, we learn from Mr. William Wykewyke, the canon who held it in 1402, being called the lord of the manor of Brightling. This Prebend was charged with the payment of 23s. 4d. to the Dean of the Collegiate Church, and 6s. 8d. to the steward of the manor. On each side of the chancel

of Brightling Church is a shield, which Mr. Hayley supposes to be the arms—that on the dexter side, of William of Wykeham, and that on the sinister, of the College of Hastings. If William of Wykeham was ever a member of the Collegiate establishment at Hastings—and we may surely fairly infer from this that he was—it naturally leads us to conclude that he was the builder of this chancel. Moss, quoting Tanner and others, says that he was a Prebendal Canon of this College, having been so appointed by the king (Edwd. III.), February 17th, 1362-3, upon his return to this country from Rome, where he had been employed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His name, however, does not appear in the list of prebendaries of three years later date. If, then, he was ever a member of the College, it could have been but for a short time only.

Nor are any particulars stated of the Prebend of WEST THURROCK. In 1535 Dr. Smythe was the holder of it. Its value, after paying £2 13s. 4d. to the Dean, as an annual pension, was £12 6s. 8d.

Besides these separate endowments, the prebendaries possessed other property of considerable value, which they held in common. The Church of Echyngnam was in the patronage of the canons generally; and it is stated in Pope Nicholas' taxation, that the Canons of Hastings possessed, in the parish of St. Benedict Wodewarf, property of the value of £1 3s. 4d.

Other prebends are mentioned in the Bishop's Registers—viz., the Prebends of STONE, of TAMWORTH, of MARLPAS, and of BULVERHITHE, as belonging to this college, of which I find no other record. Of STONE the prebendaries mentioned are—1406, William Stone; and 1413, John Prentice. Of TAMWORTH no prebendaries are given. Of MARLPAS in 1398, Simon Hoke; 1400, William Repington; 1401, Thomas Preston; and in 1404, Thomas Southwell. And of BULVERHITHE in 1398, Robert Eltysle; 1399, John Weston; 1402, Thomas Atte Lee, were the prebendaries. This last prebend is stated to have been endowed with all the tithes of a place called Walshe. These probably were among the first prebends, which have at different times been suppressed.

Of the situation of Stone, Tamworth, and Marlpas, I have

been unable to obtain any information, except that with regard to Stone there appears to have been a manor of this name, which, with Hastings College, is mentioned in a receipt given by Lord Pelham, as lord of the hundred of Battle.¹⁰ But of Bulverhithe the name still remains near Hastings. It had a chapel dedicated to St. Mary, which is mentioned in the Episcopal and other records, and the ruins of which still stand. About 100 acres of land, the greater part of which was long the property of the family of Cresset Pelham, is comprehended under this name. The Domesday Survey mentions, that "the Earl," meaning Robert Earl of Eu, received 43^s., and "the Monks," which probably may be an allusion to the canons of St. Mary in Castro, "£4 from this manor." The chapelry of Bulverhithe is a member of the port of Hastings, from which it is distant about three miles westward; and from Bexhill eastward about two miles. In 1249 the prebend of Hastings, together with the chapel of Mountfield, and the churches of Salehurst and Odymer were appropriated by William de Etchingham, with the full consent of the chief Pontiff, to the Abbey of Robertsbridge. Among the lands too granted and confirmed to the same Abbey by Richard II., all the lands which the Monks held of the Canons of St. Mary Hastings are included. And in or about the year 1190 Geoffry, Bishop of Chichester,¹¹ according to a deed among the MSS. purchased by the Earl of Ashburnham at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos's library at Stowe, confirmed an agreement made between the same religious houses respecting tithes.¹²

From the Patent Rolls of the 7th of Henry IV.¹³ we learn, that considerable interruption was occasioned in the performance of the duties of the Collegiate Chapel by the non-residence of the prebendaries. Commissioners were therefore sent down by the king to enquire into the state of the College. They were directed to report both as to the regularity of the performance of the services, and as to the condition in which they found the chapel. After a careful visitation and enquiry

¹⁰ Burrell MSS.

¹¹ Episc. Reg: Sti. Ricardi, fol. 64, a, and b 32. Pat. 2 Edwd. II., pt. 2, m. 16.

¹² Bibl: Stowensis, vol. ii., pp. 100, 110.

¹³ Pt. 2, m. 10.

they reported, that though the chapel had anciently been honorably served in divine offices, yet at that time it had ceased to be so; its rents, profits, and other emoluments, even though liberally aided by the oblations of the faithful, having from their scantiness become insufficient for its reparation and support; and for the sustentation of the houses which had recently been erected within the Castle for the accommodation of the vicars and chaplains, and for the supply of the vestments, books, and ornaments, necessary for its use; for finding lights; and for the payment of the annual stipends of its vicars, chaplains, clerks, and others, whose duty it was to minister in it. It was therefore decreed, that to meet the expenses, and to make up for the gradually increasing deficiency of its revenues, the prebendal Canons who should henceforward be non-resident, should pay each of them a moderate and reasonable yearly pension out of their prebends in proportion to their value, towards the support of the resident and officiating vicars, chaplains, clerks, and other ministers. With this decree the non-residents at first refused to comply, on which account the rents and other emoluments of their prebends were sequestered, until the amount assessed upon each prebendal pension was fully satisfied and paid. This decree is stated to be "for the vicars of the King's free chapel at Hastings;" and commences—"The King to his beloved clerks, Master John Kingstone and Master John Wandestre, canons of our Free Chapel of Hastings, greeting."

Free Chapels, as the name implies, were entirely independent of Episcopal and all other Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. On which account they became the frequent subjects of dispute between their Royal Patrons and the Archbishops and Bishops for the time being, of the province or diocese in which they were situated. Nor was the Collegiate Church of Hastings exempt from these differences. Disputes as to jurisdiction and submission were continually arising, in consequence of the Dean and Prebendal Canons not being willing to yield obedience to the authority which the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Bishops of Chichester attempted from time to time to exercise over them. As early as the 7th of Edwd. I. (1279), we find William de Lewes and Walter de

Tothylle, two of its resident chaplains and canons, complaining to the king, that the then Bishop of Chichester (Stephen de Berkstead), and his official, "ungraciously and unjustly troubled them, by citing them to appear at their synod; and for their non-compliance, interdicting their church, &c." They therefore prayed the interference of the King, who immediately issued his writ to the diocesan, commanding him to desist. The Dean at the same time petitioned to be permitted from the same cause to resign his office, which was referred to commissioners sent down for the special purpose of visiting the College, and enquiring into the truth of the grievances complained of. They were also empowered to decide a complaint made by Walter de Tothylle, to whom the king had just given the prebend previously held by Galfred de Winton, that he was prevented from obtaining possession of the prebendal house which his predecessor had erected, as a residence for himself and his successors. He had therefore prayed the king's letters to be issued to the bailiffs of Hastings, to compel them "to do him justice in the matter, as he had not where to lay his head." And later in the same king's reign (27th year, 1299), the king was again solicited to interfere in protection of the rights of the College against a further attempt at Episcopal interference. Though willing to admit the Church of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings to be a Royal Free Chapel, and not under Episcopal control, Gilbert de Leofard, the successor of Bishop Berkstead in the See of Chichester, maintained notwithstanding that the Prebendal Canons were under his jurisdiction, and therefore held that as vacancies accrued, those appointed to succeed them ought to be presented to and admitted by him, as had been the case with his predecessor. But as the king was advised that this was contrary to the long established rights and privileges of all his free chapels, while they continued in the king's hands, he issued another writ directed to Herbert de Berghershe, Warden at the time of the Cinque Ports, to enquire into the truth of the premises, and to certify the result to himself at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament, to which he had adjourned the settlement of the cause; when and where the Bishop was summoned to attend to support his

presumed right, and the Canons to defend their ancient royal privileges. The following year the matter in dispute continuing unsettled, we learn from the same Patent Rolls, that in consequence of the Bishop pertinaciously urging his claim to authority over the College, a day was appointed by the next Parliament for him to appear to substantiate such claim; against which time Giles de Garderoba and Walter de Agmondesham, with other of the Prebendaries named, were directed to enquire into any and everything which might be adduced in the king's favour, and to produce it at the time appointed. The result was a decision in favour of the king.

The Bishops of the diocese having thus failed in establishing their assumed right before Parliament to exercise Episcopal control over the canons, the Archbishop of the province, the next year (*viz.*, 29th of Edwd. I., 1301), set up a claim to a similar privilege; and, having given notice to the Dean of his intention to visit the College and its Prebendaries, the King issued a similar prohibition to him, which the Archbishop disregarding, and having declared his determination unaltered, the King proceeded to issue his writ, directed to Stephen Sprot, constable of the Castle, commanding him not to permit the Archbishop, or his commissary, to enter the Castle walls for the purpose of visiting the Royal Chapel, and to restrict him from exercising any kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over it and the canons. None therefore took place.

In the autumn of the following year (1302), the Archdeacon of Lewes signified his intention of exercising ordinary jurisdiction over the same chapel and canons, which was frustrated by a similar writ and prohibition.

The year following (31st of Edwd. I., 1303), a suit being then pending in the King's Court between the King and the Bishop of Chichester, as to the point in whom the right of institution to the prebends was vested, a vacancy occurred among the canons, which the King filled up by appointing John de Cadomo, one of his royal chaplains, to it. Upon which the Archbishop, who knew that the Bishop of Chichester was powerless in the matter, cited the newly-appointed prebendary to appear before him, to shew cause why he had

been guilty of what the Archbishop was pleased to call "his contemptuous intrusion." This led the King to issue another writ of prohibition, for the purpose of restraining the Archbishop from interfering in the affairs of his Chapel and College, until his right to do so had been established in a court of justice. This appears to have quieted the Archbishop for a time, for no further steps were taken upon this occasion. All was at rest until the year 1305 (31st of Edwd. I.), when the same Archbishop, availing himself of the opportunity of a metropolitan visitation, which he was then engaged in making of the Diocese of Chichester, determined to go to the town of Hastings, for the double purpose of visiting the King's Chapel, and excommunicating John de Wicheo, the keeper of the Castle, if he persisted in refusing to admit him within its precincts, and the canons themselves if, when so admitted, they did not submit themselves to his authority. Not succeeding in his endeavour thus to gain admission, he afterwards sent a commissary upon the same errand, who did by stratagem what the Archbishop could not accomplish by threats; for, watching closely for an opportunity of entrance when the bailiff, in the discharge of his official duty, might happen to be absent from the Castle, he succeeded in effecting his purpose; and so not only carried out the Archbishop's injunctions, but proceeded to an overt act, by discharging the Dean, and appointing William de Lewes—one of the canons, who had favoured his plans, and with whom a previous arrangement had been made—as his successor. To this Archiepiscopal indignity the king was not likely tamely to submit. Nor did he; for he again summoned the Archbishop to appear personally before him, on the morrow of the feast of the Holy Trinity, to answer "for these his high contempts and misdemeanours against the crown and his royal dignity; and the same Simon de Berghershe, Warden of the Cinque Ports, was directed by writ to go to Hastings, and, having satisfied himself of the truth of the complaint against the Archbishop, to discharge the new, and reinstate the old Dean.

Such were the unseemly disputes and disturbances which occasionally took place at this early period between royal and ecclesiastical authority, with respect to the prerogative

of free Chapels, which were happily put an end to, as far as the College of Hastings was concerned, towards the close of the year 1480, when it was finally arranged, by an agreement between Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester, and the Lord of Hastings Rape, the patron,¹⁴ that the chapel and canons should thenceforward be under the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction and visitation as the other clergy of the diocese; and that, with regard to the appointment of the prebendal canons, it should continue in the patrons for the time being, but that, as the Chapel had ceased to be in the patronage of the crown, their admission to their prebends should, for the future, be vested in the successive bishops of the diocese. At the time that this amicable arrangement was made, a suit was pending in the king's court as to the rights and privileges of the two parties claiming jurisdiction over this chapel—royal chapels retaining their exclusive privileges no longer than they remained in the hands of the sovereign.

It is somewhat singular that neither of the present ancient churches of Hastings was ever in the patronage of the dean and canons of this College. They belonged to the Abbey of Fescamp, in Normandy; that of St. Clement having been built by the monks of that foreign house where it now stands, towards the end of the reign of Edward I.; the safety of the original church having been endangered by frequent irruptions of the sea. By a deed among the Tower records, it appears that the land upon which it is erected was given for the purpose, in 1286, by Alan and Alicia Chesmongre, who were at that time residents of Hastings. Though this church was among the grants made by his royal master to Sir Anthony Browne, it was by a separate deed, and not until five years after the conveyance of the College and its revenues to him. The cause of this College grant is stated in the deed of conveyance to be "the good, and true, and faithful and acceptable counsel and service which he was at that time rendering, and which he had previously rendered, to Henry VIII., and for other causes and considerations." The deed then goes on very minutely to state what was included under it, viz.—"The Deanery and Col-

⁹ See a long deed in *Episc. Reg. D.*, fol: 50.

lege commonly called the Royal Free Chapel of Hastings, with its site and appurtenances; also the advowson, donation, free disposition and right of patronage of the vicarage of the parish church of the blessed Mary within the Castle, heretofore belonging to the deanery;" which plainly shews that the chapel had become a parish church, and had been used as such; but at what time it became so, and how long it had been so used, does not appear. The deed then goes on to recite "all the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, mills, meadows, portions of tithes, rents and rent-charges, services, &c., lying or being in the vills, hamlets, parishes, or fields of Hastings, Hoo, Howe, Gate, Ashford, Northiam, Seddlescombe, Knelle, Peasemarsch, Ruckland, Fulsham, Burwashe, Codedyng, West Thurrocke, Brightlyng, Farleigh, Wartlyng, Nenefeld, Crowherste, Saleherste, Beckley, Waghorne, Gestlynge, Iden, Playden, Hollington, Eweherste, and Bodyham, in the counties of Sussex, Kent, and Essex, to the Deanery and Prebends, &c., belonging, they being altogether of the annual value of £44 19s. 2½d." There was the usual reservation upon this grant—"to the king, his heirs and successors, of the lead, bells, and bell-metal, and of all jewels, ornaments, goods, chattels, and debts due and belonging to the Deanery, College, and Prebends." For this grant Sir Anthony, his heirs and successors, were to pay at the King's Court of Augmentation, and revenues of the crown, £4 9s. 11½d., at Michaelmas in each year, in lieu of all exactions and demands.

The Collegiate Church of St. Mary is now, like the Castle itself, in ruins. What remains of it, though small, is very interesting. For some time the walls were much obstructed from view by the great quantity of earth which had accumulated about them. But this obstruction was removed, and the ruins brought out more prominently in 1825, by the late Earl of Chichester, acting in accordance with the advice, and under the judicious direction of Mr. Kay, a London architect of some eminence. All that now remains of the chapel is a portion of the north side, in which is a deep circular arched recess, and a stone tower also circular, with a flight of steps running up it, the lower part of which only now remains. In the side wall is a range of arches, supposed to be the backs

of the Prebendal stalls. The arch connecting the nave and chancel still remains in a very perfect state. A portion also of the western end still stands, towering above the other walls.

The length of the church may therefore be very accurately ascertained.

Its width could not be so easily determined. In a space between two walls on the south side of the chapel are two stoned graves, prepared doubtless for the interment of two of the deceased canons. This then

was probably a south aisle. Below the flooring of the nave stone coffins of great antiquity have

been occasionally discovered containing bones more or less decayed. Many pieces of the carved stone-work of this chapel are to be seen lying about the Castle banks. Of these some of the best parts have been thrown together in a lump in the centre of the turfed space. Lord Chichester's exertions deserve the thanks of all archæologists, leading as they did to the disclosure of some very interesting parts of the Castle; particularly about the original ancient entrance gateway, which was flanked with two circular towers. The walls of the Castle are here twelve feet thick.

William Prestwick, a Dean of this chapel, lies interred at Warbleton, where he probably resided and died. A farm in the parish is still called the Deanery Farm. His tomb, which is in the chancel of the church, consists of a slab of marble inlaid with brass, on which is his full length effigy. He is represented in the canonical dress of the period in which he lived, and as



standing under a canopy; round the stone of which, on inlaid brass, with the emblems of the Evangelists at each angle, is a long but now somewhat imperfect inscription in leonine hexameters, and engraved in old English characters. He died in 1436. Tanner gives no date to his appointment as dean. An engraving and full account of this tomb will be found in Vol. ii., p. 308 of our Sussex Archæological Collections. His father and mother were also buried at Warbleton.

The following is as correct a list of the Deans of this College as can well be made out. It is taken from Browne Willis, the Bishop's Registers, and other authentic sources:—

- 1167—Thomas a Becket.
- 1190—Peter.
- 1198—Michael.
- 1302—Giles de Audenard.
- 1312—Nicholas de Ferkeband.
- 1322—Edmond de London.
- 1331—Thomas de Staunton.
- 1337—Walter de Lindrige.
- 1345—John Wade.
- 1359—John de Codyngton.
- 1369—Robert Leggatt.
- ? —Robert Crull.
- 1374—William de Grysell.
- Ditto—John de Harlestone.
- 1383—John Lyne.
- ? —John Nottingham.
- 1394—William Windsor.
- 1396—Richard Clifford.
- 1398—Gilbert Stone.
- 1400—John Garmouth.
- 1408—Henry Rumworth.
- 1411—William How, or Hawe.
- 1415—William Tanfield.
- 1436—William Prestwick, died.
- Ditto—William Walesby.
- ? —John Fowkes.
- 1458—John Kingscote.
- 1460—John Carpenter.
- 1535—Richard Brokysby.

At the time of the dissolution of this College the endowment of the deanery was let to Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, at a reserved rent of £20 per annum.

A second religious house in HASTINGS was that of THE PRIORY OF THE HOLY TRINITY, which was situated a little to

the west of the Cliff, on which the remains of the Castle stand; and which is supposed to have been founded by Sir Walter Bricet, K^t.¹⁵ in the reign of Richard I. It was an establishment of black canons of the order of Saint Augustine. The Earls of Augo or Eu were very liberal benefactors to this religious house, as well as to the College within the Castle. The site of the priory, which was very low, with a haven running up close to it, as will be seen by the map of Hastings taken in 1746, and given in Vol. xii. p. 196, becoming endangered by the occasional overflowings of the sea, and the fast increasing encroachments which it was making here, the monks were compelled to abandon their dwelling, and to seek a resting place in some locality beyond the reach of these inundations. For the accomplishment of this an opportunity was granted them by Sir John Pelham, their excellent patron and friend, in the 14th of Henry IV. (1413), who, commiserating their houseless and forlorn condition, offered them lands in Warbleton on which to erect a new church and priory. These were very gladly accepted, and upon the monastic buildings being completed the monks removed their establishment to it; and there they continued to reside in safety until the time of the general dissolution. The letters patent from the crown empowering Sir John to make this change are given in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, from which it appears that the king not only gave his consent to the removal, but that in consideration of the great expenses thus unavoidably incurred by the monks, and in aid of the burden which the sustentation of the new church and priory would bring upon them, the Manor of Mounkencourt in Withyham, with the advowson of the church, and "all the lands, tenements, rents, services, pensions, and all other commodities whatsoever, arising out of the same manor," were bestowed upon them. These had previously been part and parcel of the possessions of the alien priory and convent of Mortein in France, but had fallen into the king's hands in consequence of a war between that country and England, and are said to have been at the time of the estimated value of £25. 5s. 5d. per annum. These the prior and convent of "the New Priory" as it was called, to distinguish it from the old, and their

¹⁵ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. 1, p. 82.

successors, were to hold and enjoy, free of all demands from the crown for the term of twenty years, commencing from the 19th day of December preceding the day of the grant, which was dated October 23rd, 1413.¹⁶ The advowson of Dallington, with the manor of Hazleden, in the same parish, but extending into Burwash as well, with all its rights and appurtenances, belonged to this Priory; as did also the rectories of Crowhurst, Ashburnham and Tycehurst—that of Ashburnham having been appropriated to it as early as the 21st of Edwd. I. (1293), at which time it was of the rated value of 15 marks.

Collins, speaking in his Peerage in commendation of Sir John Pelham, the re-founder of this Priory, says—

“That he departed this life full of honour; having been in the highest favour, and the most honourable employments, under two of the greatest monarchs of this realm, who were famed for their courage and all manly virtues, and who raised the glory of the English nation to such a degree as never to be forgot; so that it must have been owing to some uncommon instance of self-denial that he was not ranked among the Peers.”

He then goes on to speak of his piety, which, he says, is manifest “from his grant of land and tenements in Warbleton—where the family appears to have had a residence in the 14th of Henry IV.—to the Convent and Priory of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hastings, for the building a new church and convent in honour of the Blessed Trinity; the old Priory, founded by Sir Walter Bricet, Knight, being rendered uninhabitable by the inundation of the sea. He likewise granted thereto lands, called Tornor’s lands, in the said parish of Warbleton, by his charter dated June the 12th, 5th Henry V. Also, in the 5th Henry VI., he lets to farm to the said convent his manor of Pelham (? in Sussex or Hertfordshire), and divers other lands, whereby he was reputed the founder of that Priory of Canons regular of St. Augustine, and became the patron.”

Of his son, Sir John Pelham, the same historian says, that “he was as pious as his father, for by his charter, dated at Warbleton, Sept. 4th, 1430 (9 Hen. VI.), he grants to Stephen, Prior of the Holy Trinity of Hastings, and the Con-

¹⁶ Pat. 14 Hen. IV., m. 19.

vent of the same place, all his lands, rents, and services in the parish of Warbleton, which belonged to Richard Leverer and Mr. John Waller, granted to him by his father, Sir John Pelham; and to the said charter is a fair round seal of green wax appendant, viz., Quarterly—in the first and fourth, three pelicans; and in the second and third, ermine on a fess, three crowns, and for the crest a cage on a helmet, and on each side thereof the buckles of a belt, circumscribed ‘*Sigillum Johannis Pelham.*’” This seal is engraved in *Suss. Arch. Coll. Vol. iii. p. 220*, in Mr. Lower’s paper on the “Pelham Buckle.”

This Sir John dying childless, his brother William Pelham became his heir, who also died without issue, February 24th, 1503. By his last will and testament, dated a few days before his death, he directs his body to be taken to the Church of Laughton, and there to have exequies and masses done for his soul, and from thence to be carried to the New Priory at Warbleton, and to be buried within the chancel there; and he gives to every church “as the waye lyeth between Laughton and this Priory the sum of 6s. 8d.” And he further orders that his executors do, as soon as may be after his interment, set up a plain stone of marble over his burial at the Priory, to be graved with his name [crest] and arms, and the day of his death.¹⁷ They are also required to find a priest to sing within the said Church of Laughton for his own soul, and for the souls of his father, mother, wife, and all his other friends. He further directs that his household be kept at his manor of Laughton till his month-day be past, on which day he wills that every one of his servants have a black gown and their wages.¹⁸

The reversions of these, and of all the manors and other lands belonging to the Priory, were granted by Henry VIII. to John Baker, his attorney-general, and are thus described in the deed—“The manor of Hazleden, with its lands, &c.; the rectories of Ashburnham and Tycehurst, and all the manors and lands, &c., belonging to the New Priory itself; all the lands in Burwash, Herstmonceux, Wartlynge, Dal-yngtun, Tycehurste, Ashborneham, Warbleton, Mayfield,

¹⁷ Horsfield’s “*Lewes and its Environs*,” ii., 157.

¹⁸ For a pedigree of the Pelhams, see *Vol. iii.*, p. 214.

Hastings, Holyngton, Bexhill, Westham, Willyngdon, Ewehurst, Brede, Adymere, Winchelsea, Ikelsham, Gestlyng, Fareleigh, Westfield, and Crowhurst, belonging to this Priory." The churches here mentioned had been confirmed to Hastings Priory, and the canons worshipping God therein, by Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester, in 1237, at the instigation of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church. About three-fourths of the Priory property now belong to the noble family of Cornwallis, and the other fourth to the Countess Waldegrave, late Mrs. Milward, of Hastings.

Tanner, misled probably by the newly-erected Priory at Warbleton being sometimes called "the New Priory of Hastings," gives it as his opinion, in his *Notitia of Hastings*, that the intention to remove this Priory to Warbleton was never carried out—the accommodation required by the houseless monks of the Holy Trinity Priory having been found for them through the charity of some well-disposed persons somewhere in or near to Hastings.¹⁹ In this, however, he is mistaken, as we have abundant evidence to shew. Bishop Robert Reade, in an episcopal progress which he made through his diocese in 1412, having visited the Priory at Ruspar, is stated to have slept at Cuckfield; and from thence to have proceeded to Eastgrinstead, where he held a visitation; and afterwards, passing through Maresfield and Buxted, to have slept at the New Priory, from whence he went the next day to Salehurst. This New Priory must have been the Priory at Warbleton, for the Bishop would scarcely have gone to Hastings in passing from Buxted to Salehurst—Warbleton would have been in his route. Had a new priory been provided for the monks near to the site of the old one, the spot on which it stood would surely have been traditionally known; some indications of it would have remained—all traces and remembrance of it would scarcely have passed completely away. It is true that Horsfield, in his account of Ore, a parish to the north of Hastings, tells us that its place house was built by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and afterwards converted into a religious house, and that about the premises and grounds relics of antiquity

¹⁹ *Monast. Anglican.* vol. vi., p. 168.

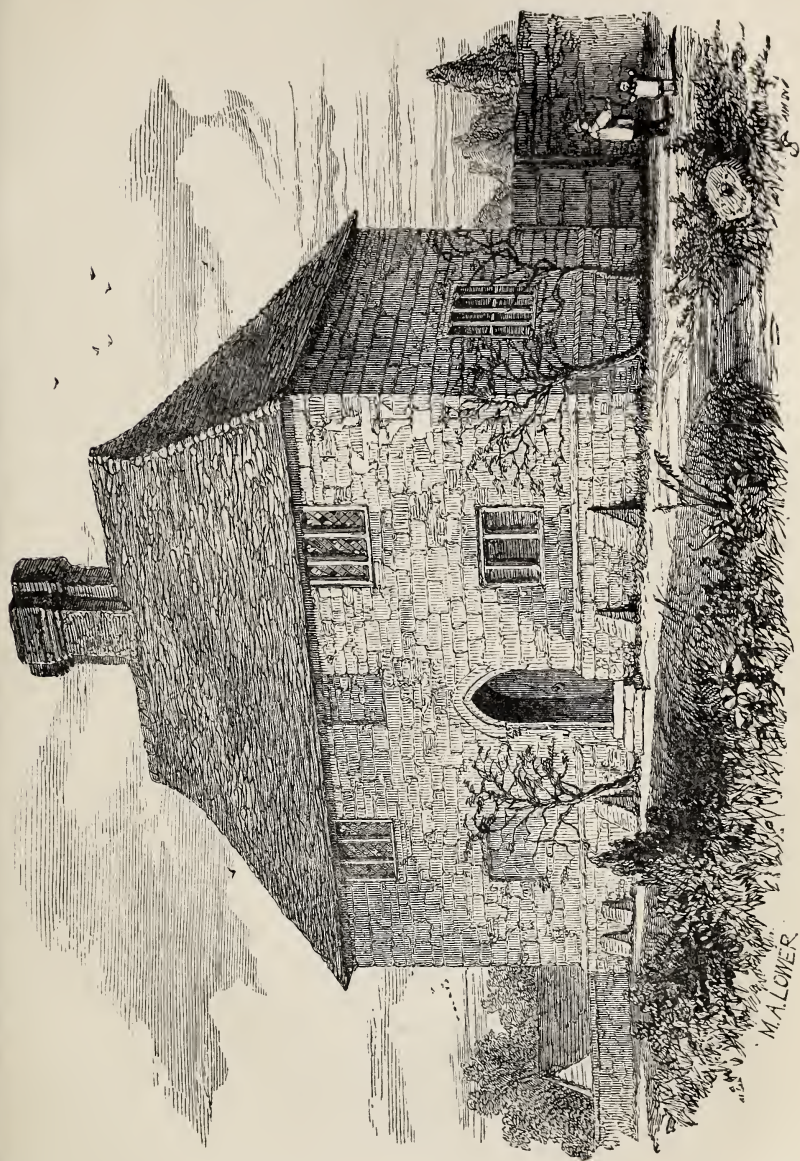
are not unfrequently found; still we have not a tittle of evidence to shew that this became the residence of the Holy Trinity monks, unless the house happened to be so occupied by them temporarily, after their old Priory became untenable, and their new residence was not ready for their reception.

In proof of the Holy Trinity monks ultimately settling at Warbleton, we have besides—first, the license of Henry IV. to Sir John Pelham to erect a house there for their accommodation, and to remove them into it; secondly, the evidence of the kind consideration of the same king, which led him to increase the endowment of their establishment, in consequence of the additional expenses they had thereby incurred; and, thirdly, the reputed site of the new building itself, which still bears ample testimony of a monastery of some kind having stood on the spot. It might have been that the patron's intentions were never carried out to the full extent he might at first have contemplated, and this may have led Bishop Tanner to think that no change to Warbleton ever took place. Warbleton was, in his opinion, too far from Hastings for a house there situated to be called *at* or *near to* Hastings, and to be justified in continuing to bear its name. Moss, too, seems to adopt Tanner's notion, for, in speaking of the New Priory, he says that it takes its denomination from the establishment of an earlier religious house there. He appears to consider the New Priory a re-building only of the old one. The fact, however, of the monks' removal to Warbleton is indisputable; and it might, notwithstanding its distance from Hastings—which Tanner calls ten miles, but which is much more—be still very reasonably called "the New Priory of Hastings," to keep up the remembrance of its former connexion with that town, and to distinguish it from the old one.

It is a singular circumstance that, in a document of so late a date as the survey of Henry VIII., now in the Augmentation Office, the New Priory should be designated in the heading "byside Hasting," which would seem to imply proximity to the town. A similar latitude of description was not, however, unusually adopted at that period. Rudborne, as quoted by Bishop Tanner, in speaking of Battle

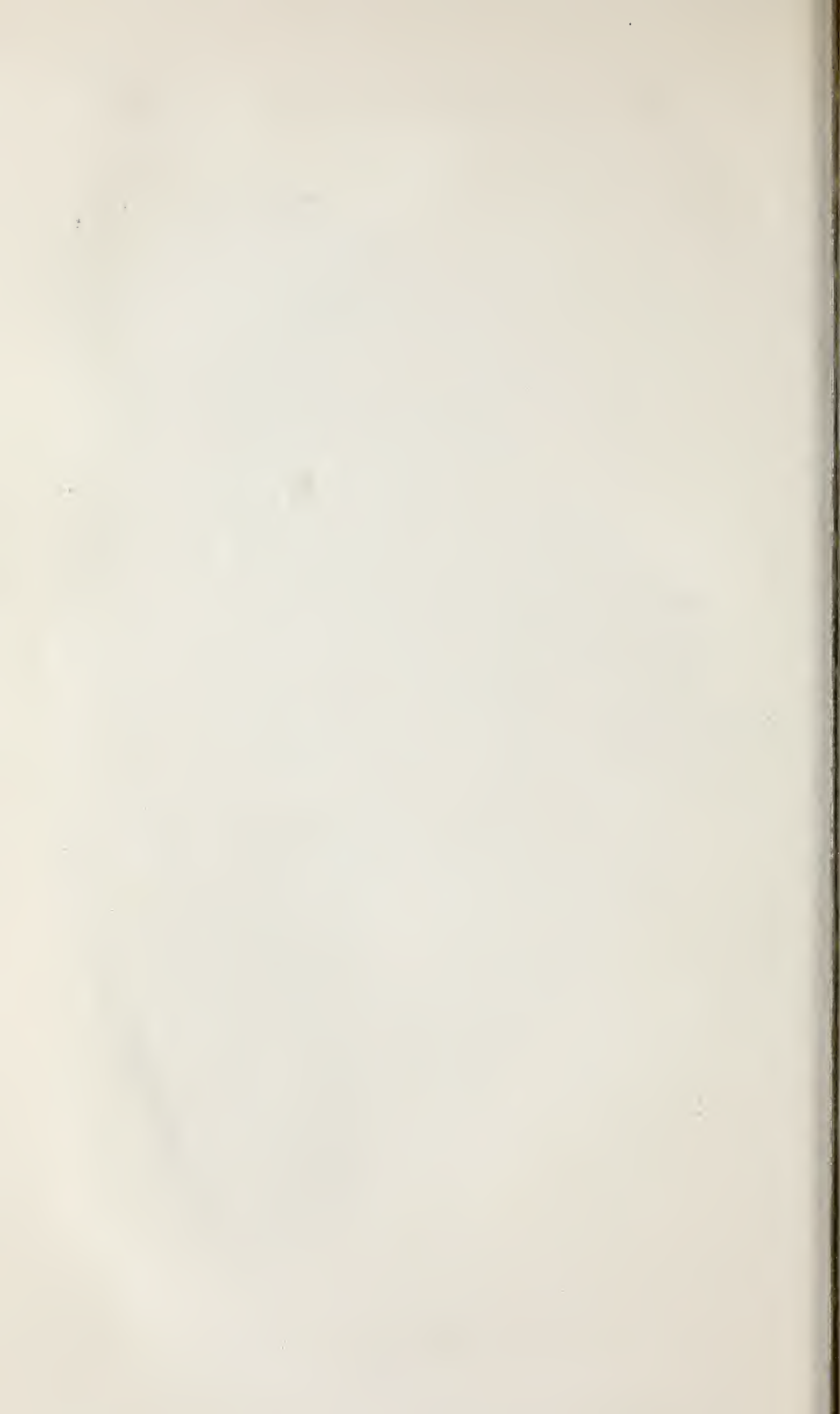
Abbey, states that King William the Conqueror founded it; and he describes it as "Cænobium in honorem Sancti Martini apud Hastyng." This doubtless arose from Battle being an insignificant village only at that time, called, from its sylvan situation, "St. Mary in the Wood," and Hastings, though some miles off, being the nearest place of any consequence to it. Or he might have been misled by the old chronicler, Malmesbury, who, in speaking of the Conqueror's foundation of the same Abbey, says—"alterum monasterium *Hastinges* ædificavit Sancto Martino, quod cognominatur de Bello."

All that remains of the buildings of this New Priory is to be traced in and about a farm house, formerly the property and residence of the Lades, of whom it was purchased by George Darby, Esq., of Marklye, the present owner. It stands about a mile and a half eastward of the Church, and half a mile from the public road, on a spot now open and picturesque, but which must have been, at the time the priory was founded, in the midst of a large tract of wood land, rendering its site one of great seclusion; on which account, perhaps, it was selected—such a spot being adapted to the practices of the requirements and observances of a monastic life. The roads round about it, too, though now in a fair condition, must at that time have been so bad as to render the place almost inaccessible. In approaching the house, you at once see that it is no ordinary building which is before you. How much of it may be considered a part of the original edifice it would now be difficult to determine; but as the south front is of stone, and has a pointed arch doorway and mulioned windows, also of stone, synchronizing with the style of architecture prevailing at the time the Priory was removed to this site, there can be but little doubt that it was part of the original structure. And as the part running off from this at right angles, at the back, is constructed—the lower story of brick, and the upper of timber, the framework of which is filled up with lath and plaster—this, I consider, to be a more modern addition. An engraving of the ancient part, from a drawing with which Mr. M. A. Lower has kindly favoured me—with whom I visited the Priory at the commencement of February last—



WARBLETON PRIORY.

M. A. LOWER



will be found opposite. It is a very accurate delineation of the south front. Of the mullioned windows, some are filled up with brick. It is worthy of notice that, of the entrance doorway of this part of the house, while the lower part, up to the springing of the arch, is plainly chamfered, the arch itself is moulded on each side.

The rooms of this portion of the house are square, and for the most part spacious. At the east end is a parlour with three large windows, north, east, and south, two of which are stopped. This might have been the chapter-room of the Canons. Across its ceiling is an immense beam of a semi-cylindrical form. The fire-places, too, of the rooms are all of them unusually large. The wide, open fire-place of what appears to have been the kitchen of the Priory, has within it an iron plate, lying horizontally, and raised an inch or two above the level of the brick flooring of the room, on which the wood was placed; and another, standing upright or nearly so, at the back of it, against which the wood rested during the time it was burning. Around this are the Pelham Buckle and a cross, alternately. The roof timbers, which are of oak, and very substantial, were the produce, probably, of the Priory estate.



The Chapel was a square room, some thirty yards or more to the east of the present house. Its length is thirty-eight feet, by about twenty feet in width, and its walls still rise above the surface of the soil, in one or two parts, more than two feet. But though it is now detached, there is ample evidence to show that it was once a part of the Priory buildings, for, between it and the house, extensive foundations are still to be traced, as well as across the garden to the south of the Chapel; and, at the east end of the orchard, parts of this garden cannot be cultivated, in consequence of the obstructions which the subterraneous walls present. Here are the remains of what appears to have been a long pond, but which I should have called a part of a moat if I could have found elsewhere any traces of its continuance,

which I was unable to do. On the east side of the flower garden in front of the house, and forming a fence to it, are an oast-house and a stable under one roof, the walls of which are very thick, and evidently constructed of some of the *debris* of the old Priory. The oast-house has been lately rebuilt, but the stable is of rude workmanship, and of some antiquity. Built into it I discovered fragments of the stone mullions of the Chapel windows. One piece had evidently been a part of the sill of one of the windows, as the hole remained in it in which an iron stanchion had been fixed.



On the east side of these, running east and west, is a cart-shed, in the back wall of which is the pointed-arch doorway here represented. In the stable, too, are the remains of an ancient entrance doorway. Among the loose stones of a detached and ruinous piece of wall, just to the south of the oast-house, I found three pieces of carved stone capitals, of an early English type, and a piece of flat moulding. One of

the capitals was circular, with a plain moulding round it; another was square, having floriated ornaments on each of its four sides; and the third was a fragment of a half-capital and shaft, both of which were ornamented with a kind of scroll pattern. These must have belonged originally to the Chapel.

Two human skulls, one of which was dug up on the spot, are carefully preserved in an upstairs apartment of the house, about which many strange stories are current in the neighbourhood. One has been in the house many years; the other was placed there by a former tenant of the farm. The older one is of a peculiar formation, having the appearance of the skull of an idiot. Of this skull the general impression of the people of the parish is, that if it were to be removed the cattle on the farm would sicken, and strange noises be heard in and about the house at night. This is said to have happened to the tenant to whom I have just alluded; and

from that time no female servant would live in the house. A man servant, whom he had brought with him out of Leicestershire, cooked and did all the work of the house for him as long as he continued to occupy the farm. This skull has, however, since been removed, more than once, without any very ill effects arising from it.²⁰ The tradition of the neighbourhood is, that the skull belonged to a man who murdered an owner of the house, and marks of blood are pointed out on the floor of the adjoining room, where the murder is supposed to have been committed, and which no washing will remove. The space under the roof of the house plainly indicates the restless spirits by which the house is haunted, and from whom the noises, supposed to be supernatural, proceed. They are owls that breed there, and from them, in passing in and out, and from their young, anxiously expecting their return, with a rat or mouse, or some other animal substance on which they are accustomed to feed, in their talons, all those fearful sounds and unearthly screams arise—scaring maid-servants from their propriety.

According to Henry VIII.'s survey, taken in the 26th year of his reign, the New Priory of Hastings possessed property in Icklesham parish, which, at the time of the general dissolution, passed into the hands of the crown. It is thus noticed :

	£	s.	d.
"Ikylsham redd' et firm' ibidem in tenura Willielmi Fynche, milit: et aliorum, per annum	1	14	2
"Resolucio Redd: Willielmi Fynche, milit: pro terris jacent' in Ikyl- sham, per annum	0	1	0

The family of Fynche resided at "Old Place House," which was situated on the north side of Icklesham parish, below the Church. The house is now taken down, but its site may still be traced.

A parochial district has sometimes been assigned to the Church of this Priory, previous to its removal to Warbleton; and in the parliamentary map of the Borough of Hastings, the parish of the Holy Trinity is mentioned, but erroneously,

²⁰ On one occasion it was placed by a profane hand in a branch of a neighbouring tree, where it remained a whole summer, during which time a bird's nest was constructed within it, and a young brood successfully reared.—M. A. L.

for no such parish, either connected with, or independent of, this house, ever existed. Jeake, in speaking of Hastings, says, "it is beautified with two churches, one called by the name of St. Clement's, and the other All Saints. But in their costumal, and some other early documents, other churches are spoken of, viz., St. Michael's, St. Mary of the Castle, a hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and the Priory Church, near to the town." The mistake here made, in calling this last-mentioned church a parish church, no doubt arose from the Priory being designated "the Church of the Holy Trinity at Hastings;" the term "ecclesia," as has been observed by Mr. Stonestreet,²¹ a resident of Hastings, and a gentleman well versed in the history of the antiquities of the town and neighbourhood, is often used in ancient bulls and records to designate a monastery. The term does not necessarily imply a parochial jurisdiction. If any such jurisdiction was exercised by this Priory, it was limited to its own demesne lands in Hastings and Gensyng, which comprised about 192 acres. Such a jurisdiction appears to have been sometimes possessed by other monasteries, and is not unlikely to have been vested in this; and such extra-parochial jurisdiction might very appropriately have been called that of the Holy Trinity. After lying waste many years, the Priory lands are now partially covered with buildings; the extension of Hastings westward making the part near the sea an eligible site for houses. The greater part, however, is still cultivated as a farm, called "The Priory Farm," on which the owner, Mr. Wastel Briscoe, has a residence, a part being enclosed as a paddock. The part built upon is known by names shewing its connection with the Priory.

From the circumstance of the same documents mentioning St. Mary Magdalen—a hospital or alms-house at Hastings for decayed people of either sex—as a parish, and some other deeds, of the date of Henry VI., calling it a Priory, we may, I think, fairly conclude that this hospital was, in some way or other, connected with the Priory of the Holy Trinity; for, though older records state it to have

²¹ See Horsfield's History of Sussex, Vol. i., p. 451.

been under the governance and visitation of the Bailiff of Hastings, and that the right of nomination to its benefits was vested solely in that officer, might it not, at a later period, have been attached to, and under the control of, the Priory? This hospital was founded by Petronilla de Cham, or Chams, of Hastings, who endowed it with the profits of five acres of land. The deed of endowment is supposed to be lost, but its contents are recited in a charter of confirmation of the date of the 21st of Edward I. (1293). By a deed of Elizabeth this charitable institution is invested in the Corporation of Hastings, who since that time have dispensed the proceeds in small gifts to the poor and needy of the town, at Christmas. By subsequent additions, and the improved rent of the Charity lands, the original endowment has been increased to about £105 per annum.

Nothing now remains of the dissolved Priory buildings at Hastings. "So complete," says Moss, in his notice of the Priory, "has been the decay of this ancient structure, that it may almost be literally said of it, that it has now scarcely one stone left upon another to repeat the story of its existence."²² A few years ago a small portion might be found, consisting of the fragment of an old wall built into a granary or drying-house, standing as a portion of the south and west boundary of a farm-yard at no great distance from the Priory farm house. But this has been lately taken down and rebuilt, and all is now gone. Rouse gives a view of it as it appeared in 1823, the year in which his "Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex" were published. Some of the materials have evidently been used in the construction of a large barn and hovel, and in the enclosure walls of the yard. In removing, some years ago, the mud from an old pond near to these remains, and which must have been in some way connected with the Priory grounds, a large excavation was discovered at the bottom, which, upon being measured, was found to extend to the depth of thirty feet or more. Portions of a sluice, with its flood-gates, were also brought to light, the whole being formed of timbers of a large size. These are supposed to have been the works of the monks,

²² Moss' History of Hastings, p. 79; and Monast. Angl., in the account of this Priory.

and intended to protect their house from the ravages occasioned by the overflowings of the sea. So frequent do these inundations appear to have been in early times, and so destructive the consequences by which they were attended, that the Dean and Canons of the Collegiate Church within the Castle petitioned Edward III., in 1332, for leave to repair the Castle walls, to secure their Chapel against them. How their Chapel could be so endangered—standing, as it did, four hundred feet above the level of the sea, and at that time at a much greater distance from it than it is now—is a difficulty which has never been cleared up. Some have applied it to the Priory, while others consider it to have had reference to a chapel below the cliff. But to whatever church the petition may apply, the frequency of these devastating inundations, for three centuries after the establishment of the Norman rule in this country, is quite certain. It is shewn, not only by the necessity which arose for removing this Priory to a more inland place on this account, but from the fact of all that part of Hastings which stands near to the Priory, and which, erected on a portion of its demesne lands, is designated after it, being built on a deep bed of shingle. There is also ample evidence that, at the time this Priory was founded, the land around it was covered with wood, a portion of the vast forest of Anderida, which must at that time have come close up to Hastings; for, at low tide, when what is usually covered with water opposite the Priory houses is left dry and exposed to view, it is found to consist of a black-looking deposit, in which timber of a large size is found embedded—the soil taking its colour, as is supposed, from the decayed vegetable matter which it contains. The course of a thick hedge has been distinctly traced, and hazelnuts are occasionally found in it, with their shells in a very perfect state. This subterraneous timber is in so sound a state, as to be capable of being worked up into trinkets for sale, by the Hastings mechanics.

That two religious houses, standing so near to each other as Hastings Priory and Battle Abbey, should be somewhat connected in their endowments, we cannot be surprised to find. Such a connection would be the natural consequence of their proximity to each other. The principal benefactors

to a religious house would be the owners of property in its immediate neighbourhood, and so we find it here. These two monasteries seem to have had benefactors in common; the illustrious families of their founders, the knightly family of Hoo, and the noble family of Hastings, successive owners of the Lordship of Hastings, being found among those who contributed liberally to their support, in some instances by donations of land, in others by land given to the one being charged with a payment to the other. This is manifest from the Battle Abbey chartulary.

Of Hastings Priory no chartulary is known to exist; and of its deeds all that the "*Monasticon Anglicanum*" gives, are the letters authorising its removal to Warbleton, and an abstract of the valuation of the property it possessed at the time it was dissolved.²³ I am able, however, to refer to a few charters relating to this Priory, and once evidently among its deeds, of the history of which I know nothing more than that the originals are, or rather, at the time of the publication of Nichols' "*Collectanea Topographica*,"²⁴ in which they are given, *were*, in the possession of Stacey Grimaldi, Esq., F.S.A., at his residence, at that time in Oxfordshire. They appear to be all of one, and that a very early, period; for a very accurate date, Mr. Nichols tells us in his preliminary observations, may be assigned to them, from the identification of names occurring among their witnesses with those of men whose date is well known. Thus, Walter de Scotney, one of them, was, we know, contemporary with Seffrid II., who was Bishop of Chichester from 1180 to 1204; and Peter de Scotney, the grantor of one of the charters, and the witness of two others, calls himself the son of this Walter. Some of the other witnesses, too, may be identified as belonging to the same æra, thereby affording us a connecting clue to the date to which they belong. The substance of these deeds, divested of their legal form and phraseology, is as follows:—

By deed 1, HENRY DE PALERNE gave to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Hastings, and its canons, the tithe of the corn of his demesne lands at Langport; having in view, in

²³ Vol. vi., p. 168.

²⁴ Vol. vi., p. 161.

doing so, the salvation of the souls of John, his father, his own soul, and the souls of all his ancestors and heirs. Out of this the canons were to pay to the Church of St. Mary, at Bourne (Eastbourne?) 2s. per annum only. From contributing to this grant the tenement of Gilbert, his official, is specially excepted, so long as it should continue in his own occupation. The witnesses to this deed are—Peter, formerly Dean of Hastings; Edmund and Justin, priests; Vincent, clerk; Edmund Fitz-Alan, junior; Walter Scotney, and others. To this deed a round seal of white wax is appended, having for a device a lion rampant. The motto is imperfect, the parts between brackets being missing, but it evidently was—

[SIGILLVM. HE]NRICI. DE. PA[LERNE]

In the valuation of Pope Nicholas (1291), the temporalities of the Prior of Hastings, at Langford, are rated at 6s. 8d. In the valuation of Henry VIII. the name does not occur.

By deed 2, it appears that ELIAS FITZ-GILBERT, of Rye, sold to the same canons, for three marcs of silver, fifty acres of wood, lying between the land of Gerard de la Flesham and that of Ralph de Ycklesham; and two acres of land lying adjacent to this wood, and near to the land of William de Kethenore, which lands he had from Ralph Borne, the lord, and which he resigned and quitclaimed to them for ever, in his court. The witnesses to this deed are—John de Gestelinge, Ralph de Yckelsham, Peter de Scotney, James Fitz . . . , Edmund Fitz-Alan, and others. The seal of this deed is gone.

Deed 3 is endorsed "MICHAEL DE HASTINGES." By it Robert de Cotelege, the son of John de Oxenel, gives to the Church and Canons of St. Trinity, Hastings, his right of advowson and presentation in a certain portion of the Church of St. Michael, Hastings, the tenement occupied by Michael, the Dean, for his life being excepted. And this he did for the salvation of the souls of himself and all his ancestors. This deed is witnessed by Helyas, Dean of Dallingtune; Richard, chaplain of Ticehurst; Ralph, parson of Icklesham; Master Gyles de Burne; Henry FitzAucher, the son of Richard,

constable, at the time, of Hastings; James Fitz-Alard, of Winchelsea; Godfrey, his son-in-law; William Fitz-Robert, of Hastings; William of Gensinges and others. The seal of this deed also is missing, but the green silk cord to which it was attached remains.

By deed 4, RALPH DE YCKLESHAM confirms to God and the Church and Canons of the Holy Trinity, Hastings, for the salvation of his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors and successors, one hundred acres of land, lying in Hopernot, on each side of the highway from Hastings to Rye, to be held of him and his heirs in perpetuity, and free of all claims whatsoever by payment of one pound of cummin annually to him, within twelve days of Christmas-day. This land is described as lying between the land of the Castle of Hastings, the land of the fee of St. Ledger, the land de Hulnec, and the land which Benedict de Gestelinges held of him. Adam was the Abbot at this time, to whom, and to the canons over whom he presided, he warrants this land against all persons, male or female, for the payment of one and a-half marcs of gold. He then provides against any future contingencies which may arise from a want of power on his part to warrant this land; in which case he declares that he gives it to them in exchange for other land of equal value. As a ratification and confirmation of the transaction, he set his seal to this deed of gift in the presence of John de Gestelinges; Walter de Scotney; Henry, his brother; James Fitz-Alard, of Winchelsea; Edmund Fitz-Alan, jun., of Hastings; Ralph, parson of Ycklesham; Bertin Fitz-Sampson, of Gestelinges, and others. To this deed a round seal is appended, an inch and a-half, or thereabouts, in diameter, on which is impressed a knight on horseback clad in chain mail, and having a long sword drawn in his hand, around which is—

SIGILL. RADVLPHI.DE.HICLESHAM.

It is attached to the deed by a parchment label. This Ralph seems to have been a considerable benefactor to Battle Abbey as well, four or five deeds of gift to that Abbey being included in Thorpe's catalogue, p. 41, among the witnesses to which some of the Canons of Hastings are to be found. See also Waldron, *ante* p. 84, *et seq.*

By deed 5, the same RALPH DE HICKLESHAM, and his heirs, ratify the gift which Robert the merchant, the son of Guido, made to the same Church and Convent of the Holy Trinity, in pure and perpetual alms, of all the marsh-lands which he purchased, as well of them as of others in their fee. These lands consist of six and three-quarters Flemish acres, which this Robert bought in the new marshes of Ycklesham of Hugh Fitz-Hardnothe; and five and three-quarter acres of the same measure, which he bought of Lambracht; and one such acre, which he purchased of Anselm; which lands he declares shall be held by them freely and peaceably. He also confirms to them the lands which the same Robert bought of him, to be held by them as the deed testifies—viz., three English acres of land, which Robert bought of him for three pounds, in his marsh of Hope, paying one shilling sterling annually, within the octave of St. Michael; and six English acres of the land called Hothernooke, which was situated between it and the cross of Hastings, which he gave to this Robert, and his heirs, in consideration of his service, for ever; he paying out of it annually a half-penny within the same period. By the same deed he also yields up to them, for ever, the way through his land to their own land. For these gifts Abbot Adam and the Convent appointed him, his ancestors, and successors, to be partakers of the benefits of the Priory. The witnesses to this deed are—Ralph, the parson of Ycklesham; William Soloman, and Walter de Lindherst, two chaplains of the same Ralph; Walter de Scotney; John de Gestelinges; Robert de Hastingses; Vincent de Burne; John de Farelle; William de Gensinges; Jacob Packe, of Hastings, and others. A portion only of the fractured seal of this deed remains. Like the last, it was attached to it by means of a green plaited silk cord. In 1291, the temporalities of this house at Icklesham were rated at 6s. 8d., and, in the 26th of Henry VIII., at £1 14s. 2d.

By deed 6, HENRY, EARL OF EU, granted and confirmed for ever to the same house and canons, the churches of St. George, at Crowherste, and of St. Mary, at Ticehurst, and all that belongs to them, as the deed of Walter de Scotney, the donor, testifies. The deed is witnessed by Walter, presbyter of Germanville, and William, his clerk; John of Burne;

Gilbert St. Audoen; Ralph de Augo; Guido de Pilo cervino; Festinus de Merleville; Almandus de Granden; Giletus Fitz-Gimber, and others. Part only of the Count's seal remains. The material of which it is composed appears to be a mixture of green and white wax, and it is appended to the deed by a string of green and white thread. On it is impressed a figure of the Count on horseback. For an engraving of this seal, from a more perfect specimen published by Moss in his "History of Hastings," p. 92. See plate of seals.

Deed 7 is the grant alluded to in the preceding charter. By it PETER DE SCOTNEY grants and confirms to the Church of St. Trinity, Hastings, and to the canons worshipping God therein, the donation which his father, Walter de Scotney, had made to them of the Churches of St. Mary at Ticehurst, and St. George at Crowhurst, with all that appertains to them, in pure and perpetual alms, and free of all secular demands, for the salvation of the souls and bodies of himself and his wife Matilda, of his father and mother, and of all his relatives and friends, alive or dead; upon this condition, that the priests ministering in these Churches be chosen in common by the Lord of Crowhurst and the Chapter of the Church of St. Trinity. And if the priests of these churches, so chosen, shall be found incompetent by the lord of the soil and of the parish, he shall not be removed, nor shall a more efficient priest be appointed, except by the common consent of the same lord and chapter. By the same deed he further gives to the same canons, in exchange for a rent of 16s. contained also in the charter of his father—six acres of land in Ticehurst, lying in front of the entrance-gate of the Priory, beyond the king's highway to the west, and extending in length along the same highway to the river. He also confirms to the same canons the land of Waterdune, the meadow under the Castle, the salt-pan of Hoo, and the tithe of all his salt made throughout England which he then had, or might at any time thereafter possess. The names attached to this confirmatory deed as witnesses are Hugh, parson of Elham; William de Monceaux, the then constable of Hastings; William Morvin; William de Haltune; Oliver de Westfield; William de Gensinges; William de Bolun; Peter de Monceaux; Gilbert de

Gensinges; Richard Fritonden, and others. The seal appended to this deed is round and of green wax, and about an inch and a-half in diameter. Impressed upon it is the Scotney coat of arms, with the legend

SIGILL. PETRI. DE. SCOTENIE.

around it.

We learn from Domesday that Walter Fitz-Lambert, who was a benefactor to the Chapel of the blessed Mary in the Castle, held, at the time that survey was made, Crowhurst of the Count of Eu, and that he gave a virgate of land there to the Abbey of Battle. He, then, was the direct ancestor of the Walter and Peter de Scotney who are here mentioned. Their territorial designation is taken from an estate in Lamberhurst,²⁵ their place of residence upon it being called Scotney Castle. They were a family of some considerable distinction. One of them obtained an unenviable notoriety, having been tried and hanged at Winchester in the year 1259, for administering poison to Richard, Earl of Gloucester, and his brother William de Clare, from the effects of which the former died.²⁶ The arms of the family, as they are displayed on this seal, are not emblazoned in any of the ordinaries which have fallen under Mr. Nichols' observation. Tanner, quoting from the Episcopal Registers at Chichester of the time of Seffrid II.,²⁷ says that the Churches of Crowhurst and Ticehurst were confirmed to the canons by this bishop, as the gift of Walter de Seaton, which is a manifest error for Scoten, the abbreviated Latin word for Scotney. In Pope Nicholas's taxation (1291) the Church of Ticehurst is rated at £26 13s. 4d., and the vicarage of the same at £8. In Henry VIII.'s valuation the rectory of Ticehurst is stated to be £10 13s. 4d. At the former period the Church of Crowhurst is called a prebend, and is rated at £4 6s. 8d., and the portion of the Prior of Hastings in the same at £2 13s. 4d. In the 26th of Henry VIII., all that the Prior received from Crowhurst was a rent of £1 1s., called "Mede-rent."

²⁵ Harris's "History of Kent," pp. 380, 383.

²⁶ See Vol. vii., p. 52.

²⁷ C., fol. 70, b.

The 8th deed is called a chyrograph, or deed in two parts, of which each party to it holds one, and recites an agreement entered into between the Abbot and Convent of BATTLE on the one part, and the Prior and Convent of HASTINGS on the other; by the terms of which the Prior and Convent of Hastings were to receive the tithes of Boreselle, in the parish of Ticehurst, which the sacristan of Battle had been heretofore accustomed to receive, upon their paying him 2s. per annum within the octave of St. Martin (Nov. 11th), upon the great altar, without any contradiction, difficulty, or delay. But should it so happen that the 2s. were not so paid within the time appointed, the Abbey sacristan had full power to re-enter on the possession of the tithes, as if they had never been separated from his office; and any expenses he might be thus put to were ordered to be repaid to him by the Prior and Convent of Hastings, full restitution being made to him of all they may have received. And, that there might be no receding from this compact, but that both parties might feel themselves bound fully and fairly to carry it out, the seals of the Bishop of Chichester, and of the other contracting parties, were set interchangeably to it; the witnesses being—Richard, Chaplain of Ticehurst; Master John de; Godfrey de Wesenham, and Ernisia, clerks to the lord Bishop of the diocese; Matthew, gatekeeper of Battle Abbey; Vincent, servant of the Lord Abbot of Battle, and others. No part of either of the seals affixed to this deed now remains.

The 9th deed is a composition made between the Prior of COMB WELL, in Kent, and the Prior of HASTINGS, in settlement of a dispute which had arisen about the tithes of some land in Ticehurst, called Colinton. As any disputes in ecclesiastical matters have a tendency to estrange the hearts of men from the church, this deed commences by a recognition of the right attaching to all pious men to use their best endeavours to bring them to a satisfactory conclusion. With regard to the tithes in question, the Canons of the Holy Trinity Priory maintained that they belonged to their church as a parochial right, they being the owners of the Church of Ticehurst, which assumption was denied by the Canons of Combwell. The matter was therefore referred to

the judges for decision, as the delegates of the Pope, who put an end to it by an amicable adjustment, with the full sanction and consent of the Chapters of both Priories, in this way—The Prior and Convent of Combwell were to give up the great tithes accruing from three acres of land formerly held by Ralph Fitz-Emeric of the canons of that house, as a part of the demesne lands of Combwell; and the tithe of the herbage and pannage of their wood at Colinton, together with one penny due for Rome-scot,²⁸ for a house standing on the same land. They also demised to the same canons all the right they had in the Church of St. Peter, Hastings, to be possessed by them for ever, in the same manner as they had possessed it. And the Prior and Convent of Hastings warranted all these things, as far as it was in their power to do so, to the Canons of Combwell against all men, by means of this composition, so as to make them of perpetual validity. Both parties then renounced all actions heretofore entered upon, and all further recourse to law, and engaged, each with the other, firmly and faithfully to observe for ever the agreement hereby entered into; in testimony of which, the seals of both chapters are appended to this deed, made in the form of a chyrograph. It was executed at Hastings, December 15th, 1240. What portions remain of these seals are too much broken and defaced to be very accurately described. In the Nonæ return for the parish of Ticehurst, two holdings are mentioned as belonging to the Prior of Combwell, which are described as not sown the year the return was made, the ninth of which is stated to be worth 18s. 8d. The name Colinton does not occur in any

²⁸ Rome-scot was a scot or tribute, paid yearly to Rome, of one penny by every family or household in this country. It was sometimes called Peter-pence, from the circumstance of its being collected on the day of St. Peter ad vincula. It is stated by some to have been first granted by Ina, King of the West Saxons, in 725, upon the occasion of a pilgrimage which he made in that year to Rome, and not to have been wholly abolished until the 1st of Elizabeth; while others, among whom is Asser, assert it to have had its origin in the gift that Ethelwulf made of 300 mancusæ yearly to Rome—100 of which were to be appropriated towards supplying the lamps of St. Peter's with oil on Easter eve, another 100 to the same purpose at St. Paul's, and the remaining 100 to the use of the Pope himself. Although manca and mancusa are used, according to Spelman, by early historians promiscuously for the same money, they were, he tells us, distinct Saxon coins, and of different value. Manca was a square coin of gold, of the value of thirty pence; while a mancusa was valued at six shillings. Ducange makes the value of a manca fifty shillings; and the *Leg. Canut*: that of a mancusa a mark of silver. Mancusa is supposed to have taken its name from manu-cusa—made by the hand.

modern maps that have fallen under my notice. It is, however, to be found in the old Ordnance map. Combwell farm and a large wood called Combwell wood, both of them in Kent, are so placed as apparently to be in the parish of Lamberhurst.

These are all the deeds I have been able to discover bearing on the endowment of this Priory. They appear to have fallen into Mr. Stacey Grimaldi's hands accidentally. Thorpe mentions, at page 92 of his Catalogue that, among the endowments of the Sacristan of Battle Abbey, were pensions issuing out of the Priory of Hastings and the Rectory of Warbleton.

In Vol. vii. of the same "*Collectanea Topographica*," p. 118, Mr. Nichols gives "a muster roll of the Rape of Hastings," of the date of 1340, which is entitled, "Armyd men, as well horsemen as footmen, of the Rape of Hastings, anno 13th of Edwd. III., taken out of the Booke of the Abbye of Battele (the fyrste Booke)." The deed from which it is extracted is in the College of Arms, London, marked L. 17, and appears to have been written about the time of James I. The original is probably in the Webster chartulary, now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. The following are the number of men contributed by each of the religious houses, having either property or being situated within the Rape:—

"The Abbot of Begeham, for xx^{li} of land in Bokeland and Kechenham, 1 man at arms. The Abbot of Fescampe, for xxx^{li} of land in Brede, 1 man at arms and 1 Hobelar," or light-horseman.—Hobelers were generally tenants, who were bound by their tenure, among other services, to maintain a little light horse, with which it was their duty to give notice of invasion as quickly as possible, or, indeed, any other peril arising from the approach of an enemy on the sea side. They were required to be "*ad omnem motum agiles*," &c.—"The Abbot of Robertsbridge, for xl^s of land in Fodeland park, Odiham, Werthe, and other lands, ij men at arms. The Prior of Hastings, for viii^{li} of land in Bokeshuli, Monksnesse, and Ecchine (Etchingham ?), j Hobiler.

No surrender of this Priory and its lands, nor any Minister's accounts, are to be found in the Augmentation Office; but, among its Monastic Records, there is a survey of the demesne lands belonging to it. It is without date, but was evidently taken some time before its dissolution. It is as follows, and is the only genuine account we have of the property, and its value at the time, which the Priory then

possessed. Mr. M. A. Lower, who knows the property well, informs me that some of the lands included in it may still be identified in Warbleton by the names here given to them:—

“An account of the demesne lands belonging to the New Priorie, byside Hastings. First, the site or sytuacion of the Priorie, with closures, gardens, and orchards, within the precincts of the said Priorie, conteyning, by estimation, four acres, 2s. Item, the Sawpit close, three acres, at 1s. 2d. the acre, 3s. 6d. Item, the Marlyng field, four acres, at 1s. the acre, 4s. Item, the Connyng Yerthe fylde, six acres, at 1s. the acre, 6s. Item, the Wyldeffylde land, sixty acres, 10s. Item, the Barneffylde, six acres, at 1s. 1d. per acre, 6s. 6d. Item, Moffkyn, with the rough ground, six acres, 2s. 4d. Item, Cockshote, one acre, 1s.; Hempffylde, twelve acres, 12s. Item, Cloblute lande, wyld ground, forty acres, 6s. Item, Perryeffylde, twelve acres, 8s. Item, Pelham garden, two acres, 8s. Item, the Deane, four acres, 2s. 8d. Item, Bodeslande, twelve acres, 4s. Item, Webbe, and Hagglatte, twenty acres, 6s. 8d. Kychine-wyshe, three acres, 2s. Item, Terryppe, Knell, and Brabryde, twenty acres, 13s. 4d. Item, a water-mylle, lying amongste the Demeans, £1. Item, Stevyn-croche, conteyning sixteen acres, 10s. 8d. In Dallyngton: item, the manor of Haselden, £3 6s. 8d. Item, Savyne, eight acres, at 1s. 4d. per acre, 10s. 8d. Item, a fylde called Hoppeselle Wyshe, and a parcell of ground lying besyde Stoneyherste, conteyning twelve acres, at 1s. per acre, 12s. In Herstmonherste, and Wartlyng: Item, of Chilthurst, in the parishes of Herstmonherste and Wartlyng, conteyning, by estimation, eighty acres, at 1s. per acre, £4.” This survey is signed “per Johannem Mores, per William Cavendysse, Auditores.”

King Henry VIII.'s valuation is as follows:—

“Rent of the Rectory of Tysehurst, £10 13s. 4d.; ditto, of Ashburnham, £2 13s. 4d.; value of the demesne lands of the Prior, for the use of the house, £13 10s.; of Assize Rents in Burwasshe, £1 4s. 6d.; of Rents in Herstemouncez, 7s. 6d.; in Dallyngton, £1 1s. 5d.; in Tysehurst, 17s. 2d.; in Asshburnham, 6s. 8d.; in Warbylton, 8s.; in Mayfield, £2 6s. 8d.; in All Saints, Hastings, £1 8s. 10d.; in St. Clements, ditto, £2 2s. 4d.; in St. Michaels, ditto, £8 2s. 2d.; in Hollyngton, £2 0s. 6d.; in Bexhill, £2 13s. 4d.; in Westham, 9s.; in Wyllyngdon, 2s. 3d.; in Ewhurste, 4s. 1d.; in Brede, 10s.; in Odymere, £1 10s. 2d.; in Wynchelsea, 8d.; in Kilsham, £1 14s. 2d.; in Gestlynge, 7s. 4d.; in Farelye, 4s.; in Westfield, £1 19s. 10d.; in Crowhurst, £1 1s. Total, £57 18s. 3d. Outgoings, £6 9s. 6½d. Clear value, £50 8s. 8½d.

Land of the value of £2 1s. 8d. per annum, in Pease-marsh, is stated in this valuation to have been lost to the Priory at different times by the overflowings of the sea. A portion of it was let to John Austin, for £1 6s. 8d., and the remainder to John Aeston, at 15s. per annum. In 1488, the New Priory was exempted from taxation, on account of its poverty.

There are records in the Bishop's Registers of four visitations of this Priory—one in 1441, and another in 1442, by Bishop Praty; a third took place in 1473, by Bishop Storey; and a fourth in 1524, by Bishop Shyrborne. From these we learn somewhat of its state at these particular periods. In

1441, four canons and one celerer are reported as resident in the house; and the next year, besides the Prior, but three canons, and no celerer. A complaint was brought against the Prior of negligence and extravagance, on which account he was enjoined to reckon with the Chapter once in every year, under a penalty of 100s. to be expended in supporting the Cathedral Church of Chichester; and to take care that, for the future, his clear expenditure did not exceed £40 per annum. The house was stated to be twenty marks in debt; which, according to the following year's account, had been reduced to ten, a hope being expressed that, by the industry of the Prior, the whole might be liquidated before the end of that year.²⁹

In 1473, the visitation report enters more fully into the state of the Priory at that time. The Prior complained of Thomas Greene, vicar of Dallington, that he kept, for the purpose of appropriating them to his own private use, two cups of gold, of the value of 46s., which had been entrusted to his care; that he refused to celebrate with the other canons twice in the week, though enjoined to do so by the rules of the house; that he held the common seal in his private custody, and had availed himself of it to let certain lands and houses without the consent of his brethren; that the roofs of the vestibule, campanile, and chancel, had been suffered to fall into a state of considerable decay; and that instead of four, and occasionally five, resident canons, independent of the Prior, they were then reduced to two.

In reply to these charges, the vicar of Dallington stated that the seal was not in his custody, but in that of the Prior; that, with regard to the two cups being illegally in his possession, they were held by him as a security for 40s. then due to him from the house, and that for so detaining them he had the free consent of John Kemp, the predecessor of the present Prior.

In 1524, three canons and one novice are reported as resident in the Priory. Nothing of any particular moment was brought before the Bishop in the course of this visita-

²⁹ Reg: E., fol. 71-2.

tion. The only charge made by the Prior against any inmate of the house had reference to Thomas Hother, one of the canons, who was reported to his lordship as being frequently absent without leave from the house, and, though summoned to appear at this visitation, he had left the house to avoid doing so, of his own accord. Robert Jonys, too, another of the canons, complained that he was not treated by the Prior with the same civility and kindness as the other canons, and that the novice did not scruple to employ himself in creating discord between him and his brethren.³⁰

The following list of Priors is as complete as I can well make it out:—

Adam. Grimaldi's Deeds.

1266.—Thomas. Monast: Anglican:

1400.—Richard Weston. Episc: Reg.; Reade, fol. 79. He is stated to have been elected from Michelham Priory.

1402.—John Hassok : Episc: Reg.; where he is reported to have resigned this year, in consequence of infirmities which prevented his adhering strictly to the rule of the house. As a pension, he was allowed, for the remainder of his life, a rent of forty shillings per annum, charged on the manor of Haselden, in Dallington and Ashburnham, into whosoever hands it might fall.

1410.—Richard Weston. Episc: Reg:

1415.—Stephen Monkton. ditto, and Sir John Pelham's Charter.

1441.—Stephen Lewes. Episc: Reg:

1459.—John Kempe. ditto.

1473.—John Smith. ditto.

1521.—Thomas Harmer. ditto.

The endowment of the Prior in Crowherste was £31 13s. 4d.; in Ickelsham, 6s. 8d.; in Newham, 6s. 8d.; in Hastings, 13s. 4d., and rent, £5; in Northie, 13s. 4d.; in Iseldune, £1 6s. 8d.; in Langforde, 6s. 8d. Total, £40 6s. 8d. Prior de Hastings is stated, in Pope Nicholas' taxation, to possess, in Crowhurst, property of the value of £2 13s. 4d.

The only seal of this Priory that I have been able to discover is one, evidently of great antiquity, which I met with accidentally in a folio volume of drawings of ancient seals, made by that celebrated antiquary Sir Elias Ashmole, and preserved among the books in the museum which he founded at Oxford. It is marked, "Ash: 833, folio 348." The inscription which it bore is almost entirely broken away, but

³⁰ Reg: C., Shyrborne, fol. 18, b.

Sir Elias gives it as "SIGILLUM PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS S^{TE} TRINITATIS DE HASTINGES," to which he adds, "sine dato." An engraving of it forms the tail-piece of this paper. The drawing from which it is taken is probably unique.

In conclusion, I beg to express my thanks to the Rev. G. E. Haviland, Rector of Warbleton, and W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., for their assistance in the preparation of this paper.



PROTESTANT REFUGEES IN SUSSEX.

By WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

The policy which induced Edward III. to give every facility for the settlement of Flemings in England, and to benefit by the knowledge of arts and manufactures possessed by foreigners, has always been looked upon with public favour. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, another and most important element was added—the desire to afford an asylum to those Protestants, whether Walloons or Frenchmen, who fled from the oppressions of Spain and France—and this religious element was again in full force in the days of Charles II.

Rye was a port greatly frequented by passengers to the Continent, and it not only received many of the Walloons, but, being the nearest port to the French coast, it attracted most of the fugitives from that country. Hence we find that this town was conspicuous for its number of foreigners at four of the most important periods of their immigration to this country.¹ *Firstly*, The Huguenots, during the first religious war in France, in 1562. *Secondly*, During the third civil war there in 1568. *Thirdly*, At the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24th August, 1572; and *Fourthly*, After what is termed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on 22nd October, 1685.

Many of the descendants of these refugees have continued in Sussex down to the present day; and I propose to give to our Society such particulars as I have been able to trace of the events and the families.

¹ There is a Flemish inscription for a Brewer, earlier than any other notice of immigrants, at Playden. See Sussex Arch. Coll., Vol. viii. p. 337.

The first intimation of the religious war in France, and of the attacks upon the Protestants there, is to be found in a letter dated 27th May, 1562, from Sir Richard Sackville, of Buckhurst, who was at Rye with the Lord High Admiral (Lord Clinton) and other Commissioners of Sewers, looking after the coast defences.

“Yt may lette you Sr.² to understand that thys xxvijth of May, my L. Admyrall³ my l. Cobhame,⁴ and whe, the rest of the Comysyoners⁵ dep’tyng about iiij. a cloke at aft’none to Wynchelsay, and so to Hastyng y^t nyght, and y^e next day to Pemsey, and by Gode’s grace, y^e next day to my poore cottage; there came a passenger out of Fraunce from Depe y^t declared to us y^t y^e day y^t he came from Depe, be’g yester-day, there was at Depe a grete conflycte betweene y^e P’testantes and y^e Papysts, and CL. of y^e P’testantes slayne, and y^e Capten of Depe sore hurte, and he sayd y^t y^e Duke of Guyse was fearyng their mynds with a gret nomber, he intendes xx.^{ti} thousand, besydes ayde y^t should come from y^e Kinge of Spayne, y^t y^t matter of ayde or y^e great no’ber by y^e Duke of Guyse, my l. Admyrall toght to be but a marryner’s meloys, and so browght ov^r by another marryner, but the matter of y^e CL. slayne he sayd was to trew, as he harde y^t declared of many. I pray God sende you lessur to have tyme y^t you may take y^e sens of y^s better ayer of Ashedowne and so leve to truble you no more now, by cause of y^e hast of Mr. Doctor Wooton’s man, the bringer herof; but that to adv’tyse you of this myche, that whe have had such p’sentment of the jury for the bessynes whe cam for, y^t whe trust good successe shall follow, wth yo^r helpe, to the honer of y^e cuntry, to Ry towne and Wynchelsey; and so wyshe you wth all yo^{rs} ev^r as well as I wold to my self; scribed in hast thys xxvij of May, at Ry, 4 of y^e cloke at aft’none, 1562.

In all yo^{rs} to my power,

RYC. SAKEVYLE.

My L. Admyrall makes hys most harty comendacyons to

² S. P. O. Dom. Elizth. Vol. xxij. Art. 30.

³ Edward, Lord Clinton and Say (afterwards Earl of Lincoln) was made Lord High Admiral 20th March, 1554, and continued till 1585.

⁴ Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham, and Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty’s Household, was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

⁵ Commissioners of Sewers.

you wth my L. Cobhame, and Mr. Chancelor of y^e Duchy, and prayse you to make y^e same for them to my L. of Pembroke, wherin I pray you forget not me; and to tell my lady Clynton y^t my L. Admyrall takes syche paynsse here in perussing the crekes and m'she dikes, y^t I fere he wyll come home myche lener then he went forth.

To the right honorable S^r Will'm Sycill, knight,
 M^r of the wardes and lyveries, and chief
 secretorye to the quenes Ma^{tie}, be theis."

I.—The massacre of the inhabitants of Vassy, as the Duke of Guise passed through the town, caused such irritation that the Prince de Condé took possession of Orleans, and the war commenced. The loss of Calais was still rankling in the minds of the English, and of their Queen, and the ready assistance of Elizabeth was secured by a treaty negociated by the Prince, for the delivery to her of Dieppe, Havre de Gras (then called Newhaven), and other places in Normandy, till Calais should be restored. The treaty was signed at Hampton Palace, on the 10th September, 1562; ten thousand pounds were borrowed of the City of London, and immediate preparations were made at Rye and other ports, to fit out the 6,000 troops who were to join Condé, and garrison Newhaven under the Earl of Warwick.⁶ On 11th September the Queen directed the Mayor of Rye to prepare vessels to transport the soldiers, and on the 18th she ordered Armigell Waad to take the muster of 600 soldiers there, to be transported under the command of Edward Ormesby; and on the 23rd, of 600 more for service at Dieppe. Sussex provided 400 men. The Canterbury men arrived altogether unfurnished with arms. Armour, however, was provided, and by the 28th the men were sent off. On the 15th October, there was another muster of soldiers, who arrived at Rye under the command of Mr. Waldegrave; they also were embarked: and then Mr. Waad left the town, after ordering an account of the armour remaining, which gave great offence, as interfering with the privileges of the Lord Warden.⁷

⁶ The Earl was appointed to command the troops on 1st October, 1562, but as he could not set out at once, Sir Andrew Poynings, then Governor of Portsmouth, was, on the 3rd October, given the command till the arrival of the Earl. (Rymer).

⁷ Lemon's Cat. of State Papers, temp. Eliz., p. 208.

The first place attacked by the Constable of France (Montmorency) was Rouen, where the Earl of Montgomeri commanded, and whither Sir Andrew Poynings had sent some of the English forces. We have, in the following letters, a vivid account of the fall of that place; of the excesses of the French soldiers; of the delivery up of Dieppe without a struggle; and of the flight to Rye of more than 500 French. The letters are all written to Sir William Cecil, by John Young, who was Mayor during that year.⁸

"Y^t maye please⁹ y^r hono^r to be advertised that M^r Wade is dep^{ted} as this daie towards London, and at his depture he praieing me that yf any letters came to hym from yo^r hono^r that I wolde open them, and to consider them to the best of my power so to do. And, to advertise yo^r hono^r with all diligence, yo^r hono^r may be assured, withe God's helpe, that M^r Ormesbe, and all the companie that were at Depe with him, are at Newe haven at this p'sent, for M^r Wade did not depte from Rye untill he had p'fett advertisement thereof, and so he declared unto me hymselffe. And as for the shippes which dep'ted out of the Tammes withe her grace's p'ission for Newe haven, y^t may please yo^r hon^r the winde hathe bene very good this vj daies; trusting in Almightye God that they are there in savegard, except any misfortune, whiche God forbidde for his m'cies sake. And as I was there weighting there came a passenger (boat) from Depe. I examyned dyvers of them, who declared unto me that all the captaines, with their men, were shipped awaye as yesterdaie to New haven in a shipp of Captain Rebaude, very well appointed, withe other shippes, unto Newhaven; and they saie that the Captain of Depe and John Rebaude goeth withe them also. And they have saied that there is iiij thousand of the Guyses men be come of Arkes (Arques) Castell, and ther comethe moore after them, whiche also cometh to Depe. And more, I asked of them what number they supposed were lost at Roan? They saie that the number was great, but the Englishmen and the Scotts they cutt them all in peces, and Monser

⁸ He was also Mayor in 1565—6, and 1567—8. His family remained in Rye till the middle of the last century. Francis Young was a Jurat in 1704. A Mrs. John Young was buried in 1721.

⁹ Domestic, 1562, Vol. xxv.. Art. 29.

Monggomrie escaped cleare awaie, and sent his letter unto Depe, demanding of them if they wode kepe the towne, and he wolde be bounde to bring them iiij thousand men, which they refused, and saied they wolde deliv^r y^t unto the kinge, and a great number of po^r people is come to this towné this daie. And I asked them what newes from the Prince of Cundie, and they saieing that there was a ma^r of Depe with the Prince wth in these vj daies, and saieth that the Prince is in Orleannies yett, and muche people abought that cytie whiche are thought not to be his frends. And as for Monser Dandelot,¹⁰ they here not whear he is. Thus I beseche God to send yo^r hono^r good lyffe and longe, to indure to his good will and pleasure. From Rye, the last daie of October.

Yo^r hono^r's moost bounden,

JOHN YOUNG.

To the Right Honorable S^r Will^m
Cissell, Knight, and Principall
Seacretary unto the Quene's
most excellent maiestie, gyve
this in hast. Hast, hast, hast,
post hast; hast, hast, hast,
with all diligence. From Rie,
at one of the clock, after none."

The letter had been gone but two hours when another boat arrived, and the mayor despatched a second epistle.

"Pleaseth yo^r hono^r¹¹ to be advertised that this daie, at iij of the clocke, after none, came from Newe haven a bote of this towne, wth certen men, whome I examyned of newes from thence, declaring unto me that my Lord of Warwick, with all his companie, landed upon Thursdaie last (29th Oct^r) and also the vj hundred sowjers whiche went from Rie. More they declared unto me, that ther was great murder don at Roan, and M^r Captaine Leton (Leyton), with his men, gott into the castell; and others saieth againe that he went

¹⁰ Dandelot was nephew of Montmorency, and brother of Coligny; he had been imprisoned for declaring "the sacrifice of the mass an abomination," but released after consenting that mass should be said in his presence. He subsequently joined the Prince de Condé.

¹¹ Domestic, 1562, Vol. xxv., No. 30.

over the water with vij score of his men, but where he became is not yett knowne, so he is much to be feared.¹² And also they have declared that the quene's pynnes and the Brigandeer is brent, and they knowe not as yett whether the Prince be comyng or not; but, God be praised, all o' men are well at Newe haven, and they heare as yett of no comyng of any power against them. Other newes I have not heard of as yett. And thus the Almightye God p'serve yo' l'dsp wth increase of hono^r.

Yo' hono^r's most bounden,

JOHN YOUNG.

To the Right Honorable Sir William Cissell, Knight, and principall Seacryptory to the Quene's moost excellent maiestie. Hast, hast, hast, post hast; hast, hast, hast with all diligence."

The refugees still continued to arrive, and to cause much difficulty to the good folks of Rye to find them sufficient provisions. The new comers brought with them additional information. In the next letter, two days after the preceding, the mayor obtained from a person, who was present at the capture of Rouen, the details, which I am able to contrast with the account given by Monsieur Castelnau, who was with the attacking party.

"In my humbill manor, right honorabill,¹³ it may pleas yo' hono^r to be advertysyd. This daie about iij of the clock, in thafter none, arryvyd here, in one passag, Monseu^r De Veles, Lyueten^t unto Monseu^r de Force, of Depe, wth dyvers other concellers of Depe, and meny other symple people of that plac, who I have examynynd, and lerne by him that this daye comythe and maketh entery into Depe Monseu^r Momorancy, and takithe order that all the people ther shall lyve after ther owne conseynce, but yet they shall have

¹² In a letter of the 9th November, Mr. Young reports that Mr. Leyton was alive and a prisoner, though very sore hurt.

¹³ Domestic, 1562, No. 35.

neither p'chers or m'nsters; and all the people ther have submitted themselves unto the king. I do further lerne by the s'vant of the said Monseur de Veles, who came from Roan uppon Frydaye last, was ther in all the siege and app'henseon, that the towne was gotten in this man^r:— Upon the xxvjth of October last, in the fornone, about ix of the clock, the assaut beganne, wher in the trenche on the one side laye Englysh men, and on the other side Scotysmen, w^{ch} contyneued untill xij of the clock, and then they made entery, when the Englyshe and Scotyshe men were sleyne to the number of vj^c Englyshe, and not savyd above xx^{ty}, amongst whom Mr. Killigrew was takyn, sore hurt, and greatly feared to suffer death.¹⁴ After w^{ch} entery the Almeynes and souldiours all that daye destroyed man, woman, and childe. And after the king, the quene, the Guyes, the Constabill and the others were entered into Roan, the said Guyes and Constabill, calling before them the burgyes and souldiours before them, demanded of them how they durst bere armo^r against ther king; to whom they said it was done by the chef gouerners of Roan against ther willes, and inforced so to do by them; when then they all were comanded to yelde uppe all ther armo^r and weapons, untyll the king's further pleasure were knowne.

In the after none that daie the Constabill hymself inquired after Monseur Mongouberye's (Montgomeri) wife; fynding her and salutyng her, said he was sory her husband was suche a disorderyd p'son against his king, and that the king had p'dnyd her, willing her to repair to her lodging and attend uppon the quene the next mornyng, and know her further pleasure. I lerne further that M^r Leyton escaped from Roan in company of Monseur Mo'gouberye. And as the garde of Scottes attending upon the king did declare that Monseur Dandelot should enter into France wth ten thousand Almeynes, and that the M'shall of St. Androwes (St. Andrè) was gone to mete wth hym wth xv thousand souldiours. Further I lerne by hym, the Prync of Condye was returnyd into

¹⁴ A subsequent report on the 9th states him to be still a prisoner in Rouen, and "hurt of one of his fete." John Marychurch, who had also been taken prisoner, had been ransomed.

Orlyance, and that the King of Naverre is a lyve, but hurt in the shulder, and lyethe in Roan at the howse of the Bailiff of Depe.¹⁵ More I lerne, the Guyes wth a gret othe sware and wysshed ten thousand Englyshe were in Depe; and further, that daily is very grett p^rparcon of men towards New Havyn.

It may pleas yo^r hono^r ther is daily grett resort of ffrenchmen, in so much as alredy is estemyd to be v^c persons; and we be in gret want of corn for ther and o^r sustentacon, by reason the countrey adjoyning is barren. That it may pleas yo^r hono^r some conveyeyent order may be takyn, the wheat her remeynyng may be solde her to o^r grett comfort, at reasonabill pryses, by the owners thereof;¹⁶ and for the Brytten shipp and men, what shal be done wth them? for I lerne also ther be certen Bryttons a brode adventuryng against us and the ptestants of ther owne contreye.

Also it may pleas yo^r hono^r, after night and this daye is come ij shippis of Depe into this haven, full of meny people; whereof the one being bounden towards Newhavyn, and having in English souldiours, could not sett that place, and wold have returnyd to Depe agayne but o^r soldiours forcde the maryns to bryng the shipp hither to Rye, and the other is come wth people of good zeale for sucor.¹⁷ That it wold pleas yo^r hono^r I might know yo^r pleasur herein, for the owners be not known, and the shippis be handsome and serviceable.

Herenclosed Capitaine Rybold hath in humbill man^r sent unto yo^r hono^r certen articles of agrement made betwyne the French King and the people of Depe. I also further lerne the m^sster of Roan and chef counsellors be put to dethe, as Monseur Mandrewille, p^sident, Monseur Handerfelle, Nayell Cotton, and many others; w^{ch} shippis I have stayed here in gov^rnmt of Englyse untill I may know yo^r further pleasure. Mr. Brasshe Howard, the bulk here, laden wth corne, and I intend wth the next fayre wynd to send to New Havyn, as M^r Wad willed me to do, heaving not otherwise

¹⁵ Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre. The wound proved mortal. His infant son, the future Henry IV., was reared by his mother to be the support and glory of the Protestant cause, though his father met his death in the ranks of the Catholics.

¹⁶ Cecil has marked—"stra'g's to find the money."

¹⁷ Cecil has marked—"To stay in good maner ye shippis of Depe."

p'sently, but humbly beseching yo^r hono^r to consider o^r needfull things concernyng the p'misis.

I pray to God for yo^r p'sperous estat, wth increase of hono^r and felycytye.

Wrytten at Rye, the second of November, at v of the clock at night, 1562.

Yours most bounden,

JOHN YOUNG.

To the right honorabill S^r Will^m

Cicill, knight, and principall secretary unto the Quene's most excellent maiestie. Post hast; post hast; hast with all diligence."

The account given by Mons. Castlenau, Baron de Joinville,¹⁸ who held a command in the French army, and was present at the siege, gives a somewhat milder description of the executions and murders, though he admits the pillage to a fearful extent. First the fort of Saint Catherine was taken, and then the King and the Duke de Guise tried to negotiate a surrender, but the town obstinately refused, and the King of Navarre having been mortally wounded in the fosse, it was resolved, having made a feint, and having set fire to a mine, to take the town by force, as was done; for the Duke de Guise, having carried and seized the ravelin of one gate, and lodged several companies in the ditch, (where he had a large number of young lords, among whom the Duke de Nevers, and many others of the French nobility were killed or wounded)—the besieged were constrained to abandon the rampart; seeing which, the Duke de Guise, who was ready to carry out his promise to take the town in a very short time (two or three hours), whenever he should be ordered, sent an equerry to the King, to know his pleasure. His Majesty trusted all things to the decision of fortune; but begged and commanded, if it were possible, that the town should not be pillaged, but on the contrary, that everything possible should

¹⁸ *Memoirs de Michel de Castelnau; Petitôts Collection, 1st Ser. vol. 33.*

be done to insure that the officers and soldiers, by promises of honours, rewards, and extra pay, should abstain from pillage. The Duke de Guise did thus exhort them to obedience to the royal commands. The soldiers soon entered the town, and immediately set themselves to pillage. They broke into and sacked the houses, and put a ransom upon the people's heads. The Earl of Montgomrey was saved in a galley which was in the river; he promised the slaves their liberty. They having, with great difficulty, forced their chains, he escaped, as did others in other vessels. A few of the soldiers, who remained in the town, were taken prisoners (says Castlenau) but not many were killed. Three or four of the principal inhabitants of the town were hung, among whom was the President, Mandreville, the Sieur de Cros, who had delivered up Havre de Gras, and the Minister, Marlorat.¹⁹ "Thus, this great and wealthy city, full of all sorts of riches, was pillaged for the space of eight days without any regard to the one religion or the other; and this in spite of a proclamation made the day after the capture, that every company and division of whatever nation, or faith soever it was, should upon pain of death, retire to the camp, and go out of the town; which was little obeyed, except by the Swiss (who have always maintained and do still maintain strict discipline and obedience); they carried away no other booty save a little bread and things to eat, and cauldrons, pots, and other utensils and vessels for their own use in the army; but the French would rather be killed than quit the place whilst there was anything left."²⁰

Rye continued to be a favourable place for the dispatch of troops. The sheriffs were ordered to complete their musters, and on the 3rd November, Cecil directed the Sheriff of Essex to send 300 men to Harwich, and 300 more overland to Rye, to be transported to Newhaven.²¹ The same day there was a further arrival of fugitives from Dieppe, and a fortunate

¹⁹ Mr. Young's letter gives additional names. Ten of the principal Huguenots were executed.

²⁰ Compare this with the capture of the Emperor of China's summer palace, and it would seem that three centuries have not materially altered the character of troops.

²¹ Domestic Elizabeth, No. 37.

arrival of a Flemish ship, driven in by a stress of weather, and laden with armour for the enemy.

"In most humble maner maye y^t please yo^r hono^r to be advertised that the thirde daie of this present mounth, at xij. of the clocke, there aryved a bote from Depe, wth frenchmen, women, and children to the number of a hundred and fiftie (here being a great nu[']ber also whiche were here before), and I examyning them of newes from Depe, they declared unto me that Momorancie, wth iiij hundred soudiers, very well appointed, were entred into Depe, as upon mondaye last past; who, withe all his companie, were well and quietly receyved; And he calling before hym the cheife of the towne then there being present, wth the rest of the said towne, declared unto them the King's pleasure, but what it was I ame not certified thereof.²² But this they do report, that he is fully determyned to p[']pare all the shippes there at Depe and to send them fourth to mete and stopp^r Inglishе vittallers from going to New-haven; and also that the Guyse (as they saye) intendeth withe his armye to goo unto New haven."

And after referring again to the two ships brought in from Dieppe by the soldiers, the owners still remaining at Dieppe,²³ he proceeds:—"Also the third daie, being very foule wether, came in here a flemyshe hoye, wherein is viij. dry falls of armor, and daggs, wth flasks, tuchboxes, graven morions very faer, certen suites of male, a number of pike heades, and fyve hundred pikes, whiche, as the flemings saye, shold have gone to Depe, and I called for his charter p[']tie; I se y^t nothing mencioned therin of any kinde of ware; but to be deliv[']red at Depe, and no name neither of the m[']chaunt that sent y^t, nor to any ma['] of Depe, but to the receyver; and the receyver for the kinge there is here at this p[']sent time, who declared unto me that he knew nothing thereof.

Beseching yo^r hono^r that I maye know yo^r pleasure herein, bothe for the Frenche shippes and also for the armor being in the Fleming. Also I have sene by his charter p[']tie that he

²² On the 10th he wrote that Montmorency, at his entrance, declared that he would hurt no man, nor make any spoil, but called upon them to prove themselves true and faithful to their Prince.

²³ They had been released before the 16th.

sholde have fiftie frenche crownes for his fraite. Beseching yo^r honor that it may please you I maye knowe from you yo^r pleasure therin. Also we do here that the Guyse do p'tend to proclaime warre against Englonde. And thus the Almighty God p'serve you in helthe, withe longe lyffe, and increase of hono^r.

Yo^r hono^r's most bounden,

JOHN YOUNG.

From Rye, the fourthe of November, a^o 1562.

To the right honorable S^r William Cissell, Knight, and principall Seacrytory unto the Quenes most excellent maiestie, in hast, hast, hast, hast, hast, hast, with diligence."

Mr. Young acknowledged, on the 6th November, the receipt of an order of the 4th, for "taking order for the French people," and of a letter to be delivered to the Earl of Warwick, at Newhaven; he also informed Cecil that Monsieur de Fors, Mr. Rybaud, and Monsieur de Veles, would repair unto the court immediately; that he had shipped 65 barrels of Rye meal to Newhaven, and hoped to put 20 quarters of wheat meal in casks, to be also sent. At nine o'clock on the 9th a passenger arrived from Newhaven, who reported that the Ringrave and Lord Warwick had had an interview on the sands; the King and the Guises remaining at Rouen; the report being that the Lord President (who would have come away but for bad state of the weather) had agreed with the Ringrave that whoever were taken prisoners of either party, should not be killed, but that ransom should be taken for them. On the 11th arrived from Newhaven Monsieur Sancte Marie, with one of Monsieur Devidan's gentlemen, who went straight to Court, to report the coming fight between the Prince of Condé, Monsieur Dandelot, and the others from Orleans with the Duke of Guise, and the Constable who had gone up to Paris. On the 10th December another boat arrived from Dieppe, with "maney pore people, as men, women, and

children, whiche were of Roan and Deipe." It does not appear that any large number of refugees reached Rye subsequently to this period; but single passengers brought news of the doings in France, and especially of the battle of Dreux, fought on the 19th December, in which each of the two generals (the Constable and Condé) became prisoners to the opposite party; and Mr. Young duly reported the news to Cecil.

The effect of the battle was to put an end to the first religious war, and by the Edict of Amboise, in March, 1563, full liberty of worship was granted to the Protestants within the towns of which they were in possession on that day. They were so far satisfied that they abandoned the English alliance; a violent storm in February dispersed 30 sail of ships, sent with labourers to the assistance of the Earl of Warwick; the plague broke out and his troops suffered greatly, so that he could no longer hold Havre; and with the consent of Elizabeth, he capitulated on the 28th July, 1563, and returned to England.²⁴ The articles of surrender were agreed upon by the Constable, and William Pelham, a Sussex man, of distinguished gallantry,²⁵ who had himself been wounded in the siege, and who became one of the four hostages for the due observance of the articles.

I have not found any list of the persons who came at this period from the Netherlands, or of the 650 reported to have arrived from Normandy. The register of burials helps us to a few names. We find there entries of the burials in 1563, on the 25th June, of Adrian Adrysone, a Hollander; on 31st July, of Henry Johnson, a Flemynge; on 1st August, of Barbery, the wife of Gylse Douthylla, a Flemynge; on 12th August, of William Pet, a Flemynge; on 17th September, of Francis Blyteman, a Flemynge; on October 1st, of Phelypp Bussard, a householder, Frenchman; on 3rd, of William, a Flemynge, from Jone Jacobson's house; on 8th, of Christen Shard, and Peter le Grant, Frenchmen; on 11th, of Garrett

²⁴ The plague followed the army to England; Rye itself felt it much, 765, or nearly eight times the average, died in the year, of whom 105 were buried in August, 298 in September, and 168 in October.

²⁵ He became a field-marshal, and died, after many signal services, at Flushing, 24th November, 1587. From him descended the Pelhams, of Brocklesby.

Dobsdyn, a Flemyng, and John Peyheble, a householder and Frenchman.

From the registers it appears that many of these emigrées remained at Rye till the next period of suffering in France, though the names are not very fully given, as their own ministers often performed the ceremonies of baptism and marriage.

II.—In 1568 the third civil war in France began. In August news arrived in England of the overthrow of the Protestants in Flanders, and of the great rejoicings made by the Spanish ambassador, to celebrate the event,²⁶ and on the 2nd October, Lord Cobham wrote to Sir Wm. Cecil, informing him of the arrival in Rye of Monsieur Gamayes, with his wife and children and ten strangers, and also of Captain Sows, with his wife and two servants, who had all come out of France as they said, for the safeguard of their lives; the Prince being in some force by Rochelle, and the Earl of Montgomery in Picardy, with 1,500 horse and 5,000 foot. Edicts had been published in France whereby the exercise of the reformed religion was utterly forbidden, the professors removed from public offices, and the ministers of the word commanded to depart the realm within a fixed time. Elizabeth not only sent a hundred thousand angels and munition of war to the Protestants, but “entertained with all kind of courtesy such French people as fled into England; as also the Netherlanders, of whom a great multitude had withdrawn themselves into England, as to a sanctuary, while the Duke of Alva breathed nothing but death and blood against them; who by the Queen’s permission, seated themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and (South) Hampton, to the great benefit and commodity of the English; for they were the first that brought into England the art of making those slight stuffs, which they call bazes, and sazes, and other such like stuffs of linen and woollen weaving.”²⁷

A list of those who fled to Rye, and were resident there

²⁶ Domestic, vol. 48, art. 3. 1568.

²⁷ Camden’s Elizabeth, Book i. p. 119.—On the 25th February, 1569, Pius V. issued his Bull, declaring Elizabeth a heretic, and absolved her subjects from allegiance.

on 28th March, 1569, has been presevered among the Cotton MSS.,²⁸ and I now print it entire:—²⁹

The names of all strangers (French), Flemynges, and Wallownes, within her Maiesties town of Rie, taken before John Sharpe, maior of the said (town), Edward Middleton, maior of her Maiesties town of Winchelsey, and Thomas Wilford Esquier, Captain of her Castill of the Camber, in the Town Hall of Rie aforesaid, the xxviiijth daie of Marche, in the eleventh yere of her highnes reign, A^o D'ni, 1569:—

MINISTERS.

Mons^r St Pawle, of Depe
Mons^r Hector Hamon, of
Bacavile

Mons^r Jacob Cardif, of
Ponteau

Mons^r Nics Tellier, of Rue
Mons^r Tousaintes, of Pauce

OF ROAN.

Mons^r Duvermeall
Mons^r Delaplace

Nic. Dansye
Willm. Synnchon

Anthoine Dehayes
John Torsie

OF DEPE.

Nic. Denvies
Mons^r Deverger
Jaques Thomas
Lewes de Mompelle
Thomas Goven
Nic. Moyte
Miles Desgrayne
Peter Guerin
James Harell
Gavan Duvall
Willm. Butcher
Roger Requit
James Barbo^r
Charles Infant
John Symon
Robert Marten
Willm. Adam
Alex. Legraund
John Cayme
John Debellon
Willm. Acman

Lawranc Mare
Mathew Fform
Nic^s Massling
Vincent Masslin
Lewes de Stantomen
Gilliam Acman
Cap^{en} Sore
Glawde, clerk
Marten de Braban
Peter de Sersans?
Allen Harrie
James Le Vile
Capen Marten
Gilliam Adam
Davie Boynyn
Jaques Poyson
John Chamoyne
Pieres de Fraires?
Loys Valloys
Rob^t Dufore
Gilliam Rymers

Vnien Ladvenaunt
John le Round
Dennis Chamell
Gannam Duvit
Jalzarie
Lee cannonnyer
John le Jeune
Gillam de Ffenure
Gillam Bymene
George Bense
Nic. Demoye
Piers Lament
John David
Nic. Caylot
Roger Morryn
Anthoine Belyn
Pierer (?) Behoulet
John Bense
Adrian le Cotrot
John *Jiwn* (?)
Jaques le Ffevre

WALLOWNES AND FFLEMYNGES.³⁰

Christopher de Valloys
Michill de Valloyes
Frauncis Mercer
Cornelis Svier

James Jellere
Ambrose de Mayne
John Handson

Bone Aventure
Peter de Boyes
John Marrie

At the end of this paper I shall notice such of the families of these refugees as can be traced by me as continuing to reside in Sussex.

III.—The third great influx of Protestants took place immediately before and after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On 25th October, 1571, Cecil directed an examination of all

²⁸ Galba, C. 110, fol. 267.

²⁹ Mr. J. S. Burn, in his "History of Foreign Protestant Refugees," has printed the first eleven names only.

³⁰ These were fewer than the French, for the reason already given—the greater proximity of this coast to France than to the Low Countries.

strangers in the ports and towns near London.³¹ In the return made for London on the 10th November, there were 4631 strangers, but no return appears from the Sussex ports. When, however, the massacre had taken place, the arrivals at Rye were very numerous. On 27th August, 1572, three days after the massacre, the first portion arrived, and when a return was made on 4th November, 641 persons had entered the port. In the Lansdowne MS.³² we have the names and particulars, from the Mayor, who was also costumier.

“Right honorable y^t may please you t^t understand that herewth is y^e note of all suche strayngers as are wthin the towne of Rye, acordynge to suche order made, as therby aperyth, y^e tyme of there repayer hither, y^e contynuans, y^e place of theyr dwellyng, and vocatyon. Y^s mornynge ij. of our passeges aryvyd here fro’ Deepe: they bryng no newes of ymportans, savyng they report y^e French Kinge hath sent his brother wth a power to Rochell. And thus y^e Almyghtie God long and in most happye estat preserve you^r honoure eternele. Amen.

From Rye y^s 22 of November, 1572.

Your honour’s most humble to command

JN^o DONNYNGS.

To the right honourable the
Lord Burghley, Lord Highe
Thresurer of England.”

A VIEWE TAKEN OF THE FRENCH AND OTHER STRANGERS WTHIN THE TOWNE OF RYE, THE FOURTH DAIE OF NOVEMBER, 1572; THE XIIIJ. YERE OF THE RAYNE OF O^R SOVERAIGNE LADY, QUENE ELIZABETH; BY TH’ APPOINTMENT OF HENRY GEYMER, MAIOR OF THE SAID TOWNE, AND THE JURATS THERE, AS FOLLOWETH:—

DIEPPE.

HOUSEHOLDS.

1. Jane Hugone, widowe, and one childe, Jane Deemed, widow, and two children; Jane Guliarde, widow, and two children.—They came to Rye the 27th of August.
2. Jaques Nontinge, his wyf, and one child—He hath been in Ry 4 yers. John Herson, *tailor*, and one made.—Came over 27th August.
3. Augustine de Bewlewe, *merchant*, his wyf, his mother, one made, and

four children.—Came over the 17th of October.

4. Jques Rybawde, *gent.*; Nicholas Goven, *merchant*; Guillme Masson, *merchant*.—Came over the 27th of August.
5. John de Counte, *merchant*, and one child.
6. John Malleir, *shoemaker*, his mother, and one child.—The 27th of August.
7. Jaques Vasad, *merchant*, his wife, and a woman servant; Michael Tallamie, *mariner*, and his wife.

³¹ Colchester, Harwich, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Norwich, the Cinque Ports, Southamp-
and Boston.

³² No. xv. Art. 70.

8. Francis Goddinge, *merchant*, and his wife; Michael Tellier, *merchant*; Nicholas Dablowe, *merchant*; Charles Banner, *merchant*, his wife, and one made.—The last of August.
9. Jeffery Fenchone, *merchant draper*; Nicho. Debewcatt, *merchant*; Jaques Drowte, *mercier*; Nicholas Delowne, *tailor*; Jaques Powket, *merchant*; Edmond Defall, *merchant*.—The 29th of August.
10. Robert Pyne, *merchant*, and one man servant.
11. John Pyne, *merchant*, his wife, three children, and a made servant.—The 27th of August.
12. John Rolte, *merchant*; Nicho. Depres, *merchant*; Peter Gynyard, *jerken maker*; Nycho Trowde, *merchant*.—The last of August.
13. Vincent Betwyn, *mariner*, and his wife; Guilliain Gorden, *tinker*; Guilliain Depene, *mariner*, and his wife; Nicho. Jorden, *tailor*.—The 28th of August.
14. Thomas Dessnes, *merchant*; Robert Marsha, *merchant*, his wife, and four children.—The 28th of August.
15. Peter Peshier, *merchant*, and one child; Peter Le Rowse, *merchant*, and his wife; Gabriel Debrees, *merchant*, and a man servant.—The last of August.
16. John Galion, *shoemaker*; John Deshome, *a braider of nets*; Collet Hauz, widow; Mariet Sane, widow.—The first of September.
17. Marion De Bouses, widow; Jane Soyer, widow; Mr. John Defovule, *minister*, his son and daughter.—The last of August.
18. Mr. Michell, *a minister*; John Showe, *merchant*, three children, and one man servant.—The last of August.
19. John Robone, *schoolmaster*, his wife, and two children; Peter Lemon, *shipwright*, his wife, and one child; Peter Gordon, *mariner*, his wife, and one child; John Bowdwin, *shoemaker*, his wife, and three children; Robert Mounten, *mariner*.—The second of September.
20. John Deffrande, *cobler*, his wife, and one child; Morgaine Hynfret, *cobler*.—The first of September.
21. Robert Marten, *oarmaker*, his wife, and child; Margaret Lelbowlop.—The fourth of September.
22. Roger Hotts, *capper*; Peter Amones, *capper*; Glande Stenard, *mariner*.—The 6th of October.
23. Peter Somber, *clockmaker*, his wife, and two children, and his sister; Michael Boytowte, *clockmaker*, and his wife.
24. Nicholas Le Tellier,³³ *minister*, his wife, four children, and a made servant; Marien Vicard, three children, and one made.—The 28th of August.
25. Francis Parris, with a woman and two children; Robenet Dexamer, and two children.—The first of September.
26. Guilliain Snicall, *tailor*, one child, and Katherin Loungfert, his daughter.—The third of September.
27. Robert Dordaine, *clerk*, his wife, and one child; Jaques Grotier, *clerk*; Mathew Bennet, *cooper*; Jaques de Labe, *cooper*, and a boy.—The last of August.
28. Rowland Ronne, *goldsmith*, his wife, a child, and a made servant.—The 8th of September.
29. John Lyon, *chandler*; Michael Bowfford, *butcher*.—The last of August.
30. Robert Foritier, *shipwright*, his wife and 3 children; Nicholas Doffell, *shipwright*; Christopher Gosse, his wife, a child, and a woman.—The last of August.
31. Arthur Bowin, *shoemaker*, and his wife.—The last of August.

WALLONDERS.

32. Nicholas Bowdin, *merchant*; John Bowdin, *merchant*, and a made.—The 28th of August.
33. Christopher Falloys, *merchant*, his wife, 4 children, and a made servant. Michael Falloys, his wife, 3 children, and a made servant.—These four years.
34. Mons. De Place, his wife, a child, a boy and a made.—The 5th of September.
35. John Demarkeriff, *gent.*, his wife, his mother, his sister, gentlewomen, a made, and 2 women. The 6th of September.
36. Richard Marter, *clerk*, his wife, and a boy; Richard Mayhier, *merchant*, and a boy.—The 8th of September.
37. Maher Troberd, *mason*; John Delaine, *mercier*, and one old man, *a minister*.—The last of August.
38. John Payme, *a pedler*, and his wife; an old man of Arques, *a Glover*.—The 24th of August.

³³ He was of Rue, and had been in Rye in 1569.

OF LYLLBONN.

39. Nicholas Marie, *mariner*; Richard Cannell, *chandler*; John Leane, *taylor*; Mathew Polliott, *butcher*; John Johnfoe, *chandler*.—The 10th of October.

DIEPPE.

40. Guiliam Donerndell, *merchant*; Robert Sotor, *merchant*.—20th of September.

41. Robert Browne, *shoemaker*; John Varay, *merchant*, and his wife; Mathew Furiner, *clerk*, his wife, and one child.—The 10th of September.

42. John Donie, Tiboll Forse, Now Defen, *furbers*.—12th of September.

43. Nicholas Allin, *taylor*, his wife, and one child; John Devele, James Begresse, John Clerke, John Fotrell, *shoemakers*; two women and three children; Michael Menvell, *shoemaker*.—12th of September.

44. Nicholas Gilpin, his wife, and 2 children; Martin Grey, *mariner*, his wife, and one child.—14th September.

45. Augustine Tounson, *painter*, his wife, and 2 children; Jose Sadler, *joiner*, John Mollen, *a cook*, their wives, and 10 children.—15th of September.

46. Robert Castle, *a cobbler*, his wife and 2 children; Mathew Shavin, *searcher* of Dieppe; John Preston; John Preston, *barber*, wife, and 3 children.—12th of September.

47. Guiliam Navar, and John Very, *tailors*, their wives, and 3 children; John Ryvers, *mariner*, and 2 women.—20th of September.

48. Noele Depound, and his wife; Christopher Dosencourt, *taylor*; John Plasterer, *shoemaker*, two women, and 4 children.—14th of September.

49. Nicholas Maslynge,³⁴ Johnson Maslynge, *clerks*; James Edy, *taylor*; 4 women and 2 children.—12th of September.

50. Guillme Debarges, *merchant*, his wife, and 3 children; Guillme Guden, *joiner*, his wife, and one child; John Ryver, *merc*, his wife and 3 children.—16th of September.

51. John Joseph, *a Walloon merchant*, his wife, a made, and 5 children; Nicholas Moyter, Andrew Breyode, *tailors*, 1 woman, and 2 children.—12th September.

52. Michel Clerke, *merchant*, his wife, and 1 woman; John Neve, *merchant*, his wife, and 1 child.—10th September.

53. John Maslynge, *mariner*; one widow, and 2 children; Nicholas Shane, *merchant*; John Barten, *goldsmith*.—12th of September.

54. Nicholas de Chesne, *merchant*; John Bertin, *merchant*.

55. Louis De Stonen.—12th September.

56. Peter Ferner, *mariner*, his wife, and 1 child; Jacob Johnson, *joiner*; Nicholas Curlew, *schoolmaster*; John Velit, *cobbler*; 4 women, and 4 children.—12th September.

57. Mounden Pecket, of Gainges, *husbandman*; Gloder Gravel, *mariner*, of Dieppe, his wife, and 1 maid.—20th of September.

58. Peter Gyrrre, *apothecary*, his wife, and 4 children; Mr. Guillme Trener, *minister*, his wife, and 1 child; John Pare, *shipwright*.—12th September.

59. Mihil Shuven, *merchant*, his wife, 4 children, and a made.—12th September.

60. Peter Porvet, *baker*, Guill. de Veata-marre, *merchant*; Noel la Male, *merchant*; Dennis Forner, *cook*, his wife, and 1 child; John Sayer, *merchant*, his wife, and 6 children; Roger Browne, *shoemaker*, his wife, and 1 child; two widows, and 2 children.—12th September.

61. Alexander de la Gande, *merchant*, and one child.—26th September. Nicholas de Lorser, *cobbler*, his wife and three children; one widow and two children.—12th September.

62. Bonaventure Doffell, *a bookbinder*, his wife and two children.—Two years.

63. John Dyvell, Nicho. Heberd, *merchants*, their wives, five children, and two made-servants.—12th September.

64. Five widows and 2 children; John Johnson, Dutchman, *sailor*, of Flushing, his wife, and 2 children; Howe Martin, *merchant*, of Flushing, his wife, and 2 children.—12th September, 5th October.

65. John Symon, *mariner*, his wife, and 5 children; Simon Danet, Guillme Danet, *chandlers*, their wives, and 2 children.—27th September.

66. Mart. Martin, *schoolmaster*, of Gamay.—Second of October. Gabriel

³⁴ He had also been in Rye in 1569.

Hubry, *button maker*, his wife, and one child; two women and one child.—12th September.

67. Mr. Peter Jeles, of Tankerdfild, *gent.*; John Larow, *merchant* of Rochelle; and Ralin Lardere, *husbandman*.—Third of October.

ROUEN.

68. Richard Bover, *merchant*, his wife, and 2 children.—16th October. Andro Mayen, Novel Provot, Guillme Roblat, and Nicho. Vules, *merchants*.—12th September.

69. John Baillerd, Nicho. Baillerd, Guillme Dutales, Pieter Dosmen, and Pierre Margas, *merchants*.—26th September.

70. James Deboke, Pierre Deboke, Nicho. Deboke, *gentlemen*, and Nicho. Malavere, *labourer*.—28th September.

71. James Cockerell, *merchant*, his wife, and 2 children.—12th September.

72. Pierre Bunell, and Nicholas Bunell, *card makers*.—17th September.

73. John Dehaies, *shipwright*, his wife, and 5 children; Davy Mesom, *merchant*, his wife, and 4 children; John Berry, *a mariner*, his wife, and one child (*a mariner*); Jacet Ferro, widow, and one child.—The 11th September.

74. John Fownten, Nicho. Fownten, *merchants*.—18th September.

75. Richard John, *merchant*, his wife, one boy; Guill. Mynard, and one made; Pierre Valler, *basket maker*, his wife, and 2 children.—23rd September.

76. Claude le Clerke, *merchant*; John Cocquell, 3 children, and 1 woman servant; Jaques Lamenture, *merchant*, and one child; Davie de Coysshne, *gent.*; Mons. Semreper, *gent.*, and 4 children; Mary Bonet, widow, 2 children, and 1 made.

77. Efan Boyle, *mariner*, and his wife; Guillme Raynold, Mador Morevant, Nicholas Surret, Ric. Money, John Companie, Claude Money, *mariners*; Piers Done, *mariner*, and his wife.—The 4th September.

78. Loyes Saies, his wife, 3 children, 1 made; John Vise, *carpenter*; Guillme Shouell, Mathew Shouell, *coopers*; Dennis Shouell, *chandler*.—The 2d October.

79. Nicho. Angell, *mercier*, and his wife; Nicholas Angell, *mariner*, 2 children; Nicholas Blanges, *mercier*, and

his wife; John Huston, his wife, 2 children, *shipwright*; Guill. Terrine, *mercier*, and his wife; Pierre Callet, his wife, 2 children.—The 13th September.—The 19th September.

80. Frauncis Trepon, William Tailor, Martin Dasires, William Dody, *merchants*; Henry Stonered Skotte, *merchant*; Pierre Comerie, *merchant*.—The 2d Sept.

81. John Abuse, *merchant*; Thoms Fyllesonne, *mariner*, his wife, and made; John Mathie, *mariner*, his wife, 2 children, and one made servant.—The 10th of August.—The 10th October.

82. John Growte, *captain*, his wife, 2 children, 2 men servants.—The 2d October. One woman, 2 children.—The 8th of August.

83. Nicho. Bolengere, *merchant*, 3 children, one maid servant; Mr. Gebon, *preacher*, and his man; James Drowte, and Miles Drowte, *tailors*, their 2 wives, 2 children; Francis Clerke, his wife, one child; James Capron, *baker*.—The 2d of September. Jeffery Defore, *apothecary*, his wife, 5 children.

84. Anthony Pavy, *shipwright*, his wife, two children; Jervis Pinson, *cook*, his wife, one child; Jaques Mefant, his wife, three children.—The 1st September.

85. Monsr. Poole, *draper*, his wife, three children.—1st of August. Mr. Honfre, *mariner*; John Wilson, his wife, three children.—18th August.

The whole number of the strangers, men, women, and children, besides the passages since the fourth of November, whereof few or none are remaining in Rye, 641 persons.—Whereof are men, 242; Whereof are women, 167; Whereof are children, 232—641 persons.

Passengers coming in the 4th of November, 1572, in which were passengers of the French, as followeth:—

Guillame de Bongras de Orleans, *merchant*; Godfrey de Hey Fleming, of Antwerp; Guill. de Pacate de Marseilles; Anthonie Spinell de Marseilles; Luke Harrison of Marseilles.—Come for recovery of their goods discharged at Dartmouth.

Louis Columber Savoyen, *student of physie* in Paris.—Come for religion. Francis de Buisson, *m^rister*; Peter John Flemynge; Charles Jon, of Roune, *gent*; Jehan Leinen, *m^rister*.—For religion. Vincent Primont; John Absolas, *mer-*

chant of Rouen ; Jaques de Maunt, of Rouen ; Roman de Pseheur, of Rouen, *merchant* ; Gui. Debdair, of Rouen, his wife.—For religion.—Pierre Gunson de St. Valdis ; John Burden of Blackville, *farmer* ; Paule Garrant of Ovarnia, *Doctor of Physic* ; Louis Hustyr of Rouen, *gold finer* ; Ardiana Forkey of Overnia ; John Le Noir of Parris, *glasse maker*.—For religion. Guilliam de Perry, *gentleman* ; Achell Van Droict, of Antwerpt.

Passage the 7th of November.

Franciscus Foropoynt, master of a bark of Newhaven ; Mr. Mathew Cartaul, *minister* ; Mr. John Grancell, *minister* ; Robert Paisant, *merchant* ; Jhon Ene, and his sonne and his wife.

Passage the 9th of November, 1572, from Dieppe.

Richard Eden ; Guilliame Telliort ; Anthony Godmere ; Elben Eden ; Gilbert Yttersson, a German ; Michel Somer ; Peter Flemynge, Florentine de Sarrier, servants to Mons. Vidam

de Charters ; John de Roy de Fackham, *mariner* ; John Nonnelle de Benneville, *merchant* ; Richard Thomas, *merchant* ; John Canne, sonne of Jeffery Canne of Dieppe ; John le Valles of Dieppe, *merchant* ; Jaques Le Baillier ; Pierre Collet of Amsterdam, *mariner* ; Petter Bartier, *cooper*, of Rouen ; John Tellier of Dieppe, *brasier*.

In another Passage the same day.

Dennis de Newberistre, *brewer* ; Phillip Dorre of Arras ; Anne le Vermier ; Jerrome Hotyer, *painter* ; John Symon of Rouen, *draper* ; John Valier of Rouen, *draper* ; Jaques le Lendew of Rouen, *grocer* ; Martyne Helowter of Poictiers, *tinker* ; John Morye of Howdan ; Jaspar de Volers of Antwerp ; John Armyster, *gent.* of Shetland, and one servant. Jacques Belliard of Rouen, *innholder*, and his wife ; Baptist Dangroyne of Piedmont, *gent.*

There was, however, then no continuous dwelling of more than fifty men, besides their wives and families, who were very quietly and orderly. Many of the refugees remained.

The Registers show the names of Pierre Lasnè, son of Guillaume Lasnè, Professor of Physic, and preacher in the French Church, banished for the gospel, born 4th February, 157 $\frac{3}{4}$; of Petter, son of Petter Coignard, in exile for the gospel, born 24th May, 1574 ; of Jereme, son of Nichols. Teller, minister of the French congregation, 7th August, 1574 ; of Josias, son of Laurence Bourdin, baptised 6th December, 1574 ; of John, son of Francis Tressenyne, in February, 157 $\frac{4}{5}$. On 25th April in the same year, John, son of William Lasne, minister of the French church ; on 17th May, John, son of Francis Macquire, born ; bap. Oct. 26th ; and on 27th Sept., John, son of Peter Gapen, of Dieppe, and Petter, son of William Taylor, both banished for the word of God ; and, also, Samuel Banquemace, of Ferme, in Normandy, and Matthew Marrow, from Dieppe ; on 29th March, 1576, we have also James, son of Laurence Bourdin,³⁵ Jeake says that, in 1582, there were 1,534 French refugees. In the commencement of 1583, Louis Morel, who had left Southampton, became the French Minister at Rye, and, on 19th May in that year,

³⁵ Holloway, p. 475, and registers.

married, at Canterbury, Ariadne Jourdan.³⁶ In 1585, Petter, son of Petter Desportes, of Dieppe, banished for the word of God, was baptised; in 1586 were baptised, John Nelsby, Peter Powell, Daniel de Montjoy, John Bedford of Dieppe, and John Auberon, from Rouen; and, in 1587, Matthew Morrell, son of the minister, by Matthew Curtoal, one of the preachers of the French church, John de Beaumont, and John Dehamel. In the same year the conference of the French churches was held at Rye;³⁷ but, in 1590, the congregation had so fallen off that, at the Collogue held at Canterbury, M. Morel reported that he must leave for want of means for the support of himself and family.³⁸ He was succeeded by Matthew Cartaul. How long he continued I have not found.³⁹ The congregation must have still further fallen off, for when, during the reign of James I., orders were given for a return of foreigners settled in England, in anticipation of measures for their better government, we have full returns, in 1622, of the names, professions, trades, and occupations of the Walloons in Canterbury, and the other settled refugees in Dover, Sandwich, Norwich, and in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London; but a very meagre return from Rye. The form of the return differs from the others; it may be that the new comers only were given, and that the regularly settled inhabitants were not inserted as in the other towns.

Jenne le Preux,⁴⁰ her niece and two children.

Jenne le Berquer, widow of Pierres le Guagneur, and 5 children.

Jaques Miffaut, his wife and six children.

Marie Bisson, and one child

Silvestre de la Roque, his wife and one daughter

Madaleine . . . ,⁴¹ widow of Jaques Boquin, and one child

Nicollas Chapelle, and his niece

Jean Vassaque, his wife, his sister, and four children

Michel Laudouyn, his wife, and two children

The wife of Abraham Crestien, and two children

Marie Guerart, and three children

Marie Du Ventre, widow, and one daughter

Rachel Nes, and three children

Marguerite Prevost, widow of Pierres Guespin, and one child

Jenne Guespin, and one child

Marie Vincent

³⁶ Burn, pp. 46—96.

³⁷ Tradition states that the settlers at Canterbury came from Winchelsea. I have found no evidence of this; but at this conference, in 1587, M. de la Touche, the French minister at Winchelsea, and an elder, attended. In the following year a letter was written to Rye in aid of M. de la Touche, and, if not given, he was to leave in three months. In 1589 he attended the Collogue in London, and no further particulars of the Winchelsea refugees is known.—*Burn*, p. 97.

³⁸ Burn, p. 96.

³⁹ Peter Bouchett was minister, and buried 21st February, 1700. He was succeeded by M. Bouchett, who was buried 18th August, 1706.

⁴⁰ S.P.O., Dom., Jas. I., Vol. 131, Art. 102. See also *Camd. Soc. Misc.*, Vol. iv.

⁴¹ Left blank in original.

Yet, whatever may have been the number of French inhabitants, the church continued to be represented at the conferences till 1660.

The old chapel of the Augustine Friars,⁴² in Conduit-street, has been supposed to have been the place for worship. The house was dissolved in 1535. It was in the king's hands from 1539 to 1544, and, in the minister's accounts, it is returned as worth nothing, on account of its dilapidated condition.⁴³ On 30th June, 1544, it was rated for William Oxenbridge; but, on the 19th September, 1544, Thomas Goodwyn requested to purchase the site,⁴⁴ and to him it was granted. It is more probable, therefore, that the church was used for the refugees in the 16th as it was in the 17th century.

IV.—The last period at which the refugees arrived was when the persecutions in France were re-commenced, in 1680. Acting on the strong representations of Lord Halifax's brother, Henry Savile, the English Minister at the Court of France,⁴⁵ Charles II. gave every encouragement to those who sought an asylum in England. In July, 1681, a general collection was made for their relief, and great facilities were given for their naturalization. The vicar and chief inhabitants of Rye gave them a hearty welcome, and, notwithstanding the reports against them, gave them the following testimonial to their worth:—

“These are to certifie⁴⁶ all whom it may concerne, that the French Protestants that are settled inhabitants of this towne of Rye, are a sober, harmless, innocent people, such as serve God constantly and uniformly, according to the usage and custome of the Church of England. And further that we believe them to be falsely aspersed for Papists and disaffected persons, no such thing appeareing unto us by the conversations of any of them. This we do freely and truely certifie for and of them. In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our hands, the 18th day of Aprill, 1682.

W^m. Williams, vicar; Tho. Tournay; Francis Lightfoot,

⁴² The house of the Augustine Friars in London had been granted for the use of the French and Dutch churches there.

⁴³ Record Office accounts.

⁴⁴ Inventory in late Augmentation Office.

⁴⁵ Savile Correspondence, Camd. Soc., 209 et seq.

⁴⁶ Domestic, 1682, No. 65.

Coll. M^{tie}'s. Customes; Mil. Edgar, King's Searcher; Noble Waterhouse, Water and Searcher; Lewis Gillard, Jurat; Mich. Cadman, Jurat; Tho. Markwicke."

Further aid was given to the refugees, by allowing them to continue the use of the parish church for divine worship; the consent of the principal inhabitants being thus conveyed to the Council:—

"Wee, the inhabitants⁴⁷ of the towne of Rye, here subscribed, doe declare our willing consent y^t the ffrench Protestants newly settled in this place, may continue their assemblys in our church, from eight of the clock in y^e morning unto ten, and afterwards from twelve of the clock untill two in the afternoone; and that they may have the use of the pulpit and of the seats therein as heretofore; which wee doe hereby fully grant to them, it being requested of us for their benefitt and service, when occasion requires. Made at Rye, the 3 of May, and in the yeare of our Lord God, 1682.

Lewis Gillart, Mich. Cadman, Francis Lightfoot, Noble Waterhouse, Jo. Radford, Tho. Burchell."

At length came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and many more refugees joined those who had been so well received in Rye. We have no list preserved to us; the registers, however, furnish us with the names of many of the settlers, and I have extracted the entries in each year from 1682 to 1727. In the distribution of the £12,000 granted by Queen Anne for the relief of the refugees, £27 came for Rye, in 1705; £85 11s. 1d., in 1721; and £35 2s., in 1728; since which there has been no contribution.⁴⁸

1682.

May 7. James Tomeus, a French youth, bur.

Dec. 20. A Frenchman; and 24th, a French child, bur.

1683.

Mar. 26. Lydia, d. of William Renals and Sarah, his wife, bo.

Dec. 15. Giles, son of Jacob Scarvell and Rose, his wife, bo.

There are also entries of four French children in the year, bur. No names.

1684.

Mar. 15. Sarah, d. of William Renalls and Sarah, his wife, bo.

There are also entries of 6 French children bur. in the year; no names.

1685.

Aug. 14. Thomas, s. of Thomas Morrow and Ann, his wife, bo.

There are also entries of the burials of 6 French children, a French woman, and a Frenchman, drowned; no names.

1686.

Nov. 2. A French minister, called Isaac Bardeau, bur.

Dec. 16. John, s. of John Bournac and Suzanne, his wife, bo.

Entries occur of the burials of a

⁴⁷ Dom. 1682. No. 146.

⁴⁸ Burn, p. 96.

Frenchman, master of a fishing boat,
and of 3 French children ; no names.
1687.

Jan. 17. Judith, d. of Stephen Bouchet
and Judith, his wife, bo.

Jan. 28. Anne, d. of William Renalls
and Sarah, his wife, b.

Mar. 21. A French child of M^r Bouchet,
bur.

Aug. 11. A French minister's wife, bur.

Sep. 14. Anne, wife of M^r John Wil-
liams, a Frenchman, bur.

Oct 20. Magdalene Bouchet, a French-
man, bur.

There are also entries of the burials of
9 French children, of 5 French
women, one ancient French woman,
and a French maid; of 3 French-
men, and one ancient Frenchman;
no names.

1688.

Sep. 13. A child of William Renalls,
bur.

Oct. 3. Susanna, a French woman, bur.

Oct. 20. Mounsera Saueroy, a French-
man, bur.

There were also buried 10 French
children, two French women and a
French maid; 2 ancient French-
men, and a young French boy; no
names.

1689.

Mar. 1. A French marchant, M^r Wil-
liam Paine, bur.

There are also burials of 5 French chil-
dren, 3 French women, one French
maid, 3 French men, and one French
young man; no names.

1690.

The burials are of 6 French children, 1
French woman, a French maid, and
3 Frenchmen; no names.

1691.

Aug. 16. Syrias Deepa, a Frenchman, bur.

There are also entries of the burials of
3 French children, 2 French women,
a French girl, and a French maid;
and of 2 Frenchmen, without names.

1692.

May 5. Sarah, d. of Will. Rainelds and
Sarah, his wife, bo.

Oct. 2. Ann, d. of W^m Reynolds and
Abigall, his wife, bo.

There are also entries of burials of a
French child, a French woman, and
a Frenchman; no names.

1693.

Jan 10. Ann, d. of Abraham Camet and
Ann, his wife, bo.

There are also entries of the burials of

3 French children; a French woman,
and a Frenchman that was drowned;
no names.

1694.

There are entries of 2 French children,
2 French women, and 2 Frenchmen,
buried; no names.

1695.

Mar. 5. Abraham, s. of Abraham Camit
and Ann, his wife, bo.

May 31. Peter Vokeley, a Frenchman,
bur.

Another Frenchman was bur.; no
name.

1696.

The Rev^d W^m Williams, the new vicar,
succeeded to the living, and hencefor-
ward we find the names duly entered, and
the fact of their French origin stated.

Jan. 19. Stephen, s. of Stephen Luose
and Judith, his wife, bo.

Apr. 20. Elizabeth, d. of John Williams
and Rachel, his wife, bo.

Apr. 21. Jacob, s. of Isaac Treheel and
Judith, his wife, bo.

June 1. Mariana, d. of Peter Guerene
and Mary, his wife, bo.

June 12. Mary Anne, d. of John Bodin
and Hester, his wife, bo.

June 14. — of Peter Robert and —
his wife, bo.

June 19. Peter, s. of Peter Le Vrand
and Magdalen, his wife, bo.

Aug. 18. Elizabeth, d. of Daniel Rich-
ards and Elizabeth, his wife, bo.

Aug. 30. Catherine, d. of John Bourne
and Catherine, his wife, bo.

Oct. 2. John, s. of Cornelius Deude and
Elizabeth, his wife, born and bap.

Nov. 8. Mary, d. of John Fruges and
Susanna, his wife, bo.

Nov. 22. Peter, s. of Nicolas Vokeland
and Judith, his wife, bo.

Nov. 28. John Peros, a French tayler,
bur.

Dec. 5. Nicolas Vokeland, a poor
Frenchman, bur.

Dec. 13. Mary Magdelene, d. of Henry
Renaud and Susanna, his wife, bo.

1697.

Jan. 17. Susanna, d. of Henry Guerene
and Mary, his wife, bo.

Jan. 30. Hannah, their d. bur.

Mar. 20. John, s. of Steven Guerine and
Susana, his wife, bo.

Mar. 26. John, s. of Henry Guerene and
Mary, his wife, bur.

May 7. Mary, d. of John Fruges, bur.

May 18. Rene Mourou,⁴⁹ a *barber-sur-
geon*, bur.

- Aug. 15. Jane, d. of John de Paw and Amy, his wife, bo.; bap. 24; bur. 25th.
- Aug. 26. A child of Goody Vokeland, bur.
- Sept. 5. Gabriel, s. of John Williams and Rachel, his wife, bo.
- Sept. 26. Jane, d. of John Morow and Jane, his wife, bo.
- Nov. 5. Jane, d. of Peter Beneck, the French minister of Rye, bur.
- Nov. 6. Johanna, d. of John Moreau, bur.
- 1698.
- Jan. 2. Susan Judith, d. of Peter Guerene and Mary, his wife, bo.
- Feb. 26. Susanna, d. of Stephen Guerene and Susanna, his wife, bo.
- Mar. 18. Gabriel, s. of John Williams and Rachel, his wife, bur.
- May 3. Susanna, d. of James Giou and Ann, his wife, bo.
- May 22. Susanna, d. of Daniel Richer and Elizabeth, his wife, bo.
- June 10. Frances, d. of Peter Leurand and Magdalene, his wife, bo.
- Dec. 6. Mary Brodie, a French maid, bur.
- 1699.
- Feb. 2. An unbaptised child of John Williams, bur.
- Feb. 19. Catherine Bushe, a poor widow, bur.
- Feb. 27. Stephen Josee, s. of Stephen Josee, bur.
- Mar. 19. Vincent, s. of Vincent Tellow and Elizabeth, his wife, bo.
- Mar. 26. Francis, s. of Denne Richer and Susan, his wife, bo.
- May 10. Francis, s. of Henry Guerin and Frances, his wife, bo.
- Oct. 16. Susanna Celeste, d. of Peter Gowrri and Janne Marie, his wife, bo.
- Nov. 25. Jane, d. of Dennis Richer, bur.
- Nov. 26. Francis, s. of Francis Budon, bur.
- 1700.
- Jan. 8. Sarah, d. of Peter Guerin bo., bap. 14th.
- Jan. 11. Judith, d. of Stephen Joulle, and Judith, his wife, bo. and bap.
- Jan. 25. Mary Ann, d. of Daniel and Elizabeth Richer, bo.; bap. 3rd Feb.
- Feb. 21. Peter Beneck, *minister* of the French Church, bur.
- Mar. 11. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Morrow, bur.
- Oct. 13. Sarah, d. of Stephen De Ourney, bo.; bap. 29 Nov. Henry, s. of Henry Renow, bo.; bap. Dec. 12.
- Dec. 11. Mathew, s. of John Williams and Rachell, his wife, bo.; bap. 12th.
- 1701.
- Sep. 28. Elizabeth, d. of — Dupy, bur.
- Nov. 4. Thomas King and Peter Amny, bur. These two were both drowned.
- 1702.
- Jan. 4. John, s. of John Duposs, bur.
- Mar. 25. Elizabeth, d. of Thomas Morrow, adult, bap.
- July 20. Katherine Buschett, bur.
- Aug. 7. Thomas, s. of Jacob Scarville, 13 years old, bap.
- 1703.
- April 2. Barne, John, bur.
- April 18. Rachell, d. of John Williams and Rachel, his wife, bo.; bap. 25.
- Nov. 1. Henry Renow, bur.
- 1704.
- Aug. 22. Susan, d. of Daniel Richards, bur.
- Sep. 9. Adrian Reognalds, son of Adrian Reognalds, bur. Joanna, wife of William Reognalds, a seaman, bur.
- Oct. 2. Sarah Fridge, bur.
- Oct. 4. Margt. Bournet, bur.
- Oct. 16. John Bournet, bur.
- Nov. 1. Peter, son of Peter Garren (Guerin), bur.
- Nov. 15. Johanna Frett, bur.
- Nov. 29. Esther Dupré, bur.
- 1705.
- May 6. Mary Orio, widow, bur.
- Aug. 5. Still-born son of Daniel . . . a french refugee, bur.
- Sep. 28. A child of Daniel King, bur.
- 1706.
- Aug. 3. Elizh. d. of wid. Scivier, of Dallington, bur.
- August 18. Monsr. Bouchett, *French minister*, bur.
- Sept. 1. John Baptist, s. of Daniel Adren, and Eliz. his wife, bur.
- Oct. 22. Andrew Shapparoun, bur.
- 1707.
- Oct. 9. Judith, w. of Daniel Mushate, bur.
- 1708.
- March 7. Peter, son of John Fromesher, bur.
- Sept. 17. John, son of Louis Merinian, (Meryon), bur.
- Oct. 21. Fras. Tucker, bur.
- Dec. 4. Peter, son of Peter Gowen, bur.
- 1709.
- March 27. W^m. Reynolds, bur.
- May 5. Danl. Adrian, bur.
- June 16. John Vinceo, bur.
- 1710.
- Ap. 19. Heneretta Clutton, bur.
- 1711.
- April 20. Elizabeth, d. of Will. Regnolds, and Eliz. his wife, bap.
- April 30. John Williams, bur.

- Oct. 17. Elizabeth, d. of Daniel King,
and Frances, his wife, bap.
1713.
- July 22. Catherine Roberts, bur.
- July 23. Elizabeth, d. of Jacob Scar-
vill, and Eliz., his wife, bap.
1714.
- March 9. Steven Phone, bur.
- March 28. Peter Gauden, bur.
1715.
- May 4. John Dupaw, bur.
- March 6. Judith Johns, bur.
- May 29. Sarah King, bur.
- June 2. An unbap. child of W^m Dancy,
bur.
- June 17. Daniel, son of Daniel Adrian,
and Eliz. his wife, bap.
1718.
- May 12. John Dupree, bur.
- Aug. 25. Jane Bushett, bur.
1719.
- Jan. 6. Sarah Perrow, bur.
- Jan. 30. Isaac Buccett, bur.
- May 21. Mary Vigiell, bur.
- August 23. John Gillards, a French,
youth, bur.
- Sept. 2. Francis Geralde, a Fr. child bur.
- Oct. 28. Elizabeth, d. of David Ebenet,
and Mary, his wife, bap.
1720.
- Jan. 11. Framar Geant, bur.
- Jan. 18. Ann, d. of William Dansay,
and Judith, his wife, bap.
- Jan. 28. Martin Lewnes, bur.
- May 25. Judith Dupree, bur.
- June 19. Sarah Donee, bur.
- Oct. 18. Peter Borony, bur.
1721.
- Jan. 7. Lydia Robets, bur.
- Feby. 1. Mary Ann, d. of W^m Dancy,
and Judith, his wife, bap.
- Feby. 28. Abraham, s. of . . Adrian, bur.
- June 18. Elizabeth Orio, bur.
- July 5. Ann, d. of David Ebonetts, bur.
1722.
- June 27. William, son of Lewis Mirian,
and Margaret, his wife, bap.
- Nov. 9. William, son of Peter Robets,
and Ann, his wife, bap.
1723.
- Jany. 6. William, s. of Lewis Merian,
bur.
- Jany. 11. Eliz. Reognalds, wid.
- May 19. Elizabeth, d. of Peter Voclain,
and Elibabeth, his wife, bap.
- June 23. Jacob, s. of Thomas Scarvill,
and Piercy, his wife, bap.
- July 28. John, son of William Scivier,
and Sarah, his wife, bap.
- Nov. 24. Elizabeth, d. of Daniel Adrian,
bur.
1724.
- Feb. 20. Margret, d. of John Dallet,
and Bridget, his wife, bap.
- April 26. Henry Garren, bur.
- Nov. 4. Henry Joshe, bur.
- Nov. 27. Mary, d. of William Renow,
and Mary, his wife, bap.
- Dec. 23. Peter, son of Peter Voclain,
and Eliz., his wife, bap.
1725.
- March 4. Eliz., wife of John Tremasho,
bur.
- May 26. Ann Dhonee, bur.
- July 21. Ann, d. of James Renow, and
Ann, his wife, bap.
- Oct. 5. Elizabeth, d. of Thomas Scar-
vill, and Piercy, his wife, bap.—bur.
17th.
- 1726.
- Feb. 16. John, s. of John Dallet, and
Bridget, his wife, bap.
- May 8. Salomon Dhonee, bur.
- May 13. Sarah, d. of Lewis Miriam,
and Margret, his wife, bap.
- July 23. Peter Voclain, bur.
- Aug. 10. Mary, d. of James Lewnes,
bur. bap. 31st May.
- Dec. 14. Matthew Jeffrey, bur.
- Dec. 30. John, s. of Peter Voclain, and
Eliz., his wife, bap., bur. Feb. 12.
1727.
- May 11. Ann, d. of W^m Renow, bur.

The task of tracing the descendants of these immigrants is not easy: the names have become so much altered in orthography and pronounciation that the original French is scarcely to be recognized. But to many families we can still point.

Of the names mentioned in division I. that of PET can alone be traced. They became tradesmen of the town, and in 1609 Thomas Pet, mercer, on payment of £5 was admitted to his freedom.

We can trace more of division II., in 1569. The HAMONS were long in the town, but the name has been altered to *Hammond*. The LE TELLERS, who were in the town in 1569 and 1572, have also been changed to *Taylors*. The DANSYES are more easily recognized as the *Dansays*. When George I. was driven by stress of weather in 1725 into Rye, a Dansay, being captain of a trading vessel, had the honour of bringing the King on shore. William Dansay, a jurat, died in 1787,⁵⁰ and the family is now represented by the Stonhams. The GUERINS, as it will have been seen, long continued at Rye. The Christian name of Peter was a favourite with them, and they are now represented through the Rev. Peter Guerin Crofts, who in 1774 was Rector of St. John's, Lewes. The JEWINS lived till the present century at Icklesham. Of the Flemings, the VALLOYS were till recently to be traced; the MERCERS still flourish in several places in Sussex; and from the SIVYERS, who resided at Rye, Dallington, and Bodiam, the Davis' and my own Mother's families are descended; one of the name is still to be found at Rye.

Of the large immigration, division III., in 1572, as I have before stated, not more than fifty families became permanently resident, and still we have some descendants. From Mr. MICHELL, the minister, come the family who were long settled at Brighton, where the Rev. Henry Michell was Vicar from 1744 to 1789.⁵¹ JOHN LYON also left his name for more than two centuries in the district. The NEVES are at this day resident at Hastings. The name of Mr. GEBON, another minister, has been turned into *Gibbon*, and a member of that family resided at Winchelsea in my recollection. The MARROWS also took up their residence in Rye. Thomas was admitted to his freedom in 1698; and they were still in the town in the middle of the last century. The TOURNAYS furnished the captain of the trained bands in 1679, and the Mayor in 1682.

Of those who came over about the IV. period, 1681 to 1685, we have more perfect accounts. Mons. SAVEROY is still to be recognized in the name of SAVERY. The

⁵⁰ See inscriptions post.

⁵¹ For a note on the Michells of Horsham, see ante page 126.

SCARVILLS long continued. Jacob held a tenement in Baddings ward in 1704, and had been elected a freeman. The RENALLS, or RENOWS, have become REYNOLDS. The name of LEWNES yet continues. The ESPINETTES are particularly noticed by Mr. Holloway.⁵² A branch removed to Hastings, and was there resident in 1723 and till 1850. The family yet live in the neighbourhood of Rolvenden, and own property at Rye. In the baptisms of 1708 appears the name of Lewis MERINIAN, and into different forms the name has been changed till its last phase is *Meryon*. As with the Guerins and other families, a favourite Christian name has been kept, and "Lewis" Meryon is now a Sussex freeholder. The GASSONS, sometimes called GASTON, may be found at Hastings; as may also the BOURNES. In the register of burials of 1688 occurs the name of William PAINE, a Frenchman, and of the escape of another of the same name, and of his descendants a notice has been printed. Aaron Pain of Dieppe, with Gabriel his third son,⁵³ escaped to Rye, and was followed by his wife Rachel, who got on board a vessel disguised in sailor's clothes. Their eldest daughter Rachel was already at Rye, having been sent there by her parents to learn English. The youngest child David, an infant of a year old, was conveyed by his mother by night under the town gates of Dieppe, which had been enclosed to prevent escapes. An English sailor had agreed to be outside to receive him, and the mother having passed the child under the gates where the channel ran, the only place where there was room to pass him, the sailor was there to receive him and conveyed him safely to Rye. Others of the family went to Holland. The husband, Aaron Pain, died at Rye soon after landing, and his family removed to London. Gabriel died at Fareham, in Hants, in 1751, and the females of the family intermarried with Van Sommers, the Sorells, and the Turquands.⁵⁴

The books of the French congregation have been lost, and the only memorial which remains is the flagon used in the

⁵² p. 582.

⁵³ Family Records by Elizabeth Pierce, whose mother was a Turquand. London: 1829.

⁵⁴ They were of Chatel-herault, in the department of Vienne, near Poitiers, and the family is extant in London.

administration of the Holy Communion. It was exhibited at our Rye meeting. The following inscription has since been placed upon it:—



THIS FLAGON
used at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper
by the Minister of the Protestant Refugees
who found an Asylum in Rye
after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes
22nd October, 1685,
was Presented for the use of the Church
to the
Vicar and Churchwardens of Rye
by William Holloway and Sarah his wife,
formerly Sarah Meryon,
a Descendant of one of the Refugees.
5th May, 1860.

The height is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the circumference $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The two eagles' heads, which are unequal in height, form part of the handle: they do not seem to be symbolic, or strictly speaking, heraldic. The flagon is of lead (not pewter), and may have been made in some free imperial town which used the eagle of the Empire as a mark of patronage.

OLD SPEECH AND OLD MANNERS IN SUSSEX.

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

“Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.”

IN these days of rapid locomotion, penny postage, electric telegraphs, cheap newspapers, mechanics' institutions, and other means of easy intercommunication between place and place, and mind and mind, it behoves the Archæologist to be on the alert, lest the memory of olden manners and olden phraseology should once and for ever pass away. I say the *memory*, because it is desirable to retain, perhaps, not the things themselves—the uncouth behaviour, and the equally uncouth forms of thought and speech which prevailed among the humbler classes of society in our own times—but a record of those things, to show to coming ages and generations how the forefathers of this new-born age thought, and talked, and acted. The railway whistle has frightened away ghosts, and witches, and fairies for ever, and ere long, most traces, not of superstition only, but of gross ignorance and rusticity will inevitably disappear. Nearly every hamlet now possesses its school-house, where a modicum of learning is supplied which dissipates those evils, while it elevates its rustic alumni—“*nec sinit esse feros.*” Berwick Common can no longer

supply its ghost, nor Faygate its fairies. Hayward's Heath, once a bye-word, has become a centre of civilization and commercial activity; and even Balcombe, notwithstanding the poor and obvious pun which once associated it with any unsuccessful enterprise, and originated the local proverb of "going to Balcombe," (or "*baulk 'em*") receives its morning and evening papers, and, when need arises, its telegrams; and has its tunnel and its viaduct.

The smallest boy in a national school is no longer puzzled by the Brookside witticism—

"Heighton, Denton. and Tarring;
All begins with A."—

and I am not quite sure that he would not laugh at the propounder for his supposed bad grammar. I don't think there are now many people who seriously believe that Piddinghoe is the place where the natives shoe their magpies; or that the first cuckoo of the season is turned out of an old woman's basket at Heathfield Fair, on the 14th of April. Rustics no longer distinguish Alciston and Alfriston, as *Ahson* and *Ahson Town*;¹ and it is now fully a quarter of a century since I last heard mentioned the rustic paradox—

"Herrinly, Chidd'nly, and Hoadly;
Three *lies* and all *true*."

This reminds me to remark that the old pronunciation of local names is rapidly disappearing; though whether this be altogether for the better, I will not undertake to decide. *Herstmonsoo* is certainly some improvement upon *Horse-mowncez* (*Herstmonceux*) and *Hailsh-am* upon *Hellsom*, though both are obnoxious to criticism. Bodgam, Norjam, Hefful, and Maövel have pretty well succumbed to Bodiam, Northiam, Heathfield, and Mayfield. Chalvington, and Selmeston seem to be irremediably fixed to *Chanton* and *Simson*, and with the fashionable example, of Brighton, *olim*

¹ More curtly Assen-town, which was probably a medieval joke against the Alfristoners, making them a 'town of asses.'

"Thou saist that *assen*, oxen, houndes,
They ben assayed at divers stoundes."

Wright's Chaucer, 5867.

Brighthelmston, before them, they can scarcely aspire to orthoepical reform. The changes I most object to are those which shorten the final syllables *ford*, *ly*, and *ham*. These are old generic terms, and ought to be retained in their full, honest, Anglo-Saxon length. "Genteel" people are beginning to call *Seaford*, *Seafōrd*—a pronunciation that would have greatly astonished Sir Nicholas Pelham, its gallant defender in the days of Henry VIII., for his epitaph assures us that—

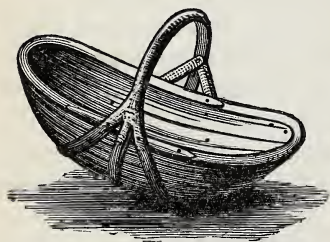
"What time ye French sought to have sack'd *Seafoord*,
This Pelham did repel 'em back aboard."

So again in the search after orthoepical truth some people get rid of our old Sussex *lys*, and instead of *Hothly*, *Ardingly*, say *Hothlé*, *Ardinglé*. *Ham* in like manner is shortened into *h'm*, as, for instance, *Bayh'm*, *Beddingh'm*. "Can you tell me," once asked a stranger to the locality, "where *Withyh'm* is?" "No," was the reply, "never heerd on it." "Then you don't live hereabouts?" "Yes, I live jest over yender, at *Withyham*, I do," was the answer.

Being *Sussexiensis Sussexiensium*, a thorough-bred South Saxon, I feel a special interest in picking up and jotting down a few matters which though "unconsidered trifles" to most people, may hereafter be of use in shewing the revolution which the present age seems destined to effect in the usages and habits of society. "Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit."

Although our county was the scene of the Norman Conquest, and notwithstanding its proximity to the Gallic continent, it still retains, not only in its local nomenclature, but in the physical character of its common people, many traces of those brave Teutons who, under *Ælla* and his successors, colonized these shores. The *dis* and *dat*, the *dem* and *dese*, the *ourn*, *yourn*, and *theirn* of our ploughmen, show plainly their German extraction. I used to wonder why day-labourers took in vain the name of one whom I considered as the Patriarch of the land of *Uz*, until I discovered that he swore, not by *Job*, but by *Jobe*, the Anglo-Saxon Jupiter. Let me add that the word *jobal*, also employed by our peasantry, must be regarded as a

direct derivative of *Jobe*, rather than as a corruption of the current English "jovial," which comes from the Latin *jovialis*, or "Jupiter-influenced." I now forgive the village chorister who, in the *Gloria Patri* persists in chanting "*wurruuld* without end," because that too is true Anglo-Saxon pronunciation. When my occasional gardener talks of the ravages of "them *snags*" on a peach tree, I bear with his vulgarity when I reflect that he is quite as near the true orthoepy as his betters who call the maurader a *snail*, for *snaegl* is the word which Englishmen, gentle and simple, have modified in these two differing forms, and while the gentleman elides the difficult letter G, the peasant sticks fast in it, and says *snag*. If, too, the said gardener calls his curved spade a *graffing tool*, he is only using the talk of his forefathers of a thousand years ago, when *grafan* meant to dig. I ask him how his aged father does, and he replies that he is quite *stolt*, and again he speaks good Saxon, for that strange word signifies "firm and strong." And when he gathers up his weeds and rubbish into a *trug*-basket he



employs both an Anglo-Saxonism and a vessel which are almost peculiar to the county of Sussex. Some such *trugs* were sent to the Great Exhibition of 1851, as a specimen of Sussex industry, and one of them, framed in the neatest manner, and fastened with silver nails, was deemed

a gift not unworthy of the acceptance of Royalty itself.²

When the same honest man buries his twenty or thirty bushels of potatoes for winter consumption, he calls it *healing* them up, and he still talks good Saxon, for *hælan* means to cover. If the thatched roof of his cottage is out of repair, he says that the *healing* is bad; and when he lies cold on a winter night, he provides himself with an additional blanket by way of *healing*. In all these applications the idea of "to cover" is in his mind, just as it is in ours when we speak of the "healing art," or when we talk of a wound being healed,

² In West Sussex these useful little articles are sometimes known as "Dandy-baskets."

that is covered, with a new and healthy skin. Not long ago a parishioner of a Sussex village proposed a subscription, instead of a compulsory rating, for new *healing* the church. The clergyman, who was not of South-Saxon birth, was somewhat scandalized at the expression, which to his mind conveyed the idea that the church required *curate*-ive treatment. The truth is that the Sussex villager knew his mother-tongue better than the Oxford scholar did. It is satisfactory to add that the difference between incumbent and parishioner was simply verbal; for the venerable edifice was *healed* to the liking of the parishioner, and *tiled* to the satisfaction of the vicar—only the former was more happy in his *word* than the latter; for while the one derived it from the mother-tongue of his ancestors of long centuries ago, the other had to trace his through the etymological steps of *tile*, *tuile*, *tegula*, and *tego*, at last arriving at a precise synonym of *hælan*, the very word to which he had taken exception.

If our friend the gardener should be in want of a *dez-zick* (i.e., day's work) he will probably get employment with some neighbouring farmer who wants a field sown with wheat or *whuts*,³ and who will provide him with a wooden vessel of peculiar form, from which to disseminate that which is to cover that field with the next season's crop. This receptacle is called a *seed-lip*, a phrase not very intelligible to the majority of educated people, although it is good Anglo-Saxon speech; for *sæd-leap* is the very name by which our forefathers in King Alfred's days designated the vessel in which they carried forth their seed-corn to the field.

Our humble friend's wife, too, retains a few old-world words; as, when she has her family clothes-washing, and calls it a "bucking"—from the Anglo-Saxon *buc*, a bucket, flagon, vessel, or water-pot; and when she calls the peculiar shawl with a fringed edge, with which she protects her shoulders on going to church or to shop, a *wittle*, she unconsciously employs the very word which the huswives of the days of the Heptarchy were wont to apply to the self-same garment as a *hwitel*.

After this good housewife has performed the necessary daily work of her cottage, she goes upstairs to dress herself,

³ Oats.

so as to receive her husband, wearied with the toils of the field or garden, to a clean and comfortable hearth. This operation she describes by the obsolete verb to *tight*, not knowing, good soul, that she speaks Anglo-Saxon, somewhat corrupted from *dihtan*, to dress. The word, slightly modified, is well known to most people. Milton, in "Il Penseroso," employs it:

"Let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale;
And love the high embowèd roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly *dight*,
Casting a dim religious light."

Another trait of Anglo-Saxonism among our Sussex peasantry was the reversal of the genders of the sun and moon; though this is dying out. We speak, poetically, of the sun as a male object, and of the moon as a female one. All the Germanic tribes, on the contrary, invested the sun with feminine, the moon with masculine, attributes; and at the present day, our Sussex rustics speak of the luminary of day as a female. The same peculiarity of genders prevailed in the ancient Norse tongue; and even in Arabia, "we meet," says Sharon Turner, "with a female sun and a masculine moon:—

'Nec nomen fœmininum Soli dedecus,
Nec masculinum Lunæ gloria.'"⁴

I have heard the pronoun *he* applied to the moon once only, and, in the common speech of peasants, the "lesser light" is now regarded as a female.

I have some thoughts of writing a treatise on the irregular verbs of the English language, which appear to have been formed more upon caprice than reason. In many respects the Sussex talk seems more proper than that which grammarians now recognise as correct. Any departure from a regular formation, though tolerated by usage, and explainable on philological grounds, is to be regretted; although, in the present state of our language, it cannot be avoided. The Sussex peasant says *catched*, and *blowed*, and *burstèd*,

⁴ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, Vol. iv., p. 17, note.

and choosed, and creeped, and drawed, and freezed, and growed, instead of caught, blew, burst, chose, crept, drew, froze, and grew—making regular what in literary English, is abnormal.

In other instances, the irregularity of the imperfect tense, in Sussex talk, differs from that of literary English. *Brung, crope, holp*, and *rid*, for example, are used instead of brought, crept, helped, and rode. The verb *do* makes *dud*, which I take to be a synæresis of *do-ëd*. There was an ancient boast among the Hastings fishermen in regard to the capture of a whale, which had eluded the strength or the skill of the people of another southern port:

“A mighty whale comed sailin’ down the flood;
The Folkstoners couldnt catch un, but the Hastin’ers *dud*!”

Without wishing to poach upon another man’s manor, I take this opportunity of making a few notes on Sussex provincialisms, which have either been omitted from the well-known work of my friend, W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., to whom our Society and the Archæology of Sussex are so deeply indebted, or but slightly noticed in his Glossary.⁵

I will begin with—

Dray or *draw*, a squirrel’s nest. The former pronunciation prevails about Offham, Ringmer, and other places near Lewes; the latter at Mayfield, Warbleton, Dallington, &c. The etymon of the word does not appear to be known, though its use in this sense is not unfamiliar to the readers of old English authors:

“The little squirrel hath no other food
Than that which Nature’s kindly hand provides;
And, in purveying up and down the wood,
She many cold, wet, storms for that abides.
She lies not heartless in her mossy *dray*,
Nor feareth to adventure through the rain;
But skippeth out and bears it as she may,
Until the season waxeth warm again.”

Wither’s Emblems.

I may here remark that, among the usages of old times that have descended to our own, and that would be

⁵ “A Glossary of the Provincialisms of the County of Sussex.” By W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A. 2nd Edit.; 1853.

“more honoured in the breach than in the observance,” is the cruel and dastardly sport of hunting this delicate, harmless animal, on St. Andrew’s day, which still prevails in East Sussex. What connection exists between the Saint and the ‘Squurl’ I cannot say, but I hope that the humane tendencies of the age will speedily consign this unmanly pastime to the oblivion which has properly befallen cock-fighting and badger-drawing in the district. The “hunting of the wren,” in Ireland, is perhaps the only parallel in these realms to this barbarous amusement.

I have already quoted several Anglo-Saxonisms, and I will now mention one or two more. Our Sussex housewife, if her “per o’ gloves” are somewhat too small, consoles herself with the consideration that they will *ratch*, expand, or get bigger with use. Here she is evidently indebted to the Anglo-Saxon *hræcan*, to extend to, or become fit. Again, if the husbandman’s temper is upset by the undue growth of the weed known among botanists as *Rapum sylvestre*, and he says “Dang that *kilk*!” he speaks Anglo-Saxon, corrupted through the forms *cerlice*, charlock, killok, kilk. More than one place in the county is named in Domesday-Book “Cerlocestune,” meaning, if I do not misinterpret, the enclosure where “kilk” unduly flourishes.

The glossy beetle which buzzes across our path on a July evening, and which grovels at our feet in our noon-tide walks, is provincially called a *shorn-bug*, from the Anglo-Saxon *scearn*, dung. Many a well-to-do peasant, during winter, drinks a glass or two of *ellet* wine before going to bed, and thinks, with Mr. John Westlock, that it is “a pretty tidy vintage,” without knowing that *ellen* is the Anglo-Saxon word for the elder tree, whence his children have plucked the berries out of which his wife has concocted the pleasant narcotic beverage.

A few Normanisms also lurk amongst the household words of the Sussex peasantry. For example, an awkward, lubberly boy is taunted as a “gurt *grummut*”—a corruption of the old French *gromet*, a diminutive of groom. The cabin-boy of the Cinque-Ports Navy was so called. The condition of the distinguished immunities of those ancient corporations was, that they should provide for the King’s use a certain

number of ships, and in each ship twenty-one men, with one boy called a *gromet*—" *et in qualibet nave xxi. homines, cum uno garcione qui dicitur gromet.*" Again, who of our grandmothers, fairly skilled in quackery, did not know the virtue of *gazel* tea? The *gazel* is the black currant (French, *groseille*), and a decoction of the twigs of that plant is still regarded as a "fine thing" for an inflammatory cold, by many a "nottable" person. I may remark, in passing, that the word "nottable" (being "right," as the phrase is, "to a T") implies the reverse of *not able*, and is applied to a thrifty, industrious, housewife. Dame So-and-so is a "nottable 'ooman," but I never heard of her husband, or any other *man* to whom the epithet was applied. It probably comes from the French "*notable*," and may be also a relic of Normanism.

Another Anglo-Norman word still in use is *frayel*, applied to a flexible basket made of bulrushes. The word is found in Piers Plowman's Vision, as well as in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion. In the latter—

Richard aunsweryth with herte free,
Off froyt there is great plenté;
Fyggyss, rasyns, in *frayel*,
And notes (nuts) may serve us full wel.

Wright's P. Plowman, Gloss.

Sussex can hardly be said to possess a dialect of its own. I have recently had a convincing proof of this fact; for having been requested by His Imperial Highness, the Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, to give a rendering of the Song of Solomon into the Sussex vernacular, for his collection on the Dialectology of England, I had scarcely one occasion in the execution of my task, to employ an idiomatic expression. There are, it is true, peculiarities of pronunciation which sufficiently distinguish the Sussex peasant's talk from that of the corresponding class in neighbouring counties; and there is even a wide distinction between the pronunciation of those who dwell to the east, and those who live to the west, of *the river Adur*. This is no artificial or imaginary distinction; Parliament and the Quarter Sessions have nothing to do with it. It is a fact, patent to all curious observers, that that small geographical

boundary separates, as to the humbler classes, the two districts known as East Sussex and West Sussex, almost as widely as if some high range of mountains or some trackless forest intervened. But enough for the present of the old speech of the Sussex folk, now so rapidly becoming obsolete—let us briefly review some traits of their old *manners*.

Our county, only in comparatively recent times hewn as it were out of the great primeval forest of Anderida, which covered the south-east of England, was among the last of southern shires to receive civilizing influences, while the proverbial badness of its roads was a still greater obstacle to improvement. Oak timber felled near the county-town less than two hundred years ago was three years in its transit to Chatham from the latter cause; and even at a much later date the carriages of our country squires were dragged to church by an equipage (if one may so abuse terms) of six oxen. Deterred by bad roads and dangerous forest-haunting vagabonds, the King's justices in eyre durst approach no nearer the county-town than East Grinstead, and Horsham, for holding their courts of assize. These are matters of history; it is therefore no wonder that Sussex men in general, and Sussex peasants in particular, were no great travellers. People coming from a distance of twenty miles were looked upon as 'furriners,' and there is a story told of a labourer, who upon the spur of an altercation with his 'better half,' deserted his home at Heathfield, and travelled as far as Ditchling, where feeling quite out of his element, he returned homewards, and finding himself again at *Hefful*, exclaimed—"I've had quite enough of furrin parts—nothin' like old Englan' yet!" The stay-at-home habits of this class, even at the present day, are exemplified by a fragment of a conversation, overheard a short time since by a friend, at a place about midway between the two points spoken of, which, measured upon the map, are as nearly as may be twenty miles apart:—

"I say, Jim; ever you bin to Han' Crass?"

"Noa."

"Ever bin to Aist-Hoadly?"

"Noa."

"Den *you* ha'nt bin about much!"

There are still hundreds of the same class whose travels have not been more extensive.⁶

I said, at the outset, that few traces of superstition now linger among our rural population. I might, perhaps, have qualified the remark by saying, that though our ploughmen and washerwomen now laugh at the notion of the existence of ghosts, witches, and haunted houses, there may still be a lingering faith in such things in the minds of some who are ashamed to confess it. Certainly such was the case in the days of our fathers. I knew, in my boyhood, one or two old women who had the reputation of being witches. One, in particular, used to gratify her spleen against carters, by stopping their heavily-laden wagons in the lane in front of her cottage; though, in justice to the memory of Dame R., it ought to be added, that the said lane was so muddy that the ruts were often axle-deep for several months of the year. Another exercised her malevolent function in causing the destruction of pigs and cattle, and in hindering the operation of churning and the boiling of the tea-kettle.⁷ The faith in fairies, or, as they were locally called, "pharisees," died out, as I have elsewhere had occasion to remark, a good while since—the only trace of them now remaining being the dark green circlets on our downs and lowland meadows, where of old they were wont to disport themselves. The visits of ghosts

⁶ A story is told of an old lady who lived about a century since, either at Plumpton or Westmeston, who was preparing for a journey to the metropolis to see her daughter. A friend asked her what sort of a place she expected to find London. "Well," she replied, "I can't exactly tell, but I suppose it must be something like the bustlin' part of Ditchlin'!" At a much later date a rustic, overpowered with the magnitude and grandeur of London, exclaimed—"What a queer large place! Why it a'n't like Chailey; nor it a'n't like Newick!"

"*Urbe[m], quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.*"

⁷ A lady-member of our Society has sent me the following anecdote: "Dear Sir.—As you are an admirer and collector of old Sussex stories, the one which I have to relate, and which occurred in my Father's parish when I was a little girl, may not be unacceptable, as it will serve to shew that the existence of Witches has not very long been disbelieved. A farmer in a remote corner of the parish employed in his dairy an elderly woman, who also attended to the calves and pigs. It so happened that several of those animals died; and he was told by his neighbours that it was all owing to his having a Witch in his house, and that while he kept her nothing would thrive. The farmer really believed it, and in consequence gave the poor woman notice to quit. She came in great distress to my Father, the Rector, to ask his advice. He said, 'Well, Dame, to shew that I do not think you are a witch, come and dine with me on Christmas-day,' which was then close at hand. She came dressed in her best, and was very thankful for the kindness; but our servants actually laid a broomstick across her path as she went away, and watched to see whether she could walk over it, firmly believing that no Witch could do so. They quite expected to see her take it up and fly away upon it!"

are like those of angels, "few and far between;" and haunted houses, of which there used to be one or two in every parish, are now rarely heard of. The most famous of haunted mansions was Hurstmonceux Castle. The tradition respecting the Drummer, who, by his nightly tattoo, used to keep the neighbouring country in agitation and alarm, was rife a century ago. The statements respecting that personage differed a good deal from each other—on one side, it was averred that he had been seen, a gigantic figure, three yards high, straddling from battlement to battlement; but the authorised version of the story was that which Addison puts into the mouth of the Butler: "Pho! Robin," exclaims that functionary to his friend the Coachman, "I tell ye he never appeared yet but in the shape of the sound of a drum!" Whether Addison's excellent comedy was founded upon the legend of Hurstmonceux does not appear, though such is the accepted tradition.

In the days of our grandfathers, nearly every old mansion and manor-house could boast of its unearthly visitant, who manifested himself either in visible form, or, as was more frequently the case, by "spirit rappings" and other awful sounds. Tales of dreadful murders, or suicides, as associated with particular localities, formed the staple talk of the ale-house bench, and the "chimby-corner" of the farm-house, when as yet the more wholesome pabulum of the newspaper, and the ability to read it, were unknown. Stories derived from medieval romance got strangely identified with dilapidated mansions, by the disposition which seems inherent in our nature to give a "local habitation" to the wildest legends. Take, for instance, the story of "Old Oxenbridge," of Brede Place, whose tomb in the parish church was cited in proof of its truthfulness. He was an Ogre of the direst sort, and constantly dined upon young children. He lived in the days of bows and arrows, and was, like a great classical hero, invulnerable. The only means of getting rid of him was to cut him in two with a wooden saw. His neighbours, having manufactured such an implement, found means of making him drunk, and then, at leisure, cut him in half. There can be no doubt as to the truth of the relation, for the *locus in quo* of this "wise saw"

is still pointed out by the good people of Brede, in Stubbs's Lane, at a place known as the Groaning Bridge.

There was also in Sussex another country gentleman of cannibal propensities. This was Lunsford, of East Hothly—Colonel Thomas Lunsford—a great cavalier partizan in the Civil Wars. Butler, in “Hudibras,” ironically couples him with the far-renowned “Bloody-bones;” and, in the same spirit, a mock-litany of the time has the petition—

“From Fielding and from Vavasour,
Both ill-affected men;
From *Lunsford* eke deliver us,
That eateth up children.

Horrid pictures of him were circulated by the Round-heads, as we learn from the following lines by Cleveland:—

“They fear
Even his dog, that four-legged cavalier,
Him that devours the scraps which *Lunsford* makes,
Whose picture feeds upon a child in steaks.”⁸

These stories relate to comparatively modern times, but there are traditions of an earlier age more like the inventions of an oriental romancist, or a northern skald, than anything that could have originated with the phlegmatic eater of Sussex pudding. The legend of St. Dunstan, though pretty generally known, it would be unpardonable in this association to pass by, *sub silentio*. Everybody has heard that—

“Saynt Dunstan (as the story goes)
Caught old Sathanas by y^e nose:
He tugged soe hard and made hym roar,
That he was heard three miles and more.”

But it is not so generally known, beyond the limits of our county, that Mayfield Place was the scene of that terrific encounter. It was there (and not at Glastonbury as some ill-informed chroniclers assert) that the fiend appeared to the saint in the guise of a fair lady, and that Dunstan, being at the time engaged in his favourite recreation of forging a horse shoe, on perceiving a cloven hoof protruding from the

⁸ See Grey's *Hudibras*, vol. ii. p. 312. See also Mr. Blaauw's paper in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v. 81.

voluminous folds of the infernal crinoline, seized the Demon's nose with his red-hot pincers. (The pincers as well as the Saint's anvil and hammer still exist at Mayfield as irrefragable evidence of the statement). On the application of the hot iron, the evil one burst through the roof of the building, Dunstan holding on at the other end of the forceps, with that pertinacity which ever distinguished his conduct. Away they went through the air, with the speed of a rifle bullet, a full league of space, until the sulphurous composition of the nasal organ gave way to the heat of the implement, and the Saint fell to the ground near a bridge, which still bears his name. In order to cool his tongs, Dunstan took a leisurely walk to Tunbridge Wells, into the waters of which he thrust them, and hence the taste of quenched iron which even to this day those waters retain!

The legend of the "Devil's Dyke," near Poynings, is so well known, through the clever versicles of a Sussex antiquary, the late W. Hamper, Esq., that it is not necessary here to reproduce it.

There is many an *elenge* spot in Sussex where the Demon used to appear in all the horrors of horn and tail with which he is invested by the medieval painter; and in many a woodland district it is, perhaps even still, an item of boyish creed that if you go a-nutting on Sundays, Satan will come to your assistance, and hold down the boughs for you!⁹

The spectre of St. Leonard's Forest has nearly faded from popular memory. In the days of our grandfathers, woe to the unhappy horseman who should, at night, enter the charmed precincts of that ancient wood; for a headless figure of a man, disregarding alike both menaces and prayers, would vault behind him upon the crupper, and thus accompany him (in a manner reminding one of Horace's "*Post equitem sedet atra cura*") to the opposite verge of the forest. This spectre was known as "Squire Paulett;" but of his history, and how and wherefore he lost his head, nothing seems to be known; unless, indeed, he was identical with William Powlett, Esq., a captain of the Horse-Grenadiers, in the reign of King George I. This gentleman certainly lived at

⁹ "As black as the Devil's *nutting-bag*," is a well-known Sussex proverb.

St. Leonard's Forest, and he lies buried in West Grinstead church under a monument by Rysbrach, which is reported to have cost £2,000. The period of Captain Powlett's death, 1746, independently of the fact of that personage having *died with his head on*, is very much against the idea of his having become a ghost of the medieval type. The Aldridge family, who succeeded to his property, have no tradition which assists us on the subject.

St. Leonard, the patron of this forest, manifested little taste for sylvan music when he excluded the nightingale from its purlieus. Three hundred years ago, divers "credible parsons" assured Dr. Andrew Borde, that that bird "wyl syng round about the forest ; but never within the precincte of the forest." Such I understand is still the local belief, but whether it is founded upon evidence, I must leave to our great Sussex ornithologist, Mr. A. E. Knox, or some other equally 'credible parson' who knows the district, to decide. Otford park, in Kent, is said to be equally forbidden ground to 'sweet Philomel,' in consequence of St. Thomas of Canterbury's having been disturbed in his devotions by her charming melody.¹⁰

This antipathy to the voluptuous music of the bird of night appears not to be limited to the saints of old, for it is a fact, no less true than shameful, that within the last ten years, and within less than that number of miles from our county-town, a *gentleman* (?) caused the nightingales of the surrounding groves to be shot.¹¹

But we must return for a moment to St. Leonards Forest, for there, some two centuries and a half since, appeared a prodigy which is entitled to a high rank among Sussex traditions. Faygate and its vicinity are now accommodated with a railway station, but at the date in question that locality was "a vast unfrequented place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholesome shades and overgrown hollowes," and, worse still, was the habitation of a direful Dragon ! Concerning this

¹⁰ See Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, *in loco*.

¹¹ To prevent the possibility of the "saddle being put upon the wrong horse," let me say that the person in question was only the temporary tenant of an old mansion, and that the nightingales of——now enjoy immunity from his gun. If anything could possibly add to the enormity of shooting the nightingales at all, it would be the fact, that from that very house good Gilbert White wrote several of his most loving letters about cross-bills, swallows, and sand-martins.

monster there was published a tract with the following long-winded title :—

“ *True and Wonderful*: a discourse relating to a strange monstrous serpent or dragon lately discovered, and yet living to the great annoyance and divers slaughters, both of men and cattle by his strong and violent poyson in Sussex, two miles from Horsham, in a wood called St. Leonard’s Forest, and thirtie miles from London, this present month of August, 1614, with the true generation of serpents; printed at London, by John Trumble, 1614.”

The monster was not of very serpentine proportions, being “nine feet or rather more in length, and shaped almost in the form of an *axle-tree of a cart*, a quantitie of thickness in the midst, and somewhat smaller at both ends!” he was blackish upon the back, and red under the belly, and besides having large feet (it is not specified whether he had two, like the heraldic wyvern; four like the dragon of St. George; or six like the orthodox dragon of our early naturalists—) he was furnished with two large bunches “so big as a foote-ball, which as some think will grow to wings.” “I hope,” adds the narrator “that God will so defend the poor people in the neighbourhood, that he shall be destroyed *before he growe to fledge*.” He left a track behind him, “as by a small similitude we may perceive in a snail.” His “former part” he could “shoote forth as a necke, supposed to be about an ell long.” He was “of countenance very proud,” and carried himself “with great arrogancie.” He cast his venom “about 4 rodde,” thereby killing a man, a woman, and two mastiffs. He did not, however, devour his victims, either human or canine, but lived chiefly upon the conies of a neighbouring warren, which was found to be “much scanted and impaired in the increase it had been wont to afford.” This marvellous relation is attested by the Horsham carrier, “who *lieth* at the White-Horse in Southwark,” and also by John Steele, Christopher Holder, “*and a widow-woman dwelling at Faygate*.”

I see no probability in the notion that this production was intended, as Mr. Horsfield seems to suggest, for a “lampoon upon some petty tyrant of the district.” In days when the King himself could write a treatise of *Dæmonologie*, and

when a great philosopher like Sir Thomas Brown could pledge himself to a belief in witches, it was no great strain upon the faith of the Horsham carrier and the "widow-woman of Fay-gate" to admit the existence of this dreadful monster, which perhaps was, after all, nothing more than some mis-shapen log of wood, that their superstitious fears had converted into a dragon. The disappearance of conies from the warren is attributable, no doubt, to local poachers, who would be interested in circulating the marvellous tale; and, finally, the story lost nothing in its passage through the hands of the "penny-a-liner" who prepared it for the press.

There is a more romantic legend, which makes St. Leonard himself—after the pattern of the earlier saints, Michael and George—the slayer of the dragon. It would appear that, after many a rough skirmish, the saint came off victorious; and it may be reckoned as the prettiest relic of the legendary lore of Sussex, that, wherever the blood of the saint was spilled during the dread encounter, there sprang up abundance of "lilies of the valley," which, in their delicious livery of white and green, still adorn and perfume various spots in the Forest. Would that I could stop here; but the legend goes on to state that the saint, on being asked what reward he would like for his meritorious service, demanded the eternal silence of the nightingale before referred to, which was granted; and hence it was predicated of the Forest, that in it—

*The Adders neber strynge,
Nor ye Nyghtingales synge.*

The belief in monstrous serpents lurking among the woods of the Weald of Sussex was not quite extinct in my boyhood, and it might very possibly be traced up through the middle ages to the period of Scandinavian and Teutonic romance; and when a great part of the county yet remained in a condition of forest, it would always be the interest of smugglers, gamekeepers, woodmen, and such like, to invest their several spheres with terrors for the young and the weak-minded, and to "breathe a browner horror o'er the woods."

It would take a long time to recount all the now obsolete superstitions of lonely glens and haunted dells in Sussex. Nearly every unfrequented corner had its demon in the form of a black dog; while under every sequestered wooden bridge an old woman without a head was supposed to be engaged with her spinning-wheel. In the "drove-way" between Kingston (near Lewes) and the marshes of the Ouse, one "goblin damned" was doomed to a penance more hopeless than even that of Sisyphus, or the Danaides, or of him who had to make a rope of sand; for his ever-unaccomplished labour was, under the figure of a black calf, to *spin charcoal* incessantly!

Some of the wildest of old Sussex legends are those which relate to the sites of churches. It seems that many of our church-builders indulged a perverse propensity to choose a wrong spot for the erection of their edifices. For example, at Alfriston the foundations of the sacred building were originally laid in a field on the west side of the town now known as the Savyne-Croft; but every night the stones that had been laid during the previous day were hurled by supernatural agency over the houses into a field called "the Tye," where the church now stands. It is added that a certain wise man had observed in that field four oxen lying asleep, rump to rump, in the form of a cross, and that that incident suggested the cruciform arrangement which was ultimately carried out in the building! A similar tale was current at Waldron. The materials for a church which had been deposited in a field on Horeham Farm were removed by a like mysterious agency to the present site of Waldron church. In confirmation of this legend, the spot, near Horeham, is still called Church Field. Another miracle according to the folklore of East Sussex gave rise to the name of the parish of Udimore. I have already committed the legend to print,¹² but as it will be new to many, I shall be pardoned for self-quotation here.

"At Udimore, near Rye, the villagers have a legend that their forefathers, in ages long bygone, began to build themselves a church on the opposite side of the little river Ree

¹² In my *Contributions to Literature*, p. 2.

to that where it was eventually reared. Night after night however, witnessed the dislocation of huge stones from the walls built on the preceding day, and the pious work bade fair to be interminable. Grave suspicions arose among the parishioners that they had selected an unholy, and consequently an improper, site for the building, and these were eventually confirmed. Unseen hands hurled the stones to the opposite side of the stream, and an awful supernatural voice in the air uttered, in warning and reproachful tones, the words, 'O'er the mere; o'er the mere;' thus at once indicating a more appropriate situation for the sacred edifice, and by anticipation conferring a name upon it; for the transformation of the phrase "*O'er the mere*," into Udimore, was a difficulty little calculated to shake the faith of the unsophisticated Bœotians, who could swallow the more wondrous and remarkable incidents of the legend."

Nor must we forget the legend of Mayfield Church, which, like all other of our Wealden churches, was originally constructed of timber. St. Dunstan, observing that it did not stand East and West, applied his shoulders to the edifice and screwed it into its proper "orientation!" Whether the error had originated from the ignorance of the village wrights, or from the malice of St. Dunstan's ancient enemy, the Devil, is not ascertained. It is likely however to have been the latter, for it is added that, at a subsequent date, when the wooden church was replaced by a stone one, Satan used every night to set wrong what had been done the day before. For ages the print of his foot was shewn in a neighbouring quarry, where he was accustomed to resist the workmen employed in procuring stones for the new edifice!

At Echingham there is a singular tradition. The church was originally enclosed by a moat—a remarkable appendage to a sanctuary, but pointing to the rude old times when in seasons of war and civil commotion men turned the House of God into a fortress. At the bottom of this moat there lies, says the legend, a great *bell*. How it came there is not known, nor will it ever be seen by mortal eyes until six yoke of white oxen shall be brought to the spot to drag it again to daylight. There is something very Scandinavian about this story, which is doubtless of great antiquity. There is said

to be a similar sunken bell at Isfield, near the confluence of the Uckfield stream with the Ouse.

But enough of this folk-lore. Let us now turn to a few matters of more homely interest in Sussex customs, either obsolescent or entirely obsolete. Some of these are, so far as I know, peculiar to our county.

The first that I shall mention was practised less than a century ago at Eastbourne, under the designation of "Sops and Ale."

The senior bachelor of the parish was elected by the inhabitants to the office of steward, who in right of his dignity had committed to his charge a damask napkin, a great wooden bowl, twelve wooden trenchers, a dozen of wooden knives and forks, two wooden candlesticks, and two wooden sugar-basins. The duties of the official were these. Whenever a matron within the parish increased her family, the steward went to the church door on the Sunday fortnight next after that interesting event, with a white wand in his hand, and there publicly proclaimed that sops and ale would be ready that evening at such and such a house. Permission had of course been previously obtained from the head of the family, whether he was gentleman, tradesman, or farmer, and the course of proceeding was as follows: Three tables were placed in some convenient room, one of which was covered with the damask above alluded to, and furnished with a china bowl, plates, and silver-handled knives and forks. The bowl was filled with biscuits steeped in wine, and sweetened with fine sugar. Table B was also covered with a cloth, and bedecked with china or other earthenware, and had its bowl with beer sops, sweetened with fine sugar. Decent knives and forks were also provided. Upon table C there was no cloth at all, and it was simply arranged with knives, forks, and trenchers, the wooden candlesticks, and bowls with beer sops sweetened with the coarsest sugar. These preliminaries having been arranged, the invitees proceeded, after evening prayers, to the house of the entertainer, and were placed in the following order. Those persons whose wives had presented them with twins were seated at the upper table, and were addressed as *benchers*. Those whose partners had blessed them in a minor degree were arranged round table

B; while the unfortunate folk who were married but childless, together with the old bachelors, were placed at table C, which was styled the "bachelors' table." Various toasts were given and responded to, and the company always broke up at the temperate hour of eight, "generally very chearful and good tempered."¹³

At Eastbourne, also, the following remarkable custom prevailed down to a comparatively recent period. "On the first three Sundays in August a public breakfast is given at the parsonage-house by the tenants of the great tythes to the farmers and their servants, each farmer being entitled to send two servants for every wagon that he keeps; so that if a farmer has five wagons to do his necessary business he may send ten servants, and so in proportion for a less or greater number. The farmers are entertained in the parlour with a sirloin of hot roast beef, cold ham, Sussex cheese,¹⁴ strong ale and geneva; the men are entertained in the barn with everything the same as their masters, except the beef. It is presumed that this custom had its origin from the time the tythes were first taken in kind in this parish, in order to keep all parties in good humour."

That the Eastbourne Sunday jollities should have become obsolete is no matter of regret. There are other customs that are dying out, to which no objection on the ground of good morals would be applicable. When an East Sussex farmer departed this life he was usually conveyed to the grave in a wagon drawn by his best team of horses, the labourers dressed in black smock-frocks forming the body of the *cor-tège*. The Sussex smock-frock (or *round-frock*), was a "speciality" of the county. Though now the badge of the humblest rank, it was not always so, and "round-frock farmer," is still a phrase applied to the husbandman who takes a personal share in the labours of the fields which he occupies and sometimes owns. I have heard it stated

¹³ For this and the following account of Eastbourne customs, I am indebted to an amusing but most illiterate production entitled—*Eastbourne and its Environs*, 1787.

¹⁴ Those who may be inclined to undervalue "Sussex cheese," or as it was commonly designated, country cheese, may be told that I have heard an octogenarian declare that the best cheese he ever tasted was made in (perhaps) the most barren of Sussex parishes—Rotherfield. I am happy to learn that really good marketable cheese is still produced by some enterprising dairymen in the Eastern Division of the county.

that John Edwards, Esq., of Herrings, in Mayfield, who was High-Sheriff of the county in 1744, dressed his javelin-men in 'round frocks,' and, so attended, performed the duties of his shrievalty at assizes, &c., during his term of office.

Notwithstanding the proverbial rudeness of the inhabitants of a forest district, such as a great part of Sussex continued to be down to a late period, I think the people of our Weald—*Wildishers* as the men of the South-Downs and the sea-coast contemptuously called them¹⁵—were not wanting in a kind of rustic courtesy. In many an East-Sussex parish it was quite customary in the last generation for the natives to touch their hats to every well-dressed stranger whom they met, and in a cheery tone to bid him "good morning," as if to welcome him to the locality. This practice is nearly obsolete, especially in the neighbourhood of towns, and its revival would be by no means objectionable. How different this urbane conduct from that of a certain mining district, where, if an unprotected stranger makes his appearance, it is customary to "'eave 'arf a brick at him!" Let it not be supposed, however, that all Sussex folk were so refined in sentiment. One of their peculiarities was the dislike they had of disclosing their names to any one who might be interested in the inquiry. Thirty or forty years ago there was a kind of proverbial dialogue, in a "*lurry*" like this:—

"What's yer naüm?"

"Pudden and taüm;"

Ax me agin, and I'll tell ye de saüm."¹⁶

What was meant by ta-üm, or tame, I could never understand: the "pudden" would come home to every Sussex man's—stomach.¹⁷ Hospitality was formerly much more prevalent in our farm-houses and cottages than at the present

¹⁵ The County was sometimes nicknamed "Silly Sussex."

¹⁶ A story is told of a South-Down man who did not know either his own name or that of the village in which he resided, and who was obliged to be "axed agin" before the requisite answer could be elicited. A person had been deputed to enquire for "Mr. Pocock of Alciston," and meeting a labourer near the place in question, he asked him if he could point out the residence of the individual. "Noa," was the reply—"never heerd an him, and don't know no sich place." It afterwards turned out that the *questionee* was no other than the desiderated "Mr. Pocock" himself! "Why," said he, when the true nature of the enquiry dawned upon him—"you should ha' axed for Master Palk of Ahson."

¹⁷ Mr. W. D. Cooper suggests that *tame* is connected with the obsolete verb to *tame*, i.e. to broach or taste liquor. "Pudding and tame" would therefore mean food and drink.

day. Hence, though by no means a *laudator temporis acti*, I cannot help thinking that a greater amount of refinement in manners has driven from our midst some homely social virtues that would have been better retained.

Sussex does not present any marked difference in its popular customs from those of other counties. Mr. Horsfield has collected some traits of old usages in the second volume of his History of Lewes. The practice of strewing flowers on a newly-married pair as they leave the church is one of these. This is of high antiquity, but is nearly extinct. Thirty or forty years ago it was quite common, and every bridegroom in tolerable circumstances had to disburse a few shillings to the *strowers* in return for the compliment.¹⁸ A still more interesting and affecting custom was formerly prevalent, though it is now, I believe, quite disused. When a young unmarried woman died, a wreath of white flowers was laid upon her coffin, and so borne with it to the church, within which, after the interment, it was suspended, and often remained there for many years, a striking and scriptural illustration of mortality. I am informed that about seventy years since several such "virgins' garlands" were to be seen hanging in Alfriston church.

These were tributes of respect; but there was a kind of *strowing* which was not complimentary. When differences arose between man and wife, and the former was guilty of violence, it was customary to lay some straw and chaff before the door, to symbolize the *thrashing* that had taken place within!

The observance of May-Day has become, here as elsewhere, nearly obsolete. The maypole on the village green belongs to the past. Within the last thirty years many a wayside inn had a tall one, crowned with a large birch broom, before its door; but such a thing is now rarely seen.

The collecting of alms, in money or in goods, on St. Thomas's day, is also obsolescent. Formerly, the old women of every parish went from house to house to beg something

¹⁸ Mr. W. D. Cooper reminds me that sugar-plums were also used for *strowing* in East Sussex; and that Members of Parliament were *strowed* in this manner at their charring. He also informs me that at Winchelsea, on the latter occasion, the plate of the townsmen was borrowed, and, together with silver garlands, was carried in the procession.

wherewith to provide for the festivities of Christmas. The miller gave each dame a little flour, the grocer a few raisins, the butcher an odd bit of beef, and so on. From persons not in trade a donation in money was expected. In some parts of Sussex this was called "gooding-day," because *goods* were then collected. In other villages it was known as "*doleing day*," from the Anglo-Saxon *dal* or *dola*, signifying a portion. Bailey defines *dole* as "a part or pittance," the ordinary acceptation, and adds, "a gift of a nobleman to the people." Hence the high antiquity of the practice is apparent.

Sussex has never been very famous for proverbs of a local character—few counties less so. I have already quoted two or three. Fuller, in his "*Worthies of England*," has one which he associates with one of our towns, namely: "He is none of the Hastings," which was said of a person who was slow and tardy in any business or engagement. I do not know that the chief of the Cinque Ports was ever remarkable in this respect; indeed the reverse of slowness has marked its character in modern days in an eminent degree.¹⁹ The same quaint writer notes the excellence of "the Arundel mullet, the Chichester lobster, the Selsey cockle, and the Amberley trout." Whether this fishy compliment has, or ever had, any foundation in truth, I know not;²⁰ perhaps it was simply a joke against the people of the four places, like that which used to designate the inhabitants of Seaford "*shags*," or cormorants, and those of Brighthelmston "*jugs*," whatever that word may mean.

Another forgotten Sussex proverb mentioned by Fuller is historical:—

"Ware the Abbot of Battel,
When the Prior of Lewes is taken prisoner ;"

in other words, "When a man falls into difficulties, let his neighbours beware." This proverb originated in the capture

¹⁹ Perhaps a *compliment* to the people of Hastings was conveyed by the proverb.

²⁰ Since the above was put in type, I have been informed by the Rev. Edward Turner that those four West Sussex localities either were or still are productive of the fishes in question. Mr. Turner observes, that twenty-five years ago "very fine grey mullets were caught between Arundel bridge and the sea, and it is a curious circumstance that though plentiful *below*, it was a very rare thing for the fish to be caught *above*, the bridge, making them peculiarly *Arundel* mullets." Chichester, too, it seems, was the great mart for lobsters, which were taken in large numbers in the adjacent seas. "Selsey," continues Mr. T., "is still famed for its cockles; and of the excellence of the Amberley trout I can speak from experience."

of John de Cariloco, prior of Lewes, by the French, on Rottingdean Hill, whither he had gone with Sir John Falsley and Sir Thomas Cheney, with an extemporised regiment, to oppose the invaders. The Prior and the two Knights were made prisoners, and about a hundred of their followers perished on the field of battle. This was in 1377.

Another local proverb, forgotten by the many, has been lately brought to remembrance by the calamity which has befallen our Cathedral church. It is to this effect:—

“If Chichester Church-Steeple fall,
In England there's no King at all;”

or, more prosaically,

“When Chichester steeple falls, there will be no King in England.”

Primâ facie, this oracular prediction might appear to refer to the downfall of monarchy, but its fulfilment having occurred during the reign of a *Queen*—and long may it be before we have a *King*!—we trust that though the Spire has fallen, the Throne is as secure as ever. The oracles of antiquity maintained their credit by ambiguities, and our Sussex proverb has well conformed to their rule.²¹

Although Sussex has produced many true poets, we have had neither a Robert Burns, nor a William Barnes amongst us, who could clothe poetical thoughts in the vernacular of our peasantry. Nor are there, so far as I know, any legendary ballads which have a specific association with our county; but there are two or three rhythmical compositions, once familiar to Sussex men, which may serve to form an appropriate conclusion to the present paper.²²

²¹ I cannot help alluding here to the somewhat similar predictive proverb mentioned by Lord Bacon in his “Essays,” namely:

“When HEMPE is spun,
England's done;”

the interpretation being, that when the five monarchs, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth, in other words, the Tudor dynasty, had died out, the monarchy of England proper “ceased and determined,” because, at the accession of James the First, the style of the monarch was changed from King of England to King of Great Britain.

²² The reader who admires this species of literature, is referred to a very curious and pretty ballad, entitled “The True Mayde of the South,” printed in Mr. Holloway's History of Rye.

One of these is a Sussex *whistling* song, which was formerly popular, and which, it would seem, is not yet entirely forgotten. It has lately appeared in print in Bell's "Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England."²³ The printed copy, to avoid some coarseness, has been considerably modified; and I venture in some passages still further to modify it, in order to preserve rhythm, &c. "The tune," observes the editor, "is *Lillibulero*, and the song is sung as follows. The first line of each verse is given as a solo; then the tune is continued by a chorus of whistlers who whistle that portion of the air which, in *Lillibulero*, would be sung to the words 'Lillibulero bullem a la.' The songster then proceeds with the tune, and sings the whole of the verse through, after which the strain is resumed and concluded by the whistlers. The effect, when continued by the strong whistles of a group of lusty countrymen, is very striking, and cannot be adequately conveyed by description.

WHISTLING SONG.

There was an old Farmer in Sussex did dwell.

[Chorus of Whistlers.

There was an old Farmer in Sussex did dwell,
And he had a bad wife, as many knew well.

[Chorus of Whistlers.

Then Satan came to the old man at the plough—
"One of your family I must have now.

"It is not your eldest son that I do crave,
But 'tis your old wife; and she I will have."

"O! welcome, good Satan, with all my heart;
I hope you and she will never more part!"

Now Satan he got the old wife on his back,
And he lugged her along like a pedlar's pack.

He trudgèd away till he came to his gate,
Says he—"Here, take an old Sussex man's mate."

O! then she did kick all the young imps about;
Says one to the other, "Let's try turn her out!"

She spied seven devils, all dancing in chains;
She up with her pattens and knocked out their brains.

She knockèd old Satan against the wall:
"Let's try turn her out, or she'll murder us all!"

Now he's bundled her up on his back again,
And to her old husband he's took her again.

"I've been a tormentor the whole of my life;
But I ne'er was tormented till I took your wife!"

This song, I am informed, is still sung with "various readings," of no very delicate order, at harvest-suppers, and other festive meetings, in some parts of the county.

I shall conclude these "unconsidered trifles" with a ballad, which, so far as I know, has not yet been committed to the custody of print. It has the true smack of antiquity. It was kindly written down for my use, from the memory of an aged inhabitant of East Sussex, by Mr. James Howell, of Brighton, himself a cultivator—and no mean one—of the gentle art of poesy, and an ardent lover of his native county and its olden associations. It contains no allusions to Sussex, and is probably not the peculiar property of the county; but since, so far as I am aware, it appears in no collection, it is quite worthy of preservation.

It is entitled—

THE NORTHERN KNIGHT.

A Northern Knight from the Northern lands,
He came a wooing to me;
He said he would take me to the Northern lands,
And there he would marry me.

"Go, fetch me some of your father's gold,
And some of your mother's fee,
And two of the best nags out of the stable,
Where there stand thirty and three!"

She fetched him some of her father's gold,
And some of her mother's fee,
And two of the best nags out of the stable,
Where there stood thirty and three.

She mounted on her milk-white steed,
And he on the dapple grey;
They rode till they came to a fair river's side,
Six hours before it was day.

"Dismount, dismount thy milk-white steed,
And deliver it unto me;
For six pretty maidens I've drownèd here,
And thou the seventh shalt be!"

"Pull off, pull off thy silken clothes,
And deliver them unto me;
For 'tis not fitten such silken clothes
Should rot all in the salt sea."

"If I *must* pull off my silken clothes,
Pray turn thy back from me;
For 'tis not meet such a ruffian as thou
A naked maiden should see."

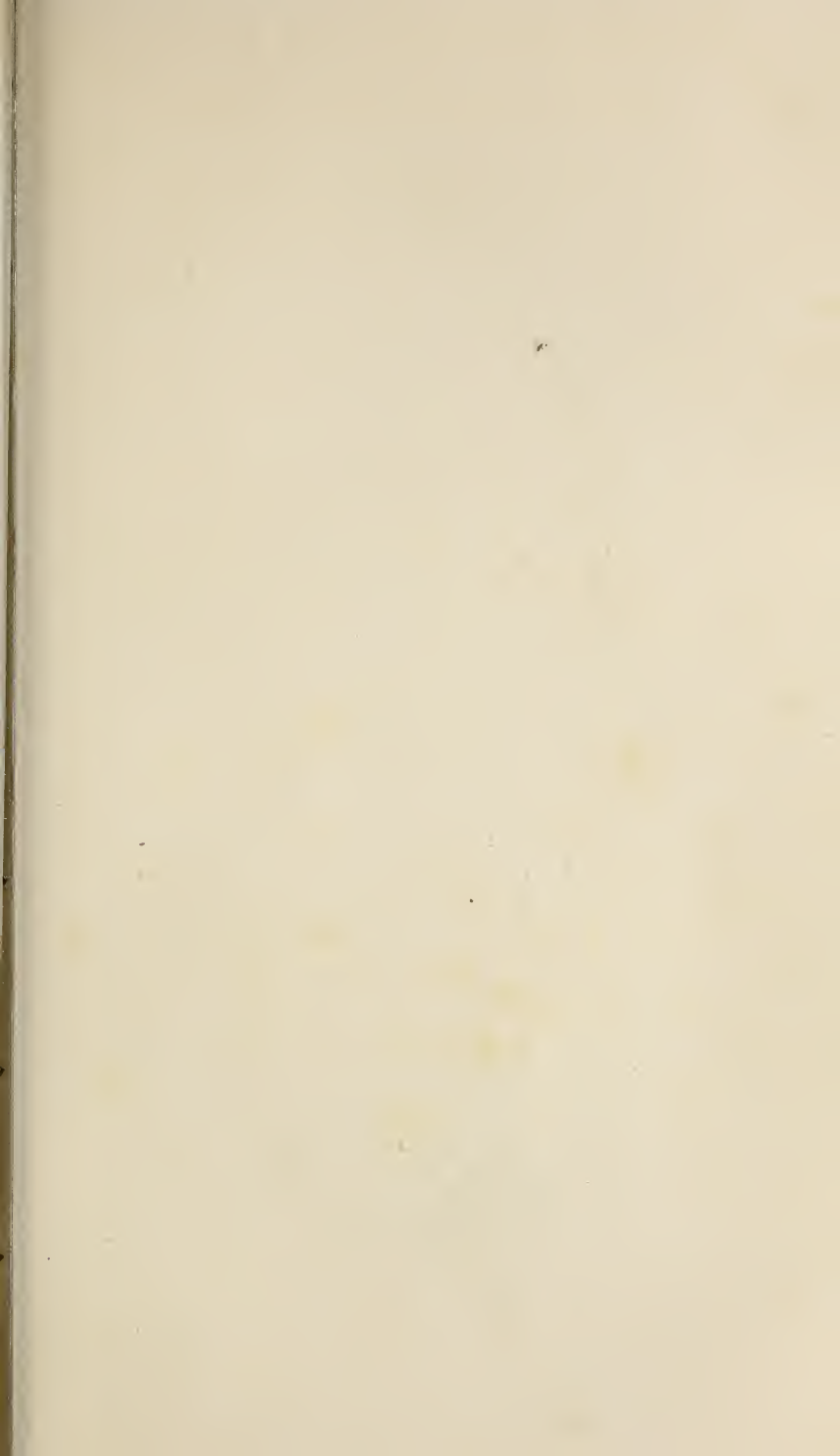
He turnèd then his back unto her,
And viewed the leaves so green;
She took him round the middle so small,
And tumbled *him* into the stream!

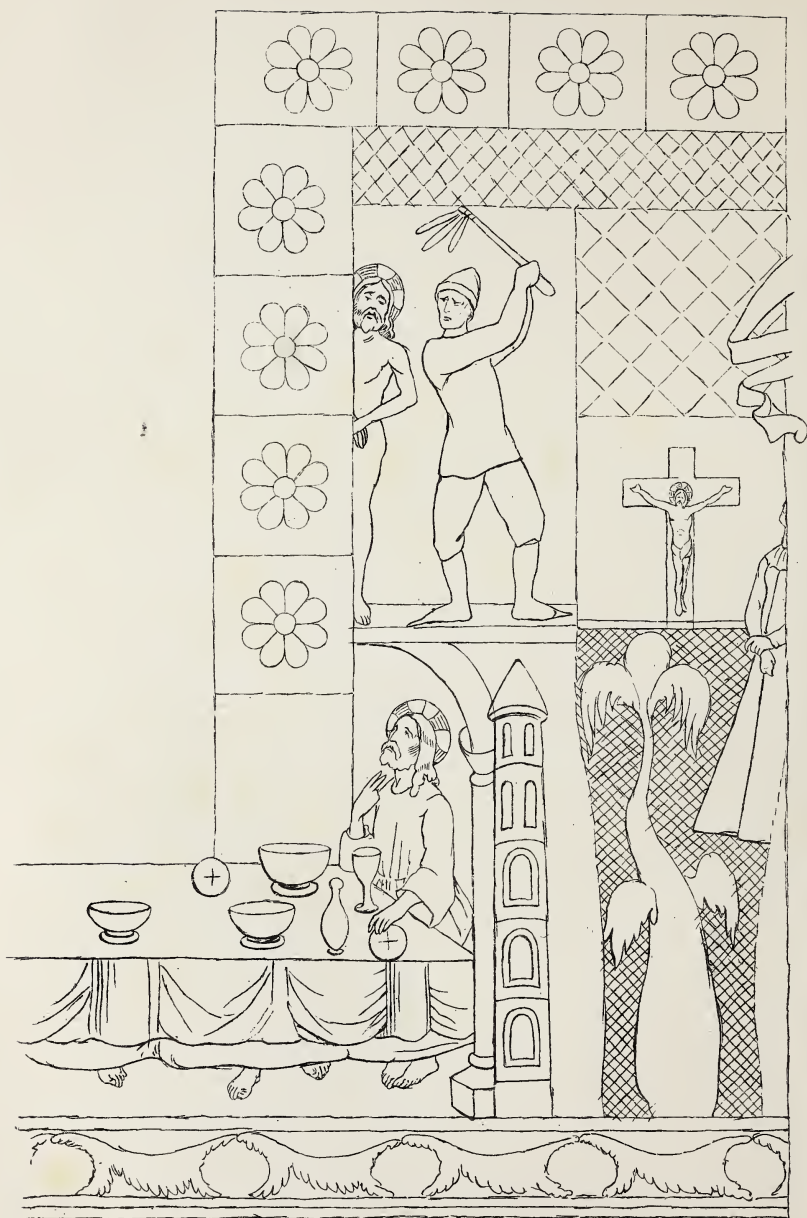
He dawbèd high, and he dawbèd low,
 Until he came to the side;
 "Take hold of my hand, my pretty Pollee,
 And thou shalt be my bride."
 "Sir, lie thou there, false-hearted man,
 Sir, lie there instead of me;
 For six pretty maidens you've drownèd there,
 But the seventh has drownèd thee!"
 She mounted on her milk-white steed,
 And led the dapple-grey,
 She rode till she came to her father's hall
 Three hours before it was day.
 The parrot being in the window so high,
 And seeing the lady did say—
 "What ails you, what ails you, my pretty ladie,
 That you travel so long before day?"
 "Don't prittle nor prattle, my pretty Pollee,
 Nor tell any tales by me,
 And your cage shall be made of glittering gold,
 Though now it be made of *tree*."²⁴
 Now the King being in his chamber so high,
 And hearing the parrot, did say:
 "What ails you, what ails you, my pretty Pollee,
 That you prattle so long ere 'tis day?"
 "'Tis no laughing matter," the parrot did say,
 'Tis no laughing matter," says she;
 "For the cats had got into the window so high,
 That I was a feared they'd have me."
 "Well turnèd, well turnèd, my pretty Pollee,
 Well turnèd, well turnèd for me;
 Your cage shall be made of the glittering gold,
 And the door of the best ivorie!"

As a tail-piece to this paper I introduce the old "sheep-hook" of a South-Down shepherd. It differs in form from any that I have met with in other districts. The village of Pyecombe was, long ago, the place where these "hooks" were made, and a Pyecombe hook was indispensable to every able leader of a flock.



²⁴ *Tree*, an archaism for wood.





MURAL PAINTINGS IN SLAUGHAM CHURCH

BY THE REV. C. H. CAMPION, M.A.

DURING the progress of some extensive alterations in Slaugham Church, there were discovered on the north wall under several coats of whitewash, the paintings of which engravings are here given. The traces of other paintings are to be seen, and there is no doubt that all the walls of the church were once covered with sacred or legendary subjects; but the two given are the only ones which could be deciphered with sufficient accuracy to warrant their insertion in the Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society.

The subjects in the first compartment (No. 1) are:—

- 1.—The Scourging of our Lord.
- 2.—The Crucifixion.
- 3.—A figure bearing a close resemblance to a large fish caught in a net.
- 4.—The Last Supper, in a style of art rather higher than that of the paintings on the upper part of the wall.

It will be observed that the insertion of a window has cut off the upper portion of the figures seated at the table, leaving the Saviour's figure entire, while the feet only of the Apostles are seen below.

On the table are two wafers, marked with the cross, a chalice, cruets, and three bowls. The small tower behind the table is probably a representation of the *sacraments haüislein*, so common in German churches, and formerly used in this country, as the following extract testifies:—

“Statuimus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu X^{ti}, in decenti tabernaculo, vel ex lapide, vel ex ligno et ferro, tantæ amplitudinis sic construendo, et fabrefaciendo, ut sacram pixidem in quâ reconditur sacramentum commodè recipere possit, super summum altare sub salvâ custodiâ, seris et clavibus firmanda, in futurum recondatur.”
—*Visitatio Eccles. Dunelm*, 1556.

If the subject below the crucifix is rightly conjectured to represent a fish caught in the net, it is no uncommon emblem of the soul in purgatory; indeed, the net of sin, or Satan, is a figure of speech by no means obsolete among divines of the present day, though perhaps few of them are aware that it is drawn from the storied walls of our old churches. The border running along the side and upper part of the paintings is formed of a flower with eight petals, frequently used for this purpose; the ornaments below seem to be shells. These borders are still distinctly visible on the stonework of the window; but, as they are painted on the inserted work, and cut the figures, they must be regarded as the product of a later age.

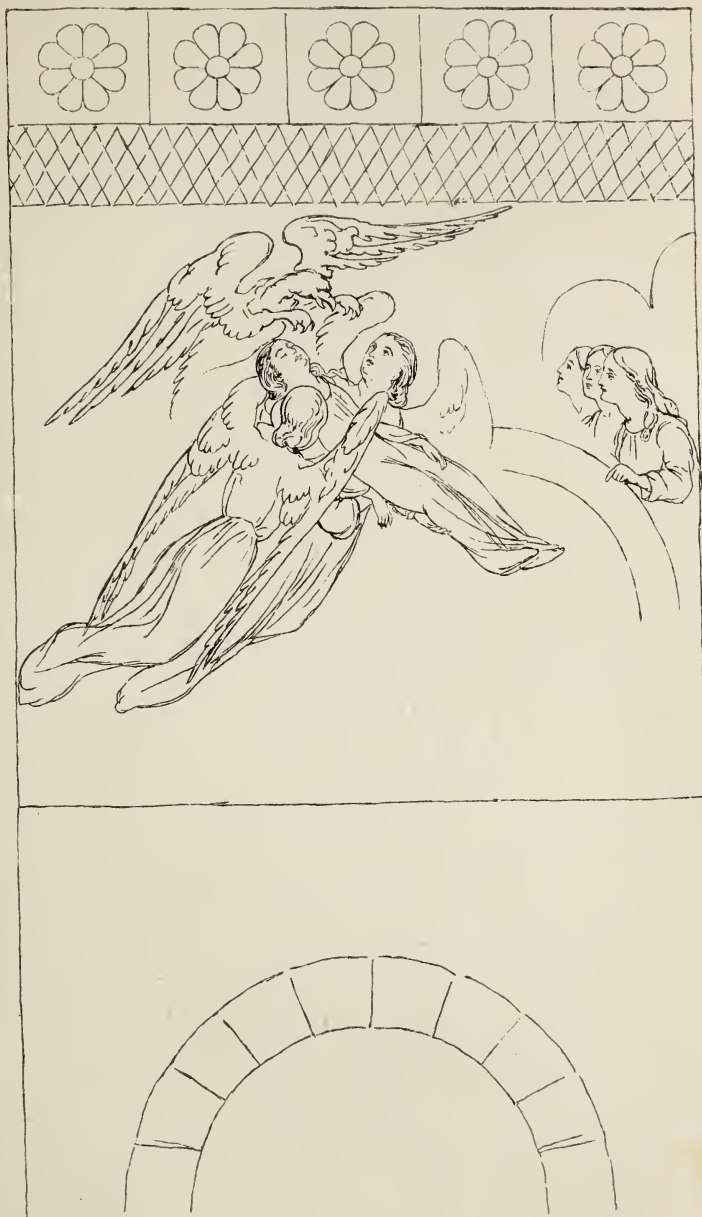
In the second compartment (No. 2) the subject of a soul's passage to Heaven is treated in a style of art very different from that usually employed in the mural paintings of our churches.

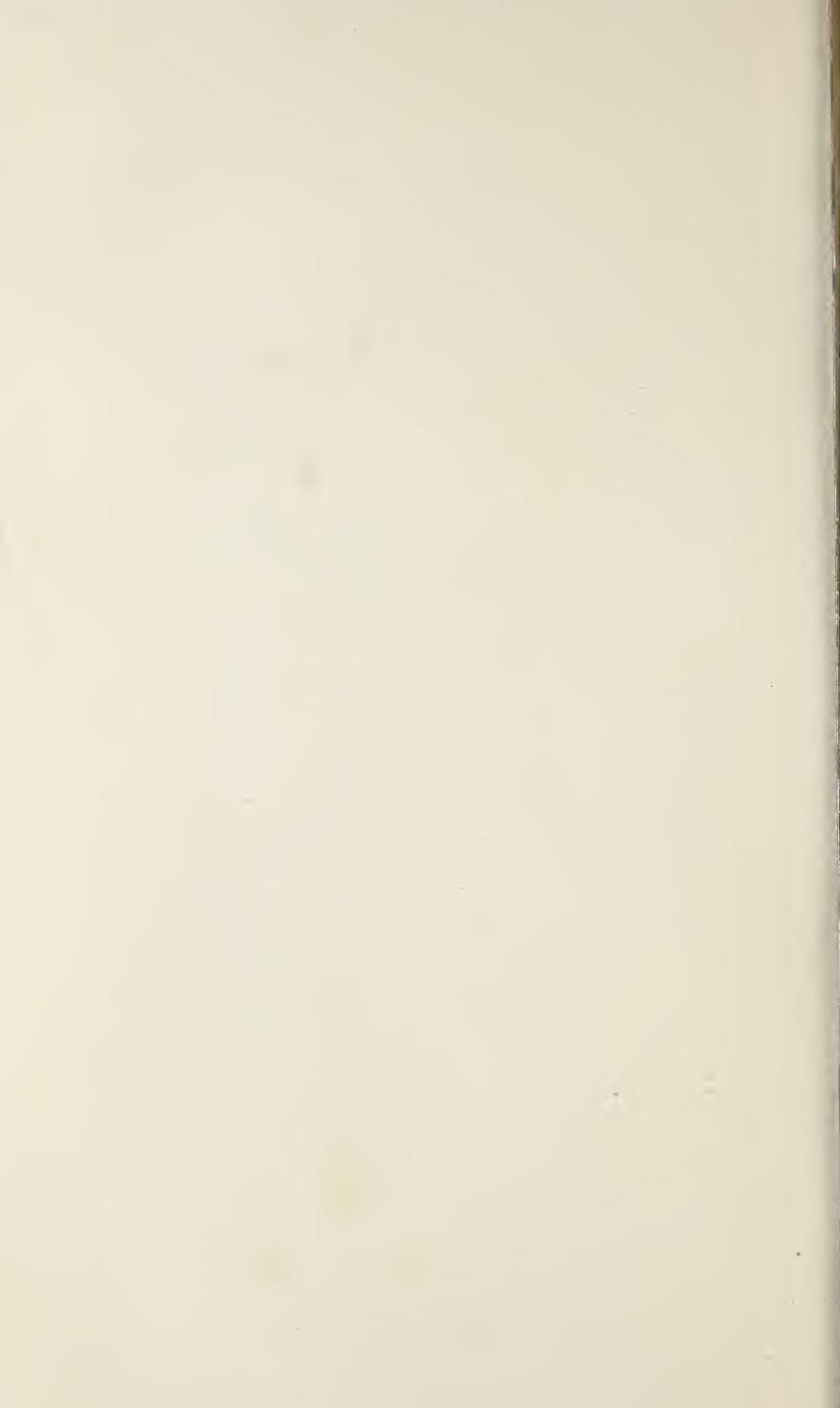
The soul is swathed in a shroud, having the appearance of linen, and borne up towards Heaven by two Angels. Its course is intercepted by a large vulture; and three female figures at the side of the picture are gazing upwards in the attitude of prayer.

The easy flow of the drapery, and the expressive features of these figures, have led those to whom the sketches have been submitted, to suppose that some later artist has retouched the paintings.

Two members of our committee familiar with the works of Roger Mortimer, an itinerant painter of considerable merit, who flourished in the early part of the last century, and was uncle of the celebrated John Hamilton Mortimer,¹ of

¹ This family were descended from the great historical Mortimers.





Eastbourne in this county, are of opinion that they resemble this artist's productions.

At all events it is the duty of an Archæological Society to guard future antiquaries from error, by recording the local tradition that this artist was in the habit of re-touching the old and decaying frescoes in our Sussex churches; and that in some cases without doubt, like modern church restorers, he has obliterated the distinctive traits of the works he designed to preserve.

The Committee have to thank Lieutenant-Colonel Holden-Rose for the sketches from which these engravings are made.

DITCHLING.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUTCHINSON, M.A.,

VICAR OF DITCHLING.

DIFFERENT localities have different objects of interest, some of a more modern, others of an earlier date, and while the learned antiquary adheres principally to the *litera scripta* of history, there is many a village and many a town that has each its unwritten traditions, which the archæologist will find not undeserving of his notice—traditions, which have been handed down from father to son, until traditionary lore is stored up in the memory of the people, and becomes to them the staple history of the place. It is the nature of these historical reminiscences to increase in each succeeding generation, until what they have lost in truthfulness they have gained in mysticism. Hardly is it possible for us to dwell among scenes and relics of bygone days without being led very frequently to call up the memories of former years, and to muse upon the things of old ; that thereby discovering whatever is good, and great, and lovely, in the character and bearing of the noble, the generous, and the brave in preceding ages, we may profit by their example, and be induced to keep alive in our own days the remembrance of their chivalry, their daring, and their enterprising conduct. The knowledge which we thus gain of the exploits by which the worthies of olden times achieved for themselves an enduring name, as well as of the every-day habits and manners of our forefathers, may, I presume, be reckoned among the practical benefits of archæology.

To increase the interest which attaches to the history of Ditchling, neither written records are wanting, nor unwritten tradition ; and from both one and the other I shall draw very

freely;—subjoining references in confirmation of the documentary parts, and detailing some few stories of the old inhabitants, of which there is a plentiful supply.

Centuries gone by, this neighbourhood was not unfrequently favoured by the presence of Royalty. The greatest of England's great monarchs is reported to have held a very extensive range of land in this parish; and, in the county many royal villas, which he frequently visited. His friend, instructor, and biographer, whom he had invited from his hermitage or monastery in Wales, to aid him in the acquisition and diffusion of religious and general knowledge, tells us that his first visit to the King was at his royal ville¹ "*quæ dicitur Dene*"—that after a lapse of some months he was again honourably entertained by him at his royal ville² "*quæ dicitur Leonaforð.*" By his will King Alfred gave to his cousin or kinsman, Ditchling, by the name of Deccalingum. The will runs thus—"Et Osfertho cognato meo do villas de Beccaule, et de Rotheranfield, et de Deccalingo. . . . necnon et omnes terras ad illas pertinentes." This takes us back to very early times of England's history. Indeed, the name of this place carries on its fore-front an evidence of its antiquity, and helps to prove the fact that a royal park once formed a part of this parish. It is variously written in old records as, "Dickninge," "Dycheninge," "Dychelinge," and "Decelinges;" which seem to spring from the Saxon "Dyce," or "Dykening." Now this word Dyke is quite familiar to North-country people, as signifying any kind of partition or separation of land, whether it be by a wall of earth or stone, a ditch of water, or fence of paling; and this word "Dycheninge," now transmuted into "Ditchling," alludes not improbably to the Royal Parks belonging to the Saxon or Norman Kings here, which were fenced round, and so gave name to this place.³

From Osferth, the Park came back into the royal possession, for we read in Domesday Book that King Edward held it.

¹ "His temporibus ego quoque a rege advocatus de occidente et ultimis Britanniae finibus ad Saxoniam adveni ibique illum in villâ regiâ, quæ dicitur Dene, primitus visi. Asserius, De rebus gestis Alfredi," p. 487. Mon. Hist. Brit. Petrie.

² "Cum igitur ad eum advenissem in villâ regiâ quæ dicitur Leonaforð." Ibid p. 488.
³ It was probably within this ancient royal park that Edward Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward II.) kept his stud. See Mr. Blaauw's paper in Suss; Arch; Coll; II. 32.

It is well known that before the Norman William came to our shores, to claim the crown which Edward had bequeathed to him, and which Harold, Godwin's son, had usurped, William de Warren had married, or was the accepted suitor of his daughter Gundrada, and that he accompanied him to England in his successful expedition, not only in the capacity of a valiant fellow-soldier, but also in the position of a near relation. We cannot then be surprised, that in the distribution of the land the King was unbounded in his liberality to his son-in-law, and that no mean share of the forfeited possessions of the brave, but unfortunate, Harold was awarded to the husband of the King's daughter; and so⁴ history tells us that William the Conqueror included Ditchling in the territory which he lavished on his son-in-law, William de Warren, in whose family it continued many years. He was descended from an ancient family of Normandy, St. Martin by name; Warren being, according to the copy of a MS. in the Heralds' Office—"in that part of France, which was Neustria, now Normandy; it belonged to the noble family in France named 'de Sancto Martino.'"⁵

This William de Warren, at the instigation no doubt of his noble Countess, gave and confirmed to God and St. Pancras, and the Monks of Lewes, in pure and perpetual charity, a free pasturage at Ditchling for their cattle, with his own.

Again, at the close of the reign of Richard II (1398), the Confirmation charter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to the Monks and Monastery of St. Pancras, Lewes, contains recitals of almost all that had been given to Lewes Priory by the first and second Earls of Warren, and by the several freeholders holding under them, among whom was the ancestor of the present possessor, the⁶ Earl of Abergavenny.

The confirmation part of this grand charter notices, that

⁴ Mr. Rowe, in his MS. history of the Manorial Customs of the Barony of Lewes, mentions Ditchling first, as once in the possession of the Earl of Warren.

⁵ For Mr. Lower's account of Bellencombe Castle, the seat of the De Warrens in Normandy, see *Suss: Arch: Coll: Vol. III*, pp. 29 to 34.

⁶ George Nevil, Lord Abergavenny, by his deed, dated June 27 (2 Henry VIII), 1511, enfranchised Andrew Borde, son of John Borde, his native or villain, belonging to his Manor or Lordship of Dychevinge, in the county of Sussex, and him the said Andrew Borde made free from all bondage, villinage, and servile condition. For an account of the Borde family, and the "Merry Andrew," see *Suss: Arch: Coll: Vol. VI*, pp. 197 to 214; also a subsequent paper in the present volume.

the Priory of Lewes came to the hands of King Richard II., by the forfeiture of Richard, then Earl of Arundel and Surrey ; and that the same King, by his letters patent, granted the Castle, Priory, Barony, and Manor of Lewes, unto this Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and his heirs, upon the attainder and execution of the said Earl of Arundel, sacrificed by a faction of which the Duke was the head, although he had married the Lady Fitz-Alan, one of the Earl's daughters. This accounts for the existence of this Confirmation Charter, but in it mention is made of a grant of Ditchling not by the first, but by the second Earl, his son. It runs thus:—

“As I was desirous and ought (as it seemed to me) on my part to increase my father's alms and mine for the safety of his and my mother's and my own soul I appointed and gave to God, and St. Pancras, and the Monks thereof for ever (and here is a long enumeration until we come upon) the Church of Dychening with one hide of land and the garden with the houses and land which are between the two highways.

According to a deed in the Monast. Anglic. the Church of Ditchling was given with a hide of land to the Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, by William, the second Earl “pro Rainaldo fratre suo, ad opus anniversarii Rainaldi.” Dug. Mon. Anglic. fol. 908b.

This gift made by the second Earl, was confirmed by Seffrid II. Bishop of Chichester, consecrated in 1180, died 1204, by an instrument now amongst the Episcopal records of Chichester ; which after the preamble goes on thus:—

“We grant and confirm, and by our Episcopal authority strengthen, to the said Monastery and Monks there for ever serving God, all the Churches and Tythes, and all the Ecclesiastical goods, which in the times of our predecessors unto our own times, they have possessed.”

Amongst which Dicheninge is enumerated. Again—

“Manerium de Dicheninge cum Parco voc: Dycheninge Park, cont. 300 ac. extended parcel of Lewes Barony, Beatrice Comitissae Arundele.”⁷

In another deed in the Bishop's registers, dated 1392, the property of the Priory in Ditchling is thus described:—

“A portion of the tythes of sheaves, hay, and pigs, of the Manor of the Earl of Arundel, with the small tythes of some of his tenants ; and with a portion of the tythes of sheaves of the land called Anthony's land, Daw's land, and Stochfysche ; and a portion of the tythes of Frekebergh.”

With the exception of Frekebergh now called Frankborough, and perhaps Stockfysche now called the Stocks, I am unable

⁷ Tower Rec. Nos. 27, 28. 18 Hen. VI.

to identify these lands. Ditchling-Garden Manor belonged to the priory of Lewes.

Some disputes having arisen in the year 1392 as to the right of the Priory to the Churches of Patcham, Ditchling, with the Chapel of Wivelsfield annexed, and Westthotly, Richard (Mitford) Bishop of Chichester, upon the occasion of a visitation of the Priory in that year, (July 2nd) summoned the different parties before him, and after hearing the evidence on both sides, confirmed these churches to the Prior and Monks of St. Pancras. (Reg. c. fol. 81.)

From the Register of Lewes Priory we learn that Alfrey de Falmer sold to John Todeherste a moiety of his mill, on the lands of the Monks of Lewes at Ditchling, for 8 marks and 5 shillings. The witnesses are Hugh de Plumpton, Philip de Rottingdean, Alexander de Ditchling, Alexander, son of Sade, &c. The deed is without date.

The following case of assault connected with Ditchling and its immediate neighbourhood, which took place in the reign of Edward I., is recorded in the Hundred Rolls, Vol. II. p. 213. It is there reported that upon the occasion of some official visit made by Matthew de Hastings, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex the 1st of Edward I. (1272), to the neighbourhood of Ditchling, when he came below Hayle (Hayley in Westmeston) there met him on the King's highway John de Niwent, Master of the Foresters of Clers, and Walter de Haldeleye, Master of the Foresters of Waldon, who arrested the progress of himself and his men, and, forcibly took their arms from them, and carrying them off, still retained them. After this, when the sheriff sent his horse to Dichening to be shod, Walter Parker, of Dichening, accompanied by other men of the parish, beat and wounded the boy riding upon it, and deprived him of an implement of iron (*de quâdam gorgeriâ ferri*) and other things. And as the sheriff proceeded onwards, and had arrived at Pokehole, John Bacun, with his own men and the Foresters of the Earl of Warenne, met him in the King's highway, and again arresting his progress, violently forced from his custody Amicia, the wife of William Hocote, and carried her, together with the horse on which the sheriff rode, to the house of Master John de Ferryng, at Chiltoning; at whose instigation, and that

of Alexander de Shyre, the assault is declared to have been perpetrated.

As these visits of the sheriff were seldom made, except for the purpose of some obnoxious exercise of his authority, we cannot be surprised to find that they were often met by very violent opposition, on the part of the residents of the neighbourhood thus officially visited. Other instances of opposition and assault are recorded to have happened to the same sheriff in the performance of his duty in this neighbourhood; but no other in which Ditchling was concerned.

We may now venture to reach on to the days of Henry VIII. who, we all know, was especially generous in appropriating others' rights to himself, as well as in giving to others, what was his only by right of plunder.

This many-wived Monarch acted in this respect with right royal liberality towards one, who, as he civilly said,⁸ was

"Willing to yield to the laws of the realm, to discharge even her own conscience from this pretended marriage, to enjoy her own liberty, and to remain in our kingdom." And so, taking into consideration these things, he gave to her what he had plundered from the church—"manors, and lands, and tenements, for the sustentation, maintenance, and augmentation of the noble rank of Lady Anne, of Cleves," amongst which was included the "Manor of Ditchling with all and every of its members and appurtenances, besides all those our rectories of (with others enumerated) Dychening, lately belonging or appertaining to the Monastery of Lewes, or parcels of the same Monastery, and the rents of assize to our said Rectory of Ditchling, in our said County of Sussex."

In which deed of gift Dycheninge and its possessions, whether in land, or tenements, or tythes, or advowson, as belonging or appertaining to the Monastery of Lewes, are enumerated over and over, and over again; so that whatever, by the piety of its original founder, had been dedicated to God and God's service, was, by the rapacity of this licentious monarch, appropriated as a dower for one of his repudiated and maltreated queens; and, thus, Ditchling, with its pastures and other possessions, was vested in Anne of Cleves.

In various parts of the parish objects of interest present themselves to us.

If we turn our steps southward, a steep winding ascent, called "The Bostall,"⁹ will bring us to the highest point of ground in the County of Sussex, the summit being 858 feet

⁸ Grant of Henry VIII. to Lady Anne, of Cleves.

⁹ For an account of the Saxon derivation of Bostall, see Vol. II., p. 292, note 7.

above the level of the sea. Here are the remains of a Roman encampment of considerable extent, the entrenchments of which are still in a tolerably perfect state. The original approach to it exists to the west of the present comparatively modern road. It consists of a narrow fosse-way cut to the depth of about 12 or 14 feet, so as to be a complete protection, and from it, about half-way up the hill, the way branches off to the right for about one hundred yards, running round a high mound of earth formed by the accumulation of soil when the way was made, and returning nearly to the same point again. This was manifestly done for the purposes of observation, for it happens at a point of the Downs, the nearest to the adjacent coomb to the west, so that when you reach this coomb, with which the way was evidently intended to communicate, a most extensive view of the Weald of Sussex breaks in upon you. A more complete point of western observation cannot well be conceived.

Here too, in later times, was erected a Beacon, the blazing fires of which, in days gone by, were intended, had it been needful, to have communicated important information of the approach, the landing, or the position of an invading army to its nearest northern neighbour erected on Crowborough Mount; and from thence, by a continued line of beacons, the news would have been passed onwards till it reached the metropolis. Happily, however, their services were rarely required.

The Downs form a bold and distinct feature in the scenery of this neighbourhood, and with the ever-varying light and shade on their slopes, this extensive range of hill and dale presents a very pleasing picture to the eye.

It may not be altogether alien to the subject of this paper to record, *en passant*, the almost forgotten existence of a chalybeate spring on Ditchling Common, which in days of yore was frequently visited for medicinal purposes, and which in our own days, has this peculiar property, that, in the wettest season it never overflows, nor in the time of drought does it ever fail. In the immediate neighbourhood of this spring, was found, some years ago, a brass celt; and near it several masses of molten copper; one of which, weighing nearly half a stone, bears distinctly the form of a crucible; from which we

may reasonably infer that the manufacture of celts was carried on hereabouts. This celt and a coin of Tiberius, the only Roman coin known to have been found in this neighbourhood, are no longer in the possession of any inhabitant of Ditchling.

A coin of James I. and several silver spoons were found at the north-western extremity of the parish, about thirty years ago, in grubbing up the stump of an old tree; where they had doubtless been deposited for safety during the troublous times of the Commonwealth. The spoons are of the Apostle shape and are marked on the top, which is silver-gilt, with the letters $\frac{G}{H}$. These are probably the initials of John and Jane Godman, of Oathall, Wivelsfield, by the marriage of whose only child with William Shirley, Esq., the estate passed into that family, and since into the family of Tanner, of More House. Thomas Godman built the present house in 1600, as appears by his initials and this date in front of it. The spoons and coin are now in the possession of N. Borrer, Esq., of Pakyns, Hurstpierpoint.

At the northern extremity of the parish, near the turnpike road leading from Ditchling to Wivelsfield, are the remains of a gibbet, known as Jacob's Post; Jacob Harris being the name of a Jew pedlar who committed a very barbarous murder near the spot. Being convicted, he was hanged at Horsham, and afterwards brought and suspended in chains here in 1734.

This Jew, having put up his horse at the public house close by, attacked his host, a person named Miles, whilst he was engaged in cleaning his horse, and cut his throat. In the same way he destroyed the servant maid, who, it is supposed, had been disturbed by the noise in the stable, and was descending the staircase to see what was the matter. He then went up stairs and cut the throat of poor Miles' wife, who was lying on a sick bed. Both the women died the same night, but Miles lived long enough to identify the murderer. The memory of this atrocious act is kept alive in the neighbourhood, by some rude verses still preserved among the people, which conclude thus:—

“ At Horsham gallows he was hanged there,
The 31st of August that same year;
And where he did the crime, they took the pains,
To bring him back and hang him up in chains;
It is a dismal sight for to behold,—
Enough to make a heart of stone run cold.”

Some few years ago—at the western extremity of the parish, the foundations of a mansion house were discovered, which is supposed to have been the residence to which the park was attached. Nothing was discovered to enable us to assign a date to the house, except some paving tiles of a pattern quite unique, and of the time of Henry VIII. Two perfect types, with many fragments of others, are now in the possession of the Rev. Edward Turner, rector of Maresfield. One of the tiles is in the same rough state as when it came from the hands of the maker; the other is perfectly smooth from being frequently trodden on; the figure upon it, thus brought out most distinctly, being singularly beautiful. As these tiles, with an account of their discovery, will probably form the subject of a paper in some future volume of our Collections, I shall say no more of them here.

That Ditchling was, in earlier ages, a place of much greater importance than it is at the present time, is evident from the fact that John de Warren, Earl of Surrey (1312), sought and obtained from the King¹⁰ a grant for a weekly market at this his Manor on Tuesday; and a fair, which was to last three days, viz., the eve, the day, and the morrow, of the Feast of St. Margaret the Virgin (July 19th, 20th, and 21st).

How and when this market and fair came to be disused we know not; possibly to supply this neglect, the two fairs which are now held here annually—one on the 6th April, the other on the 12th October—were established.

There are four Manors in Ditchling, viz.,—(1), Ditchling Manor, which is held by the Earl of Abergavenny; (2), Ditchling Rectory, or ¹¹Dimock's Manor, which is held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; (3), Ditchling-Garden Manor, which is held by James Ingram, Esq.; (4), Camois-Court Manor, which is held by Captain Richardson.

Ditchling, at the time of the Norman Survey, is stated to have been in the Hundred of Soanberge, now Swanborough.

Of the 181 burgesses declared in that ancient and invaluable record to have then belonged to the Borough of Lewes, six were attached to the Manor of Ditchling, and paid

¹⁰ The Charter is preserved among the Rot. Cart. of the Tower.—6th Edw. II., No. 66.

¹¹ Might not the Ditchling Rectory Manor have been called Dimock's, from its having belonged to John Dymock, one of the Jurors in the nonæ return?

its Lord forty-three pence per annum. There were also 180 *hagæ*, or houses with shops, in this borough, many of which belonged to manors and freeholds in the neighbourhood.¹² Of these none are particularized in Domesday, except eleven which are assigned to Ditchling Manor, and which paid its Lord twelve shillings a year.

Both the improper and appropriate tithes are in the hands of the Lay-Rector, having been purchased by him of the late possessor of Oldland, who held them on lease for three lives under the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Chichester. A few years ago he became possessed of them in perpetuity by purchase from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The vicarage is now in the gift of the Lord Chancellor. By the Act, 3 and 4 Vict., c. 113, the right of presentation to the livings belonging to the suppressed prebendal estates was vested in the Bishop, subject to the provisions of 6 and 7 William IV.

When, therefore, the patronage of the Cathedral Chancellorship was suppressed, the living of Ditchling, aforetime a part of it fell to the Bishop, who, according to a scheme prepared by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in accordance with the above mentioned Act, 6 and 7 William IV., and which scheme received the approval of Her Majesty in Council, May 15th, 1852, was called upon to cede to other Bishops the right of presentation to a number of livings, whose aggregate value should reach a certain amount. Among these, Ditchling was given up to the Bishop of Oxford, who has since exchanged it with the Crown for other preferment in his own diocese; and so the living of Ditchling is now in the gift of the Lord Chancellor. All rights, other than the presentations which attached to the several prebendal stalls, fell to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who thus became Lords of the Ditchling Rectory, or Dimock's Manor.¹³

Such is the history of Ditchling as we have been able to

¹² How it was that Hagæ came to belong to manors and freeholds, I have never seen satisfactorily explained.

¹³ The Ditchling Rectory, or Dimock's Manor, is belonging to and a part of the improper Rectory; and lands held of it by copy are called "the Glebe Lands" thereof; and in the leases made of the Rectory by the Chancellor, the said Manor hath been from time to time excepted in the last lease made of the Rectory, and so to be in present possession as aforesaid.—BURRELL MSS.

collect it, from which it may easily be imagined, that many wondrous stories would arise, and that they would lose nothing by frequent repetition. As we shall see in the sequel, this was the case, and yet whilst the recorded facts may be the parents of these oft-told tales, the legends themselves help to strengthen the history; and although what is so handed down to us must be received "*cum grano*," I suppose we shall none of us be inclined to do such violence to the veracity of that "*venerable chronicler*," the oldest inhabitant, as to shrug our shoulders at the recital, and to mutter very knowingly, "*Credat Judæus*."

The Church is a very conspicuous object to all the surrounding country. It is not known with any certainty to what saint it is dedicated. Lewis's Topographical Dictionary says to St. Margaret, which seems to be confirmed by the fact of the ancient chartered fair being held on the day dedicated to this saint.

It is situated on rising ground in the heart of the village, and for architectural beauty and imposing effect would be unrivalled if duly restored. In all the deeds of an early date referring to Ditchling, it is invariably described as "*Dychening with the chapel of Wivelsfield annexed*." Wivelsfield, then, was originally a chapel of ease to Ditchling; but was separated, and became an independent church, by an ordinance of Bishop Praty sometime between 1438 and 1445.

It is cruciform, and belongs to the 13th century. It is generally admitted to be a very beautiful specimen of the Early English style: the just proportions and adaptation of the different parts, and of the minutest details and mouldings, will amply repay a careful study of them. The chancel has some peculiarities worthy of notice. On each side of the East window is a niche; the one is trefoil, the other cinquefoil, but surmounted with an ogee. A single shaft runs up on each side of the three-light window, with a bell-shaped capital, covered with foliage, curling gracefully over, beneath the upper mouldings of the capital. The same character of shaft runs before the jambs. In the North wall is a trefoil-headed niche. The piscina is cinquefoil, and by the side of it is a locker, (probably an aumbry) beyond which is a stone seat under a plain pointed arch.

It is a peculiar feature of this chancel that the original

pillars and shafts are of chalk; and the exquisite workmanship of the ornamental parts of the tracery, the headings, the mouldings, &c., may still lay claim to unrivalled beauty of execution. The three lancet windows in the North wall deserve particular mention. The splay is unusually large: the mouldings are plain round members, relieved by deep narrow hollows, and their appearance is very bold and effective. Slender detached shafts, surmounted by small knots of foliage, adorn the sides of these windows.

The drip-stone or label over two of the windows terminates with corbel heads, also of chalk; in the third is no corbel. A circular string-course runs horizontally below the windows, but internally only. The doorway has no ornament whatever about it, but the mouldings, which consist of bold rounds and deep hollows, produce very striking effects. Internally it is almost hidden by a pew, and outside it is nearly stopped up by the accumulation of soil against it.

Many of the family of Turner, of Oldland, in the adjoining parish of Keymer, as I have already said, formerly possessors of the impropriate tythes, have found a last resting place in the chancel. Oldland has been the residence of this family since the 34th of Henry VIII., when it was purchased of the Michelbournes by John Turner. In that year John Michelbourne conveys to John Turner "*certas terras vocatas Oldland in Keymer, cum mansione, &c.*"

The tithes of Ditchling were purchased of Sir Richard Michelbourne in 1637, by Thomas Turner, grandson of the above John. Having thus become possessed of the chancel, he was the first to be buried in it, and from that time it became the burial place of the Turner family.

To collect monumental memorials of the dead, and more particularly of such as have long been resident owners of property in a parish or neighbourhood, has of late been considered a part of the duty of our Society. I will, therefore, here give copies of the inscriptions on the slabs of such of this family as are interred in the chancel. That to the memory of the above Thomas Turner is as follows:—

"Here lyeth buried the body of Thomas Turner, late of Keymer, aged fowr score and fowr years. He departed this life the aythe day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1671."

Whether his wife, whose maiden name was Smythe, and who died Oct. 2nd, 1664, was buried in the chancel, there is no incised slab to show. That she lies interred by the side of her husband, with whom she had lived in wedlock fifty-five years, and by whom she had twenty-three children, does not admit of reasonable doubt.

This Thomas Turner was one of the "Sessors" under the Subsidy Roll of the 19th of James I. (1621), and is himself the highest rated of any landowner in Keymer. See Vol. ix., p. 83.

Their son Thomas, who died in his father's life-time, is supposed to be the person alluded to in the following remains of a memorial:—

"Sonne of Thomas Turner, who dyed this life the 2nd of February, 1667."

He was the Incumbent of Keymer and Clayton, "having begun his Rectory," according to a memorandum entered in one of the Keymer Register Books, "the 20th of November, 1653."

The next memorial records the burial of Richard, brother of the preceding, and eldest son and heir of Thomas Turner. It is as follows:—

"Here lyeth buried the Body of Richard Turner, late of Oldland, in Keymer, who was the Sonne of Thomas Turner, being aged Sixtye four yeeres, and departed this life July 1st, Anno Domini, 1681."

His wife Frances, who was the daughter of the Rev. John Bysshe, Rector of Piecombe, and sister of Sir Edward Bysshe, Kt., Clarenceux, King-at-Arms, in the reigns of Charles I. and II., lies interred by his side.

The next inscription is to the memory of Richard, the eldest son of the above, and is as follows:—

"Here is interred the Body of Richard Turner, gentⁿ., late of Oldland in Keymer, who departed this life Oct. the 2nd, Anno Domini, 1720. *Ætatis suæ* 68."

By his side lies the body of his wife Sarah, who was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Chatfield, an old resident and landowner of Balcombe, and whose son, grandson, and great-grandson were successively rectors of that parish. This Richard was a Lieutenant in one of the six regiments, which (Clarendon tells us) John (afterwards Sir John) Stapley of

Patcham, was commissioned to raise at the time, and in furtherance of the restoration of Charles II.¹⁴

Two of their sons were also buried here, viz., Thomas, who was in holy orders, and Rector of West Hothly, having previously been the curate of Buxted, to Dr. Anthony Saunders, the Incumbent, and William, who is described on his tomb as "Citizen and Apothecary" of London," whose wife was a daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart., of Henham Hall, co. Suffolk, ancestor of the Earls of Stradbroke.

The next memorial is:—

"Herelyes the body of Richard Turner, of Oldland gent^l. eldest son of Richard and Sarah his wife, who departed this life the 14th of May 1748, aged 59 years."

He married Jane, youngest daughter of Thomas and Amy Gratwicke, of the Ham in Angmering, who died September 21st, 1728, aged 37 years, and is buried by the side of her husband. They had issue three sons and a daughter. Of the Sons, Richard, the eldest, and Thomas, the third, were buried in the Turner chancel, as the following memorials testify:

"Here lies the Body of Thomas Turner, youngest son of Richard and Jane his wife, who departed this life the 24th of feby. 1745, aged 21."

"Here lies the body Richard Turner of Oldland, gent^l. eldest son of Richard and Jane his wife, who departed this life the 17th of April 1754, aged 36 years."

This Richard having died a bachelor, his next brother, William, inherited, who was a Fellow Commoner of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and married Sarah, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward Wilson, rector of Westmeston and Ashurst, of the latter, for the long period of 63 years, of the former, not quite so long. William died June 26th, 1786, and his wife May 3rd., 1802. They were the last of the family buried within the walls of the Ditchling Chancel. The epitaph to William Turner's memory is as follows:

"In memory of William Turner, late of Oldland, in the Parish of Keymer, in the county of Sussex, gent^l. who was the second son and the survivor of the children of Richard Turner, formerly of Oldland, gent^l. by Jane his wife, before Jane Gratwicke, spinster, and died the 26th of June 1786, in the 66th year of his age."

He left five children, viz.—Mary Jane, who died unmarried; Thomas, who inherited; Sarah Frances, who married—first, Mr. Attree, of Ditchling, and secondly, Mr.

¹⁴ See Vol. II., p. 117.

Thompson, of London; Richard, who was in holy orders, and rector of Grately, in Hants; and Elizabeth Anne, who died unmarried.

Of these, Mary Jane, the eldest, and survivor of the family, who was well known in Ditchling for many years of her long life as Mrs. Mary Turner, died here in 1857, in a green old age, after a life of unostentatious charity, and uninterrupted striving after holiness for more than one hundred years; and whose simple conversation, and primitive manner of life, had a charm in them to win all eyes, and to warm all hearts. She is buried in the same grave with her youngest sister, in the churchyard, where suitable memorials mark the place of their repose. Thomas, Sarah Frances, and Richard, were not buried at Ditchling.

Another stone in the chancel, the only one not placed to the memory of one of the Turner family, marks the burial place of Dr. James Hougham (1700), and Mary, his wife (1688), who is described on it as "of the ancient family of the Culpepers."

By his will, dated Nov. 3, 1688, Thomas Turner bequeathed to his nephew, Roger Turner, a house and land in Ditchling, then leased to James Hougham, gentⁿ. which seems to account for Dr. Jas. Hougham and his wife being buried in the Turner Chancel. The Culpepers were of Wigsell, in Salehurst.

Between the two chancels there is also a slab whose inscription, from its position, is nearly effaced, but which I make out to be—

1598

HERE LIETH CONSTANC
HAYSE WIDOW WHO
DIED the 3. of JAN^y.

This accords with the register of the burial.

Between the two chancels there was a low coped wall, perhaps a parclose, about four feet high, in which an opening is left for access to each chancel from the other.

The East window of the South or Abergavenny Chancel is three-lighted, having angular jambs, and in the head three quatrefoils. A trefoil-headed piscina is in the south wall. There are two two-light windows in the same wall; the one with a cir-

cular arch, angular jambs, and a single quatrefoil in the head, having light shafts surmounted by clustered foliage, and ornamented with deep mouldings; the other without mouldings, and having an obtusely-pointed arch. The font, which is of chalk, is too small to admit of immersion: it is hexagonal, and stands on a hexagonal pillar. On the North wall of the nave is a small pointed recess. The square-headed window which is modern, is a fac-simile of the original one. The North transept is reported to have been built by the Ranger of the park, who inhabited the old house to which this chancel, is attached, (the West window exactly synchronizes with this date). At the north end of it there is a monument erected to his memory, with this inscription in capital letters: "Here lyeth Henry Poole, Esquier, who dyed the 28th daye of Marche A^o Dⁿi 1580." It is a mural half-table monument containing two shields of arms under niches of Grecian architecture. It is to be regretted that this memorial is now much obstructed by a pew.

On the East side of the chancel is a narrow lancet window of long and short work—now filled up.

The Registers contain baptisms of the following members of the Poole family:

1576 Frances. D^r. of Thos. Poole.

1590 Thomas, son of the same.

1590 Walter, son of Francis Poole;

which prove that there must have been more than one family of this name resident at Ditchling.

The tower (with which we will conclude our notes of the church) is surmounted by a shingled spire, and supported by four strikingly beautiful Gothic arches with elegant shafts and deeply cut mouldings.

The Nonæ return for this parish is as follows:

"This indenture witnesseth, that at an inquisition taken before Henry Huse, and his associates, collectors of the ninth of sheaves, wool, and lambs in the County of Sussex, at Lewes, on the feast of St. Gregory, the Pope, on the oaths of John Dymok, John at More, (Morehouse) John de Otchehall, (Oathall) and Richard Baker, parishioners of Ditchling, who say, that the ninth of the sheaves, wool, and lambs is worth this year 20s.; and that although the church is taxed at 25 mares, the Rectorial house with its curtilage, garden, and croft is valued at 6s. per annum; and that there are belonging to this church, arable and meadow lands, with pasturage for sheep and other animals, as glebe, which are worth 3^{li} 16s.; that the tithe of hay is worth 10s. and of doves 5d.; that the oblations of the chapel appertaining to the church (Wivelstfield ?) are worth 20s.: the tithe of fruits of gardens and curtilages, including flax and hemp, is worth 10s.; of calves, and pigs, and geese, and other small tithes,

10s. and of the pannage of hogs 20s. The sum total of which is 16^{li} 14s. 8d., which exceeds the taxation of the church by 16d. And they further declare, that the Prior of Lewes has a certain portion of the tithes of sheaves in the same parish, the worth of which is 45s per annum, and that there are no persons in the parish possessing chattels of the value of 10s but such as gain their livelihood by the cultivation of land. In witness whereof, &c."

In Pope Nicholas' taxation the church is valued at 25 mares. It is a discharged benefice, its clear yearly value according to the Liber Valorum being £47 0s. 8d., and the yearly tenths, to the payment of which the vicar is liable, £1 2s.

Besides the vicarial tithe, the vicarage is endowed with a small farm in the parish of Chiltington, whether by gift of some pious individual, or purchased by grants made at different times from Queen Anne's bounty, is not known.

The Registers commence in 1551, and though for the first few years they are rather faded, there is hardly one which, by diligent perseverance, might not be deciphered. The writing is singularly beautiful. The first entry of a funeral, after the Act passed in 1678, requiring the corpse to be wrapped in woollen, runs thus—

"Thomas the son of Richard Hayward and of Ruth his wife, was buried on the first of October, and on the fourteenth day of this instant month of October, affidavit was made before Thomas Beard, of Hurst-pierpoint, one of His Majesties Justices of the peace for the County of Sussex (y^t the above said Thomas Hayward, deceased, was buried according to the late above-mentioned Act of Parliament, for burying in woollen) by Ann Goddard, of the Parish of Ditcheling, sworn in the presence of Richard Hayward and Richard Morise, who were witnesses of the same, and have set thereunto their hands and seals in testimony thereof.

Octob: 8: 78: recorded by me,

John Nichols curat: *ibid*.

Besides this, three more are similarly registered. Afterwards it was sufficient to state that affidavit had been made, &c.

There are two instances in which the burial took place without the affidavit. In the one case the omission seems to have been overlooked, probably from the circumstance of its referring to an infant a few days old only, in the other the penalty of the law was inflicted—the first is

"1681.—A male infant of Michael Martin, unbaptized, buried Aprill 13, and no affidavit presented to me, as the Act appoints, within eight days after its burial."

The other—

"1688.—Mary, wife of Thomas Dansy of Keymer was buried on 12th of May, and no affidavit made, or brought to be recorded, y^t she was buried in woollen, according to y^e Act of Parliament for burying in woollen: and on 19th, I John Nicols sent out my information thereof to Thomas Beard, of Hurstpierpoint, Esqr, one of his Maj: Justices of y^e peace, delivering it to Nicholas Marchant of Ditchalling, one of y^e Church Wardens, to deliver to the above s^d Thos. Beard, &c., which he delivered

to him on May 24: and then he ordered Thomas Dansy to pay 50s. into the hands of the Overseers of Ditchalling, to distribute to the poore thereof."

I find nothing very particular or unusual recorded, except perhaps the following:—

"1698.—Mary, daughter of Edward Geer, junr, and of Mary his wife, baptized on March 27: born before the King's tax on births and burials."

In the case of illegitimate children, they were registered without any mention of the mother's name.

"1686.—Anne Brooker, filia populi, baptized May 18."

"1689.—John Wheeler, filius populi, baptized July 26."

And a funeral in like manner, thus—

"1713.—Filius populi, buried March ye 29th; affidavit made April ye 26th."

About this time, and onward, it was usual to insert the name of the mother, thus—

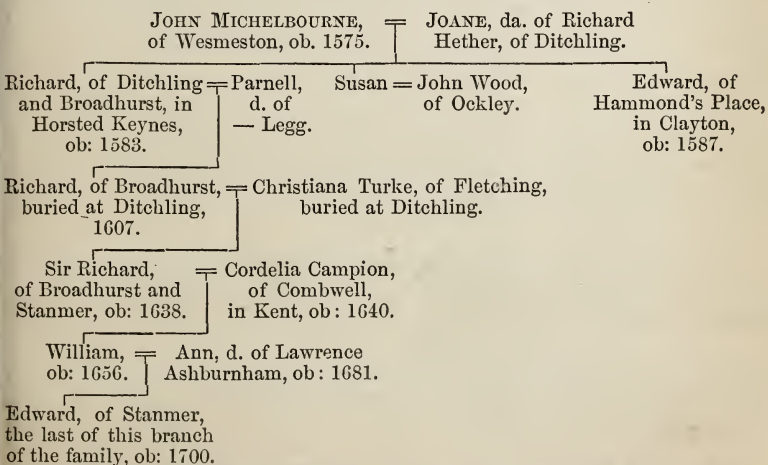
"1712.—William, son of Elizabeth Kneeler of Rottingdean, filius populi, baptized Aprill the 8th."

"1714.—Gatland, daughter of Mary Holder, filia populi, baptized Feburary the 27th."

It may not be amiss to give a copy of the following burial, the description being the only one throughout the whole registers which I find so recorded.

"1679.—Elizabeth Harris, virgin of Westmeston, buried Feb^r 17th, and affidavit made on 21st of the same month."

The following pedigree shews the connection of the Michelbourne family with Ditchling and its neighbourhood:—



Edward M., of Hammond's Place, married and had a son, Sir Edward M., also of Hammond's Place, who died in 1610.

Of Richard, the son of John Michelbourne, I find the registers of baptisms of the following children:—

1563 Richard—buried 1607.	1573 Anne—buried 1579.
1567 Hether—buried 1570.	1574 Henry.
1568 Mary.	1576 Thomas.
1569 Joane.	1578 Drew.
1572 Pamele—buried 1575.	

Besides the family of the Chatfields, well known in Ditchling as early residents, Richard Chatfeild or Chatfylde, as the name was sometimes spelt, being described as living here in 1547 (and he had a house at Treyford as well) there are registers of others of some standing in the neighbourhood.

“In 15.—Buried at Ditchling, Richard Hall, physician.”

“December 31, 1612.—Mrs. Anne Colborne, the wife of Mr. John Colborne, Esquier.”

“June 19, 1618.—Mrs. Mary Chambers, Wydow of Mr. Richard De la Chamber.”

The De la Chambres were an ancient family resident at Rodmell, descended from Sir Hugh de la Chambre, of Chambers' Court, in Laughton, who was living 6 Edward II. Chambers' Court in Littlington was long their residence in after times. The connection of these parties with Ditchling it would now be difficult to discover.

These two early wills of persons connected with the parish (kindly abstracted from the Lewes Registry by M. A. Lower, Esq.), may not be without their interest.

“16 Sept, 1545.—Nycholas Whytyng of the parishe of Dychenyng.

First Icomyt my sawle unto Almighty God, o^r Lady St. Mary, & all the company of hevyn, and my body to be buryed in the Church of Dychenyng. . . . Item, I bequeath unto the Mother Church of Chichester iiij^d.

Item to the Church of Dychenyng iijs iiij^d.”¹⁵

He calls John Mychelbourn his father-in-law, and mentions many of his other relatives. One of the witnesses is John Cooke, vicar of Dychenyng.

“25 Dec., 1549.—Stephen à Wood of Dychening, leaves his body to be buried in the Church or churchyard of Ditchling, and bequeaths as follows—To the poore men's box there iijs iiij^d; to Julyan my wife iiij kyne of the best she can chuse, and one horse beast, the best save one, and half my hoggs and di' (dimidium half) my bees. . . .

Also her third parte of all such howsehold stuff as she browght wth her." He mentions his godson Stephyn à Tree,¹⁶ his daughter the wyf of John Okenden, his son Stephyn Wood, and his son-in-law Richard Godley. He makes Mr. Thomas Nudygate the overseer of his will. Among the witnesses is Sir Peter Hale, Clerke.

For the following list of the incumbents of Ditchning, *alias* Ditchling, vicarage, extracted from the Episcopal Registers at Chichester, I am indebted to H. W. Freeland, Esq., M.P.

DATE OF ADMISSION.	INCUMBENTS.	HOW VACANT.	PATRONS.
... ..	John Chapman ... ..	... ..	... ..
1442 Dec ^r . 20...	John Rysshton	res. John Chapman	{ Prior and Convent of the Monastery of St. Pancras, Lewes, ord. Cluniac.
1444 Dec ^r . 15...	Ralph Wode	res. John Rysshton	The same.
1478... ..	Robert Funderay... ..	... ..	... ..
... ..	Richard Feyrher ... ..	... ..	... ..
1513 Aug ^t . 4 ...	John Geymyshe cap.	d. Rich ^d . Feyrher... ..	The same.
1514 Feb ^y . 13...	Sampson Michael	d. John Geymyshe	The same.
1534 Dec ^r . 28...	John Coke	res. Sampson Michael	The same.
1552 April 20	John Rose	d. John Coke... ..	{ The Lady Ann of Cleves.
„ Octob. 7	John Ferris	d. John Rose... ..	The same.
1554 Sept ^r . 22	Thomas Gurnell	dep. John Ferris	The same.
1565 June 9 ...	Humfry Higgons... ..	d.	{ William Bradbridge Rector.
1566 Jan ^y . 16...	Edw ^d . Linfeild	d. Humfry Higgons	The same.
17	Edward Denton ... ..	... ..	... ..
1589 April 26	Hugh Rawood	res. Edw ^d . Denton	{ John Threele of Arlyngton.
1604 July 31 ...	Anthony Mattock, A.B. ... ..	... ..	John Rootes.
1606 June 18...	Thomas Price, A.B.	res. Anth ^y . Mattock	John Sherrle.
1664 August 15	John Crumpe, A.M. ... ..	... ..	... ..
1666 January 9	William Willis ... ..	... ..	... ..
1674 March 30	John Parker, A.B.	d. William Willis... ..	{ William Saywell, Chancellor of the Cathedral.
1692 July 20 ...	John Nicholls ... ..	... ..	The Bishop by lapse.
1715 August 10	Elnathan Iver, A.B.	d. John Nicholls	{ John Wright, Chan- cellor.
1721 Dec ^r . 11...	William Lamb	d. Elnathan Iver	{ Rob ^t . Rawlinson, Chancellor.
... ..	Edward Powell ... ..	... ..	... ..
1746 June 3 ...	Daniel Walter	d. Edward Powell	The same.
„ Mar. 3 ...	Samuel Jefferis	cess. Dan ^l . Walter	The same.
1777 May 16 ...	Joseph Bailey	d. Sam ^l . Jefferis	{ Thomas Williams, Chancellor.
1794 Sept ^r . 5...	John Hanley, A.M.	d. Jos. Bailey	The same.
1795 May 19 ...	Thomas Hudson, LL.B.	cess. John Hanley	The same.
1820 March 27	Denny Ashburnham ... ..	... ..	{ John Ashburnham, Chancellor.
1843 Sept ^r . 28	Julius Nouaille, A.B....	d. Denny Ashburnham	The same.
1855 April 16	Tho ^s . Hutchinson, M.A.	d. Julius Nouaille	{ Samuel Lord Bp. of Oxford, in right of his see.

¹⁶ Hodie Attree.

¹⁷ 1583, August 22nd. Hen: Pye, presented by the Crown. See Vol. xii., p. 257—removed to Pesemarsch the following year.

The old timber-framed buildings at the western entrance of the village deservedly attract the attention of all visitors. They are the sole remaining evidence of the antiquity of the place. Whether they formed but one house, the part filling up the intermediate space having been removed, as some have rather absurdly imagined, the distance between the two houses being a sufficient refutation of the supposition, or whether they were a series of such houses, I shall not pretend to determine.

Here indeed history ends, and tradition begins. Very plentiful and often ludicrous are the stories current in the place, of which we shall omit the marvellous and allude only to the probable, which by various parties have been detailed to us, leaving the reader to assign to each such credit as his own judgment may accord to them. But first, there cannot, I think, be a question but that the range of these ancient buildings extended from one end to the other, for within the memory of many inhabitants, several of the intervening houses have been erected in the place of others of the same character as the old ones now remaining at each end.

The house at the western end is externally beautified. Of this, one person declared to me that it was built by Alfred, and when I told him that to be so "it must be more than one thousand years old," he seemed to see the fallacy of his own statement. Another asserted that Gundrada built it for stabling, and that Mr. Poole, whose monument is in the north transept of the church, was master of her hounds and was its first inhabitant, without for a moment considering that in that case he must have lived to a greater age than even Ditchling people ever attain unto, viz.,¹⁸ 500 years. Lastly, it has been thought to have been built by Anne of Cleves, and to have been the entrance to the park of which we have

¹⁸ The great age to which many people in Ditchling have lived is very remarkable. In accidentally opening the Register of Burials for the year 1857, I find, of sixteen funerals, there are registered—

	Infants	4
	Up to 20	0
Between	20 and 30	1
	30 and 40	0
	40 and 50	0
	50 and 60	0
	60 and 70	3
	70 and 80	2
	80 and 90	4
	90 and 100	1
	Above 100	1

before spoken, and the residence of the Ranger. As this date and the time of Anne of Cleves correctly synchronize, this tradition I take to be the nearest to the truth. Other wonderful stories are told, few of which will bear repetition, and these only to refute themselves.

A connection from the east to the west end of the village by an underground passage was at one time very fully believed, but this rumour had almost died away, when on the sinking of a well lately at the west end of the village, it was suddenly revived, from the circumstance that, in digging out the soil, the workmen suddenly came upon some old brick-work, and as the mason was putting together the new, he slipped into the shaft of the old well, which he supposed to be the subterraneous passage in question.

Among the letters of Edward Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., which are given in vol. ii., pp. 80 to 98, from a MS. in the Chapter-House Westminster, is one in which "Brother John de Burne and Sir Oliver de Willet, executors of the Lord Earl de Warren, are entreated, for the love they bear the Prince, to give assistance more speedily to John de Dycheninge, keeper of the Prince's colts (running at large probably in the Park), in those matters in which the said Lord Earl was bound to him concerning the time in which he had served him." The plain interpretation of which is, that he would be obliged to them to pay up the arrears of his groom's wages. It had been shewn in a previous letter that this Prince kept his stud of horses at Ditchling.

The farm which occupies the enclosure of the ancient Park is still called "the Park Farm."

Every story connected with this Park and the old timber-framed houses has reference either to Alfred, Gundrada, Anne of Cleves, or the Ranger; and these legends, however improbable, if not altogether impossible, tend nevertheless to confirm the opinion, that these great personages were directly or indirectly associated with this place.

LETTERS AND WILL OF DR. ANDREW BORDE.

By WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

THE meeting of our society at Pevensey seemed a fit occasion to mention some unpublished correspondence of the great worthy of that ancient town and port. The materials for the personal history of "Merry Andrew" are very scanty, and such as could be collected were ably given by Mr. Mark Antony Lower, in a former volume¹ of our Collections. The letters I now give afford us some valuable additions to our former knowledge of this celebrity; two were in the State-paper Office, but all are now among the records at the Rolls.

These letters show that in the year 1521, when Robert Sherbourn, Bishop of Chichester, was 80 years of age, Borge was named as suffragan bishop, but did not execute the office. He was a Presbyter of the Charter-House, and it is clear that his religious duties were not to his taste, for he avows that he was little able to abide the rigour of the rule, and he was dispensed of those duties in Prior Batmanson's days² (1529-1531), and that he then went over sea to school.

It was during this absence that he visited the countries mentioned in his "Boke of Knowledge." He went by Calais, Flanders, and Holland, to Constantinople, visiting part of Africa, and then back by Italy, passing into Spain, and thence through Normandy to England again. During his trip with pilgrims over-land to the shrine of St. James of Compostella,

¹ Vol. vi., p. 204. The second letter is reprinted to preserve the collection entire.

² John Batmanson succeeded Thos. Spencer, who died circ. 1529. Batmanson died 16th Nov., 1531, and was succeeded by John Howghton.

we find the first notice of his practice of physic, then somewhat unsuccessful; the account of the misery endured to very little purpose is very quaintly given, and he concludes by saying:³ "With great hunger we did come to Compostella, where we had plenty of meat and wine; but in returning through Spain, *for all the craft of physic that I could do*, they died all by eating of fruits and drinking water," adding most significantly for a Carthusian, "the which I did ever refrain myself."

The letters prove that Borde, when he came home, adhered to the old faith; returned to the Charter-House; was involved in the troubles caused by the refusal of the brethren there to take the oath of supremacy; was hard pressed by his fellows to adhere to his objections; and like others was imprisoned. At length a week after the Prior (John Howghton) had conformed, Andrew Borde, on 29th May, 1534, followed the Prior's example.⁴

In 1534 Thos. Cromwell was made Secretary of State and Master of the Rolls, and so continued till July, 1536, when he was made Privy Seal. The first three letters of Borde were therefore written between those two periods, and prove that immediately after taking the oath he started once more on his travels, observing well the feeling entertained towards his sovereign; and was at Bourdeaux on the 20th June, 1535. After coming back he went to Winchester, and at once communicated with Cromwell, who had a house close by at Bishop's Waltham, whither Borde was allowed to come once a quarter; and Borde lent him the history of his travels, which was lost. The "Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge" was a subsequent work, and is dedicated from Montpellier, 3rd May, 1542. The book itself, which was imprinted in black letter by William Coplande, is without date. Borde next went to the University of Glasgow, and wrote from Leith on 1st April, 1536, the characteristic and uncomplimentary letter which I read. Cromwell was still gracious to him. The Master of the Rolls when riding from Westminster called him to him, and subsequently heard his griefs about the loss of two horses, his debtors in London, the abuse he received as

³ The account is reprinted in the *Retrospective Review* for 1853, vol. i, p. 172.

⁴ Robert Smythe's *Historical Account of the Charter House*.

an apostate, and the charge which troubled him over and over again, and had been revived after 20 years, that he was not so chaste as monk should be.

The fall of Cromwell in 1540 may have injured Borde, as we find him at Montpellier in 1542; yet he continued, as his will shows, to hold houses at and about Winchester, with just sufficient furniture to satisfy the austere vows of a Carthusian, whilst the dedication of his "Boke of Knowledge" to the Princess Mary is evidence that he was not in great disfavour at Court. For seven years however we have no further notice of him, and his will, made on the 11th April, 1549, and proved on the 25th of the same month, describes him as then in the Fleet prison, where he died. The will has been referred to by Hearne and Lower; it has not, however, been printed at length, and I give it as an illustration of the state of Borde's worldly affairs.

Hearne⁵ thinks that Borde was the author of the popular story of *Tom Thumb*, not usually ascribed to him. The first letter was written to Borde's friend, Edmund Horde, the last prior of the Carthusian Priory of Henton, in Somersetshire, who surrendered his house on 31st March, 1540.

The third letter contains the earliest account of the introduction from Barbary into this country of Rhubarb (Rheum), and directions for its cultivation.

Venerable father, pre-cordially I comend me unto yow with thanks, &c. I desyre yow to pray for me, and to pray all your convent to pray for me, for much confidence I have in your preyers, & yff I wyst, the master prior off london, wold be good to me, I wold see yow more soner then yow be ware off. I am nott able to byd the rugorosite off your relygyon. Yff I myth be suffreyd to do what I myth with outt interupcyon, I can tell what I had to do, for my hartt ys ever to your relygyon, and I love ytt & all the persons in them as Jesus knowth me and kepp yow.

Yowrs for ever, A. BORD.

(Addressed)

To the ryght venerable father prior
off Hynton be this byll delyveryd.

The next letter is to Secretary Cromwell from Bourdeaux, and was sent by the servant of Sir Thos. Arundell.

After humly salutacyon, acordyng to my dewte coactyd, I am (causeys consideryd) to geve yow notycyon of certyn synysterall matters contrary to our realme of ynglond, speccially ayenst our most armipotentt, perpondentt, circonspecte, dyscrete, & gracyose sovereyng lord the Kyng. For sens my departyng from yow, I have

⁵ Reliq.: Ed. Bliss, p. 822.

perlustrated normandy, frawnce, gascony, and leyon ; the regions also of castyle, byscaie, spayne, parte of portyngale and returnyd thorow Arogon, Naverne, and now am att burdyose. In the whych partyes, I hard of dyverse credyble persons of the sayd countryes and also of rome, ytale, and alman, that the pope, the emprowre, and all other crystyn kyngs, with ther peple (the french kyng except) be sett ayenst our sovereyne lord the kyng: upon the whych in all the nacyns that I have travellyd a greatt army & navye y^s prepanyd: and few frendys ynglond hath in theys partes of Europe, as Jesus your lord knowth, who ever have your master and yow with the hole realme under hys wynges of tussyon from burdyose the xx day of June by the hond of your sarvantt and bedman

ANDREW BOORD.

I humyly & precordially desyre your mastershepp to be good master (as yow ever have byn) to your faythfull bedmen, master prior of the cherter howse of london, and to master doctor horde, prior of hinton.

(Addressed)

To hys venerable master,
Master Thomas Cromwell,
Secretory to our sovereyngne
lord the kyng be this byll delyveryd.

After Borde's return he thus wrote from London to the Secretary and Master of the Rolls:

Honorable Syr, after humly salutacyon, I certyffy yow that sens I wrott to your mastershepp from burdyuse by ye servantt off Sir John Arundell in Cornwall, I have byn in dyvers regyons & unyversytes for lernyng, and I asseure yow the unyversytes of orlyance, pyctauensys, Tolosa, mowntpyller, & the reverend father off the hed charterhowse, a famuse clark & presidentt of the unyversyte off parys, doth hold with our sovereyne lord the kyng, in his acts, that in so much att the vysytacyon off our lady last past in tolosa in the cheff skole callyd petractoryensis, the kyng of Naverr and his qwene beyng presentt, the gretyst articles that any cowld lay agenst our nobyll kyng were disputyd & dyffynyd to the honor of our noble kyng as I shall shew yow att my comyng to yow. I was in cathalonya when the emprowre tok sheppynge in to barbary, the which emprowr with all other kyngs in the courtes of whom I have byn, be our redoubtyd kynges frends & lovers; incyppentt persons doth spek after ther lernyng & wytt. Certyffying your mastershepp after my laboure I am syk, or els I wold have come to yow & putt my self fully in to your ordynance; as sone as I am any thyng recoveryd I shall be att your comaundmentt in all causis, god succouryng, who ever kepp yow in helth & honor.

By your bedman, ANDREW BORD prest.

I have sentt to your mastershepp the seeds of reuberbe, the which come owtt of barbary, in thes partes ytt ys had for a grett trespure. The seeds be sowne in march thyn, and when they bee rootyd they must be takyn upp and sett every one off them a foote or more from a nother and well watered, &c.

(Addressed)

To the right honorable Esquyre Master Thomas
Cromwell, hygh Secretory to our sovereyne
lord the kyng and Master of Rolls be thes
lettres dyrectyd.

(Endorsed)

Andrew bord, prest.
How king H. 8 is well esteemed
in fraunce & other natyons.

This is followed by a letter, which doubtless led to the permission to visit Cromwell at Bishop's Waltham.

After humyle salutacyon with dew reverence. Accordyng to my promyse by my letters maade at burdyose and also att london, the presentt month

dyrectyd to your mastershepp, I Andrew Boorde somtyme monk of the charterhowse of london, am come to your mastershepp commynttyng me fully in to goddis hands and yours to do with me whatt your wyll. As I wrott to your mastershepp, I browth letters from by yend see, but I have not nor wyll nott delyver them unto the tyme yow have seen them, and knowyng the over plus of my mynd; I have suffyeyentt record that the prior off charterhowse off london last beyng, off his own meere mocyon, gave me lycence to departe from the relygyon; whereuppon I wentt over see to skole, and now I dyd come home by the grawnte charterhowse, wher y was dyspensyd of the relygyon in the prior batmansons days. Att the said howse, in the renewyng that lycence, I browth a letter, yow to do wyth me and ytt what yow wyll, for I wyll hyd nothyng from yow be yt wyth me or agenst me. I was also xv. yeress passyd dyspensyd wyth the relygyon by the bishopp of Romes bulls, to be suffrigan off Chychestre, the which I never dyd execute the auctore. yett all that notwythstondyng I submytt myselff to yow, and yff yow wyll have me to that relygyon, I shall do as well as I can, god succouryng, who ever keppe your mastershepp in properuse helth and honor

By your bedman the sayd ANDREW, prenomynatyd.

(Addressed)

Suo Honorifico Magistro Thome
Cromell Armigero, sumo Secretio
serenissimo nro regi henrico octavo
Magistro rotulorm dignissimo, hae
littere sint tradende.

The letter is not dated, but the allusion to the vacancy in the office of prior of the Charter-House enables me to fix 1st April, 1536, as the date of the letter. The visitation of the Charter-House began in April, 1534. The inmates refused to take the oath of supremacy, whereupon John Howghton, the prior, and Humphrey Midylmore, the procurator, were imprisoned in the Tower. After a month's confinement they took the oath, and on the 29th of May a certificate of conformity was given. On the 6th of June, Andrew Boorde, one of the presbyters, as we have seen (with others) also conformed. A year afterwards, (April, 1535), the same prior with two other Carthusian priors, a monk of Sion, and the vicar of Isleworth, were convicted of high treason. On the 27th April Howghton, and on the 4th of May the others were drawn, hanged, and quartered. In the next month, Humphrey Midylmore, the procurator, and two monks, William Exmew and Sebastian Newdigate, were also apprehended, condemned, and executed.⁶ On 18th June, Smythe, without giving his authority, states that A. Borde had discovered that his age was at variance with the rules of the order, and that the confined air of his cell was injurious to his

⁶ Smythe's Charter House, p. 87.

health. He therefore quitted the habit, and advised his brethren to submit to the king.

After humly salutacyon, with dew reverence I certyfy your mastershepp that I am now in Skotland, in a lytle unyversyte or study namyd Glasco, wher I study and practyce physyk as I have done in dyvers regyons and provynces for the sustentacyon off my lyvyng; assewryng yow that in these partes that I am yn, the kynges grace hath, many ye (a) and in manner all manner of persons (exceptt some skolastycall men) that be hys adversarys and spekyth parlyus wordes. I resortt to the Skotysh kynges howse, and the Erle of Aryn, namyd Hamylton,⁷ and to the Lord Ewyndale, namyd Stuerd, and to many lords and laydes, as well spyrytuall as temporal, and truly I know their mynds, for they takyth me for a Skotysh man's sone, for I name my selff Karre, and so the Karres callyth me cosyn, thorow the which I am in the more favor. Shortly to conclude, trust yow no Skott, for they wyll youse flatterying wordes, and all ys falshood.

I suppose, verily, that yow have in ynglond by yend x thowsand Skotts and innumerable other alyons, which doth (speccially the Skotts) much harme to the kynges leege men thorowh their evyll wordes; for as I wentt thorow ynglond I mett, and was in company off, many rurall felows, englyshmen, that love nott our gracyose kyng. Wold to Jesu that some wer ponyshyd to geve others example; wolde to Jesu also that yow had never an alyon in your realme, speccially Skotts, for I never knew alyon good to ynglond, exceptt they knew profytt and lucre shold oo⁸ to them. In all the partes off Crystyndom that I have travylled in, I know nott V ynglyshmen inhabitants, exceptt only skolers for lernyng.⁹ I pray to Jesu that alyons do in ynglond do no more harme to ynglond. If I myght do ynglond any servyce, speccially to my sovereyn lord the kyng, or to yow, I wold do ytt, to spend and putt my lyff in danger and juperdy as far as any man, God be my juge. Yow have my hartt, and shal be sure of me to the uttermost off my poer power, for I am never able to mak yow amendes, for wher I was in greatt thraldom, both bodyly and goostly, yow off your gentylnes sett me att lyberte and clernes off conseynce. Also I thank your mastershepp for your grett kyndnes, that yow shewde me att Bishopp's Waltam, and that yow gave me lycense to come to yow ons in a quartter. As sone as I come home, I pretende to come to yow to submytt my self to yow to do with me what yow wyll. For, for lak of wytt, peradventure I may in thys wrettyng say what shall nott contentt yow; but god be my judge Imene trewly both to my soverygne lord the kyng and to yow. When I was keppt in thrawldom in the Charter Howse, and knew nother the kyng's noble acts, nor yow then stultycyntly thorow synystrell wordes I dyd as many of that order doth, butt after that I was at lyberte manifestly I appersevyd the yngnorance and blyndnes that they and I was yn; for I could never know no thyng of no manner off matter, butt only by them, and they wold cause me wrett full incyppently to the Prior of London, when he was in the Tower before he was putt to executyon; for the which I trust your mastershepp hath pardonyd me, for god knowith I was keppt in prison straytly, and glad I was to wrett at theyr request, but I wrott nothyng that I thought shold be a genst my prince nor yow nor no other man. I pray god that yow may provyd a good prior for that place of London; for truly ther be many wylfull and obstynatt young men that stondyth to much in their owne consayt, and wyll not be reformed, butt playeth the chyldryn, and a good prior wold so serve them lyke chyldryn. News I have to wrett to yow, butt I pretende to be with yow shortly, for I am halff wery off this

⁷ James, son of the second Lord Hamilton, and of Mary, daughter of James II. of Scotland, was created Earl of Arran in August, 1503, and died s.p.

⁸ "So," or "cum," the word is uncertain: it is written over the word "be," which is erased.

⁹ In the 7th chapter of his "Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge," he says—"I have travelled round about Christendom, and out of Christendom, and I did never see nor know 7 Englishmen dwelling in any town or city in any region beyond the see, except merchants, students, and brokers, not there being permanent nor abiding, but resorting thither for a space."

baryn contry, as Jesu Cryst knowth, who dyd keppe yow in helth and honor. From Leth a myle from Edynborouh, the fyrst day off Apryll by the hand off your poor skoller and servantt

Andrew Borde prest

(Addressed)

To the right Honable. Esqre.

Mr. Thomas Cromwell, Hygh Secretory to the Kyng's grace.

Sealed with a seal, I. C.

The last letter of the series is dated from Cambridge, and must have been written after 3rd July, 1536, when Cromwell was made Lord Privy-Seal.

Reverently salutyd with love and fere. I desyre your lordshepp to contynew my good lord-as ever yow have byn: for god be my judge yff I know what I myght do that myght be acceptable to yow I wold do ytt, for there ys no creature lyvving that y do love and fere so much as yow, and I have nott in this world no refuge butt only to yow. When I cam to London owtt of Skotland and that yt plesyd yow to call me to yow as yow cam rydyng from westmestre, I had ij horsys stolyn frome me, & I can tell the persons that hath bowgth them, but I can nott recover my horses althowh they that bowght them did never toll for them nor never bowth them in no markett, butt privetly. Also ther be in london certyn persons thatt owth me in mony and stuff liij^{li}, the which my frends gave me. I do aske my dewty off them & they callyth me appostata & all to nowght & sayth they wyll troble me, & doth slawnder me by hynd my bak off thynges that I shold do xx^{li} yeres a gone, & trewly they can nott prove ytt, nor I never dyd ytt; the mattter ys that I shold be conversantt with women. Other matters they lay nott to my charge. I desyer yow to be good lord to me for I wyll never complayne farther then to yow. Thank Jesu Cryst I can lyve althowh I never have peny off ytt; but I wold be sory that they that hath my good shold have ytt; yff any off your servantts cowld gett ytt I wold geve ytt to them. Your fayghtfull servantt Master Walter Thomas, dwellyng in Wrettyll, knowth all the hoole matter, and so doth hys son, dwellyng in the temple. I com-mytt all to yow to do with me & ytt, what ytt shall plesse yow; desyeryng yow to spare my rude wrettyng, for I do presume to wrett to yow upon your gentylnes; as god knowth who ever keep yow in helth and honor: ffrome cambrydg the xiiij day off August by the hond of your bedman & servantt to the uttermost off my power.

ANDREW BOORDE, prest.

(Addressed)

To the ryght honorable lord
the lord of the pryve seale
be this byll dyrectyd.

Borde's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Popplewell, fol. 29, by Richard Matthew, 25th April, 1549.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. The yere of our lorde God, a thousande five hundredth fortie and nyne, the xjth daye of Aprill, I, Andrewe Bord of Wynchester, in Hamshire, Doctor of Phisicke, beinge in the crosse wards of the Flete, prisoner in London, hole in mynde and sicke in body, make this my last will in maner and

forme. First I bequeth my soule to Almyghtie God, and my bodie to be buried in erthe where yt shall please my Exccutor. Also I bequeth unto the poore prisoners now lying in the close wards of the Flete x^s. Also I bequeth to Edwarde Hudson a fetherbed, a bolster, a paire of shetts, and my best coverlet. Also I bequeth and give to Richard Mathew, to his heires and to his assignes, two tenements or howses lying in the soocke in the towne of Lynne.¹⁰ Also I give and bequeth unto the same Richard Mathew, to his heires and to his assignes, all those tenements w^t the appurtenances whiche I had by the deathe of my brother lying in Pemsey in Sussex. All whiche two tenements in Lynne, whiche I hadd by the gifte of one Mr. Conysby, and those other tenements in Pemsey whiche I had by my brother, w^t all and singuler ther appurtenances, I will and give by this my last Wyll, unto Richard Mathew and to his heires and his assignes for ever (the deuteye of the Lords of the Fee always excepted) The residue of all my goodes unbequethed, moveable and unmoveable, I will and bequeth unto Richarde Mathew whom I make my Executour, and he to dispose as he shall thinke best for my soule and all xpen soules. Also I give and bequeth all my chattels and houses lying abowte Wynchester or in Wynchester unto Richard Mathew and his assignes. Witnesses unto this wyll—WILLM. MANLEY, Gent.—JOHN PANNEL—MARTIN LANE—HUMFREY BELL—EDWARD HUDSON—THOMAS WOSENAM—NICHOLAS BRUNE.

Dr. Borde's friend and benefactor at Lynn was William Conyngsby, Esq., some time Recorder of and Burgess in Parliament for that Borough,¹¹ who, in July 1540, was made a justice of the King's Bench, and died in a few months. In addition to his house at Eston Hall, Wallington¹² he resided in a mansion-house, in a street called the Wool-Market in Lynn. He was much trusted by the Crown and by Cromwell, to whom he addressed several letters preserved in the State-paper office.

¹⁰ The "Soken" was used to distinguish the inhabited part of the parish of All Saints, South Lynn, which, though within the fortifications, was subject to the Leet of the Hundred of Freebridge-Lynn, from the Bishop's Borough of Lynn. *Ex inf.*: Alan H. Swatman, Esq., of Lynn. It was incorporated with the Borough, temp Phil. & Mary.

¹¹ Wm. Conysby was elected recorder of Lynn, pursuant to the new charter, on Monday, the feast of St. Michael, 16th Hen. VIII., and was elected burgess to serve in parliament, for that borough, 31st March, 28th Hen. VIII. (*Ex inf.*: Alan H. Swatman, Esq.) He was afterwards a Judge. (See Foss' Judges, v. 145.) I have not been able to identify Borde's houses.

¹² He also owned West Linch Manor in Norfolk.

THE VICARS OF RYE AND THEIR PATRONS,

WITH THE MURAL, SLAB, AND HEADSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE
PARISH CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD OF ST. MARY,
AND THE BAPTIST CHAPEL, RYE.

BY G. SLADE BUTLER, Esq.

1306.—JOHN DYKESTERNE.—The first patron of Rye Church, of whom we have any account, was King Edward 1st, as the following record will show:—"Alexander Buttement, having been presented to the Church de la Rye, of the diocese of Chichester, by the king, of whose patronage it was, and instituted therein by Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester; and being hindered of the perception of two parts of the profits and obventions of y^e said church, and more by John Dykesterne pretending himself to be vicar of the said church of the ordination of the said Gilbert, and that he ought to receive the said profits; the king (June 6, 34 Ed. 1) issued his writ to John, then Bishop of Chichester, to inquire concerning the ordination of the said vicarage; and if he finds it to have been without the assent of the king, or his predecessors, to declare it void. To which the bp. (14 cal. Aug., 1306) returns that y^e said vicar has shewn that he was instituted in the said vicarage by Gilbert, and his (y^e bishop's) predecessors, and that he can proceed no farther against him, unless the rector of the said church prosecute concerning y^e matters contained in the said writ." (See Prynn's Records, vol. 3, p. 1135.)

1333.—By the Inq. ad quod damnum anno 7 Edvardi III., *Persona Eccl'ie de Rya non habuit domum, mansum, nec placeam, nec aliqua domus sive placea ad eandem eccl'iam pertinet, ubi inhabitare vel quoquo modo ædificare potest.* "The parson of the Church of Rye, had not a house, dwelling, or place; nor does any

house or place belong to that church, where he can anyhow dwell or build."

1334.—HENRY DE KENDALL, Vicar, presented the following petition to Parliament, 8 Edward III. :—"To our Lord the King, sheweth his clerk, Henry de Kendall, parson of the Church of Rye, which is the king's advowson, that none of the fishermen of his said parish yield any tithe of their fisheries to the said parson; wherefore he prays that he may have our said lord the king's permission to sue his action against them, for the said tithe, in court Christian, without incurring the indignation or contempt of our said lord the king.—Answer:—Let him sue, if he will." And in 1339, he obtained a respite of his payments, as his houses and tenements (like those of the Canons of St. Denis at Southampton) had been burnt and wasted. (Rot. Parl. II., pp. 87 b. and 111 b.) which must have been in the French attack of 1337, when fifty-two tenements and one mill, at Rye, were destroyed. (Cooper's Winchelsea, p. 69.)

—WILLIAM SUDBURY, on the presentation of the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Stanley in the diocese of Salisbury.¹

1413.—WILLIAM COFFE, inducted December 1st; the same patrons.

—RICHARD RYCHEMOND.

1438.—JOHN DEVE, inducted in December.

1478.—WILLIAM WIKWYK.

1510.—MAISTRE LAKE.

1513.—DR. THOMAS SEWELL.

1525.—DR. RALPHE SNEDE, inducted March 7th, on the presentation of Sir Edward Guilford, Knight. Val. Eccl. temp. Hen. 8. "Rey; Doctor Snede cl'icus vicarius ib'm valet clare, per annum, cum omnibz profic', & commod', & dimittitur Will'mo Inold cl'ico pro t'mio annor' & re' per annu' £xlij xiijs. iiij^d. X^a inde £iiij v^s. iiij^d."

—RALPH MARCY, buried 30th September, 1541.

1541.—WILLIAM INOLD, B.D. His burial is thus recorded in the Register in red ink:—"1545, March item. The 12th day was buried, Master Willyam Inold, Batchelor of Dyvynte, Vicar of Rye and Dene of Battell, and Vycar of Hothton beside Wye, in the County of Kent."

1545.—THOMAS CHAPMAN, S.T.B., inducted October 25th, on the presentation of King Henry 8th.

¹ The Rectory of Rye was, A.D. 1363, annexed, by appropriation, to the Abbot and Monastery of Stanleigh or Stanley, in Wiltshire, between Chippenham and Calne. Vide appropriationem Eccl' de Rye (Sussex) Abbati et Monachis de Stanley (Wilts) A.D. 1363, penes v. clar. Petrum le Neve, Armig., Norroy (Tanner's Not. Mon. 600) et Pat. 37 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 18, 21, 22, pro eccl' de Rond et Wotton Bassett (Wilts) et Rye (Sussex) appropriandis et pro decimis piscatorum vocatis Christ's share and King's share in dict. villa de Rye." Ibid 601, Hayley's Sussex Coll., Brit. Mus.

1547.—EDMUND SCAMBLER was born at Gressingham, Lancashire, about 1510. He was educated at the university of Cambridge, and was both of Peterhouse and Queen's College. In the account of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge in 1564, it is stated that he was of Jesus College also. He proceeded B.A. 1541-2. We cannot ascertain when he commenced M.A. During the persecution in Queen Mary's reign he was pastor of a congregation of Protestants in London. He was presented to the Vicarage of Rye² by Edward VI., and inducted 9th July, 1547; after the accession of Elizabeth, he obtained the situation of chaplain to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. On 6th April, 1560, he was appointed prebendary of Wistow, in the Church of York, and by letters patent, dated 21st June, 1560, Canon of Westminster. Having obtained the favour of Secretary Cecil, he was raised to the Bishoprick of Peterborough, being consecrated 16th February, 156^p. The newly-elected Bishop shewed his gratitude by granting to the Secretary several estates of the See, especially the hundred of Wassaburgh, in Northamptonshire. By commissions from the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 13th May, 3rd Elizabeth, he was authorised to hold his prebend of Wistow, and his canonry of Westminster, in commendam with his bishoprick for the term of three years. On 26th May, 1560, we find him preaching at Paul's Cross, and on 22nd February, 156^p, before the Queen. He delivered the sermon at the funeral of Jane Seymour, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and one of the Queen's Maids of Honour. He was present at the Convocation of 1562, and subscribed the articles then drawn up. In 1564 he was created D.D., being then a member of Queen's College. He was incorporated of Oxford 1584. On 15th Dec^r, 1584, he was translated to Norwich, being confirmed on 15th January following. In 1588 he condemned Francis Ket for heresy. Dying 7th May, 1594, he was buried with heraldic ceremonies in his cathedral on 3rd June. A monument of freestone was erected to his memory, bearing his effigy in alabaster, enclosed with a lofty iron gate.

"Edmundi Scambleri viri reverendissimi, et in ampliss. dignitatis gradu, dum inter homines ageret locati corpus in hoc tegitur tumulo, obiit Non. Maii, anno 1594.

"Vivo tibi, moriorque tibi, tibi Christe resurgam,
Te quia justifica Christe, prebendo fide.
Hinc abeat mortis terror, tibi vivo redemptor,
Mors mihi lucrum est, tu pie Christe salus."

The following inscription was put up by James Scamler, Esq., of Wolterton, (his great-grandson) after the Restoration, instead of the above, which was demolished in the rebellion :

"Deo sacrum; monumentum Reverendi Edmondi Scamler sub Mariâ confessoris,

² The time is given in Cooper's Ath. Cant. as in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

sub Elizabethâ Præsulis, primum Petroburgensis, postmodum Norwicensis, Memoriz extructum; Furore autem e Immanitate Temporum, circa A.D. 1651, dissipatum; pietate ultimâ e Sumptibus Jacobi Scamleri (Nepotis) de Wolterton in agro Norfolciensi armigeri, restauravit Jacobus Scamler Pronepos A.D. 1691.

"Vivo tibi," &c.³

His will proved 22nd June, 1594, contains directions for his sepulture, and for the inscription on his monument of four verses to be found in his prayer-book, in his study, at Ludham. Cooper's Ath. Cant., vol. ii. p. 167. In Brown's Repertorium is a copperplate of his monument. The arms are those of the See impaling Scambler.

1554.—JOHN BROWNE, inducted 28th August, on the presentation of Sir Richard Sackvyle, Knight.

—JOHN ATHERTON.

1564.—AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE, A.M., Sir Richard Sackvyle, patron; inducted June 10th.

1567.—RICHARD CONNOPE, inducted 2nd October, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Sackvile, Baron of Buckhurst.

1574.—RICHARD FLETCHER, S.T.P., father of the dramatist, John Fletcher (the friend of Beaumont), who was born at Rye, 20th December, 1579. Dr. Fletcher was Dean of Peterborough, Prebendary of Lincoln, elected Bishop of Bristol Nov. 13, 1589, consecrated Dec. 14, and enthroned Jan. 3 following; of whom see an account in Harrington's View of the State of the Church in Queen Elizabeth and King James's time, p. 25, where we are told that he took this see on condition to lease out the revenues to courtiers, which he did in so extravagant a manner that he left little to his successors, insomuch that after his translation hence to Worcester, 1593, before he had sat four years, it lay vacant ten years. While Dean of Peterborough, he was appointed to pray with and for Mary, Queen of Scots, who was condemned to be beheaded at Fotheringay, near Oundle, and, as some assert, persuaded her to change her religion on the scaffold. He was translated from Worcester to London, and died suddenly in his house at London June 15th, 1596, being (to see to) well, sick, and dead in one quarter of an hour. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, without any memorial. See Willis's Cathedrals and Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops.

³ In the Chantry returns of 1st Edw. VI. (1547) on the suppression of Chantries, is the following notice of the Stipendiary Priest of this Church:—"Rye, the Stipendiary, of the age of 50 yeres, £6 14s. 8d. Md. the premises do lye in all in old ruinate houses, and the repaireing of them yerely will be verie chargeable." 3 Edward VI. Rector et Eccl'ia cum p'tin' & A.V. ejusd' ac divers' mess' ter' et al' heredit' in Rye, tenant' p. Ric'um Venables et al' in Socagio. A.V. means advocatio vicariæ, the advowson of the vicarage; the rectory thus passed to Richard Venables. 5 Edw. VI, 1551.

Joh' Ep'um Winton, in Eleemosina Rye, £0 3s. 4d., p. an' pro indemnitate solvend' a Rmario Rectoriæ olim solut' p. Abbatem & Monasterium de Stanleigh in Wilts, Sarum Dioces. (Dean's MSS., fo. 402.)

1583.—JOHN RUCK?⁴

1591.—JOHN PRESCOT, inducted January 7th; patron, Sir Thomas Sackville, buried 30th October, 1596.

1597.—ROGER SMITH, M.A., whose induction is thus recorded —“March 16th, was Roger Smith, M.A., instituted Vicar of Rye, and took his possession April 3rd. Read the book of articles according to the statute. The bishop's authority was dated March 6th.” The same patron. He was buried 17th December, 1601.

1602.—JOHN BRACEGIRDLE, S.T.B., inducted July 12th; the same patron; buried 8th February, 1613.⁵

1613.—BRYAN TWYNE, S.T.B., inducted March 15th, on the presentation of Richard, Earl of Dorset, son of Dr. Thomas Twyne, and grandson of John Twyne, was born in 1579, and admitted a scholar of Corp. Christ. Coll., Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship, and was appointed Greek reader. In July, 1620, he provided a musket for the musters. The vicarage was sequestered from him (Book of Plundered Ministers) he published “*Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia in tres libros divisa*,” and was employed by Archbishop Laud in drawing up the University Statutes, all of which he translated with his own hand, and was rewarded with the place of Custos Archivorum, founded in 1634. He died at Oxford, 4th July, 1644, aged 65, and was buried in Corpus Chapel. He left a large collection of MSS. relative to the history of the University. In 1628-9, William Huet is described as minister, and in 1631, Abreyer Hexber, and from 1632 to 1635, Christopher Blackwood;⁶ they were curates to Dr. Twyne, who resided principally at Oxford.⁷

⁴ It is said by Harris, in his History of Kent, p. 280 (quoted from Philipot's Vill. Cant. 317) that one, of the name of Ruck, lies buried in Rye Church, in Sussex, and was bow-bearer to King Hen. 8, and his arms were, as appear affixed to his grave-stone, Sable, a cross Argent between 4 fleurs-de lis Or. The Rev. John Rucke was presented to the Vicarage of Icklesham 26th Sept., 1583. (See Suss. Arch. Coll., vol. xii., p. 258.)

⁵ In the time of James 1st, April, 1608. Thomas, Earl of Dorset, died seized of the Rectory of Rye, holden of the King, as of his Manor of E. Greenwich, in free socage. Burrell's MSS., 5697. The impropriation of the Rectory of Rye, was anno 1611, by Richard, Earl of Dorset, (probably Thomas's son) by lease from the Bishop of Winchester. This, and Westfield Rectory, held at £20 per annum. See appendix to Cox's interleaved Camden's Brit., p. 7 and 8; Mr. Clarke's notes on the Five Ports Charters, Shadwell MSS.

⁶ See ante, p. 60, note.

⁷ The following terrier of all the possessions and rights belonging to the Vicarage of Rye, made the 15th day of September, A.D. 1635, was extracted from the Register, at Lewes.

Imprimis. A vicarage house and an out kitchen thereunto belonging. Two gardens, the one of them bounding to the churchyard, S.E., and to the lane going to the Butcher Row, N.E., from thence to the lands that lead to the tenements of Jno. Crouch, N. The kitchen garden, or gardens, behind the house, boundeth to the tenement of John Kemp, S.W., to the lands of John Crouch, N., to the churchyard, S. They are both in quantity near upon 20 perches.

Item. All tithes whatsoever within the said parish of Rye, except the tithes of corn and hay, are paid to the vicar.

1642.—JOHN BEATON, (his two sons, John Beaton of Kirdford, and Nehemiah Beaton, of Little Horsted, were ejected from their livings under the Bartholomew Act in 1662. See Calamy's Baxter, II., 685.)

1650.—ROBERT RUSSELL, resigned to the patroness, Sarah, wife of Charles Tufton.

1653.—JOHN ALLIN, junr., born 13th October, 1623, at Wrentham, Suffolk; ejected December, 1662, under the Bartholomew Act (Calamy's Baxter, II., p. 693) where he is called in error *Thomas Allen*; author of "Interesting Letters on the Plague in London," 1665. (See *Archæologia*, Vol. 37., p. 1.)

1662.—JOSEPH ELMAR, inducted 29th November.

1682.—WILLIAM WILLIAMS, on the presentation of the Bromfields; buried 14th September, 1698.⁸

1699.—ROBERT BRADSHAW, inducted May 23rd, on the presentation of Thomas Bromfield, Esq.

1700.—EDWARD WILSON, B.A., of whom we have the following memoranda, left by himself: "I was born at Kirby Steven, Westmoreland, May 15th, 1662; admitted into St. John's College, Cambridge, and took my degree of B.A.; was presented to the Vicarage of Framfield, Sussex, by the Right Hon. Thomas, Earl of Thanet, in 1686; and was afterwards presented to the Vicarage of Rye, by Thomas Bromfield, of Lewes, Esq., lord of the manor of Brede, to which the presentation to this vicarage is annexed. In 1700, was instituted, on October 8th, by John, Lord Bishop of Chichester, and inducted November 5th; gave my assent and consent to Book of Common Prayer, and read the 39 Articles publicly in the said church, November 17th." Buried 9th January, 1738. The present vicarage house was erected about 1701. In 1726, the Hon Spencer Compton became patron of the living.

1738.—THOMAS HUDSON, A.M., inducted February 1st, on the presentation of Spencer, Earl of Wilmington. Buried 19th October, 1743.

1744.—GEORGE CARLETON, A.M., on the presentation of James, Earl of Northampton, inducted January 7th. Died 27th November, 1761 (according to his epitaph, but 5th December, according to register). Buried 11th December.

1762.—EDWARD SMALLWELL, B.D., on the presentation of Charles, Earl of Northampton, inducted 25th February; resigned November, 1767.

Lastly. For glebe land there is none that we know, or have ever heard of, belonging to our vicarage, only our vicar hath the herbage of our two churchyards:

Signed. CHRISTOPHER BLACKWOOD, Curate.

Churchwardens, { Anthony Newton.
The mark () of John Forste.

Wm. Starkey. Signum () Marci Doses. Jno. Cooper. Signum () Roberti Cooper, Daniel Spie.

⁸ For his kindness to the French emigrants, see ante p. 201.

1768.—LEWIS BAGOT, D.D, son of Sir William Bagot, Bart. (born 1740, died 1802) presented by Lady Elizabeth Compton (daughter of Charles, 7th Earl of Northampton). “A dispensation for Lewis Bagot, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cam., and chaplain to Lady Baroness Stawell, to hold the Vicarage of Rye, to which he was lately presented, and the Rectory of Jevington,⁹ in Sussex, in the same patronage, with £250 per annum.” Inducted 10th June, 1768; resigned 1780, on being made Bishop of St. Asaph. Storer, in his *Cathedrals*, alluding to the great east window of St. Asaph Cathedral, says—In other divisions are emblazoned the arms of Bishop Bagot and other noblemen and gentry: the Episcopal Palace was entirely rebuilt by him after his promotion to the See. His principal work was “*Twelve Discourses on the Prophecies*,” preached at the Warburtonian lecture in Lincoln’s Inn Chapel, 1780. He was the third Vicar of Rye, who has been raised to the Episcopal Bench. He was succeeded by

1781.—RALPH SNEYD, L.L.B., his nephew: patroness the Lady Elizabeth Compton. He was also Rector of Jevington; inducted 25th April, 1781. Died 1795. He was a man of literary habits, and possessed some valuable old MSS., as mentioned and enumerated in Horsfield’s *History of Sussex*.

1795.—JOHN MYERS, M.A., inducted July 26th, on the presentation of Lady Elizabeth Cavendish (Lady Elizabeth Compton married, 27th February, 1782, Lord George Henry Cavendish, who was subsequently the first Earl of Burlington). Mr. Myers was buried at Rye, 28th October, 1834.

1834.—HENRY COOPER, B.D., on the presentation of Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Burlington, inducted 18th November, 1834. The Duke of Devonshire is the present patron of the living.¹⁰

⁹ The Comptons were also patrons of Jevington, a village to the north-west of Eastbourne.

¹⁰ For a pedigree of the Coopers of Icklesham, see Berry’s *County Genealogies*, Sussex, p. 99.

INSCRIPTIONS IN RYE CHURCH, 1861.

Mural Inscriptions, East End of the Nave.

"To the memory of JAMES LAMB, ESQ., a man of uncommon virtue, who, with the integrity of a merchant, and the courtesy of a gentleman, united the undissembled piety of a true Christian. His distinguished abilities raised him no less than 13 times to the mayoralty of this corporation, which office he always executed with a dignity that showed him born for precedence. He had twice the honour of entertaining a royal guest at his house. Once in the person of His Majesty King George the First, and afterwards in that of his grandson, the Duke of Cumberland. He had also the honour (as one of the Barons of this town) to support the canopy over her late Majesty Queen Caroline, at her coronation. Beloved in his private connexions, in his public ones admired and honoured, he died on the 21st day of November, 1756, at the age of 63 years; his remains were deposited in the new burying-ground belonging to the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the same grave with those of Dorothy Lamb (wife to his eldest son, Thomas), who died a few hours after him, aged 39 years. She filled with equal lustre, her station of life, having heightened every amiable quality of her sex, with a manly sense and elegance of taste."

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS LAMB, ESQUIRE (the eldest son of James and Martha Lamb), who died on the 29th day of March, 1804, at the advanced age of 84 years and 9 months, and whose remains are deposited in a vault on the south side of this church. The leisure afforded by an independent fortune, he employed in the zealous discharge of the duties of a magistrate, acting for the counties of Kent and Sussex, and also for the town of Rye. In his disposition he was benevolent and humane, in his manners cheerful and social, in the discharge of every relative duty, faithful, and in his religious tenets, firmly attached to the

Established Church. By his marriage with Dorothy, sixth daughter of the Rev. George Eyles, M.A., vicar of Turk Dean, in Gloucestershire, he left one son, Thomas Phillips Lamb, by whom this monument (the tribute of duty and esteem) is erected."

On Columns on the Right of the Nave.

"Sacred to the memory of CHISWELL SLADE, who died Janry. 25th, 1787, aged 70 years. He married Jane, the daughter of Daniel Davis, late of this Town, by whom he had eight children; five survived him, three sons and two daughters. Also JANE SLADE, relict of the above, who died Septr. 18th, 1792, aged 72 years."

"Sacred to the memory of DANIEL SLADE, who died on the 9th May, 1826, aged 72 years. And JANE, his wife, who died on the 8th of March, 1846, aged 84 years."

"To the memory of Mr. WILLIAM DANCAYS (Jurat of this corporation); he died 28th August, 1787, aged 72 years."

"Sacred to the memory of MARY HADDOCK, second wife of the late Captain John Haddock, and daughter of Chiswell and Jane Slade, late of this Town, died the 30th of October, 1823, aged 72 years. 'The memory of the just is blessed.'"

"Sacred to the memory of CAPT. JOHN HADDOCK, who died the 29th of July, 1812, aged 75 years; and of ANN, his first wife, who died the 27th June, 1790, aged 57 years. Also of their sons, HENRY, who died the 19th August, 1783, aged 18; JOHN, who died the 15th of November, 1797, aged 29; and JOSEPH, who died the 28th of November, 1810, aged 40 years. (The above-named Capt. Haddock married secondly, Mary, eldest daughter of Chiswell Slade, Esq.) This Tablet is erected by Elizabeth, Ann, and Margaret, surviving daughters of John and

Ann Haddock, as a tribute of sincere affection.

"To the memory of ANN HADDOCK, second daughter of the late Captn. John Haddock, who died December 27th, 1837, aged 74 years."

South Wall—South Aisle.

"In memory of HENRY LAWRENCE, ESQ., of the Kingdom of Ireland, Lieutenant in His Majesty's 52 Regt., who departed this life the 4th August, 1781, aged 20 years."

North Aisle—Western End.

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. MARGARET COLLETT, wife of the Rev. Peter Collett, who died the 6th day of May, 1770, aged 36 years. Also of the above-named REV^d. PETER COLLETT, Rector of Denton, in this County, and Curate of this Parish, thirty years, who died the 14th of September, 1790, aged 55 years; and of three children who died in their infancy. Also of ELIZABETH, relict of the above named, who died the 11th of February, 1841, aged 95 years."

On Columns on the Left of the Nave.

"Sacred to the memory of MAJOR RICHARD HAY, late of the Bengal Military Establishment, born the 6th of February, 1764, died the 16th March, 1825. Also of MARY HAY (his widow), born the 11th June, 1772, died the 25th Sept. 1827."

"To the memory of Mr. WILLIAM PROSSER (Jurat of this Corporation), who died 6th Novr., 1795, aged 87 years. Also of HANNAH, his wife, who died 26th March, 1791, aged 73 years. And of their three sons, WILLIAM, a Lieutenant in the East India Company's Service, who fell in battle on the Malabar coast, 18th May, 1775, aged 26 years; also JAMES, died 3rd Decr., 1792, aged 35 years; likewise JOHN, died 2nd July, 1796, aged 42 years."

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH MORRIS, eldest daughter of the late Captain J. Haddock, who died August 4th, 1827, aged 65 years. 'Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me.' Matt. c. xi. v. 6."

"To the memory of Mr. JAMES LAMB, merchant, Jurat of this Corporation, and six times Mayor. He died the 20th Feb., 1780, aged 58 years and 9 months."

Left Side of the Pulpit.

"GULIELMUS DAVIS, pro suâ fide et humanitate omni existimatione dignus; suorum merito summa cura et desiderium, Sept. 25^o, 1783, Ætat. 61 decessit."

"Sacred to the memory of KATHERINE, the wife of Mr. WEEDEN DAWES (formerly of this town, Attorney), who died at Clapham, in Surrey, on the 23rd day of January, 1837, aged 66 years. Also of the above-named WEEDEN DAWES, who died at Clapham, on the 16th day of November, 1840, aged 72 years."

North Transept—Right of the Northern Entrance.

"Sacred to the memory of ANN, the wife of NATHANIEL PROCTER, ESQ., who died 2nd February, 1831, aged 78 years, 10 months, and 24 days, and whose remains are deposited in a vault in the north chancel of this church. She was beloved and respected by all who knew her, and deeply lamented by her family, to whom she has left a bright example of Christian piety, fortitude, resignation, and charity. She was the 2nd daughter of James Lamb, Esqre., by his first wife, Anne, the daughter of David and Anne Morris. Also to the memory of LIEUT. JAMES PROCTER, R.N., their 2nd son, aged 26 years, who was lost off the Texel, 18th June, 1809, when in command of H.M. schooner, Sealark. Also of the above-named NATHANIEL PROCTER, ESQ., who died the 5th of August, 1836, in the 80th year of his age, honoured, beloved, and respected by all who knew him, 'a man in whom was no guile.'"

"Near this place are deposited the remains of JANE, widow of the late WILLIAM SMITH, ESQRE., of Rockbourne, in the County of Hants; she died the 25th day of March, 1843, aged 80 years."

"In a vault near this place lie the remains of ANNE, the beloved wife of EDWIN NATHANIEL DAWES; she died

on the 1st of May, 1852, aged 43, leaving nine sorrowing children. Her immortal soul is gone to that bright land of everlasting light and never ending love where the weary rest in Christ."

"In Cœmeterio hujusce ædis juxta angulum meridiem et occidentem versus, condita sunt ossa LUDOVICI ET ANNÆ MERYON viri et uxoris, qui jam annos 84 nati et plus 50, fausto et felici matrimonio vitam degentes fatis succubère, tribus annis intercedentibus, præeunte uxore obiit maritus, mense Februario, 1824, filius natu minimus Carolus Ludovicus Meryon, in academia Oxoniensi M.D., et Coll. Reg. Med. Lond. Socius. Necnon soror ejus Sara, Gulielmi Holloway uxor, Qui vetustiora hujus municipii monumenta diligenter exquisivit, moti pietate erga parentes amantissimos, hanc æneam tabulam incidendam curaverunt; quisquis læta tuis et sera parentibus optas fata precor scripto marmore verba lege. Condidit hâc soboles binos tellure superstes, nulli sorte jacent candidiore senes, bis sex lustra tori nox mitis et ultima clausit, oravit conjux hâc mōnente mori."

"Siste Viator! Quarto Septembris, JOHANNES THREELE MEDIO LÆTÆ, ætatis fLore obliit,¹ matura virtute; omnibus relicto sui desiderio, præsertim patri, Thomæ Threele de Levisham, in Com. Sussex, Armig. et uxori viduæ, Annæ, filiæ Henrici Waldegrave de Stanningham, in com. Sussex, Equit. Aurat. Vivit adhuc post fata anima et promissa solutis suspirat pœnis. Cætera terra tegit. Omnia ergo quæcunque vultis ut faciant homines vobis et vos facite. Matt. cap. vii. v. 12."

North Transept—Left of the Northern Entrance.

"To the memory of WILLIAM MILLER, who died March 6th, 1837, aged 72 years. His remains are deposited in a vault underneath. Also ANN MILLER, relict of the above, who died April 13th, 1841, aged 74 years, and was buried at St. Petrox, Dartmouth."

"To the memory of THOMAS HOLFORD,

Gent., of the Friars, Winchelsea, whose remains are deposited in a vault near this place. He died Novr. 15th, 1780, aged 35 years. Also of CATHERINE FRANCES and WILLIAM HOWARD, children of the said Thomas Holford, who died in their infancy; and of THOMAS HOLFORD, Lieut. in the 21st Regt. of foot, who died abroad, Sept. 3rd, 1795, aged 20 years."

North Transept.

"In memory of THOMAS PROCTER, Gent, eldest son of Nathaniel Procter, Esqre., who died 22nd Sept., 1840, aged 60, beloved and regretted by all. Of CHARLOTTE, his wife, only daughter of Benjamin Cooper, Gent, who died 22nd Oct. 1828, aged 40. Also of CHARLOTTE and SARAH ANN, their daughters, who died in infancy. Also of JAMES, their only son, who died 2nd March, 1840, aged 29. In token of her affection, their surviving daughter, Eliza, wife of Thomas Jenner, Gent, has erected this memorial."

"Near this place lies the body of HANNAH PINKERTON, daughter of the late James Pinkerton, Esqr., of North Cave, in Yorkshire. Died Oct. the 18th, 1786, aged 22 years."

"In memory of WILLIAM WATSON (many years Collector of the Customs of this Port), who died on the 4th May, 1841, aged 60 years. Also of MARY JANE, his only child, who died on the 16th Sept., 1822, aged 15 years. And of MARGARET, his widow, who died on the 18th Dec., 1855, aged 85 years. And JOHN HADDOCK LARDNER, Solr., who died on the 13th July, 1852, aged 58 years."

"Sacred to the memory of MR. HENRY BRAZIER, Wool Stapler, who died the 10th February, 1845, aged 43 years. Also of MARY MUNN BRAZIER, his wife, who died the 4th January, 1846, aged 37 years. Also to the memory of HENRY, their infant son, who died the 22nd February, 1838, aged 2 weeks. They left surviving one son, Frederick."

¹ No year is mentioned in this inscription, but the capitals are supposed to supply the date, MDLLLIIII., 1654.

*On the South Column dividing the Nave
from the Transept.*

"This Tablet is erected to the memory of THOMAS OWENS, ESQ., who died the 12th day of May, 1769, aged 62 years. Likewise to the memory of MRS. ELIZABETH WELLER, who died the 7th day of December, 1781, aged 72 years. But more particularly to the memory of MRS. CATHERINE OWENS, who departed this life, Jan. 31st, 1797, in the 90th year of her age. Favor'd by Heaven are those that yield their breath, Free from those pangs which oft embitter death; More favor'd they who quit this humble sphere, Like her whose virtues claim remembrance here; She fixed her thoughts on the Almighty name, And in her slumber the transition came. It came and bore her through th'etereal way, To the blest regions of eternal day; Where now, we doubt not, with the omniscient Lord (Whilst raptur'd seraphs her fair deeds record), Of life well spent she reaps the just reward."

*On the South Column, separating the
High Chancel from the Transept.*

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, wife of JOHN WOOLLETT, of this town, Attorney-at-law, who died June 28th, 1810, aged 42 years. From the tenderest regard to a virtuous woman, a most affectionate wife, a faithful Christian, and a sincere friend, her afflicted husband caused this tablet to be erected."

On the North Column.

"Thy gentle arm, Benevolence, sustains Our fainting hope; thy balm our life regains. Sacred to the memory of JOHN WOOLLETT, ESQ., late of this town, who departed this life on the 23rd March, 1819, in the 60th year of his age; his lamented remains are deposited in this church."

South Transept, near the Font.

"Sacred to the memory of CHARLES

PILCHER, ESQR., who departed this life April 21st, 1844, aged 76 years. He was a resident of Rye and its vicinity for 62 years, he left surviving Elizabeth, his widow, one son, and four daughters, viz., Eliza, Mary Ann, Charles Simmonds, Anna Maria, and Caroline Elizabeth. This tablet was erected by Elizabeth, his widow, as a pious token of love and respect for a kind husband and an affectionate father. Also to the memory of ALFRED SIMMONDS PILCHER, son of the said Charles and Elizabeth Pilcher, who departed this life July 25th, 1838, aged 25 years, sincerely regretted by his parents and friends; he was a dutiful son and a kind brother. Also to the memory of ELIZABETH, widow of the above-named Charles Pilcher, who departed this life on the 28th day of May, 1859, aged 83 years, and was interred at Wadhurst, in this county."

SLABS IN THE CHURCH, *within the Communion Rails of the High Chancel.*

"Here lies the body of HENRY PERCH BUTLER, Gent. of this town, who died Decr. 20th, 1829, aged 66 years. Also of RHODA JANE, wife of RICHARD WEEDEN BUTLER, daughter of John and Rhoda Slade, who died 7th July, 1847, aged 70 years."

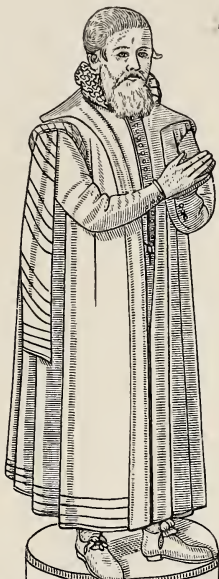
"Here lyes y^e body of SUSANNA, late wife of MR. JAMES BENN, Collector of the Customs in this Port. She was second daughter of John Brown, Esqre., of Spelmenden, in the county of Kent, and departed this life August the 9th, 1717, aged 42 years. Also ANN, his second wife, daughter of William Bishop, Esqre, of Sedlescomb, who died June y^e 16th, 1721, by whom he had one son, who died young and lyeth here. And also here lies the body of y^e sd JAMES BENN, who died 25th April, 1724, aged 45 years."

"Heare lyeth the bodie of THOMAS HAMON,² who departed on the 20th day of July, an^o Domini 1607, his wyfe, Martha, procured (part illegible). Loe Thomas Hamon here inter'd doth lye, Thrice Burgesse for the Parliament

² Thomas Hamon's burial is thus recorded in the Register—"1607. July the 29th day, Mr. Thomas Hamon, Maior." In the Harleian MSS., Brit. Mus., cod. 358, p. 188, art. 47, is a curious MS. on one large sheet of paper: "The confession of certeyne psons concerninge the spiritts appearinge at Rie," being a lengthy account of certain spirits which made their appearance at Hamon's decease.

† HEARE LYETH THE ·BODIE· OF

THOMAS HAMON WHO DEPARTED



LOE THOMAS HAMON HERE ENTERD DOTH LYE
THRICE BVRGESSE FOR THE PARLIAMENT ELECTED
SIX TIMES BY FREEMENS CHOYCE MADE MAIOR OF RYE
AND CAPTAINE LONGE TIME OF THE BAND SELECTED
WHOSE PRVDENT COVRAGE IYSTICE GRAMITIE
DESERVES A MONVMENT OF MEMORYE

HIS WYFE MARTHA ·PROCVRED

DAY · OF IULY AN° DOMINI 1607

UTTING SC.

elected, Six times by freemen's choyce made Maior of Rye, And Captaine longe time of the band selected. Whose prudent courage, justice, gravitie, Deserves a monument of memorye."

"Here lyeth the body of ANNE, late wife of DAVID MORRIS, of Levisham, Gent. daughter of Edward Wilson, Vicar of this Church, obiit July y^e 1st, anno ætatis 31, salutis 1733. Also the bodies of her two first children, DAVID and ANNE, who died infants. Here also are interr'd the remains of the aforesaid Mr. DAVID MORRIS, who departed this life Octr. 11th, 1753, aged 58. He left issue two daughters, Anne, the wife of James Lamb, younger, Jurat, and Susannah, unmarried."

M. S.

"REVERENDI EDVARDI WILSON, clerici, hujus ecclesiæ annos triginta et octo Vicarii; Ortu Westmoriensis; Institutione Cantabrigiensis; Nati xv. Maii, MDCLXII.; Denati v. Januarii, MDCCXXXVIII. Occubuit plenus annorum; fidei spei et charitatis vixit. Qualis, opera loquentur in illo die."

In the High Chancel.

"ELIZABETH GLAZIER, died August 24th, 1829, aged 77 years."

"In commemoration of exemplary meekness, piety, and benevolence, of those amiable manners which acquired general esteem, and in gratitude for a long continuance of a most sincere and faithful friendship, this memorial is dedicated to MARY HOOD, who died unmarried, 28th Decr., 1788, aged 59 years."

"Here lyeth the body of Mr. EDWARD WILMSHURST, late of Garbary, who died April y^e 21st, 1718, aged 51 years, who married Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas Hawks, of Playden, and had by her 12 children, viz. 6 sons and 6 daughters."

"Here is buried ANNE, wife of Mr. RICHARD FRANCIS, of Lamberhurst. She died June y^e 20th, 1704, aged 84 years. Left only one daughter, Mercy, wife to Nicholas Mannooch, of this town, Jurat. Here is also buried NICHOLAS, son of y^e said Nicholas and Mercy, who died in his infancy. Also

the body of the said NICHOLAS MANNOOCH, who died Decr. 24, 1724, aged 69. Also the body of MERCY, widow of the said Mr. Mannooch, who dyed March 8, 1734, aged 81 yrs."

"In bonâ spe resurrectionis ad vitam æternam, juxta hoc marmore, requiescunt GULIELMUS BARHAM, de municipio hoc, pharmacopola (Vir singulari modestiâ, probitate, ac fide, ornatus), qui de hâc vitâ decessit Julii 19^o, An. 1694, ætatis 43. Et ELIZABETHA, GULIELMI STRETTON, de Tenterden, in agris Cant, gen. filia, prædicto Gul. Barham, die Sept. 29^o, Ann. 1678, nupta, cui peperit natos duos et tres natas, viz., Gulielmum, Mariam, Susannam, Elizabetham, et Jacobum. Quæ cum viduitatem suam ægre sustinisset, nec minus mœrore animi quam dolore corporis confecta, turturis ad instar fidelis, amicis et liberis relictis, ad conjugem ac vitam feliciorum jubens festinavit Feb. 26, Ann. 1694, ætatis suæ 43. Neenon ELIZABETHA, prædicti Gulielmi et Elizabethæ filia, natu minima, quæ felix in morte suâ, suaviter obdormivit, Decembris 23^o, an. 1692, ætatis suæ 8. Ac etiam GULIELMUS, prædicti Gulielmi et Elizabethæ, filius natus maximus, de Nova Romney in Com. Cantii, Gen. Qui dum per portum hujus oppidi ad ulteriorem partem, noctu equitare conaretur, Tempestate subito exortâ, limo et undis obrutus, infelicitè periit, die Apr. 20, an. 1717, ætatis 36. Vir fuit eximiâ pietate, industriâ, integritate, et constantiâ; parentum observantissimus; fratris et sororum amantissimus; in amicos candidus et synceus; in omnes benignus. Quorum memoriæ sacrum exiguum hoc amoris et gratitudinis nostræ, monumentum posuimus. S.B., ob. No. 26, æt. 35, ano Sal. 1713. M.B. S.B. J.B. Posuimus. Sed virtus post funera vivet. Monumentum ære perennius, Regalique situ pyramidum altius; Quod nec imber edax, aut Aquilo impotens Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis Annorum series. et fuga temporum."

"MR. ROBERT HOUNSELL departed this life Sep. y^e 30th, 1727, and was buried at Topsham. Here lyeth the body of ANN, the daughter of Robert and Margaret Hounsell, who died March y^e 29th, 1730, aged 12 years and 9 months. Also JOHN, WILLIAM, and MERCY, who all died young."

"In a vault beneath this stone are interred the remains of CHARLES PILCHER, ESQ^{RE}., who departed this life April 21st, 1844, aged 76 years. Also ALFRED SIMMONDS, son of Charles and Elizabeth Pilcher, who departed this life July 25th, 1838, aged 25 years."

"Here lye the bodies of RICHARD BUTLER, Gent, late Common Clerk of this Town. ELIZABETH, his wife, and HUMPHREY, their son. Mrs. Eliz. Butler dyed 12th June, 1727, aged 52. Mr. Rich^d. Butler dyed 16th Sept., 1734, aged 49. Mr. Hum. Butler, who succeeded his father in the place of Common Clerk, dyed 25th Novr. 1734, aged 25. Also of RICHARD BUTLER, Gent, late a Jurat of this town (the Nephew of the above-named Richard Butler), who died 25th August, 1808, aged 72 years. And also of SUSANNA BUTLER, the late wife of the above-named Richard Butler, the nephew, who died May 12th, 1814, in the 78 year of her age."

(The following inscription was formerly in the Chancel, but no trace of it now remains.) "Here lies buried MERCY HAFFENDEN, widow, first wife of George Curtis, Gent, and afterwards of Richard Haffenden, late of Tenterden, who deceased the 29th day of Novr. Ano. 1678. She was aged 74 years."

North Transept.

"Here lieth the body of SAMUEL MILLER, who died June 6, 1800, aged 82 years. . . . Also MARY MILLER, wife of the said Samuel Miller, who died March 25, 1805, aged 73 years. . . . Also on the right hand of the aforesaid Saml. and Mary Miller are deposited the remains of HARRIETT MILLER, who died Feb^y. 4th, 1794, aged 4 years. She was granddaughter to the aforesaid Saml. and Mary Miller. Also CHARLOTTE ANN MILLER, granddaughter as aforesaid, died Octr. 31st, 1795, aged 4 months. Also HARRIETT MILLER, granddaughter as aforesaid, died March 2nd, 1804, aged 2 years. Also JOHN BUCKHURST MILLER, (6) grandson to the aforesaid Saml. and Mary Miller, who died March 15th, 1805, aged 4 months."

"Sacred to the memory of EDWARD

CHATTERTON, who died May 31st, 1843, aged 78 years. Also to SUSAN, daughter of the above, who died Sept^r. 22nd, 1808, aged 2 years and 7 months."

"THOS. HOVENDEN (late of Hastings), died Feb^y. 10th, 1797, aged 68 years."

"Here lieth interred the body of JOHN BUCKHURST (late of this town, Mercer), who departed this life the 23rd Feb^y., 1771, in the 63 year of his age, leaving Elizabeth, his affectionate wife, and three children, viz., Elizabeth, John, and Ann; in duty to the most affectionate parent this stone is inscribed by his daughter Elizabeth. Also ELIZABETH, the wife of the above-mentioned John Buckhurst; she died April 2, 1782, aged 72 years. This inscription is inscribed by their dutiful son John. Also the said JOHN BUCKHURST, died 3 March, 1808, in the 68 year of his age."

"Sacred to the memory of EDWIN, the son of EDWIN NATHANIEL and ANNE DAWES, who died on the 21st July, 1840, aged 16 months. Also of the above-named ANNE DAWES, who died on the 1st of May, 1852, aged 43 years."

"Here lyeth the body of MERCY, wife of JOHN ODIARNE, of this parish, Gent, daughter of Mr. Thomas Kelly, of Herfield, in this county, who departed this life March ye 7th, 1703, aged 2 years. The said Mercy had by the said John two daughters, viz., Christian and Anne, who both lye interred by her, they dying young."

"Here lyeth the body of MR. HENRY CARLETON (one of ye Jurats of this Corporation), who died Oct^r. ye 22nd, 1771, aged 78 years. Also the body of MARY, his wife, who died Nov^r. ye 3rd, 1727, aged 36 years. Also the body of the REV^d. GEORGE CARLETON, A.M., son of ye above-named Henry and Mary Carleton, who was Vicar of this parish, and one of the Jurats of this Corporation; he died Nov^r. ye 27th, 1761, aged 43 years. Also the body of MARY, daughter of the said Henry and Mary Carleton, who died in 1721, an infant. Also the body of THOMAS, son of the said Henry and Mary Carleton, who died in 1726, an infant. Also the body of CONSTANCE, wife of

the said George Carleton, who died May ye 19th, 1754, aged 22 years. Also the body of HENRY, son of the said George and Constance, who died an infant."

"In a vault beneath this stone lieth the remains of FRANK SMITH, who departed this life, Febr'y. 16th, 1807, aged 66 years. Also ANN SMITH, widow of the above, who died 3rd Oct., 1828, aged 91 years."

"Sacred to the memory of HENRY, the infant son of HENRY and MARY BRAZIER, who died the 22nd February, 1838, aged 2 weeks. Also of the above-named HENRY BRAZIER, who died the 10th February, 1845, aged 43 years. Also of MARY MUNN BRAZIER, wife of the above-named Henry Brazier, who died the 4th January, 1846, aged 37 years. They left surviving one son, Frederick."

Behind the North Door in the North Transept.

"Under this stone lieth the body of STEPHEN, son of STEPHEN and MARY TRESS, of Leisisham, in this parish, who departed this life 27th March, 1778, in the first year of his age."—*On a Red Tile.*—"A. W. 1726."—*Nearly opposite.*—"MR. H. SHAW, 1801."
"JANE SMITH, died March 23rd, 1843, aged 80 years."

"Sacred to the memory of CAROLINE DURRANT, who died July 10th, 1847, aged 16 years."

South Transept, near the Font.

"Here lies the body of JAMES HOPE, of this town, Jurat, who died the 19th day of March, Anno Domini 1740, aged 45 years. Also here lieth the body of JAMES, son of WALTER ELMESTONE . . . by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of the abovesaid James Hope; he died 17 September, 1747, aged 3 years 9 months. Also here lieth the body of JUDITH HOPE, widow of the above said James Hope; she died 29 May, 1757, aged 59 years."

"Here lies the body of MR. WILLIAM HOPE, of Ashford, in Kent, who dyed April ye 3rd, 1732, aged 75 years. Also here lies the body of ELIZABETH, the wife of William Hope, who dyed April the

20th, 1732, aged 73 years. Also here lieth the body of JUDITH, daughter of the above-named James and Judith Hope, who died January the 20, 1737, aged 3 years, 1 month, and six days. Grieve not, dear parents, Nor in tears lament; I am gone to Heaven; To you I was but lent. Also here lies the body of THOMAS, son of James and Judith Hope, who died the 15th of September, 1740, aged 13 months."—"S. B., 1793. C. H., 1802."—"I. H., 1797."—"Here lies the body of MR. WALTER ELMESTONE, Surgeon and Freeman of this ancient corporation. He died the 31st day of Janry., 1769, aged 44 years. Here also is buried the body of ELIZABETH, his wife, who died Decr. ye 10th, 1782, aged 62 years."

South Aisle, near the old Vestry, formerly the South Entrance.

"Here lie the remains of ROBERT LEWIS, of this town, Ordnance Barrack-Master, who died Febr'y. 29th, 1816, aged 60 years, Also of SOPHIA MARY KNOTT, who died June 25, 1828, aged 1 year and 2 months. Also of SYDNEY KNOTT, who died Novr. 13th, 1829, aged 4 years and 2 months. Also of ADELAIDE KNOTT, who died August 24th, 1830, aged 3 weeks; the grandchildren of Robert Lewis, and the children of the Revd. Robert Rowe and Sophia Mary Knott, of the same place."

Centre of the Transept.

"Here lyeth the body of RALPH NORTON, Esq., who departed this life on the 7th day of July, 1750, aged 84 years. Also of ANN, his wife, who died the 17th day of July, 1748, in the 82 year of her age. The request of the deceased when living to be laid near each other in the grave, having by the wanton exercise of power been denied, Catherine and Elizabeth Norton, the only daughters and co-heiresses of the deceased, compelled an obedience to their parents' command, and removed the body of their Mother from the chancel, where first deposited, to this place, by virtue of a faculty obtained for that purpose from the Bishop of this Diocese."

"Sacred to the memory of MRS. CATHERINE KENNETT, wife of Mr. John Kennett, who departed this life the 11th day of December, 1798, aged 41

years. And also of HANNAH, his second wife, who departed this life the 13th day of February, 1816, aged 47 years. Also here lieth the body of CATHERINE, daughter of JOHN and HANNAH KENNETT, who departed this life the 27th Janry., 1820, aged 19 years. Also THOS. WOOLLETT KENNETT, son of John and Hannah Kennett, who died 22nd April, 1821, aged 16 years. Also ANN KENNETT, daughter of John and Hannah Kennett, who died 26th Febr., 1822, aged 20 years. Also MARIA, daughter of JOHN and HANNAH KENNETT, who died 20th Octr., 1823, aged 17 years."

"Sacred to the memory of the aforesaid JOHN KENNETT, SEN^R., who died 5th April, 1824, aged 74 years. Also EDWIN KENNETT, son of John and Hannah Kennett, who died August 8th, 1832, aged 23 years."

In the Nave.

"Under this stone is buried the REV^D. THOMAS HUDSON, A.M., Vicar of this parish, who died October 13th, 1743, in his 49th year."

"Sub hoc marmore, beatæ resurrectionis in Christo spe, requiescit JOHANNES MYERS, annos quadraginta hujus ecclesiæ Vicarius: obiit die XXIVmo. Octobris, MDCCCXXXIV., ætatis LXXVII."

"Here lyeth y body of RICH. HIGGINGS, SEN^R., of Chatham, who died Sept. 22d, 1709, aged 72 years."

"Here lies the body of SARAH, the wife of RICH. IGGELSDEN, Surgeon, who departed this life Novr. the 17, 1725, aged 37 years."

"GEORGE SLADE, died the the 7th of December, 1777, aged 19 years. WILLIAM SLADE, died the 5th of March, 1783, aged 26 years; sons of Chiswell and Jane Slade. Ye tender readers who this shrine draw near, Drop on these youths a sympathetic tear, In virtue's peaceful paths they daily trod, Obey'd their parents, and ador'd their God; With every wish of every friend comply'd, Gave pain to none, until the hour they died. Also near this place are deposited the remains of SAMUEL SLADE, brother to the said George and William, he was endued with the same

virtues, and died equally regretted by his surviving friends, on the 1st day of January, 1789, aged 25 years. Also DANIEL SLADE, who died the 9th of May, 1826, aged 72 years. Also of RHODA SLADE, widow of John Slade (brother to the above-named Daniel), obiit the 27th day of August, 1828, ætat. 72. And also of ELIZABETH GRIFFITH, their sister, obiit the 10th day of January, 1840, ætat. 84."

"Here lieth the body JOHN SLADE, Jurat, who departed this life 17th October, 1743, aged 57 years. Also the body of MARY, his wife, daughter of William and Mary Chiswell, who departed this life 2nd May, 1743, aged 47 years. Also the body of ELIZABETH, wife of CHISWELL SLADE, daughter of Joseph and Eliz. Viny, of . . . who departed this life, October 19th, 1744, aged 24 years. . . . youth does lie whose breath, Was snatched by early, not untimely death" (the other lines illegible).

"R. S., 1828."

"In this vault are deposited the remains of THOMAS KENNETT, who died July 19th, 1824, aged 87 years. Also CHARLES, son of THOMAS and MARY KENNETT, who died Octr. 23rd, 1824, aged 55 years. Likewise MARY, wife of CHARLES KENNETT, who died September 11th, 1818, aged 44 years. "H. H., 1783."

"Here lyes the body of EDRD. HASWELL, who departed this life the 12th day of January, 1703, aged 53 years. Also the body of ELIZABETH, the wife first of the said EDRD. HASWELL, afterwards of THOS. HASWELL, of Leigh, near Tunbridge, in the county of Kent, whom she survived. She departed this life the 15th of May, 1747, aged 83."

M	"A A.
"T E."	1845."

From the old Vestry formerly the South Entrance to the part where the North Door formerly stood.

"In memory of JOHN HOLMES, who departed this life October, 15th, 1816, aged 67 years. Also CHARLOTTE HOLMES, daughter of the above named John Holmes, who departed this life

October 18th, 1802, aged 5 years. And also of ANN HOLMES, widow of the above named John Holmes, who departed this life April 22nd, 1844, aged 81 years."

"In memory of SARAH BARNES, who departed this life February 28th, 1795, aged 71 years."

"Sacred to the memory of Mr. JOSEPH HADDOCK, late of the parish of Playden, who departed this life the 28th November, 1810, aged 40 years, and was the only remaining son of Captain John Haddock, of this town; he left a widow and one daughter. Also to ELIZABETH, widow of the above Mr. JOSEPH HADDOCK, who departed this life the 17th January, 1841, aged 71 years."

"J.H.1812. M.H. 1823."

"In memory of JOHN HADDOCK, who departed this life November 15th, 1797, aged 29 years."

"Here lies interred the body of Mrs. ANN HADDOCK, late wife of Captn. John Haddock, of this parish, died June 27th, 1790, aged 57 years. Also Mr. HENRY HADDOCK, son of the above, died August 19th, 1783, aged 18 years.

"Here lies interr'd the body of MARY, wife of THOS. KENNETT; she departed this life March the 8th, 1782, aged 43 years. Also REBACKAR, daughter of THOS. and MARY KENNETT, she departed this life April the 10th, 1783, aged 11 years." "H. H., 1783."

"Under this stone are deposited the remains of ELIZABETH, the wife of WILLIAM MORRIS (of Peasmarsh, gentleman) who died August the 4th, 1827, aged 65 years. And also the remains of ANN HADDOCK (sister of the above named Elizabeth) who died December 27th, 1837, aged 71 years."

"Sacred to the memory of Mr. WILLIAM GIBBON, who died June 3rd, 1790, aged 33 years. Also SARAH, the wife of Mr. William Gibbon, who died . . . 1800, aged . . . years."

North Aisle.

"Within this vault are deposited the re-

mains of SARAH PRICE, who died October 22nd, 1809, aged 85 years, relict of William Price, Esqre."

SAINT CLARE'S CHANCEL, *Slab Inscriptions—Western End.*

"Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of CHARLOTTE, daughter of THOMAS PROCTER, of this parish, and Charlotte, his wife, who died Sept. 21st, 1809, aged 9 weeks. Also SARAH ANN, their second daughter, who died in her infancy. Also the above-named CHARLOTTE PROCTER, who died Oct. 21, 1828, aged 40 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES ME-GAW (late of this town, surgeon), who died 26th July, 1808, aged 65 years. Also of SARAH, his widow and relict, who died 21st January, 1826, aged 75 years. The above-named Sarah Megaw was the eldest daughter of Thomas Procter, Esqre., of this Town, by Sarah, his second wife."

"Here lieth the body of MARY, wife of DANIEL DAVIS, Gent, who died March y^e 9th, Anno Domini 1728, aged 37 years. Also here lieth the body of DANIEL DAVIS, Gent, who died Janry. y^e 12th, Anno Domini 1749, aged 63 years. And also the body of DANIEL DAVIS, their son, who died April y^e 20th, Anno Domini, 1726, aged 10 months."

"Here lies interred Ann Long, Widow, of this Town, who died the 23rd of March, 1725, aged 84 years. And also Ann, the wife of John Baker, late of Queensborough, daughter of Nathl. Pigram, of Rye, Jurat, by Jane, his wife, who was a son of the above Ann Long, by her first husband, Stephen Pigram, of Cambridge. She was born the 7th of December, 1702, died the 10th of May, 1729. Also the body of Mrs. Jane Underwood (widow of Mr. Charles Underwood), who died the 22nd of May, 1770, aged 63 years."

"Here lyeth the body of Eliza, the wife of Thomas Procter, one of the daughters of Captn. Nathl. Pigram of this Town, who died November the 11th, 1742, aged 42 years. Also Eliza, daughter of the said Thomas and Eliza Procter, who died an infant, the 23rd day of November, 1733. Sarah, the 2nd wife of Thomas Procter, died 22nd June, 1802, aged 86 years."

"Here lye the bodys of THOMAS and RICHARD PROCTER, Sons of Thomas Procter (by Sarah his second wife). Thomas died August the 5th, 1751, aged 4 years and 3 weeks; and Richard died August the 18th, 1751, aged

one year and eight months. Dear parents, grieve no more for us, Nor let your hearts be pain'd, Happy we are, there is no doubt, Since God hath so ordain'd. Here also lyeth the body of MARY (Daughter of the above named Thomas and Sarah Procter), who died December 9th, 1760, aged 8 years and 4 months. Here lyeth the body of THOMAS PROCTER, who died November y^e 27th, 1775, aged 73 years. Just to his word, a friend sincere, From every vitious folly clear; In all his dealings what he gained, Was truly honestly obtain'd. He ne'er thro' life the poor did grind, Nor any owing him confin'd. Peace he maintained with all his neighbours, And well paid all men for their labours. Do as he did, God will you save, And cause you happy from the grave."

"In a Vault beneath this Stone are deposited the remains of ANNE, the wife of NATHANIEL PROCTER, who died 2nd February, 1831, aged 78 years 10 months and 24 days. Also near this Vault are deposited the remains of seven of their children, who died infants. In this Vault are also deposited the remains of the above-named NATHANIEL PROCTER, ESQ^R, who died 5th August, 1836, in the 80th year of his age."

"Here lyeth the body of NATHANIEL PIGRAM, ESQ^R, who died the 26th of March, 1756, aged 82 years. Also the body of JANE, the wife of the said Nathaniel Pigram, who died the 1st January, 1758, aged 83 years. Also the body of MARY, one of the Daughters of the said Nathl. and Jane Pigram, who died the 28th August, 1754, aged 41 years. Also the body of NATHANIEL PIGRAM, ESQ^R, Son of the said Nathl. and Jane Pigram, who died the 13th December, 1765, aged 52 years. NATHANIEL PIGRAM BEAVER, their Grandson, who died June y^e 21st, 1768, aged 16 years."

"In memory of EDWARD and MARY SWAINE. He was a freeman of this Corporation by birth, and serv'd the office of Mayor's Sergeant 35 years. He died the 25th of April, 1772, aged 69 years. She died the 14th of Janry., 1773, aged 75 years. They left issue one Son and 3 Daughters, John, Elizabeth, Mary and Martha. Under the rough stone on y^e left hand lieth the

body of ANN, Wife of the above JOHN SWAINE. She died the 10th Janry., 1765, aged 28 years. Also MARY the second wife of the above John Swaine, who died June 24th, 1801, aged 55 years."

"Here lieth the body of HENRY WATERMAN, Gent. (late of this Town) who died 20th January, 1798, aged 58 years. Also the body of MARTHA, his Wife, who died July 7th, 1802, aged 66 years. Also the body of ELIZTH. SWAINE, Sister to the above-named Martha Waterman, who died Feby. 12th, 1804, aged 76 years."

"Here lyeth interr'd the body of JAMES ELLIOTT, late Wine Merchant, of this town, who died Janry 31st, 1801, aged 60 years. And also, SARAH, his Wife, who died May 8th, 1814, aged 90 years."

"Under this stone lies buried the body of the REV^D. LEWIS JONES (illegible) Master of the free Grammar School in this Town for 35 years. He died on y^e 13th Decr., 1759, aged 63. Here also lies the body of ELIZABETH, his wife, who died y^e 14th day of Feby., 1746, aged 64."

"Here lyeth the body of MR. JOHN YOUNG, of this Town, Gent, eldest son of Mr. Francis Young, Gent, and Mary, his wife; he departed this life, the 28th of October, Anno Dom., 1721, aged 61 years and 11 months; he was married in 1680, to Elizabeth, 2^d daughter to Mr. W. Burwash, Jurat of Rye; she dyed in the year 1701, aged 48 years, and was buried near this place; by whom he had three children, viz., FRANCIS, who dyed in 1682, aged one year; MARY, born in 1687, who died unmarried in 1707, and is buried under this stone; and ELIZABETH, born in 1693, who was married to EDMUND MARTIN, JUN^R, Gent, of New Romney, in Kent, in 1714, and whom he left his heiress and executrix."

Near to this is a stone, the inscription on which commences: "Under this stone are interred the remains—" (the continuation is wholly illegible).

"CHARLES HICKS, died August 18th, 1814, aged 4 months. JAMES SMITH HICKS, died January 18th, 1827, aged

11 years 2 months. ELIZABETH HICKS, mother of the above, died February 17th, 1853, aged 74 years. And CHARLES HICKS, their father, died December 18th, 1857, aged 75 years."

"In this vault are deposited the remains of MAJOR RICHARD HAY, late of the Bengal Military Establishment, born the 6th Feby., 1761, died the 16th March, 1825. Also of MARY HAY, his widow, born the 17th June, 1772, died the 25th Sept., 1827."

"Here lyeth the body of MARKE SPYE, Merchant, sonne of John Spye, who died the 15th day of August, 1657, aged 32 years. ELIZA, wife of MARKE SPYE, afterwards of THOS. CROUCH, Gent. and Jurat of this Towne, died the 18th day of October, anno salutis, 1667, THO. CROUCH, Gent., a lover of his King and the Church of England, having served the office of Mayor in the towne of Rye for several yeares, dece^d the 7th day of August Anno Dom. 1682, aged 49 years. Resurgam. Here lyeth the body of ELIZ. the wife of HENRY DAWINGTON, Gent., daughter of the ^sd THO. and ELIZ. who dec^d the 9th day of Dec. anno prædic. ætatis suæ 23."

"Here lyeth the body of ANN, the wife of JAMES LAMB, the younger, of this town, jurat (illegible) 1755, aged 26 years. Also on the left of this stone lyeth the above named JAMES LAMB, who died 20th February, 1780, aged 58 years and 9 months. Also under this stone are deposited the remains of JAMES MATTHEW LAMB, grandson of the above named James Lamb, the younger. He died on the 16th September, 1825, in the 46th year of his age."

Eastern end of St. Clare's Chancel.

"Here lyeth the bodies of THOS. GREBELL, of this town, Jurat, who departed this life the 7th Octr., 1724, æt. suæ 59. And of ALICE, his wife, who died the 13th Nov^r, 1727, æt. suæ 62; also the bodies of MARTHA and WILLIAM, children of JAMES LAMB, of this town, and Martha his wife; Martha died July 9th, 1727, aged 6 months, and William, August 5th, 1727, aged 10 months and 3 weeks. Likewise their sons, GREBELL and WILLIAM; Grebell died June 30th,

1730, aged three weeks, and William August, 1732, aged 10 months. SAMUEL their son died Jan^y. 17th, 1737, aged 10 months. MARTHA, the wife of JAMES LAMB, and the daughter of Tho^s. Grebell, and Alice, his wife, died Feby. 12th, 1737, aged 49 years. Also the body of JOHN LAMB, son of the aforesaid James and Martha Lamb, who died April y^e 18th, 1771, aged 47 years."

"Here lyeth the body of CATHERINE, late Wife of ALLEN GREBELL, of this town, Jurat, who departed this life the 9th day of November, Anno Domini 1732, ætatis suæ 36. Also THOMAS, Son of the said Allen and Catherine, who was born the 18th of May, and dyed the 15th of July, 1729. Here lyeth the body of ALLEN GREBELL, Esq^{re}, who, after having served the office of Mayor of this town for ten years, with the greatest honour and integrity, fell by the cruel stab of a sanguinary butcher on the 17th of March, 1742, aged 50. He left issue one Son and one Daughter."

"Underneath this are deposited the remains of JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, late of Greenwich, in Kent, Gent, who died on the 26th of August, 1794, aged 41 years. Also the remains of REBECCA CHAMBERLAIN (Sister of the above John Chamberlain) who died Janry. 17th, 1790, aged 30 years. Also the remains of MARY WATSON, daughter of Needler Chamberlain Watson, Esq^{re}, and Elizabeth his wife (illegible) 1795, aged 26 years. Also the remains of ELIZth. WATSON, Widow of the above-named Needler Chamberlain Watson, Esq^r., who died 25th Aug^t, 1808, aged 66 years.

"Sacred to the memory of MARY JANE WATSON, Daughter of William and Margaret Watson, of this town, who departed this life 16th September, 1822, aged 15 years. Also of the above-named WILLIAM WATSON, who died May 4th, 1841, aged 69 years."

"To the memory of WILLIAM CHAMBERLAIN, ob^t 30th March, 1831, Ætat 86.

"Sacred to the memory of MERYON, Son of WILLIAM and SARAH HOLLOWAY. He was born Janry 31st, 1812; was unfortunately drowned at the Charter House, June 20th, 1828."

"Here lyeth y^e body of MRS. AMMI WATERHOUSE, who died Octr. y^e 24th, 1726, aged 71 years. And also MARY, her daughter, and wife of JOSEPH COOPER, Junior, who died Novr. y^e 20th, 1728, aged 32 years. Left issue, 2 sons, George and Joseph. Here lyeth the body of MARY, second wife of Joseph Cooper, who departed this life the 24th day of Sept., 1743, aged 37 years. Left issue one daughter. Also here lyeth the body of y^e said

JOSEPH COOPER, who departed this life August the 14th, 1741, aged 50 years. Also here lyeth the body of MARY, daughter of Joseph and Ann Cooper, who died November the 2nd, 1747, aged 12 months. Mourn not for me, my parents dear, I am not dead but sleeping here. GEORGE COOPER, died Novr. 14th, 1748, ag^d 28 years."

Inscriptions on three other slabs in this Chancel have become illegible.

Extract from an order of Privy Council, of 29th March, 1854,

"**RYE, SUSSEX.**—Burials to be wholly discontinued from and after the first of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, in the burial-grounds of St. Mary's Church, and of the Baptist Chapel; and to cease at once under St. Mary's Church."

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCH YARD. HEAD STONES.

West of the Church, adjoining Custom House Street—A in Plan.

"Sacred to the memory of CHARLES OBIE WATSON, who died 10th February, 1841, aged 40 years. Also of HARRIET, his wife, who died 4th December, 1842, aged 41 years. In steadfast hope of that glad day, Here lies entomb'd our weary clay; Reader, awake, in time repent, Thine hours, as ours, are only lent; Forsake thy sins, in Christ believe, And thou shalt with him ever live."

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, wife of JOHN HADDEN WATSON, who died 2nd Febr., 1822, aged 45 years. Ye great ones of the earth for once draw near, And copy virtues in an humble sphere; She acted to ensure the noblest end, And shone as servant, mother, wife, and friend."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of JAMES BLACKMAN, builder, of this parish, who died 3rd October, 1823, aged 53 years. Also of JAMES, son of James and Elizabeth Blackman, who died July 27th, 1802, aged 9 months. Also of HARRIET, daughter of James and Elizabeth Blackman, who died 23rd February, 1805, aged 1 year and 4 months. Also of CHARLOTTE, daughter of James and Elizabeth Blackman, who died 8th October, 1805, aged 11 weeks. Also of ELIZABETH, their daughter, and wife of Stephen Walker, who died 26th

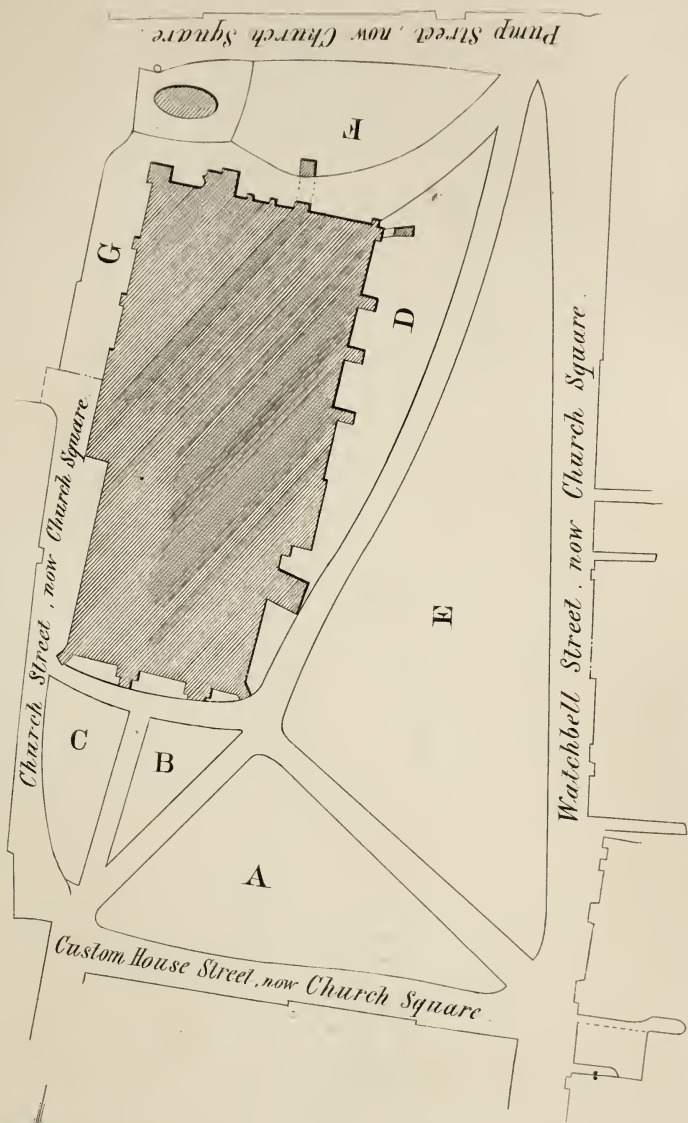
July, aged 25 years. In memory of MARY BLACKMAN, daughter of James and Elizabeth Blackman, who died Febr. 8th, 1833, aged 34 years. Near this spot are also deposited the remains of the above-named JAMES BLACKMAN, who died Octr. 19th, 1841, aged 75 years."

"In memory of DINAH BOURN POILE, daughter of Charles and Dinah Poile, born July 10th, 1831, died May 14th, 1833. Also of the above-named CHARLES POILE, who died March 23rd, 1852, aged 57 years."

"In memory of MARY, wife of THOMAS BOURN, who died November 30th, 1824, aged 77 years. Also the above-named THOMAS BOURN, who died May 3rd, 1854, aged 86 years. Likewise 3 of their children, THOMAS, died June 9th 1784, aged 7 months; JANE, died June 5th, 1790, aged three years; and MARY, died June 7th, 1790, aged 9 years."

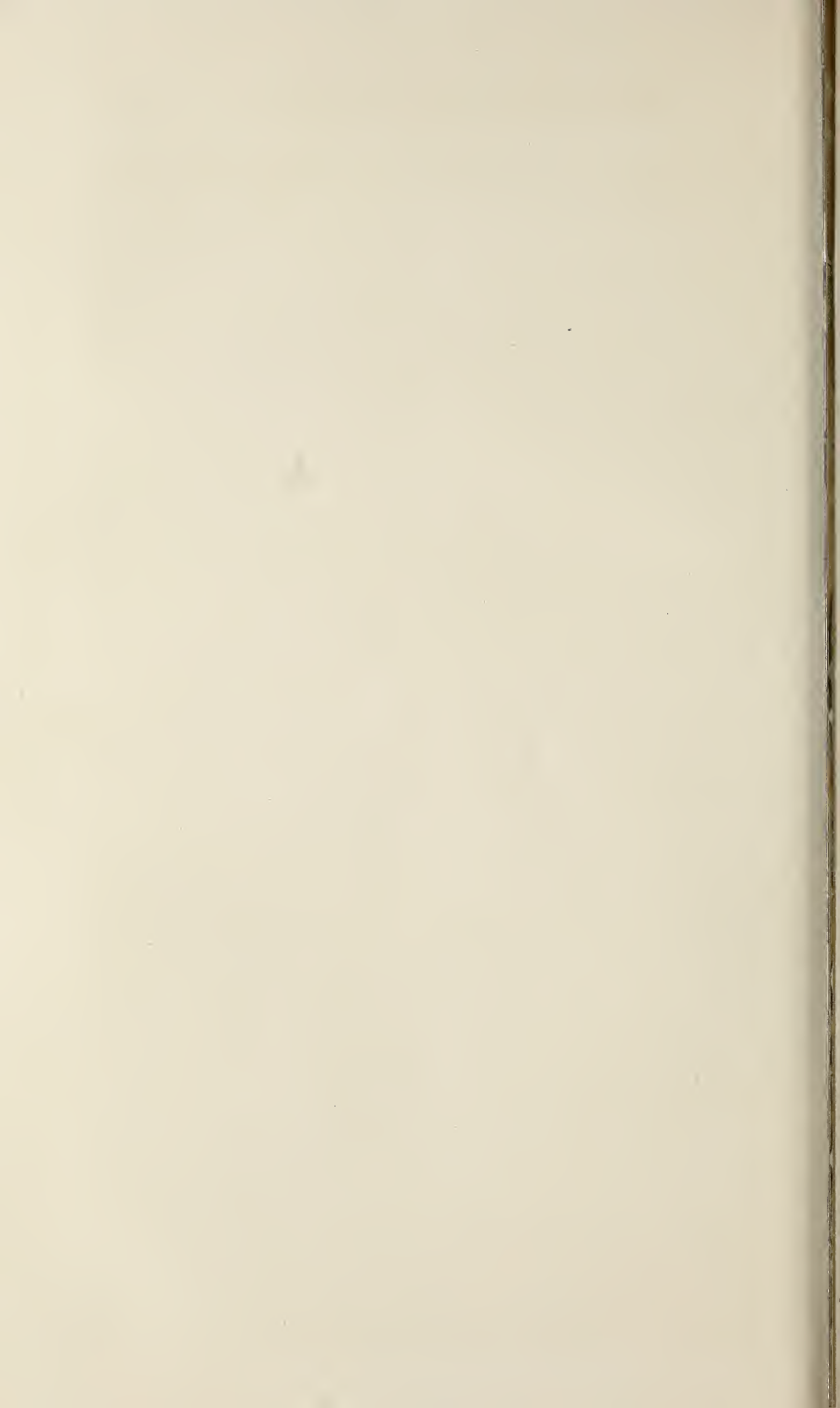
"In memory of JOHN MILLER, who died Augst. 1st, 1808, aged 55 years. Also SARAH, his wife, who died April 4th, 1803, aged 52 years. Left surviving 4 sons and 3 daughters, viz., John, Richard, Elizabeth, James, Ann, Thomas, and Mary."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN MILLER, who died 17th Decr., 1846, aged 74 years. Also of his son JOHN MILLER, who died 17th Sept., 1843, aged 46 years."



Scale - One Chain to an Inch.

RYE CHURCH & CHURCH YARD.



"Sacred to the memory of SUSANNA, wife of ROBERT WELLS, who died September 28th, 1831, aged 77 years. Whilst on this earth I did remain, My latter days were grief and pain; But when the Lord he did think best, He took me to everlasting rest."

"To the memory of THOMAS AMOS, who died November 10th, 1846, aged 67 years. Also of JANE, wife of the above, who died Febry. 14th, 1857, aged 63 years."

"In memory of JOHN BARRY, who departed this life 24th April, 1774, aged 28 years. He left issue surviving 2 daughters, viz., Elizabeth and Jane. Also of THOMAS WAKELIN, who departed this life 20th January, 1804, aged 58 years. Also ELIZABETH WAKELIN, first wife of John Barry, and afterwards to Thomas Wakelin, who departed this life May 7th, 1810, aged 77 years."

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS THORPE, who died September 20th, 1847, aged 62 years. Also to the memory of JAMES, HARRIETT, ANN, and CATHERINE, children of the above, who died in infancy."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN WHITTINGHAM, aged 29 years; likewise JOHN CORNELIUS, aged 22, late of Folkestone, in Kent, who were drowned near Hastings on the 5th October, 1804. They both left a widow and children to bemoan their loss. All you that stop our stone to see, Prepare yourselves to follow me; Repent in time, make no delay, For we in haste were snatched away."

"Sacred to the memory of FRANK, son of THOMAS WILLIAM and CAROLINE THORPE, who died May 27th, 1853, aged 2 years and 8 months."

"Sacred to the memory of CAROLINE, the wife of THOMAS WILLIAM THORPE, who died October 25th 1852, aged 38 years. She left 6 children, viz., George, Caroline, Thomas, Clara, Frank, and Harriette Mary."

"In memory of WILLIAM PAINE, who died December 3rd, 1834, aged 29 years. He brought down my strength in my journey, and shortened my days—" (the rest under ground).

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE PAIN, who died May 24th, 1822, aged 43 years. Also ELIZABETH, who died in her infancy. Left surviving five sons and four daughters. With patience to the last he did submit, And murmur'd not at what the Lord thought fit; But with a Christian fortitude resigned, His soul to God at his appointed time; Therefore for me no further sorrow take, But love my wife and children for my sake. Likewise to the memory of CATHERINE, wife of the above-named George Pain, who died February 14th, 1832, aged 54 years. In memory of GEORGE PAIN, who died Janry. 10th, 1848, aged 44 years, leaving a wife and 9 children."

"In memory of MR. WILLIAM BECK, JUNR., of London, who died suddenly in this town, on the 16th November, 1818, aged 42 years."

"In memory of THOMAS BARRY, who departed this life—" (the rest illegible).

"Sacred to the memory of MARY BARRY, wife of James Barry, yeoman, of this parish, who died October 4th, 1831, aged 66 years."

"Sacred to the memory of MR. JOHN BARRY, surgeon, son of James and Mary Barry, of this parish, who died January 9th, 1827, aged 37 years. His many

amiable qualities as a man endeared him to those who knew him, and his affectionate and exemplary conduct, though labouring for years under the most severe and acute sufferings, has left an impression on the minds of his afflicted relatives, which time only, and a pious resignation to the will of God can ever heal."

"In memory of the children of John and Ann Burkett; MARGARET ANN GAWEN BURKETT, who died October 10th, 1825, aged 2 years; JOHN HENRY BURKETT, who died October 18th, 1825, aged 5 years and six months. 'But Jesus called them unto him and said, Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven.'"

"Here lieth the body of JEREMIAH DWYER, Esq., son of Jeremiah Dwyer, Esq., of the city of Dublin, who departed this life on Sunday, the 4th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1831, aged 45 years. This stone is erected to his memory by James Dwyer, Esq., of the city of Dublin, barrister at law, his only surviving brother. Requesat in pace."

"In memory of THOMAS, son of THOMAS and NANN GRAVETT, who died January ye 4th, 1779, aged 8 months. Weep not, dear mother, but joyful be, In hopes that Christ hath set me free. Also of the above-named THOMAS GRAVETT, who died June 20th, 1800, aged 43 years. My fatal time was come, And God in haste called me; Be kind to my dear wife, Now I am laid in clay. Also of the above-named NANN GRAVETT, who died July, 10th, 1803, aged 46 years."

"In memory of ELIZABETH LEAVER, who died Febry. 14th, 1809, aged 11 years."

"Here lies the body of PHILIP OAKE, who departed this life the 4th of November, in ye year 1720, aged 37 years. Also WILLIAM OAKE—" (the rest under ground.)

"Sacred to the memory of JANE BLACKMAN, daughter of James and Jane Blackman, who died February 17th, 1806. Also of MARY BLACKMAN, daughter of the above, who died February 22nd, 1829, aged 22 years. Beloved in life, in memory still most dear, In love how faithful, and to friends sincere. Likewise the above-named JAMES BLACKMAN, who died June 22nd, 1831, aged 53 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JANE FLETCHER, who died January 31st, 1818, aged 74 years. Also of MARY BLACKMAN (late of Battle), who died May ye 22nd, 1823, aged 75 years. The memory of the just is blessed. Likewise of HARRIET, daughter of James and Jane Blackman, and wife of EDWARD CHARLES EDWARDS, who died March 20th, 1850, aged 39 years."

Tomb within an Iron Railing.

"Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM DURRANT, Gent, who departed this life June 8th, 1811, aged 56 years. He had issue by Mary, his wife, Mary, John, Jane, Ann, and William. JOHN died an infant, the 9th of May, 1788. Also of WILLIAM, son of William and Mary Durrant, who died of the yellow fever at the Island of Grenada, in the West Indies, April the 10th, 1817, aged 19 years. Likewise ANN, wife of JAMES MOLE, and daughter of William and Mary Durrant, who departed this life at Carmarthen, in Wales, Octr. 22nd, 1826, aged 32 years. Also of MARY DURRANT, wife of William Durrant, senr., who departed this life April 17th, 1829, aged 67 years. Likewise

ANN, wife of WILLIAM DURRANT CLARK, grandson of the above, who died November 1st., 1847, aged 37 years."

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, wife of CAPT. HENRY HARNDEN, who departed this life January, 12th, 1854, aged 77 years. Leaving issue 3 sons and 2 daughters."

"In memory of HANNAH, third daughter of Robert and Sarah Gurley, and wife of EDWARD TICKNER, of this town, who departed this life 19th March, 1827, aged 67 years. Lo! where this silent marble weeps, A friend, a wife, a mother sleeps, A heart within whose sacred cell The peaceful virtues lov'd to dwell; Affection warm, and faith sincere, And soft humanity were there. Also of the said EDWARD TICKNER, who died July 3rd, 1833, aged 77 years."

"In memory of ROBT. GURLEY, SENR., who died July 22nd, 1789, aged 74 years. Also of SARAH, his wife who died July 20th, 1781, aged 56 years."

"In memory of WILLIAM TICKNER, son of William and Sarah Tickner, who died 14th January, 1833, aged 14 months. Also of their second daughter, ANNE, who departed this life October 30th, 1834, aged 5 years and 8 months."

"In memory of SARAH BAKER, who departed this life July 25th, 1804, aged 77 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN MERRITON FULLER, son of Stephen and Mary Fuller, who died 1st Febr., 1822, aged 4 years and 2 months. Also their daughter, MARY JANE FULLER, who died 22nd March, 1822, aged 13 months. The great Jehovah, full of love, A angel bright did send, To fetch these little harmless doves, To joys that never end. In memory of MARY, the wife of Stephen Fuller, who died February 17th, 1855, aged 63 years."

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE FRISE, who died February 7th, 1847, aged 57 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN HARNDEN, who died Novr. 9th, 1835, aged 80 years. Also of JANE, his wife, who died Janry. 26th, 1818, aged 60 years, leaving issue 1 son and 6 daughters. And also of HARRIET, their third daughter, who died May 15th, 1842, aged 55 years."

"Sacred to the memory of ANN, wife of MR. WILLIAM LOFTUS, JUNR., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who died 5th March, 1826, aged 39 years."

"Here lies the body of MR. JOHN KINGWOOD, who departed this life ye 13th of May, 1754, in ye 60th year of his age."

"Here lies the body of JNO. KINGWOOD his son, by Sarah, his wife; he departed this life ye 18th of October, 1734, aged (illegible) years."

"In memory of JOHN TURNER, who departed this life November 5th, 1808, aged 52 years."

"In memory of MARY, the wife of SAMUEL KENNETT; she died June ye 9th, 1780, aged 26 years. When death was sent from God above, So suddenly to part all love; No friends nor yet physician's art Could then prevent his fatal dart. Also the above-named SAMUEL KENNETT who died July 4th, 1802, aged 51 years. Also of HARRIOT KENNETT, who died August 18th, 1810, aged 17 years. Also of MARY ANN KENNETT, who died September 14th, 1811, aged 27 years."—*On the Back*.—"Sacred to the memory of CHRISTMAS

ELIZABH. KENNETT, who departed this life 30th April, 1822, aged 22 years. Also to the memory of ANNE KENNETT, second wife of Samuel Kennett, who died Novr. 11th, 1846, aged 89 years."

"Sacred to the memory of SUSANNAH, wife of WILLIAM THORPE; she died (deeply lamented) August 24th, 1838, aged 70 years."

"Sacred to the memory of FRANK SIMS, who died June 10th, 1836, aged 38 years. Deeply regretted by his family. He left surviving a widow and 3 children."

"Here lyeth the body of HENRY PEARCE, who departed this life November ye 23rd, 1765, aged 57 years. Also CATHARINE, his wife, who died November 26th, 1789, aged 81 years. And THOMAS, their son, who died April 27th, 1813, aged 64 years."

"Here lies THOS., son of ALFD. and ELIZTH. WARD, he died June 25th, 1749, in ye 5th yr of his age."

"To the memory of PHILIP FURBY, son of Samuel and Sarah Furby, who died June 1st, 1825, aged 19 years. Also GEORGE FURBY, aged 3 years; GEORGE, 2nd, aged 3 years; RICHARD, aged 1 year; HARRIOT, aged 2 years. Buried at Tenterden. Likewise JAMES FURBY, their son, who died March 30th, 1833, aged 32 years, leaving a widow and one son. In the midst of life we are in death."

In Gothic.—"JAMES CLAPSHAW, ship builder, deceased XVIII. Aug., MDCCCXLIII., aged XXXVI."

"Sacred to the memory of MARY, wife of SMITH THOMAS, who died 27th September, 1812, aged 50 years. On tombs, encomiums are but vainly spent, A virtuous life is the best monument. Also of the above-named SMITH THOMAS, who died 19th Sept., 1831, aged 72 years. Left surviving three sons, viz., Edward, James, and Charles."

"Sacred to the memory of RUTH, the wife of JOHN FORSTER, who died (very suddenly) the 25th December, 1837, aged 64 years. Corruption, Earth, and Worms, Shall but destroy this flesh, Till my immortal spirit comes, To put it on afresh."

"In memory of JOHN BEAN, who died November ye 9th, 1777, aged 32 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN STAFFELL, SENR., shipwright, who departed this life May 3rd, 1817, aged 80 years. 'Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.' Also of JANE STAFFELL, his wife, who departed this life May 13th, 1821, aged 81 years."

"In memory of HENRY STAFFELL, JUNR., who died July 31st, 1787, aged 52 years. In memory of JANE, wife of CHRISTOPHER CUFF, who died May 21st, 1854, aged 85 years."

"In memory of ELIZABETH STAFFELL, daughter of John and Jane Staffell, who died April 17th, 1810, aged 39 years."

"In memory of JOHN STAFFELL, son of John and Jane Staffell, who died August 31st, 1808, aged 34 years. In memory of PHILIP CLARK, who was unfortunately drowned on his passage home from Ireland, in 1815, in the 50th year of his

age. Also of MARY MACHIN, wife of the above who died February 17th, 1854, aged 88 years."

"In memory of WILLIAM BARNES (many years Serjt. in the army, and late Superintendent Rye Gas Works), who died Augst., 29th, 1853, aged 78 years. Also MARY, his wife (buried at Iden), who died 23rd August, 1822, aged 37 years. Also ELIZABETH, his 2nd wife, who died 12th April, 1841, aged 73 years. Also of MARY, his 3rd wife, who died . . . 18 aged . . . years. Billed by Death I here remain, Till the last trumpet sounds, I shall rise and march again."

"In memory of THOMAS COOKE, who died March ye 9th, 1765, aged 74 years."

"In memory of JOSEPH EDWARDS (late Stonemason, of this town), who died Octr. 13th, 1807, aged 32 years. Left surviving his wife and 4 children, viz., Katherine, Harriet, William, and Edwin Joseph. Also of the above-named HARRIET EDWARDS, who died March 15th, 1823, aged 19 years. My days on earth were as a shadow, my purposes were broken off."—*On the Back*.—"In memory of WILLIAM EDWARDS, eldest son of Joseph Edwards, who died August 6th, 1831, aged 23 years. Life how short: Eternity how long."

In Gothic on the Body Stone.

"CAROLINE, the wife of CHARLES SMITH, died October XXIII., MDCCCLIII., aged XXXII. EDITH, their firstborn, died March XXII., MDCCCLXIII., aged 1 year v months."

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH, wife of JOHN GATELAND TAYLOR, who departed this life 10th June, 1828, aged 31 years, leaving issue surviving, 3 sons, viz., Charles, John, and James. A guilty, weak, and helpless worm, On thy kind arms I fall; Be thou my strength and righteousness, My Jesus, and my all."

"Here lyeth the body of JOSEPH PIERCE, Ironmonger, from Maidstone, Kent, who died ye 8th April, 1741, aged 32 years" (the rest under ground.)

"Sacred to the memory of ROBERT PINK, who died August 13, 1834, aged 57 years, leaving a wife and four daughters to lament his loss. SARAH, wife of the above, died November 6th, 1811, aged 68 years."

"Sacred to the memory of MARY CLARK, wife of Henry Clark, who died April 22nd, 1809, aged 50 years, leaving issue six sons and four daughters, viz., Henry, Susanna, Mary, Philip, Mercy, Edward, John, Thomas, Archer, and Margaret. Her mortal pains and grief are o'er, And life's fierce storms are past, Safely she reach'd the heavenly shore, Where joys unfading last."—*On the Back*.—"Also of the afore-named HENRY CLARK, SENR., who departed this life on the 18th May, 1832, in the 73rd year of his age. 'Verily, verily I say unto you (saith Christ), if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death.'—John cap. 8, verse 51."

"In memory of PHILIP CLARK, SENR. Also MERCY, his wife. He departed this life May 31st, 1806, aged 73 years. She departed this life Feby. 12th, 1787, aged 53 years. What we were the judgment day will best make known. Reader, what art thou?"—*On the Back*.—"In memory of THOMAS CLARK, son of Philip and Mercy, who died July 14th, 1849, aged 77 years. Also of WILLIAM PHILIP, son of the above-named Thomas, who died April 16th, 1809, aged 9

months and — weeks. Also of ELIZABETH and WILLIAM, children of William Durrant Clark, son of the above-named Thomas, who died in their infancy."

"Sacred to the memory of MARGARET CLARK, daughter of Henry and Mary Clark, who departed this life on the 28th of April, 1818, aged 15 years and 7 months. Also of ANTHONY NABBS CLARK; he died 15th July, 1792, aged nine months." (The rest under ground.)

"In memory of ABRAHAM STAFFELL, who died March 14th, 1791, aged 53 years. Also GRACE STAFFELL, died Janry. 29th, 1783, aged 19 years. Likewise HENRY STAFFELL, died Janry. 26th, 1793, aged 27 years. Also MARY STAFFELL, wife of Abraham Staffell, departed this life May 22nd, 1823, aged 87 years. Likewise MARGARET WEIGHT, died March 27th, 1828, aged 89 years."

"Sacred to the memory of ABRAHAM STAFFELL, who died February ye 28th, 1810, aged 42 years. He left surviving Sarah, his wife, and Jane, his daughter."

"Sacred to the memory of GRACE, the wife of JUSTINIAN ALLEN, who died March 20th, 1838, aged 41 years. She left surviving a husband and 5 children, viz., Henry, Elizabeth, William, Margaret, and Sarah, to lament their loss. And also of the above-named ELIZABETH, who died June 17th, 1838, aged 12 years. Likewise of SARAH LOUISA, who died August 16th, 1838, aged 4 years. In memory of GRACE MARGARET, the daughter of Justinian and Grace Allen, who died Decr. 8th, 1839, aged 8 years. Also of the above named JUSTINIAN ALLEN, who died June 27th, 1841, aged 47 years."

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE STAFFELL, who died Octr. 26th, 1829, aged 56 years. Also ELIZABETH, his wife, who died March 7th, 1829, aged 56 years. Likewise MARY STAFFELL, their daughter, who died Feby. 27th, 1822, aged 21 years. Left surviving 1 son and daughter, viz., Grace and Henry. Also of HENRY GEORGE, son of Henry and Ann Staffell, who died May 1st, 1830, aged 3 months."—*On the Back*.—"In memory of GRACE STAFFELL, daughter of Justinian and Grace Allen, who died July 5th, 1821, aged 17 months. Also MARY JANE, their daughter, who died Janry. 18th, 1830, aged 6 years and 8 months. Likewise JUSTINIAN GEORGE, their son, who died Feby. 14th, 1830, aged 2 years and 2 months."

"In memory of SARAH, wife of JOHN WEST, who died March 31st, 1700, aged 33 years." (Illegible, part under ground.)

West of the Church, between the Pathways—B in Plan.

"The family grave of WILLIAM AYLWARD and KITTY, his wife. To the memory of MARY, daughter of the above, died 16th December, 1812, aged 15 years. Six infant children died. KITTY AYLWARD died March 12th, 1835, aged 73 years. WILLIAM AYLWARD died Decr. 22nd, 1839, aged 77 years, leaving 2 sons, Thos. Wm. and Chas. Aylward. 4 infant children of Charles Aylward. ANN, the wife of CHARLES AYLWARD, died Janry. 29th, 1841, aged 45 years. CHARLES AYLWARD, died June 29th, 1842, aged 47 years, leaving issue three sons, William, Thomas John, and Edwin Fisher, and three daughters, Mary, Catherine Elizth., and Charlotte Ann. THOMAS WILLIAM AYLWARD, son of William and Kitty,

died November 15th, 1844, aged 53 years, leaving no issue. WILLIAM AYLWARD, son of Charles, died 25th May, 1848, leaving issue one son, William Charles Aylward. 'For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'—1st Epistle to Corinthians, 18th chapter, 22nd verse."

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES SEYMOUR, who departed this life, Octr. 20th, 1850, aged 75 years. He left surviving an affectionate wife to lament her loss. Also of MARY HAYES SEYMOUR, his wife, who departed this life Octr. 24th, 1858, aged 76 years."—*At the Back of the same Stone.*

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS SEYMOUR, of East Garston, Berkshire, who died on a visit in this town, the 23rd Sept., 1841, aged 70 years, Corruption, Earth, and Worms, Shall but refine this flesh, Till my triumphant spirit comes, To put it on afresh. Be ye also ready. Also to the memory of ELIZA, the wife of JOHN SEYMOUR, who died 18th May, 1854, aged 45 years."

"Sacred to the memory of MARIA, wife of STEPHEN FRYMAN, who died August 18th, 1821, aged 41 years. Left surviving 2 sons and 6 daughters. My heart's oppress, my strength decay'd, My eyes depriv'd of sight; Friends, lovers, kinsmen, gaze aloof, On such a dismal sight. Also MARIA BAKER FRYMAN, their daughter, who died Octr. 25th, 1821, aged 16 years and 6 months. My life was short, my rest be long, I thank my God he took me young. And of ANGELINA JANE, their daughter, who died August 8th, 1839, aged 21 years."

"Sacred to the memory of STEPHEN FRYMAN, born 2nd Nov., 1778, died 6th May, 1829. Left surviving 2 sons and 5 daughters. As a husband and father, tender and affectionate, as a friend, sincere and faithful. His memory will be long and affectionately cherished by all who knew him. Also of ELIZABETH SUSANNAH, his daughter, born 10th Nov., 1815, died April, 4th, 1832. Likewise, of CHARLES KENNETT, his son, born 29th Oct., 1807, died Decr. 19th, 1833. And of CHARLOTTE MARIA FINCH, his daughter, born 17th August, 1821, died May 8th, 1838."

"Here lieth the body of THOMAS HOVENDEN, who died Novr. ye 16th, 1727, aged 51 years. Also here lieth ye body of ELIZABETH, the wife of Thomas Hovenden, she died the 11th of Sept., 1753, aged 72 years."

"To the memory of SARAH, daughter of STEPH. FRYMAN, by Elizth., his 2nd wife, who died Janry. ye 8th, 1761, aged 19 years. Also here lies the body of MARGARET who died 7th 1771, aged 63 years. Also ELIZTH., his wife, died Novr. ye 6th, 1780, aged 66 years."

"Here lies interr'd the body of RICHARD WATERS, who departed this life March the 5th, 1718, in the 81st year of his age."

"In memory of MR. DAVID GUY, who died Feby. 13th, 1788, aged 63 years and 11 months. Also of Mrs. SARAH PULFORD, youngest daughter of David and Anne Guy, who died April 1st, 1786, aged 22 years. Also of Mrs. MARY COOKE, eldest

daughter of David and Anne Guy, who died 17th January, 1823, aged 73 years."

West of the Church in front of the Vicarage, C in Plan.

"In Memory of MARY, Wife of JOHN NABBS, she died June 17th, 1735, aged — years."

"In Memory of HARRIOT, Wife of HENRY SMITH, who died June ye 18th, 1779, aged 74 years. Stop, passengers, and cast an eye, For as you are, so great was I; As I am now, so must you be, So pray prepare to follow me. Dear Son and Daughter, do not weep, I am not dead, but here asleep. But when I hear the trumpet sound, I trust in Christ I shall be found."

"Here are deposited the remains of ANTHONY NABBS; he died in hopes of a joyful resurrection, Octor 27th, 1790, aged (illegible) years."

"Sacred to the Memory of JAMES HOAD, (Ship-builder), who died February 5th, 1851, aged 63 years. Likewise AUGUSTUS, Son of James and Jane Hoad, who died July 4th, 1847, aged 29 years. If I wait, the grave is mine house.—Job, 17 chap. 13 ver."

"In Memory of ELIZABETH LEWIS, who died June 16th, 1811, aged 80 years. Also WILLIAM, her Husband, who died April 13th, 1827, aged 86 years."

"In Memory of JAMES, Son of THOS. and ELIZTH. HINKLEY, who died February 11th, 1832, aged 28 years. Go home, my friends, and shed no tears, I must rest here till Christ appears. Short was my life, long be my rest; Christ took me home when He thought best."

"In Memory of JOSEPH BRAY, who died July ye 4th, 1737, aged 39 years. Also, ELIZABETH, his Wife, who died Octor. 31st, 1762, aged 55 years. They left issue one daughter, Ann."

"In Memory of MARY, Wife of JOHN DANIEL, SENR., who died Janry 1st, 1783, aged 46 years. She left issue 2 sons, viz., William and John. Also, the said JOHN DANIEL, SENR., died Janry 8th, 1793, aged 58 years. Also, ELIZABETH, Second Wife of the above-named John Daniel, who departed this life Feby. 9th, 1803, aged 67 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of JOHN DANIEL, who died April 16th, 1832, aged 71 years. Also, of SUSANNAH, his Wife, who died May 9th, 1833, aged 76 years. Left surviving 1 Son and 4 Daughters. And of JANE, their Daughter, who died Sept 2nd, 1838, aged 38 years. And also of SUSANNAH, their Daughter, who died January 22nd, 1842, aged 54 years."

"In Memory of PHILIP DUNK, who died Octr. 22nd, 1851, aged 47 years. Also of ALBERT EDWARD, Son of the above, who died August 7th, 1845, aged 1 year and 9 months. Also of JAMES EATON, Son of the above, who died Decr. 17th, 1845, aged 4 years. Also SARAH ANN, Wife of EDWIN HERBERT, and Daughter of the above, who died Decr. 7th, 1852, aged 23 years. Be ye also ready."

"Here lyeth the body of JOHN WELCH, who departed this life April ye 20th, 1730, aged 52 years.

Also 6 Children, viz., Thomas, Elizabeth and Thomas, Mary, Elizabeth and Elizabeth, who all died young and are bury'd here."

"Here lyeth also ye body of ELIZABETH, his Wife, who departed this life Novr. ye 21st, 1717, aged 36 years.

"Here lieth the body of Mr. JOHN MORRIS, SENR., who departed this life July ye 10th, 1741, aged 58 years. Also ELIZ., his Wife, departed this life Decemr. 13th, 1742, aged 57 years," (Rest of inscription underground.)

"In Memory of THOMAS GODDEN, SENR., who died June ye 9th, 1739, aged 53 years. Also ELIZABETH, his Wife, who died April ye 22nd, 1766, aged 77 years. Also Seven of their Children, all died young."

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS VENNALL (the elder), who died March 4th, 1838, aged 78 years. Also of PHILLEY, his Wife, who died November 15th, 1841, aged 84 years. And also of CHARLES, the Son of JOHN and ANN VENNALL, who died October 6th, 1837, aged 2 years and 4 months. Also to the Memory of Two Children of the above-named JOHN and ANN VENNALL, who died in their infancy."

"Sacred to the Memory of MARGARET, Wife of THOMAS VENNALL, who died 6th August, 1826, aged 45 years. Also to the Memory of five Sons and four Daughters, viz, HENRY, THOMAS, GEORGE, CHARLES, WILLIAM, JANE, MARY, MARGARET, and ANN, who died in their infancy. Also, of EDMUND, Son of Thomas and Margaret Vennall, who died 18th December, 1829, aged 9 years. Likewise to the memory of the above-named THOMAS VENNALL, who died 21st May, 1853, aged 72 years."

Tomb within an iron railing.

"Here lieth the body of ELIZ. BACKLEY, granddaughter of Capt. JAMES CADMAN, who died the 15th of December, 1737, aged 55 years. Here lieth interr'd MARGARET, Widow of Mr. WILLIAM HORSFIELD, who died July ye 5th, 1769, aged 83 years. Here lieth the body of ELIZABETH CADMAN, who departed this life the 4th of December, 1732, aged 84 years. She was sister to Margaret Martin, and Widow of John Backley and Michael Cadman. Here lies interr'd SARAH, Wife of Mr. MATTHEW MOORE, who died April ye 21st, 1772, aged 69 years. Also here lieth the body of Mr. ABRAHAM MOORE; he died Decr. ye 29th, 1774, aged 60 years."

"In memory of WILLIAM EDWARDS, who died Sept. 28th, 1800, aged 66 years. Also ELIZABETH, who died Febr. 16th, 1809." (the rest under ground.)

"Sacred to the memory of the REVD. THOS. TWIDDY, who departed this life December 17th, 1838, aged 61 years. 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.' Revelations, chap. 14, ver. 13. Also of MARY, relict of the above, who departed this life April 21st, 1843. Aged 63 years."

"In memory of THOMAS BARKER, who departed this life March 4th, 1807, aged 61 years."—(The rest is illegible.)

"To the memory of MARY, ye wife of WILLY. BETTS, daughter of Robt. and Mary Pearce, who died May ye 23rd, 1758, aged 38 years. What thou hast given, thou canst take, When thou wilt new gifts canst make; All flows from thee alone; When thou didst give it, it was thine" (the rest under ground.)

On the following headstone (the first two lines illegible).—"ANNE, wife of DAVID GUY; In her conduct through life prudent and exemplary

As a Christian the example of Christ, To whom she looked as her King, and made his precept her study and delight. Her dying words: 'I knowon whom I have believed . . . with life my languid spirits faint, And fain would be at rest. Oh, let me enter those sacred seats, where after all the Toil of life begins an everlasting Sabbath.' She died on the Lord's Day morning, Febr. 17, 1782, aged 57, and left issue one son and four daughters. Her distracted husband erected this stone as a tribute well due to her pious memory."—Only legible part of an inscription, "in this town, in the year 1718 . . . JAMES LAMB, ESQRE."—*At the back.*—"Also DAVID CHRISTMAS" (remainder wholly illegible).

SOUTH of, and adjoining the Church, D in plan.

"This stone is erected to the memory of ROBERT BISHOP

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE CHAPMAN, who departed this life the 16th day of February, 1835, aged 81 years. Also of MARY, his wife, who died Febr. 11th, 1849, aged 83 years."

"In memory of JOHN DIDD, who died April ye 4th, 1777, aged (illegible) years. Also of MARY, his second wife, who died (illegible) 1779, aged 59 years."

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE KNIGHTS (surgeon), who died March 10th, 1853, aged 56 years."

"In memory of SARAH, the wife of WILLIAM FIELD, (of the Jolly Sailor, Canterbury), who departed this life Sept. 29th, 1807, aged 49 years. Leaving issue 6 children, viz., William, Sarah, Thomas Ann, Harriet, and Thomas."

"Sacred to the memory of DOROTHY, wife of WILLIAM CHATTERTON, who died 29th October, 1825, aged 52 years. Also to JANE and MARY, their daughters, who died in their infancy. Left surviving one son and one daughter. Also of the above-named WILLIAM CHATTERTON, who died the 15th Febr., 1842, aged 72 years. 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.'"

"Here lies the body of WILLIAM THORPE, and ANN, his wife, and ANN, their daughter. He died 13th June, 1726, aged 42. Ann, their daughter, died Novr. 6th, 1735, aged 32. Also here lieth the body of ELIZABETH, the second wife of the above, and WILLIAM" (the rest under ground.)

"Sacred to the memory of SARAH, wife of GEORGE PETTETT, who died June 23rd, 1839, aged 38 years. Also of the above-named GEORGE PETTETT, who died October 9th, 1844, aged 61 years."

"In hope of a joyfull Resurrection, Here lies" (the rest illegible.)

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES STONHAM, who (while in the exercise of his business) on the 9th Febr., 1841, suddenly exchanged worlds, aged 70 years. Great God, on what a slender thread, hang everlasting things. Also to the memory of ANN MARIA, his wife, who died September 20th, 1846, aged 63 years. Ye that would learn her worth who sleeps below, Read virtue's pages through from end to end, Leave not a word unmark'd, and then will know, The virtues that adorn'd a valued friend."

"In Memory of JOHN RUBIE, late Master Mariner of this port, who died on board the sloop, *Union*,

- in the Downs, 23rd March, 1802, aged 41 years, leaving a widow and several children to lament his loss. Also, SARAH, his Wife (who died at Hastings), 16th April, 1820."
- "In Memory of DAVID ESPENETT, SENR., who departed this life Octr. 28th, 1768, aged 56 years." On the other side of the stone:—"Here also lieth the remains of MARY HILLARY, Widow, Sister of the said David Espenett, Senr., who died April 12th, 1792, aged 84 years."
- "(Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.) In Memory of ELIZABETH, Wife of DAVID ESPENETT, late of this parish, who died 13th April, 1786, aged 75 years. Also, of DAVID, their Son, who died 26th October, 1773, aged 32 years." On the other side of the stone:—"In Memory of MARY, Daughter of MARY HILLARY, Widow of JAMES STONHAM, who departed this life 13th July, 1823, aged 77 years. Left surviving 3 sons and 1 daughter, viz., David, James, Jesse, and Ruth."
- "In Memory of RUTH, Wife of JAMES HESSELL, who died December 15th, 1836, aged 58 years. Left surviving 1 son and 1 daughter, viz., Jesse and Rachael. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Also, of the above-named JAMES HESSELL (of this place, Ship-builder), who died June 24th, 1847, aged 70 years."
- "Sacred to the Memory of JOHN ADNETT GARRETT, who died Octr. 10th, 1825, aged 38 years. Also of ELIZABETH, his Wife, who died Novr., 1836, aged 46 years."
- "In Memory of THOMAS CARTER, who died July 23rd, 1837, aged 77 years. Also of MERCY, his Wife, who died Decr. 16th, 1844, aged 81 years."
- "In Memory of WILLIAM ELLENDEN, SENR., who departed this life the 18th day of April, 1700, aged 66 years. Also MERCY, his Wife, who died the 2nd day of Decr, 1707, aged 56 years. Likewise ANN, their Daughter, who died —" (the rest illegible.)
- "Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM ELLENDEN, Son of Jas. and Elizbth. Ellenden, who died April 15th, 1835, aged 37 years. 'The morn beheld him healthy and vigorous, In Manhood's prime, but night, unpropitious night, Veil'd in nature's sablest gloom, refusing her Smallest aid to guide his weary steps, beheld him, Stretch'd in that dread Cavity pale and lifeless, The Son belov'd, Brother dear, and Patriot true, The pit which surrounds the Grand Tower of Dymchurch.' Also of the above-named ELIZABETH, who died Janry. 31st, 1842, aged 67 years. Also of the above-named JAMES, who died March 14th, 1847, aged 78 years."
- "Erected to the Memory of ELIZABETH, Wife of RICHARD HEATH, who died May 31st, 1832, aged 60 years. Also, of the above-named RICHARD HEATH, who died March 4th, 1834, aged 66 years. And of RICHARD, their Son, who died June 13th, 1829, aged 32 years. Likewise ISAAC, their Son, who died July 13th, 1831, aged 56 years. And also of 3 CHILDREN who died in their infancy. Left surviving 2 Sons and 6 Daughters, viz., Henry, Edward James, Mary, Eliza, Charlotte, Sarah Ann, Rhoda, and Elizabeth."
- "Erected to the Memory of JAMES HONISS, Stone mason, of this town, who died Oct. 10th, 1787, aged 47 years. Also, to MARY, his Wife, who died Novr. 30th, 1792, aged 45 years. They left Issue two Sons and two Daughters, viz, Edward, William, Elizabeth, and Sarah."
- "In Memory of THOMAS JAMES, of this Parish, who died Sept'r ye 26, 1763, aged 68 years, And SUSANNAH, his Wife, who died April 22d, 1775, aged 77 years. Also, near this place, Lieth 5 of his Children (viz.), JEMMY BOYKET, who died an Infant, Novr. ye 2nd, 1733; Also MARK, who died Janry. ye 17th, 1737, aged 6 years; Also SUSANNAH, who died March ye 24th, 1743, aged 19 years; Also, THOMAS, who died May ye 8th, 1754, aged 27 years."
- "Only remember that you are as strangers in the earth."
- "In Memory of JOHN HAISELL, who died 16th Decr, 1820, aged 23 years. Also his Son, WILLIAM THOMAS, who died 16th Sept'r, 1819, aged 5 months. Left surviving a wife and one daughter."
- "In Memory of SARAH ANN HAISELL, who died 22nd Augst, 1808, aged 2 years. Also ELIZA HAISELL, who died 20th June, 1820, aged 21 years."

SOUTH, next Watchbell-street, now Church-square,
E in Plan.

- "Sacred to the Memory of JUDITH ALCE, Daughter of WILLIAM and MARY COTHARAN, Wife of ROBERT ALCE, who died May 24th, 1829, aged 38 years."
- "Sacred to the Memory of MARY COTHARAN, Daughter of John and Sarah Hayes, Wife of William Cotharan, who died February 9th, 1816, aged 59 years. Left issue 3 Daughters, viz., Mary Hayes, Jane and Judith. Also of the said WILLIAM COTHARAN, who died July 10th, 1836, aged 80 years."
- "Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM COTHARAN, Son of William and Mary Cotharan, who died March 5th, 1795, aged 8 years. Also CHARLOTTE, Daughter of William and Mary Cotharan, who died an Infant, Janry. 2nd, 1797." (Verses illegible.)
- "Sacred to the Memory of MARTHA, Wife of JOHN REYNOLDS, and Daughter of William and Mary Cotharan, who departed this life July 20th, 1805, aged 20 years" (Verses illegible.)

Three Headstones, 3 the inscriptions on which are wholly illegible.

3 At the South-East corner of the Church Yard, a few yards from the Gun-garden entrance, and on the left hand, stands an old and mutilated tombstone, on which may be indistinctly discerned a rude coffin, with a figure sitting upright in it, while all that is legible on the stone are these few words: "Mary, the wife of"—with the date "177—." This is the only record of a singular occurrence which happened in this town, somewhere about a hundred years ago. Any one acquainted with the localities of this ancient town must have observed a skeleton, as it were, of a very old and very large house, having two fronts, one on the north facing Market Street, and the other on the west into South Row. This was once the Flushing Inn, an hostelry of some importance, when the smugglers of Rye carried on a free trade with that town in the pure Schiedam. This house is now divided into two, both facing Market Street, and in the easternmost of these the circumstance to which I refer occurred. Mary, the wife of ———, was subject to attacks of syncope, in one of which her vital faculties were so long suspended, that her friends

"Glory be to God on high. Inscribed to the Memory of WILLIAM HAYES, who Departed this life Sept 2nd, 1787, aged 58 years." On the back:—"In Memory of ELIZABETH, Wife of William Hayes, who departed this life Febr. ye 21st, 1779." (illegible.)

"Here lies the body of ELIZABETH, Widow of RICHD. WORRELL, of Folkestone. — Oct. — 1749, aged 65 years."

"To the Memory of JAMES CURD, who departed this life 1st Janry. 1809, aged 59 years. Also MARY, the Wife of James Curd, who departed this life 9th Mar. 1811, aged 62 years" (the rest illegible.)

"In Memory of Capt. ROBT. ROBERTS, of the Hopewell of Barmouth. Departed this life Decr. 12th, 1810, aged 20."

"Sacred to the Memory of MARGARET, Wife of JAMES BAYLEY, who died May 4th, 1848, aged 39 years. Left surviving 6 Children. Also, of JAMES, their Son, who died at Smyrna, May 22nd, 1855, aged 20 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of Sergeant-Major JOHN LUCKIE, of the Northamptonshire Militia. This stone was erected by — in testimony — regard — May 2nd, 1797, aged 42 years."

"In Memory of MARGARET HUNTER, who died March 17th, 1809, aged 9 weeks. Also of HUMPHREY HUNTER, who died Febr. 22nd, 1810, aged 3 weeks."

"Sacred to the Memory of RICHARD DENNIS, who departed this life Febr. 13th, 1806, aged 71 years. Also of SARAH DENNIS, his Wife, who departed this life Novr. 11th, 1808, aged 75 years."

"——— JOHN, Son of JOHN and JANE MARCHANT, died — Decr, 1803."

"Sacred to the Memory of JANE HAYWARD, Wife of Thomas Hayward, who died June 27th, 1834, aged 41 years. And of WILLIAM RUMENS, their Son, who died April 21st, 1824, aged 6 years. Also of ELIZABETH, who died August 27th, 1834, aged 11 weeks. And of CAROLINE, who died Sept. 2nd, 1834, aged 2 weeks. — Twin-born Children of the above Thomas and Jane Hayward. 'This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.' 1st Corinthians, chap. 15, ver. 53.

"Sacred to the Memory of MARY ANN FIELD, of London, who died at Rye the 16th August, 1845, aged 25 years. Also of HARRY MAXTED, Uncle of the above, who died 5th March, 1852, aged 77 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of ANN PUTLAND, Wife of Samuel Putland, of this Town, who departed this life April 3rd, 1833, in the 75th year of her age. Also of the above-named SAMUEL PUTLAND, who departed this life Febr. 4th, 1850, in the 95th year of his age."

"Sacred to the Memory of THOMAS WHORWELL,

who departed this life 16th September, 1816, aged 83 years. Also, of HAMMOND WHORWELL, Daughter of Thos. and Hammond Whorwell, who departed this life 10th February, 1780, aged 16 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of CHRISTAN, Wife of GEORGE RUBIE (Pilot), who died 25th Octr, 1820, aged 52 years, leaving Issue 6 Sons and 1 Daughter. Also of the above-named GEORGE RUBIE, aged 72 years, who was unfortunately drowned with 5 others on the 21st Octr. 1841, when endeavouring to pilot the French sloop, *Josephine*, into this harbour."

"In Memory of JAMES GOSLEY, late of this parish, who departed this life April 28th, 1800, aged 50 years. 'With patience to the last he did sustain, And murrin'd not at what the Lord thought fit, With Christian fortitude he did resign, His Soul to God at the appointed time.' Also, of GRACE, his Wife, who departed this life March 26th, 1811, aged 72 years."

"In memory of JOHN KING, of this Town, who died June 5th, 1833, aged 77 years. Also of ELIZABETH, his wife, who died June 10th, 1836, aged 77 years. Also of 1 Son and 2 Daughters of the above, who departed this life as follows:—ANN KING, November 1st, 1807, aged 16 years. JOHN KING, March 5th, 1808, aged 14 years. ELIZABETH, wife of JOHN GAINS, August 23rd, 1830, aged 44 years. And of their grandson JOHN KING JONES, who died November 27th, 1836, aged 30 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN HOLT, who departed this life on the 15th Decr., 1836, aged 44 years."

"In memory of JOHN HOLT, who died 20th July, 1812, aged 62 years. Also of MARY, his wife, who died 18th June, 1831, aged 80 years, leaving issue 1 Son and 3 Daughters, viz., John, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary Ann."

"Sacred to the memory of ARTHUR, son of JOHN and CHARLOTTE CHATTERTON, who died October 23rd, 1837, aged 7 years and 8 months. 'Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.'" "Sacred to the memory of CAROLINE FOSTER, niece of William Holt and Caroline Chatterton, who departed this life June 18th, 1854, in the 22nd year of her age. Deeply beloved and respected by numerous relatives and friends. 'Her sun hath gone down while it is yet day.'"

"Sacred to the memory of HANNAH STRANGE, who died April 20th, 1848, aged 72 years. Also of WILLIAM THOMAS STRANGE, her Son, who died May 1st, 1846, aged 42 years."

"Sacred to the memory of CAROLINE, daughter of THOMAS and DINAH COLBRAN, who died April 28th, 1828, aged 7 years. Also to CHARLOTTE, their daughter, who died Sept. 30th., 1841, aged 19 years. Dear friends do not lament our fall, For Death will triumph over all, If love and care could death prevent, Our days had not so soon been spent. And also to the memory of the above-named THOMAS COLBRAN, who died Decr.

concluded she was dead, and in consequence the nurse came and laid her forth, and placed her in a coffin wrapped in her shroud. Thus she lay motionless, and to all appearance dead, until the very morning of the day appointed for the funeral; preparatory to which the oven was being heated, in which were to be baked the cakes and meats for those who were expected to attend, when, to the utter astonishment and no small alarm of the person attending the oven, the imaginary deceased awoke from her long swoon, stepped out of her coffin, walked down stairs, and standing at the oven's mouth, held up her hands before it, exclaiming, "How cold it is!" After that she lived some years, but how many I cannot say. Ex inf. Wm. Holloway, Esq.

- 25th, 1842, aged 50 years." "In memory of CAROLINE ANN, daughter of THOMAS and DINAH COLBRAN, who died September 11th, 1850, aged 21 years."
- "Sacred to the memory of ALFRED COGGER, Son of Thos. and Ann Cogger, who died Janry. 22nd, 1832, aged 10 years and 10 months."
- "Sacred to the memory of EDMUND CLARK COGGER, son of Thos. and Ann Cogger, who died 4th Febr., 1817, aged 1 year and 7 months."
- "Sacred to the memory of THOMAS COGGER, who died January 15th, 1831, aged 66 years. 'Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh,' Matt. 24 Chap. 44 Ver."
- "Sacred to the memory of ANNE, wife of THOS. COGGER, who died 26th Sept., 1820, aged 45 years, leaving a Husband and 9 children to lament her loss. 'In Heaven th' immortal Soul, more largely blest, Exults and triumphs in eternal rest; And oh! what solace for her kindred's pain, To think their loss is her eternal gain.' Also in memory of MARY, wife of THOS. AUSTIN, and daughter of Thos Cogger, who died 14th May, 1817, aged 27 years."
- "In memory of JAMES SISLEY, who died 7th August, 1816, aged 63 years. MARY, his first wife, who was buried at Beckley, where a stone is erected to their memory. BARBARA, his second wife, died 18th Febr.; 1827, aged 63 years."
- On a Tomb.*—"Sacred to the memory of ANN GODFREY (of this Town), who departed this life March 9th, 1825, aged 50 years. Also MARY GODFREY, mother to the above-named Thomas Godfrey, who departed this life Novr. 10th, 1825, aged 81 years. Also ANN GODFREY, daughter of Thomas and Ann Godfrey, who departed this life Janry. 7th, 1816, aged 2 years and 6 months. In Memory of THOMAS GODFREY, late of this Town, who died December 18th, 1843, aged 70 years."
- "In memory of GEORGE-THOMAS CONYBER, who died July 29th, 1834, aged 33 years. Also one son, who died in his infancy. This stone is erected to a loving husband, a kind father, and affectionate Son, by his mother, Susannah Sculthorpe."
- Two head stones, inscriptions worn away.
- "Sacred to the memory of STEPHEN RICHARD MITTELL, the son of John Tolhurst Mittell, and Sarah, his wife, who died 24th January, 1840, aged 2 years and 6 months. Also to the Memory of HENRY ETHELBERT MITTELL, who died 14th March, 1848, aged 8 months."
- "In Memory of JAMES KNIGHT, who departed this life Augt. ye 7th, 1808, aged 35 years. 'With patience to the last he did submit, And murmured not at what the Lord thought fit, But with Christian fortitude he did resign, His Soul to God at the appointed time.'"
- "Sacred to the Memory of SARAH, Wife of WILLIAM WOOLLETT, who died Sept. 22nd, 1825, aged 44 years. Also of 3 Children, viz., SPENCER, ANN, and CHARLOTTE, who died in their infancy."
- "Here lyeth the body of WILLIAM who departed this life the 10th September, 1733, aged 40 years. He had issue by his wife Children; four buried here." (The rest under ground.)
- "Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM TURNER, who died Sept. 14th, 1814, aged 80 years. Also MARY, his wife, who died March 3rd, 1831, aged 93 years."
- "In Memory of SUSANNA, Wife of JOHN HUGHES, and Daughter of JAMES and SUSANNA SMALL, who died February 15th, 1804, aged 37 years. Also WILLIAM, Son of John and Susanna Hughes who died March 22nd, 1803, aged 6 months. Left issue one Son and two daughters, viz., Martha, George, and Susanna. Sacred to the Memory of CATHERINE, second Wife of John Hughes, who died 23rd Sept., 1817, aged 36 years. Also, three Sons and one Daughter, viz., JOHN, died 3rd Oct., 1810, aged 1 year and 10 months; EDWARD died 10th Febr., 1816, aged 9 months; ANN and EDWARD died 25th Sept., 1817, aged 2 weeks. Left issue 2 Sons and 2 Daughters, viz., Eliza Catherine, William, John and Charlotte."
- "Sacred to the Memory of SUSANNAH, Wife of JOHN FOWLE, who died on the 13th of Janry. 1827, aged 23 years."
- "In Memory of WILLIAM SCRASE BELLINGHAM (Son of John and Isabella Bellingham, of this town), who, died June 14th, 1841, aged 12 years and 11 months. Also of their two infant children, viz., HERBERT, who died June 4th, 1830; and GEORGE, who died June 3rd, 1833."
- "In Memory of JAMES DENGATE (late Sexton of this parish), who died Oct. 25th, 1833, aged 50 years, leaving a widow and 8 children to lament their loss. Also of JAMES SAMUEL, Son of James and Frances Dengate, who died Febr. 18th, 1840, aged 22 years. In Memory of FRANCES, Wife of James Dengate, who died May 7th, 1854, aged 67 years. Also, of HARRIOTT, their Daughter, who died Janry. 9th, 1849, aged 20 years."
- "Sacred to the Memory of SARAH, the third Daughter of ROBERT and JANE COLEGATE, who died Decr. 11th, 1842, aged 27 years." 'Death has been here and borne away, A Sister from our side, Just in the morning of her days, As young as we, she died. We cannot tell who next may fall, Beneath thy chastening rod; One must be first, but let us all, Prepare to meet our God.'
- "In Memory of ELIZABETH HOAD, who died August 31st, 1826, aged 69 years."
- "In Memory of NICHOLAS HARVEY, who was unfortunately drowned in Rye Bay, — 1766, aged 57 years. Also, of JOHN, his Son, who died at Mahon, in Minorca, aged 44. Also of NICHOLAS, Grandson of the above-named John, and Captain of the *Cumberland*, who was lost with his wife and crew, Sept. — 1829, aged 29. Also of NICHOLAS HARVEY, Ship Builder and resident of Rock Channel House 36 years. Father of the last-named Nicholas, who died 17th October, 1839, aged 67. He was a man of plain and unaffected manner, "upright and honest in his conduct; a kind husband, an affectionate father, and a pious but humble Christian. Having a

firm but not presumptuous faith in his Redeemer. As he lived beloved, he died lamented."

"In Memory of SARAH, Wife of JOSEPH BAKER She died May ye 17th, 1761, in the 55th year of her age."

"In Memory of JOSEPH BAKER, who departed this life April ye — 1782, aged 75 years." (the rest illegible).

"In Memory of REBECCA WHITE, Daughter of William and HANNAH BATCHELOR, who died November 14th, 1853, aged 45 years. This stone was erected by her two beloved sons, Charles and James, who are left to lament the loss of a kind and affectionate mother. 'They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.' Psalm cxxvi."

In Gothic. "In Memory of ELIZABETH, Wife of JOHN JUDGE, who died July 11, MDCCCXXIX, aged XLIII years. Left surviving four children, viz., Elizabeth, Joseph, Ann, and Sarah."

"In memory of SARAH, wife of THOMAS CLARK, who died Decer. ye 29th, 1775, aged 41 years. Hark! she bids all her friends adieu, Some angel calls her to the spheres, Our eyes the radiant saint pursue, Thro' liquid telescopes of tears. Farewell, bright soul, a short farewell, Till we shall meet again above, In the sweet groves where pleasures dwell, And trees of life bear fruits of love; There glory sits on every face, There friendship smiles in every eye, There shall our tongues relate the grace, Thy soul . . . homeward to the sky" . . . (illegible).

"In memory of THOMAS CLARK, who departed this life, Feby. 27th, 1800, aged 67 years. Also near this stone lie 7 of his children, viz., THOMAS, JOHN, WILLIAM, RICHARD, JOHN, MARGARET, and SARAH. 'Jesus said, He that believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live.'—John e. xi. v. 25. In memory of JOHN FARR, who died Janry. 31st., 1805. MARY, his wife, who died Septr. 1st, 1826. ANNE FARR, their daughter, who died Decr. 14th, 1849. MARY CLARK HOAD, niece of the above John Farr, who died Feby. 15th, 1847."

"In memory of JOHN LAURENCE HARVEY, who died July 15th, 1821, aged 32 years. Left surviving Eliza, his wife, and three children, viz., Mary, John, and George. No path to happiness is hard, Short the fatigue, eternal the reward. MARY, died September 27th, 1823, aged 5 years."

Tomb within an Iron Railing.—"Sacred to the memory of RICHARD WHITTON, ESQRE., of Great James Street, Bedford Row, London, who died in this Town, July 13th, 1826, aged 39 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES PHILLIPS, who died the 2nd September, 1825, aged 64 years. Left surviving Ann, his wife. Also of JAMES PHILLIPS, their son, who died the 4th September, 1803, aged 6 months."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN HULL, who died 19th December, 1795, aged 65 years. Also ANN HULL, his wife, who died 10th July, 1820, aged 87 years. They left surviving one son and two daughters, viz., Judy, Ann, and John."

"In Memory of MARY, eldest daughter of WILLIAM DYKE WHITMARSH, of Salisbury. Died 12th December, 1851, aged 40 years.

"Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM BLACKMAN

who died November 30th, 1827, aged 58 years. Also JUDITH, wife of the above, who died March 27th, 1842, aged 77 years."

"Sacred to the memory of SARAH, wife of WILLIAM MANSEY, who died 13th November, 1781, aged 27 years. Also WILLIAM, son of William and Sarah Manser, who died 17th August, 1822, aged 41 years. And by MARY, his second wife, two children, JOHN and SARAH, who died in their infancy."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of WILLIAM BRAZIER, of this parish, who died Feby 4th, 1795, aged 38 years, leaving issue one son and two daughters, viz., William, Mary Ann, and Harriot. WILLIAM BRAZIER, husband of the above Elizabeth, died March 20th, 1810."

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS BRAZIER, of this town, who died the 5th of April, 1808, in the forty-eighth year of his age."

Head stone quite illegible.

"Sacred to the memory of HANNAH, the wife of WILLIAM GAINS, who died August 11th, 1829, aged 42 years. Left surviving a husband, 4 sons and 5 daughters. 'The memory of the Just is Blessed.'"

"In memory of MARY, wife of THOMAS BRAZIER, who died May 7th, 1758, aged 42 years."

"In memory of MARY, wife of JAMES BRAZIER, who died March 16th, 1808, aged 59 years. Left surviving one son and two daughters, James, Elizabeth, and Judith. And also of JAMES BRAZIER, who died April 15th, 1834, aged 84 years."

"Sacred to the memory of LEWIS MERTON, who died Feby. 12th, 1824, aged 84 years. Also of ANNE MERTON, his wife, who died 26th June, 1820, aged 80 years. Also of two sons and three daughters, LEWIS HADDOCK MERTON, who died 27th Janry., 1787, aged 20 years. ELIZABETH MERTON, who died 1st Janry., 1791, aged 20 years. HENRY MERTON, who died 9th Feby, 1793, aged 20 years. ANNE MERTON, who died 7th Novr. 1797, aged 28 years. MARGARET NAOMI MERTON, died 25th Janry., 1802, aged 27 years."

"Here lie the remains of THOMAS MERTON, who departed this life 22nd Novr., 1783, aged 50 years."

"Sacred to the memory of THOMAS MERTON, son of Lewis and Ann Merton, who died June 28th, 1820, aged 40 years. And also of JOHN MERTON, son of Thomas and Harriot Merton, who died March 4th, 1822, aged 10 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of ELIZABETH MARY, the Wife of JAMES FOULIS PLOMLEY, who died 20th January, 1847, aged 27 years. Also, of FRANCIS VIDLER PLOMLEY, their only Son, who died 29th September, 1846, aged 13 months."

"In Memory of WILLIAM THOMAS, Son of JOHN and MARIANN VIDLER, and Grandson of JOHN AMON, who died 9th October, 1833, aged 10 years and 8 months."

"Sacred to the Memory of Mr. JOHN VIDLER, Merchant, who died Septr. 27th, 1854, aged 65 years."

"In Memory of JOHN AMON, who died 23rd Septr., 1845, aged 82 years. Also, of ANNE his Wife,

who died 26th Decr, 1796, aged 33 years. And of THREE CHILDREN, who died in their infancy.

"In Memory of STEPHEN COLEMAN, who died August 2nd, 1815, aged 81 years. And ELIZABETH, his Wife, who died August 17th, 1826, aged 92 years. Also of BIDDY, their Daughter, who died September 3rd, 1824, aged 54 years."

"In Memory of WILLIAM REYNOLDS, who died Octr. 13th, 1801, aged 51 years, leaving Mary his widow, five sons and one daughter, viz., William, John, Charles, Henry, James, and Mary Ann."

"Sacred to the Memory of JOHN BAKER, who died December 12th, 1803, aged 58 years. Also ELIZABETH, his Wife, who died Octbr. 23rd, 1818, aged 73 years. Likewise JANE, Wife of THOS. HONESS, and Daughter of the above John and Elizabeth Baker; who died Decr 12th, 1803, aged 24 years. Believe me, friend, A virtuous life stands more in stead, Than high sounding praises when we're dead. Near this place are interred the remains of FRANCES, the Wife of DANIEL GORDON, and the Daughter of John and Elizabeth Baker, who died June 2nd, 1850, aged 68 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN LIGHTFOOT, who died August 28th, 1842, aged 72 years. Also of his two sons, viz., JOSEPH, who died April 15th, 1838, aged 11 months, and JOHN, who died January 19th, 1842, aged 10 years. He left surviving a widow and 3 children, viz., Mary, Naomi, and Jemima."

"In memory of JANE, wife of JOHN LIGHTFOOT, who died 29th August, 1828, aged 61 years. Near this spot are also deposited the remains of ELIZABETH KENNETT, Daughter of the above-named John and Jane Lightfoot, who died Sept. 7th, 1839, aged 34 years."

"Sacred to the memory of GEORGE GIBSON, who died March 28th, 1833, aged 76 years. Also of ELIZABETH, his wife, who died March 23rd, 1799, aged 48 years. Likewise SARAH, his second wife, who died July 27th, 1831, aged 73 years. Also of SARAH GURR, their grand-daughter, who died Febr. 4th, 1829, aged 23 years. GEORGE, the son of the above-named George Gibson, died March 25th, 1836, aged 32 years."

"Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM APFS, who was unfortunately drowned in this Harbour, July the 1st, 1799, in the 28th year of his age, He left surviving 2 sons and 1 daughter, viz., Mary, William, and John."

"In memory of JOHN DEACY, who died Janry. 25th, 1850, aged 19 years."

"Sacred to the memory of GRACE CHAPELL, relict of the late John Chapell, who departed this life on the 31st May, 1836, aged 73 years."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of WILLIAM VIDLER, who departed this life February 5th, 1812, aged 72 years. Also the above-named William Vidler, who died 11th March, 1816, aged 82 years. Left surviving one son and one daughter, John and Harriot."

"In memory of ANN BISHOP, who died October 31st, 1834, aged 86 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES HARMAN, who died April 27th, 1830, aged 62 years. Left surviving two sons and one daughter, viz., Thomas,

James, and Sophia, who caused this tomb to be erected as a tribute of affection."

In Gothic. "JAMES, only son of THOMAS PROCTER, Gent., deceased 2nd March, MDCCXLI, aged XXIX. MARGARET, only daughter of the said James, deceased xv Sept., MDCCXLIII, aged XII. Also of MARGARET, wife of the above James Procter, who died Oct. XVIII, MDCCCLVII, in the XLI year of her age. Mercy Jesu."

"Sacred to the memory of JAMES FIELD, of this parish, who departed this life December 3rd, 1834, aged 61 years. In hopeful rest there remain, Now safe from every care, No more the idle and the vain, My path to heaven ensnare. Also of ELIZABETH BATCHELER, Relict of the above, who departed this life February 21st, 1841, aged 72 years."

"In memory of MARY, second wife of JOHN PILCHER, who departed this life July 9th, 1798, aged 53 years. 'Farewel vain world I have seen enough of thee, And now am careless what thou sayst of me, Thy smiles I court not, nor thy frowns I fear, My cares are past, my head lies easy here.' Leaving issue 8 sons and 3 daughters, viz.:—Charles, John, Thomas, Stephen, George, Richard, James, and William, Mary, Elizabeth, and Maria."

"In memory of WILLIAM CHRISMAS, who died Sept. 13th, 1805, aged 73 years."

<p>"Here lyes ye body of MILES, the son of GEORGE and ANN OGLE, who dyed ye 1st Octobr., 1731, in ye 19th year of his age. Also here lies one son and 3 daughters more, of ye above said GEORGE and ANN OGLE. WILM. died June ye 2nd, 1736, in ye 2nd year of his age. SARAH died Sept. 23d, 1721.</p>	<p>"Also here lieth the body of GEORGE OGLE, their father, who departed this life the 27th of November, 1740, aged 55 years. Also ANN his wife, who died May ye 5th, 1770, aged 85 years."</p>
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"In memory of THOMAS ALLEN, who departed this life July 29th, 1799, aged 53 years."

"In memory of CHARLES, son of THOS. and HESTER STOCKWELL, died Janry. 23rd, 1798, aged 5 months," (rest obliterated).

"Sacred to the memory of ANN, the beloved wife of JOHN TYRRELL, who departed this life December 1st, 1850, aged 48 years."

"In this vault are deposited the remains of CHARLES SKINNER, Yeoman, of this parish, who died November, 21st, 1823, aged 73 years. Also JENEY SKINNER, his wife, who died January 17th, 1826, aged 73 years. Also MARY, their only daughter, who died December 12th, 1822, aged 10 years. They left surviving 3 sons, viz., James, George, and Samuel."

"Sacred to the memory of ANN, wife of CAPTN, Amos, who departed this life 12th July, 1822, aged 71 years. 'A soul prepared needs no delay, The summons comes, the saint obeys, Swift was her flight, and short her road, She closed her eyes and saw her God. And also of the above Capt. Amos, who died October 19th, 1829, aged 82 years."

"Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH wife of Mr..

ROBT. RANKING, Surgeon, and Daughter of Captn. Amos, of this Town; she died on the 17th day of November, 1819, in the 36th year of her age. Thy aching head, thy weary limbs at rest, Nor pain, nor sickness, can afflict thee more. Secure within the mansions of the blest, There ever gazing with increas'd delight On him whose love redeem'd thee from the grave, Thy grateful soul will cease not day or night, To sing Immanuel's wondrous pow'r to save. To him whose grace unbounded, rich, and free, Wash'd me from sin in his own precious blood, All blessing, honour, power and glory be, My King, my Priest, my Saviour, and my God."

"Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM HONTWOOD, who departed this life August 28, 1848, aged 56 years."

"Sacred to the memory of SARAH FRENCH, only daughter of George and Sarah French, who died on the 28th day of March, 1849, aged 24 years."

"Sacred to the memory of JANE, daughter of JAMES PULFORD—" (illegible).

"In memory of the REV. SAMUEL DURRIE (Wesleyan minister); formerly a Missionary in the West Indies, who departed this life May 30th 1846, in the 30th year of his age. He being dead yet speaketh. Reader, prepare to meet thy God. Also of the daughter of Samuel and Louisa Durrie, who died in infancy. This stone was

erected by the voluntary effort of friends, in memory of a faithful, affectionate, and beloved minister of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

EAST of the Church, next Pump Street, now Church Square—F in Plan.

"Erected to the memory of JAMES HARRISON (Woolstapler, late of London), who departed this life July 19th, 1806, aged 46 years—" (illegible).

NORTH of the Church, at the back of the Town Hall —G in Plan.

"In memory of JAMES HOOPER, who was unfortunately drowned in this harbour, the 17th of January, 1816, aged 29 years."

"Erected by the Captn. and crew of the "Stag" Cutter, to the memory of GEORGE LLOYD, who died November 13th, 1812, aged 39 years. Stop, brother sailors, cast an eye, For as you are, so once was I, Repent in time, make no delay, For I in haste was snatch'd away."

"In memory of CHARLES WATERS, who died Sept. 11th, 1819, aged 21 years. Also JAMES, his son, who died in his infancy. See, reader, now my dust lies here, And I before the Lord appear; Bless'd and happy all will be, Who now prepare their God to see. This stone is erected by Sarah his widow."

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BURYING GROUND OF THE BAPTIST CHAPEL, RYE.

Head Stones.

"To the memory of WILLIAM CROSSKEY, who departed this life January 29th, 1837, aged 70 years. To the memory of MARIA CROSSKEY, relict of William Crosskey, who departed this life March 20th, 1849, aged 72 years."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of JOHN CROSSKEY, who died June 16th, 1825, aged 49 years. Also of the above-named John Crosskey, who died May 14th, 1833, aged 55 years."

"In memory of JOSIAH HYLAND, son of William and Lucy Hyland, who died March 6th, 1826, aged 15 years. And of their grandson, WILLIAM ROBERTSON, son of Thomas and Ruth Robertson, who died March 20th, 1838, aged 9 years."

"In memory of ANN CAVAT, who departed this life May 25th, 1806, aged 66 years."

"To the memory of JOHN COOKE, who died March 16th, 1829, aged 81 years. Also to the memory of ANN COOKE, his wife, who died December 2nd, 1824, aged 70 years. Also of JOHN their eldest

son, who died January 14th, 1825, aged 49 years."

"To the memory of THOMAS MOORE COOKE, who died October 26th, 1821, aged 36 years. Left surviving Jane, his wife, and three children, viz., Sarah, Thomas, and Ann. Also to the memory of a son named JOHN, who died on the 6th September, 1820, aged 1 year and 8 months."

"In memory of—" (illegible).

"In memory of THOMAS, son of HENRY and JANE HARVEY, who died Feby. 18th, 1829, aged 18 months. Also of GILMORE their son, who died July 4th, 1837, aged 9 months. Also of GEORGE, their son, who died Feby. 28th, 1844, aged 11 years."

"In memory of SOPHIA, daughter of DAVID and SOPHIA STONHAM; she died 30th March, 1837, aged 6 months and 3 weeks. Also of MARGARET (daughter of JAMES and JANE) HARMAN, who died 30th March, 1847, in the 20th year of her age. 'The rising morning can't assure, That we shall end the day.'"

"In memory of MARGARET SKINNER, the wife of Edwd. Skinner, who died Novr. 25th, 1827, aged 38 years. Left surviving 1 son, viz., Edward."

"In memory of HANNAH CLARKE, wife of Thos. Clarke, who died Octr. 14th, 1787, aged 54 years. Also ELIZTH. RUSSELL, her mother, who died Feby. 28th, 1785, aged 80 years."

"In memory of HANNAH ROBERTSON, daughter of Thomas and Ruth Robertson, who died June 15th, 1838, aged 7 years."

"Sacred to the memory of EDMUND AUSTEN, who departed this life August 5th, 1828, in the 70th year of his age. Also of THOMAS, his son, who died in infancy. Father, I give my spirit up, And trust it in thy hand; My dying flesh shall rest in hope, And rise at thy command. He left surviving Anne, his wife, and 3 children, videt, John, Susanna, and Edmund. Likewise of ANNE, his wife, who died Augt. 24th, 1830, in the 70 year of her age."

"Beneath are the remains of THOMAS HOLLOWAY (late of Rumford, in Essex, Draper), who died 19th Augt., 1832, aged 37 years. Expiring he prayed, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'"

"Sacred to the memory of EDWARD HILDER, who died April 5th, 1852, aged 68 years. Also of REBECCA, his wife, who died Dec. 24th, 1852, aged 74 years. Also of JANE LONGLEY, their second daughter, who died Octr. 4th, 1852, aged 40 years. For God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not.—Job c. 33, v. 14."

"Sacred to the memory of EDWARD, son of EDWARD and REBECCA HILDER, who died Novr. 20th 1828, aged 23 years. As a son, kind and dutiful—As a brother, loving and affectionate—As a friend, sincere and constant. Also three other children of the above Edward and Rebecca Hilder, died as under—THOMAS, March 30th, 1809, aged 2 months; ELIZA, March, 5th, 1822, aged 2 years; HENRY, Decr. 6th, 1826, aged 11 years."

Head stone, wholly illegible.

"In memory of JEMIMA, daughter of JAMES and JANE HEMMINGS, who died April 10th, 1853, aged 18 years. Jesus can make a dying bed, Feel soft as downy pillows are; While on his breast I lean my head, And breathe my life out sweetly there."

"In memory of MARY KEMP, who died Octr. 24th, 1802, aged 51 years."

"Here lieth ye body of JAMES, the son of CHARLES and HANNAH ROGERS. He departed this life March 1st, 1753, aged 15 years, 8 months.—Eccles. 12."

"In memory of WILLIAM SWAIN, who departed this life Oct. 5th, 1781, aged 60 years. And also of MARY SWAIN, his wife, who departed this life April 5th, 1798, aged 78 years.

"In memory of WILLIAM SPILSTED, who departed this life May 21st, 1808, aged 81 years. Also JOHN SPILSTED, son of the above William Spilsted, who died Octr. 12, 1785, aged 31 years."

Obelisk Tomb—South Side.

"Sacred to the memory of the REV. THOMAS PURDY, who (during a period of 50 years) faithfully discharged the duties of a Christian Pastor,

over the Baptist Church in this town, obiit 13th Feby., 1817, in the 80th year of his age.—*East.*—The deceased left surviving Thomas, his son, and 9 children of the said Thomas, videt, Thomas, Sarah, Marianne, Susannah, Zenas, Charlotte, Louisa, Cyrus, and Charles.—*North.*—In memory of SARAH (daughter of the REV. EDWD. TRIVETT, of the County of Norfolk) wife of the Revd. Thomas Purdy, who died 25th Nov. 1774, aged 32 years. Also of four of her children, videt, Priscilla, Phoebe, Sarah, and Zenas."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of THOMAS PELHAM, who departed this life March 4th, 1816, aged 39 years, leaving issue 2 sons and 5 daughters."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN STEPHENS, who died April 27th, 1832, aged 42 years."

"In memory of MARY, wife of BENJN. BOX, mariner, who departed this life March 6th, 1805, aged 65 years. Left issue one son and two daughters, viz., Benjamin, Mary, and Jane. Also the above-named Benjamin her son, who departed this life 21st November, 1816, aged 45 years.—*Back of same stone.*—"Beneath lieth JANE SMITH, late of Demerara, 1828."

Obelisk Tomb, East Side.

"Memento mori. In this Vault are the remains of WILLIAM, son of JOSEPH and SARAH MILLS. He died 5th May, 1829, aged 28 years, and of MARGARET, his daughter. The affect. survivors are Sarah, his wife, and two children, videt, Helen Mary, William Owen Mills. Also of ANNE, daughter of the aforesaid Joseph and Sarah, wife of THOMAS BARRY, who died 31st July, 1834, aged—years." *West.* "In memory of DAVID STONHAM, who died Novr. 23rd, 1848, in the 80th year of his age. 'He looked for a city which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.'" *North.*

"In memory of ANNA, daughter of David and Margaret Stonham, who died May 24th, 1818, aged 16 years. And also of JOHN FARR and GEORGE LINDFIELD STONHAM, who died in infancy. . . . hangs eternity. Verified in the sudden death of JEMIMA STONHAM, on the 6th September, 1831, aged 22 years. 'Be ye also ready.'" *South.* "Sacred to the memory of MARGARET, wife of David Stonham, who died Sept. 19th, 1825, aged 53 years. She left surviving six daughters, viz., Margaret, Sarah, Harriet, Elizabeth, Jemima, and Naomi. The patient soul, the lowly mind, Shall have a large Reward."

"An affectionate Parent and his (once) afflicted child here repose until the great Resurrection morn. JAMES STONHAM, who died 13th Sept., 1785, aged 46 years. He left surviving Mary his wife and 5 children, viz., David, James, Jesse, Sarah, and Ruth. Sarah died 2nd Novr., 1795, aged 20 years."

"In memory of HANNAH, wife of RICHARD WEEDEN BUTLER, (Surgeon, of this town), who died Decr. 24th, 1797, aged 28 years. And also of RACHEL, his second wife, who died Janry. 19th, 1816, aged 43 years."

"In memory of RICHARD WEEDEN BUTLER, late Surgeon, of this town, who died March 8th, 1842, aged 75 years."

"In memory of MARY, wife of JOHN LAWRENCE, who departed this life June 28th, 1805, aged 46 years. Also of the above-named JOHN LAW-

RENCE, who departed this life May 12th, 1843, aged 84 years."

"In memory of ANN, wife of JOHN BETTS, (mariner), who died 12th March, 1806, aged 63 years. She left surviving four sons, videt, John, Thomas, William, and James. Also are deposited here the remains of ANN, daughter of JOHN and ANN BETTS, who died 12th June, 1796, aged 23 years. Likewise MARY and BENJAMIN, who died in their infancy."

"To the memory of JOHN TAMSETT, who died the 5th of May, 1833, aged 75 years. Also MERCY, his wife, who died the 18th of September, 1831, aged 66 years. Also RICHARD TAMSETT, son of the above, who died the 8th of June, 1822, aged 15 years. Also ELIZABETH TAMSETT, daughter of the above, who died the 16th of August, 1821, aged 21 years. Nothing disturbs the peace our souls enjoy." *Foot Stone*. "ELIZABETH TAMSETT. God hath delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling."

"To the memory of ELIZABETH TAMSETT, spinster, who died the 5th of June, 1820, aged 55 years. Even so them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him."

"To the memory of JOHN ROGERS, who died August 19th, 1807, aged 67 years. Left surviving a widow, 3 sons, and 2 daughters, viz., John, William, James, Rebecca, and Ann."

"In memory of CATHERINE PEARCH, spinster, who departed this life the 9th April, 1817, aged — years."

"To the memory of WILLIAM CAREY, who departed this life February 15th, 1847, aged 49 years. Also Daughter of the deceased, CAROLINE CAREY, died January 8th, 1849, aged 20 years."

"In memory of REBECCA, daughter of THOMAS and ANN WALL, who departed this life November 1st, 1852. Why was I made to hear thy voice, And enter while there's room, When thousands make a wretched choice, And rather starve than come. 'Twas the same love that spread the feast, That sweetly forced me in, Else I had still refused to taste, And perish'd in my sin."

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN DANIEL, who died December 3rd, 1848, aged 70 years. Left surviving Hannah, his wife, and John, his son. A Lover of Truth."

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS, EAST BLATCHINGTON.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. R. N. DENNIS, RECTOR.

In the Chancel.

"To the memory of MRS. MARY KING, Wife of John King, Esqre., of this parish (and second daughter of Thomas Rogers, Esqre., of Kingston, near Lewes) who departed this life May 13th, 1822, in the 35th year of her age. Also of their two sons, HENRY and JOHN KING. The former died Novr. 22nd, 1818, aged 3 months; and the latter July 30th, 1821, aged 4 years and 10 months. Also of MARY, wife of Lieutenant GEORGE WATSON, R.N., and eldest daughter of John and Mary King, of this parish, who died at Stonehouse, Devon, the 12th of January, 1836, aged 25 years. Also of JOHN KING, Esqre., of this parish, who died July 5th, 1853, aged 78 years."

"To the memory of The Rev. JOHN LEWIS, upwards of 36 years Rector of this parish, who died on the 8th day of December, 1843, in the 76th year of his age. Also of ELIZABETH, his widow, who died on the 2nd day of October, 1853, in the 77th year of her age."

"WILLIAM CHAMBERS, Esqre., died May 7th, 1808, aged 57 years. He was a sincere friend and an honest man. His Widow erected this monument as a tribute of her affection."

On rough slabs of stone under the Chancel floor.

"ANNE, wife of NICHOLAS GILBERT, gent., died 8th March, 1652."

"NICHOLAS GILBERT, gent., died Febr. 25th, 1677."

South side of the Church Yard, on a flat slab of stone.

"Here lieth the body of WILLIAM DITCH, late of Bishopstone, who departed this life Octr. 21st, 1731, aged 50 years.

"Also the body of NAOMI, his wife, who died May 7th, 1719, aged 29 years."

On Head stones.

"In memory of MRS. MARY ANN CLOASE, who departed this life Novr. 12th, 1829, aged 50 years."

"GEORGE RICHARD HARDINGE, son of Lt.-Col. George Hardinge, 44th Regt., and Eliza, his wife, died 8th of October, 1814, aged 3 months."

"In memory of JOHN ALFRED, late Farrier-major of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, who departed this life Febr. 14th, 1811, aged 52 years."—Some illegible verses follow.

"Here lies interred the remains of ELIZTH., wife of WILLM. WARD, Sergt. in the Derby Regt., who departed this life March 8th, 1799, in her 41st year."

On Head stones at the West End of the Tower.

"In memory of WILLIAM WASHER, who departed this life Sept. 17th, 1809, aged 61 years."

"To the memory of ELIZABETH WASHER, who departed this life June 28th, 1830, aged 70 years."

"To the memory of JOHN WASHER, who departed this life May 24th, 1794, aged 76 years.

"Also of SARAH, his wife, who died March 5th, 1789, aged 69 years."

On the North side of the Church—On a low tomb.

"To the memory of MR. JOHN WILSON, late of this Parish, who died August 31st., 1810, aged 70 years.

"Also of MRS. SARAH WILSON, Widow of the above, who died October 30th, 1836, aged 91 years.

"Also of JOHN WILSON, son of John and Sarah Wilson, who died January 10th, 1832, aged 69 years."

On the sides of a tomb.

"Sacred to the memory of MR. THOMAS PURTON BROOK, who died April 1st, 1822, aged 38 years.

"Also of ANNE, the Wife of Thomas Purton Brook, who died June 27th, 1818, aged 26 years."

On Head Stones.

"To the memory of MARY, wife of MR. SAMUEL STACE, who departed this life January 21st, 1840, aged 66 years.

Also of the above-named SAMUEL STACE, who departed this life Novr. 26th, 1849, aged 80 years." 1

"In memory of EDWARD BRAZIER, who died 24 April, 1805, aged 18 years."

"In memory of JOHN DYMOND, late Sergeant-major of the Second Somerset Militia, who departed this life May 3rd, 1807, aged 48 years."

On a flat stone.

"Sacred to the memory of the REVD. NATHANIEL ROBERT DENNIS, who departed this life Sept. 8th, 1859, aged 75 years."

On a low tomb.

"JOHN BEAN died March 2nd, 1813, aged 65.

MARY BEAN, Wife of the above, died November 4th, 1816, aged 65 years."

On a rail.

"Sacred to the memory of CATHERINE, Wife of WILLIAM BUXTON, Sergt.-major, 2nd Battn., 45 Regt. of Foot, who died August 16th, 1812, in the 54th year of her age."

On Head stones.

"To the memory of MARY HEAVER, who died 13th Sept., 1835, aged 80 years."

"STEPHEN RABBIT, Private of the 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons, who departed this life the ninth day of May, 1804, in the 25th year of his age."

There is another head stone on the north side of the church, the inscription on which is not quite legible.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

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1. *Family of Wyatt.*

Mr. Gibbon, in his elaborate and valuable paper on the subject of the dedications of Churches and Chapels in West Sussex in our last volume, has been led, when speaking of "the ancient family of Wyatt, of Felpham and Aldingbourne" (pp. 90 and 98), into two trifling inaccuracies, which doubtless he will not be displeased to see corrected.

1. Richard Wyatt, of Courtwick, in Lyminster, Sheriff of the County in 1811, was not directly descended from the Rector of Slindon of the same names, who died in 1568; but from his contemporary, and (in all probability) kinsman, Thomas Wyatt, of Flansham, in the neighbouring parish of Felpham, whose name appears in the Roll of "Sussex Gentry in 1588," as a contributor towards the rate-in-aid levied for the purpose of defending England against the Spanish Armada—(See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. I., p. 34).

2. The presentation of Richard Wyatt to the Rectory of Slindon was not made in 1558, but bears date October 20th, 1533, as is shown by an entry in the Lambeth Registry. This appointment is interesting, as being either the first, or nearly the first, conferred by Cranmer after his elevation to the See of Canterbury on the 30th of March in that year. His selection of the incumbent for the benefice of Slindon arose not improbably from the following circumstances. Among the eminent men, who, in 1533, composed the Court of Henry the Eighth, few enjoyed a larger share of royal favour than Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, in Kent, justly celebrated as a poet and an ambassador. Between more than one member of his family and the great Reformer, there existed an intimate friendship (see Cranmer's Works, Vol. II., p. 390); and on the great political questions of the day, history speaks of a strong sympathy subsisting between them. Wyatt may therefore be very reasonably supposed to have exercised his influence on

behalf of Cranmer; who, on the other hand, would naturally take an early opportunity of promoting a relative of one who had successfully assisted his own advancement. The ancient seat of the family from which the Essex, Kent, and Sussex branches claim to deduce their descent, was at South Haigh in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, says Dr. Nott, in his life of Sir Thomas Wyatt, "they attained to considerable consequence as early as the reign of Edward the Third." Here they lived for generations until the time of Henry the Seventh, at which period there appears to have been a general migration southwards; for in the very early years of the sixteenth century they were already established in the three counties above-named.

The Kentish line, although previously shorn of their wide possessions by the forfeitures consequent upon the attainder of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, in 1554, nevertheless survived that calamity two centuries, becoming extinct in 1753.

The Sussex branch were settled at Flansham in 1523, as the Subsidy Roll of that year testifies. They remained there until the sale of their estate (as related by Mr. Gibbon) at the death of William Wyatt in 1757. His son acquired by purchase lands in Goring in 1756, and a few years afterwards in Lyminster, as well as elsewhere in West Sussex, all of which are still the property of his descendants.

H. P. WYATT.

2. *Rock Hermitages.*

Since the publication of my paper on Uckfield in Vol. xii., p. 1—in which I have hazarded a conjecture, that the old Caves in the Rocks at Buxted are the remains of an ancient Hermitage, I have been made acquainted with the caves in the overhanging rock which forms the high shore between the Harbour and the Castle of St. Andrew's, Scotland, which bear so striking a resemblance to the Caves at Buxted, that I cannot forbear noticing them, as they confirm me in the opinion which I have been led to form of their original use and application. They are commonly called in the neighbourhood "Lady Buchan's Caves," from the circumstance of that lady having fitted them up, somewhat more than a century ago, while she and her family were resident there, with devices of shell-work in a most elegant and costly manner, as a place to which she might resort on a fine summer's evening for the purpose of enjoying the sublime prospect which it commanded of the adjacent ocean, and as a romantic retreat for a tea-party with her friends. The shape and arrangement of these caves are very similar to those of Buxted, the principal difference between them being in the number of the rooms, at Buxted there being three, whereas at St. Andrew's there are but two rooms. In both instances, the first, or outermost room—the room by which you enter—is of a circular form, and the entrance doorway is arched, and about nine feet high. The pitch of the room in either case is of about the same height, and as much in diameter. The east side of this room is cut into the form of a table or altar, showing it to have been originally the abode of some monk or hermit; for this part was manifestly so formed, prior to the repairs and decorations bestowed in later years upon it by the amiable and talented lady whose name it now bears. On the southwestern side of it is seen an aperture in the rock, of the size of an ordinary

door, leading into the other apartment of the cave. To this, the first serves as a kind of ante-chamber. The inner apartment is nearly in the form of a cube, each side being about eight feet wide and the same in height. The opening between the two apartments had a neat folding door at the time the cave was the favourite retreat of Lady Buchan. For the admission of light it has two small circular-headed windows, which look directly on the bay. At high water the sea washes the bottom of the cliff, at which time the floors of the rooms are about twelve feet above the level of the water. The way leading to it is by a narrow track, running obliquely along the rock. Sir Walter Scott states, that there are in different parts of Scotland many caverns of the same kind, the abode of Anchorets of former times.

EDWARD TURNER.

3. *Hospitals in Sussex.*

The following account of the Hospitals for the reception of sick and decayed persons in Sussex during the episcopacy of John Lake, who was Bishop of Chichester from 1685 to 1690, is taken from the Sancroft papers, given to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Bishop Tanner. The particular year in which the return was called for and made is not stated.

"COPY of a return made by the Bishop of Chichester to the Archbishop of Canterbury's enquiries into the number and value of the Hospitals in his Lordship's Diocese.

"In the City of Chichester is the Hospital of the blessed Mary, of ancient foundation, but reformed by Queen Elizabeth; whereof Henry Edes, D.D., Canon Residentiary of Chichester, is Custos; and therein are also two brothers and three sisters.

"Without the Eastgate of the City is the Hospital of St. James, and St. Mary Magdalen, of very ancient foundation; whereof Mr. Peter Edge, Rector of St. Pancras, in the City of Chichester, is Master. It is of small revenue, and hath only one poor person (but she a miserable idiot) in it.

"Without the Northgate of the City of Chichester, is an Hospital erected about the year 1626, for ten poor persons, designed to be called St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and endowed by William Cawley, Esquire (who also erected a decent Chapel there, and had it duly consecrated). But he proving a Regicide, and then revoking his first settlement, and settling lands upon it which he had purchased of the State, the whole revenue, at his Majesty's happy return, reverted to the right owners, and nothing now remaineth of it except ten pounds per annum, arising from the sum of one hundred pounds, given to it by Bishop King (1641 to 1669), and the like sum given by Bishop Gunning (1669 to 1675); and it is in the management of the Mayor and the Recorder and Aldermen of Chichester.

"In Petworth is an Hospital, founded by one Thompson, about the year 1624, for twelve single persons, six men and six women, who receive each person five pounds per annum, at four quarterly payments. The present governors are Sir Orlando Gee, Mr. John Cook, Mr. Francis Mose, Mr. Henry Bernard, Mr. Humphrey, and Mr. Peachey. There was also a Chapel joined to this Hospital, and endowed with about ten pounds per annum, for a person to read Divine Service to the poor people; but this is now suppressed, and the Chapel shut up.

[Dallaway assigns a six years' earlier date to the foundation of this Hospital. By the great increase which has taken place in the value of the property with which it is endowed, the annuity of each pensioner has been increased to twenty pounds per annum.]

"In Eastgrinstead is an Hospital or College, founded by Robert, Earle of Dorset, about the year 1608, and endowed with three hundred and thirty pounds per annum for twenty poore men (whereof one is to be Warden) and ten poore women. But much of the said annual maintenance is withdrawn, and there are now only but twenty-five poore people. The present chief Patron or Governour is Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex; and Thomas Winterbourn, Clerk, is Warden.

[Until the year 1616, there was no residence for the pensioners. In that year the present College was built, the expense being defrayed by a legacy of one thousand pounds, bequeathed for the purpose by the founder. The present income of the College is two hundred and sixteen pounds, twelve shillings, and ninepence.]

"At Ashburnham is an Hospital, founded by William Ashburnham, Esqre., and endowed with thirty pounds per annum, for the maintenance of six poore people. The present Trustees are Mr. Roper and Mr. Plummer; and the heire of the family is to nominate the poore people.

"These are all the Hospitals that I can yet heare of, which I conceive to be within the intent of the order.

"Yours, &c., &c.,

"JO: CICESTRENSIS."

EDWARD TURNER.

4. *Early Incumbents of Rotherfield.*

In the year 1441 a mandate was issued by Henry the Sixth to Bishop Praty, who held the See of Chichester from 1438 to 1445, to search the registers in his possession, and make a return of all those persons who had been instituted and inducted into the Church of Rotherfield, with the names of those persons by whom they were presented, from the tenth year of Edward the First (1282) to the nineteenth of Henry the Sixth (1441), when the following return was made:—

RECTORS.	PATRONS.
1300.... Thomas de Cobham.....	Bishop of Rochester
1316.... William de Shotesham.....	The King
1328.... Roger Salesman	John de Wy
1359.... John de Kenynton	Bishop of Rochester
1375.... William Haghham.....	Ditto
	William Durrant..... Dean of St. Paul's, s.v.
	John Schyllingford
1405.... John Chayne	Archbishop of Canterbury, s.v.
1406.... John Bathe.....	Ditto
1430.... William Spruce	Bishop of Rochester
1441.... Helias Holcote.....	Ditto

To this return the following note is appended, explanatory of the circumstances why in two instances a deviation had taken place from the regular

course of presentation, the Bishop of Rochester being manifestly the patron:—

“The King presented in 1316, in consequence of the lands being vacant, which were held by Gilbert de Clare, Viscount of Gloucester and Hereford, in capite, under the Crown; and the Archbishop of Canterbury presented in 1405, and again in 1406, in consequence of the See of Rochester being vacant at the time.”

Of the reason why John de Wy presented in 1328, and the Dean of St. Paul's in 1375, no explanation was offered. This return became necessary in consequence of the right to present being disputed.

EDWARD TURNER.

5. *Ovingdean, near Brighton.*

“Ovingdean consists of a considerable Farm, the property of Thomas Holles Payne, Esqre., of Red Hall, in Surrey, and about two-thirds of another Farm (the other third lying in Rottingdean), now belonging to Mr. Payne, of Patcham, which he lately purchased of the family of Streatfeild. The Advowson of the Rectory belongs to the Rev. John Rideout, of Lewes. Here is but one Farm house, three Cottages, and a mean thatched Parsonage house. When the Geers lived in Ovingdean Farm, Charles the Second lay concealed here, till he had an opportunity of embarking at Brighton for France. His person had such an effect on the good woman of the house, that her next child (a very fine boy) was said to be the picture of the King.”

See *Rev. Mr. Morgan's Letter to Sir William Burrell*, dated March, 1780. Burrell MSS., Brit. Mus. No. 5684, p. 93.

HENRY ELLIS, K.H.

6. *The Gale Family.*

In the Extracts from the Memoirs of this Family, given in Vol. XII., pp. 45 to 60, it is stated at p. 59, that the “Gales became extinct in the male line on the death of Leonard and his brother Henry.” But in the Worth Register there is a John Gale, son of Nicholas and Elizabeth, baptized January 12th, 1667, who might have had issue. Nicholas was probably brother of the first Leonard, and in the Register of Ifield are recorded the baptisms and burials of the issue of Henry Gale, who married Mary, daughter of Jeremiah Johnson, Junr., and who left his property to his nephew, Henry Gale, of Crabbett. There are also recorded in the Ifield Register the following burials:—

Richard Gale, July 24th, 1675.

Edmund Gale, April 23rd, 1675.

Susan, daughter of Mr. Richard Gale, Febry. 20th, 1658.

A private Act of Parliament, A.D. 1672, gives some information respecting the family. The Gales bore for Arms—On a fess, three lions' heads erased, between three saltires.

Sarah Knight, wife of Leonard Gale, was daughter and sole surviving

child of Richard Knight, Junr., of Cowden, gent.; by his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Jeremiah Johnson, of Charlwood, gent.; Philippa, another daughter, marrying Leonard Gale, Senr. His first wife was Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Aynscombe, Rector of Cowden, by his wife, Mary, daughter and heiress of Isaac Shelley. He was son of John Aynscombe, by his wife Jane, daughter of Henry Porter of Wartling, and grandson of Thomas Aynscombe, of Mayfield, by his wife Mary, daughter of John Porter of Bayham. John Knight, father of Richard Knight, married Johanna, daughter of John Tichbourne. He was great-great-grandson of John Knight, of Lingfield, yeoman, who was dead in 1581. The Knights acquired considerable wealth by the iron manufacture. The following coat of arms and crest were granted August 24th, 1671, to the aforesaid Richard Knight, and to Richard Knight, of Cowden, gent.; Senr., his uncle, viz., Gules, three bendlets argent; on a canton sable, a spur or. *Crest*; a spur or, between two wings sable. As both the grantees died without male issue, the right to bear these arms and crest ceased with the death of their children, except as a quartering by their descendants. Richard Knight, Senr., married twice. By his second wife, Sibilla, daughter of Edward Lindsey, Esqre., of Buxted, and relict of Thomas Gilbert, gent., he left two daughters and co-heiresses—Bridget, who married John Payne, Esqre., of Legg's Heath, in East Grinstead; and Anne, who married John Bridgland, of Maresfield and Cowden, gent. There were numerous collateral branches of the Knights.

The family of Johnson are met with, as of the rank of gentry, temp. Elizabeth, at Charlwood, and was probably of the same stock (though bearing different arms) as the Johnsons of Tunbridge and Chart Sutton, co. Kent, who flourished at those places at an early period. Jeremiah Johnson, brother of the before-mentioned Sarah and Philippa, had issue (inter alias) Catherine, wife of John Jackson (great-grandfather of the late H. H. Jackson, Esqre., of Holly Hill, Hartfield); Mary, wife of Henry Gale; and Elizabeth, wife of Cornelius Humphrey. There was a Thomas Jackson, Rector of Cowden, who died 1608; and a William Jackson, who married Elizabeth Knight, of Cowden, Novr. 16th, 1649, who were probably of the same family.

W. SMITH ELLIS.

7. *Ancient Interments at Hastings.*

In Vol. ix., p. 366, of *Sussex Archæological Collections*, I gave a short account of some excavations which I was induced to make on the East Hill, Hastings, in hopes of discovering some trace of a Tower which, some years before, I had observed represented as standing on this hill in an ancient map belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester. While so engaged, I opened and exposed to view a considerable number of bodies, which apparently had been buried without coffins, and upon a thick layer of charcoal; the heads, in some instances, reposing on a hollow boulder, in others on an oyster shell. Many bodies were thus disturbed. On the right side of some were found iron-like rivets, the heads of which were about the size of a halfpenny. A few of these are now in my possession. Such an unusual mode of interment I have never seen anywhere explained.

Among the earth immediately over these graves a small arrow-head was found, which is in the possession of Mr. Purfield of Hastings. A friend informs me that Mr. Darwin, the naturalist, has two arrow-heads, found in a morass in Scotland, very similar both in shape and size to the one found at Hastings. Their similarity further extends to the material of which they are constructed, each being formed of white flint. An engraving of the one found at Hastings is here given.



It is of the exact dimensions of the original. The size both of Mr. Purfield's and Mr. Darwin's would seem to imply, that they were used for sporting, and not warlike, purposes.

Hastings.

THOMAS ROSS.

8. *Sussex Tradesmen's Tokens of the 17th Century.*

Since the publication of Vol. xi. of the Society's *Collections*, I have met with the following:—

"John Medhurst of"—in the field a Shield of Arms obliterated.

M.

Rev: "Battell Sussex"—in the field I. I.

"Samuel B . . . nt of"—in the field, the Grocer's Arms.

Rev: "Linfield Sussex."

"John Hart of"—in the field a hart reclining under a tree.

Rev: "Horsham Sussex, 1666"—in the field "I. H."

This token was found in digging close to the ruins of Knepp Castle in Shipley.

"John Laurenc, Baker"—in the field, "I. L."

Rev: "at Podeldock 1663;"—in the field, "his halfepeny"—in a circle.

This token was found in the Rev. F. Teed's garden in St. Anne's, Lewes.

Puddledock is near the bridge, Lewes, and will be recognised by old residents of the town, as the spot on which Sir Henry Blackman's house stood. In the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. xi., p. 178—it is called Puddlewharfe.

WILLIAM FIGG.

9. *Urns found in East Blatchington Church.*

Two pots or urns of coarse pottery, and of very rude manufacture, were dug up in the tower of East Blatchington Church in December, 1860, as the workmen were excavating to get a dry foundation for the pavement. One, the larger of the two, capable perhaps of containing half a bushel, stood upright and perfect in the centre; the other lay on its side in the south-east corner of the tower, and had been broken at some former time. The workmen stated that they contained charred bones, which they immediately buried. I picked up fragments of charred wood among the debris.

R. N. DENNIS.

Blatchington.

10. *Origin of the Family of Covert.*

In Vol. vi., p. 87, I hazarded the conjecture, on etymological grounds, that the Sussex names Courthope and Cruttenden were corruptions of Covert's-thorp and Covert's-den; remarking, however, that "there is no resemblance between the arms of the Coverts and of these families." But some genealogical and heraldic circumstances and coincidences recently coming under my notice induce the belief that the latter remark is unfounded, and tend to elucidate the origin of the family of Covert, and of some other families, as well as to strengthen the conjecture indulged.

Hasted in his "History of Kent," (loco Capell) says—"COLDHAM is a manor in this parish which appears by records to have been anciently the patrimony of owners of the same name, who bore for their arms *Gules, a fess ermine between three martlets Argent*; but before the reign of Richard II, they had passed it away to a family of the name of Baker." These are the identical arms of Covert except the tincture of the martlets which is *Or*. In the visitation of Sussex, A.D. 1634, there is a pedigree of Coldham, the arms being a *mullet*.

In Manning and Bray's Surrey (II., 441) it is stated that "temp. Henry II. Sir Richard Covert, son of Sir Bartholomew, who came into England with the Conqueror, had great possessions in Sussex, and was Lord of the Manor of Chaldon (in Surrey) and Patron of the Advowson;" the authority for the statement being Harl. MSS. 1500. The Domesday undertenant of Chaldon was Ralph de Felgeres, who also held the Manor of Tadworth in the same county. The Manor of Bookham in Surrey was held at the Domesday Survey, by Halsar (Hansard?) of William de Braose. In the 13th century Chaldon (the lordship in chief), Tadworth, and Bookham, were held by the family of Hansard, who were also owners at an early period of land in the Rape of Bramber.

Various coats are assigned to the Hansards; the prevalent ones being *three mullets* of different tinctures, and on different fields; one branch bearing *three estoiles*; another coat is *three martlets*.

From all this it would seem, that the Coverts, the Hansards, and the Coldhams had a common origin of some kind; that the changes of name and of arms, common at early periods, occurred with some of these families; but with which, or if with all, and under what circumstances, at present it does not seem easy to ascertain.

The *three estoiles* borne by Courthope and Cruttenden appear from the foregoing to have been derived from the Coverts, who probably at an early period bore *mullets*, and were the progenitors of the Courthopes and Cruttendens.

Ralph de Felgeres was doubtless a member of the family who owned the Barony of Feugeres in Normandy, or Brittany, existing in the 11th century. He had land in Cuddington, co. Surrey, at the time of the Domesday Survey. The subsequent owners of the manor, the Cuddingtons, were nearly related to the baronial family of Fitz-Alan of Bedale, co. York, whose coat was, *Barry*, as was the Hansards; Brian Fitz Ralph (who, Mr. Bray thinks, was Ralph de Felgeres), being the relative. The arms of Fitz Ralph are *Barry in chief three buckles. Ermine, on a fess gules, three buckles or*, were the arms the Norman family, De Covert, in 1738—the date of the publication of the "Armorial de la France," which contains their pedigree (i., 158).

Ralph de Filgeres had a daughter married to William de St. John (Collins' Peerage vi., 270). The ancient arms of St. John were *two mullets on a chief*.

From the *ermine* in both the coats of Covert ; the *buckles* in that of the Norman family ; the *mullets* in that of St. John ; and a presumed ancient coat of Covert containing *mullets*, and the other circumstances mentioned, it may be safely conjectured, that all the families in question were tenants, or under-tenants (at one period or other) and relatives of the Dukes of Brittany ; and therefore of one blood and kindred.

W. S. ELLIS.

Hydecroft, Charlwood.

11. *Brighton eighty years ago.*

In the year 1802, were published in two Vols. 8vo., "The Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose of the late Henry Man," who died in 1799, after having filled for many years the office of Deputy Secretary to the South Sea Company. He was author of a volume of Essays called "The Trifler," published in 1770, and a frequent writer in the newspapers. From one of his letters to his wife, printed at Vol. 1, p. 227, the following passages are extracted :—

"August 13th, 1780.—I write from Brighthelmstone. The sea-air, the country, the everything, raise my spirits fifteen degrees at least beyond par, and make my heart all riot and rapture.

"We arrived here about three o'clock, after riding five hours, a little incommoded by the sun, over the finest downs in the world. After eating a mutton chop, and drinking a bottle of port, away we went on a stroll by the sea-shore, rambling here, there, and every-where ; went down to the beach ; stood like Canute on the sea-side waiting for the waves to wet me ; saw the fishing-boats set off at sunset, and waited till the moon got up to give a soft sweet serenity to the whole scene.

"A great deal of company is here ; smarts and simpletons are as plentiful as at an execution ; there is a large square place called the Steine, set apart by the shore for walking, a library, a fruit shop, lodging houses, and piazzas round it ; but I pledge myself you shall see it. The eye wanders from that place over a world of waters, which the bathing machines, the fishing vessels, and ships of government enliven alternately."

Towards compiling the history of such an ever-shifting place of fashion as Brighton, the collecting together of contemporary notices like this will be the only satisfactory course ; and I beg to suggest to other members of our Society to follow my example, by sending, either from published or unpublished letters, any graphic scraps, however short, that may answer this purpose.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Brighton.

12. *The Blunt Family.*

In the extract from the memoirs of the Gales given in Volume xii., I stated, in a note to page 59, that in the partition of the property of Mr. Leonard Gale, the last male representative of this family, which took place

in 1775, the estate and residence of Crabbett, in Worth, fell to the lot of Mr. Samuel Blunt, who had married his daughter, Sarah; and that it is now in the possession of his descendant, Francis Scawen Blunt, Esqre. I omitted, however, to mention, what it is the object of this note to supply, that the Rev. William Blunt, father of the late Francis Scawen Blunt, and grandfather to the present owner of the same names, was not the issue of this marriage, but of a second matrimonial alliance which Mr. S. Blunt made with Miss Scawen, the daughter of James Scawen, Esqre., of Reigate, in Surrey. The Rev. W. Blunt having died in his father's life-time, the estate passed from Mr. S. Blunt to his grandson, the late possessor.

The Scawens were originally a Cornish family, their place of residence being Mellinike in the parish of St. Germans. Mr. Davies Gilbert, in his *History of Cornwall*, Vol. II., pp. 67, 68, says, Mellinike was the residence of William Scawen, Esqre.; and he gives for his arms, *Argent, a scawen or elder-tree, vert.* "This," he adds, "is an ancient and meer British family of gentlemen."

A branch of it appears to have settled in Surrey, at or somewhere near Reigate, early in the 17th century; for Manning and Bray, in their *History of the County*, vol. II., p. 510, speak of them as Surrey residents, and give their pedigree for five descents, beginning with Robert Scawen, Esqre. of Mellinike. His grandson, Sir William, was M.P. for Surrey, and died October, 18th, 1722, aged 75 years. He was a zealous partizan of William III., and purchased for a residence Stone Court in Carshalton. He died without children, and left his property to his younger brother, Sir Thomas, an Alderman of the City of London, who had, with other children, a son Thomas, M.P. for Surrey, who married Tryphena, daughter and heiress of Lord James Russell, and a daughter Catherine, who became the first wife of Sir John Shelley of Michelgrove, the fourth Baronet. She died there, and was buried in the Shelley mausoleum at Clapham in this county in 1726, leaving two daughters only, who died unmarried. Thomas Scawen, Esq., who is described as of Maidwell in Northamptonshire, as well as of Surrey, died in 1774, leaving a son named James, who succeeded his father as M.P. for Surrey, and a daughter, Tryphena, who married Henry, Earl Bathurst. This family, who had considerable possessions in Surrey, became extinct in the male line in 1778, by the death of this James Scawen, leaving daughters only, one of whom, as I have already said, was the second Mrs. Samuel Blunt.

R. W. BLENCOWE.

13. *Progress of King Edward VI. in Sussex.*

(Sussex Arch. Coll., Vol. x., p. 195, and xi., p. 221.)

I have just met with a notice of this progress in the *Losely Manuscripts*, edited by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., 1835, 8vo., p. 272, which enables me to add another name to the mansions in Sussex visited by King Edward in the year 1552.

When Queen Elizabeth was contemplating a progress to Portsmouth in the year 1591, her Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, wrote to Sir William More of Loseley, near Guildford, to announce to him, that Her Majesty pro-

posed to rest at his house, and was "verie desyrous to go to Petworth and Cowdry, if yt be possible : but none of us all can sett her downe anie where to be at betwene your house and Cowdry." Sir William More, being desired to give his advice and assistance, replied thus : " And whereas your Lordship doth require to be advertised from me of some fitte place betwene my house and Cowdray for her Majestie to lodge in one nighte, yt may please you to understande, that there is not anie convenient howse for that purpose standinge neare the way from my howse towards Petworth or Cowdry: Onlie there is a little howse of Mr. Lawrence Elliott's distant three miles from myne the direct waie towards either of the said places, and within tenne miles from Petworth and eleaven of Cowdray, to which howse I directed Mr. Constable, by a servaunt of myne, who hath viewed the same, and canne make reporte to your Lordship thereof. From thence there is another the like howse in Shillinglie, of one Bonner's, distant fyve milcs the direct way to Petworth, and about a myle out of the waie to Cowdrey, where King Edward dyed in his waye from Guildford Parke to Cowdrey."

The former of these two houses was at Busbridge, near Godalming in Surrey ; the latter, Shillinglee, was in that part of Kirdford parish called Plaistow, and is now the seat of the Earl of Winterton ; but it belonged to Henry, Earl of Arundel, when King Edward dined there.

Shillinglee, then, was the King's first resting place in Sussex. The date of his visit is the 21st day of July 1552 ; when, after staying for six days at his royal manor-house of Guildford, he was, according to his own journal—

"21. Removing to Petworth."

Sir William More ought to have written, "in his way from Guildford Park to Petworth," instead of Cowdray ; for it was not until the 25th of July that the King moved onwards to Sir Anthony Browne's at Cowdray from Petworth.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Brighton.

14. *Sir Thomas Heneage's Prayer-book.*

I have a little Manual of Devotion in black-letter type, ornamentally bound, which was found in a cottage at Lewes some years ago. It is entitled "Christian Praiers, and Holy Meditations, as well for private as publike exercise, gathered out of the most godly learned in our time, by H. B. Now lately augmented, and newly imprinted againe. ¶ In the Evening and Morning and at Noone will I pray unto the Lord, and he will heare my prayer, Psalme 25. ¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton, Anno Domini 1570."

From an original autograph at the commencement, this book seems to have once belonged to Sir Thomas Heneage, who was Captain of the Guards to Queen Elizabeth, Vice-Chamberlain of her household, and one of her Privy-Council ; also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. On two blank leaves before the title, the under-mentioned inscriptions are made in an ancient but very neat hand :—

"Genus infœlix vitæ.

"Multum vigilauī ; laborauī ; presto multis fui ; Stultitiā multorum

perpressa sum ; arrogantiam pertuli ; difficultates exorbui ; vixi ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad meum."

Which may be thus anglicized—

" An unhappy kind of life."

"I have watched much ; I have laboured ; I have been of service to many ; I have borne patiently the folly of many ; I have endured arrogance ; I have suffered adversities ; I have lived to the will of others, and not to my own."

Then comes the following metrical version of these Latin lines—

" A haples kynde of life is this I weare,
Moch watch I 'dure, and weary toilinge daies,
I serue the route, and all their follies beare,
I suffer pryde ; and sappe full harde assaies ;
To other's wyll my life is all address,
And no waie so as might content me best."

Underneath there is added—

"This aboue," meaning the Latin sentences, "was written in a booke by the Queene's Ma^{tie}."

This is succeeded on the next page by the ensuing little poetical epistle, addressed to some Lady of quality whose name is not stated, but whom the writer seems anxious to guard against worldly snares and mistaken views in the pursuit of happiness, probably lending her the book to aid the purpose of the lines :—

" Madam, but marke the labours of our lyfe,
And therewithall what errors we be in ;
We sue and seeke, with praiers, sturre, and stryfe,
Upon this earthe a happy state to win.

And whilst with cares we trauell to content us
In vaine desires, and sett no certaine scope,
We reape but things whereof we oft repent us,
And feede our wylles with moch beguiling hope.

We prairie for honours lapt in daungers handes,
We strive for riches, which we streight forgoe ;
We seeke delyte that all in poison standes,
And sette with paines but seedes of syne and woe.

Then, noble Lady, neede we not to prairie,
The Lord of all for better state and staie.

Your La: moch bound,

T. HENEAGE.'

It is to be regretted, that the touching reflections made by the Royal Confessor referred to, and transcribed in this volume, by Sir Thomas Heneage, have nothing to indicate their date ; for it would have added greatly to the interest of this record of Elizabeth's feelings, to have known at what period of her life it was written ; as we might possibly have been able thereby to ascertain what were the particular circumstances in her Court, or in State affairs, that gave rise to these secret sorrows, and induced her (whilst generally envied for her happy lot) to describe her life as "*genus infelix vitæ.*"

This collection of "Christian Praiers and Mediations," was some time since reprinted by the Parker Society ; but I observe that they have omitted a valuable article at the close, called "A Godly instruction, conteyning the summe of all the Divinitie necessary for a Christian conscience, made by Master Jhon Bradford," (the martyr).

We have no means now of tracing the history of this book, or the names of its various owners, from its original proprietor to its late possessor ; especially how it became at length the occupant of an obscure shelf in a workman's family. But its connection with Lewes may possibly be accounted for from the fact, that a member of the Heneage family was a resident there, in the parish of Southover, during the reign of Elizabeth, in whose keeping it might have been, and after whose death, as is often the fate of books and pictures, it might have passed successively into the hands of different (or indifferent) persons, inhabitants of the same town ; who, if they thought the book worth preserving for its binding, attached no value to its subject, or its typography, and felt no interest in its curious manuscript pages, or in the name of its formerly titled owner.

THOMAS DICKER.

15. *Annexation of Sutton Church to Seaford.*

The Church of Sutton juxta Seaford, being desolate (*penitus diruta*) and there being no inhabitants in the place, except a few shepherds (*paucis pecudum custodibus exceptis*), and having long been vacant, was annexed by Bishop Robert Sherburne to the Vicarage of Seaford, to augment the same, the dotation of that Church being so decreased, and reduced "*ad tantam exilitatem*," that the Vicar thereof had not sufficient for the maintenance of the living of an honest priest (*vita honesti sacerdotis*) ; on which account the diminution of divine service, and the desertion of the cure of souls, were to be apprehended without a richer endowment. This annexation was made with the consent of Thomas Edwardes, Prebendary of Seford, and James Ball, Vicar of Seford ; the Vicar binding himself to pay a yearly pension of 16s. 8d. to the said Prebendary. The Prebendary of Sutton, under this arrangement was to present to the said augmented Vicarage of Seaford twice successively out of three turns, and to have the then first turn.

This deed, which is among the Episcopal Records of Chichester, is without date. The annexation effected by it must, however, have been subsequent to the year 1508, when Robert Sherburne was appointed to the See of Chichester.

M. A. LOWER.

16. *Bibliotheca Sussexiana.*

Having, at the suggestion of one of the Committee of the Sussex Archæological Society, some time since commenced a list of the different works which have been published on the History of the County ; and wishing to make it as complete as possible, I shall be obliged to any of our archæological friends possessing, or having a knowledge of, rare books, tracts, or trials, relating to the county, or to county men, if they will copy the title page or heading of the same, and send it to me ; as such assistance will add to the comprehensiveness and value of the compilation, and be attended, I trust, with but little trouble.

G. SLADE BUTLER.

Rye.

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May 23rd, 1898.

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