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HISTORY OF HASTINGS CASTLE

HASTINGS CASTLE MOUND.

FIG. 1.



The digging of the Castellum at Hestengaceastra, 1066 A.D. From the *Bayeux Tapestry*.

FIG. 2.



Same view as above, 1909 A.D. From a photograph by the Author.

HISTORY OF HASTINGS CASTLE

The Castlery, Rape and Battle of Hastings, to which
is added a History of the Collegiate Church
within the Castle, and its Prebends

By

CHARLES DAWSON

Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Geological Society of London, etc.

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HISTORY OF
HASTINGS CASTLE

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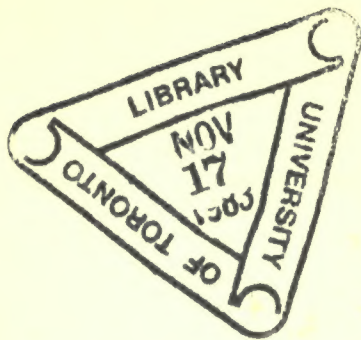
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Part IV

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL NOTES ON THE PREBENDS BELONGING TO THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, IN THE CASTLE OF HASTINGS

- CHAPTER I. WARTLING, NINFIELD, AND HOO.
- ” II. BEXHILL AND BULVERHITHE.
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- ” V. (Section I.) SALEHURST, UDIMORE, AND MOUNTFIELD.
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- ” VI. WEST THURROCK.
- ” VII. PEASMARSH, PLAYDEN, IDEN, NORTHIAM, AND BECKLEY.
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- ” IX. HOLLINGTON, EWHURST, AND BODIAM.
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CHAPTER I

WARTLING PREBEND



ALLED also Wertling, Wrotlyng, and Westlyng, &c. This was the first prebend of the original foundation of Count Robert, and is thus mentioned in the Charter of Count Henry (See ante pp. 21-24).

“He gave and demised to Guymundus¹ the prebend of the Chapel of Wertling, and the tithes of that place to wit, so much as there should be from all the demesne of the aforesaid lord in the manor thereto adjacent, and the land of Hada, to wit, two rods together, and in the said manor a *wist*² of land with the right for one guest to remain on the said land and the tithes of salt of the said manor of the lord's demesne and a certain part in the marsh, to make salt-pans, and the Chapel of Hoo, and the Chapel of Nenefeld, and the tithes of Hoo, where-soever they lie, to wit whatever part of the manor he may have the tithes thereof to the aforesaid prebend. He also granted to Hoo two *wists* of land with marsh and meadow, and the tithes of Franchusta³ and the tithes of Donyngate⁴ and the tithes of Cochersia⁵ and the tithes of Codyng⁶ and a dwelling in the Castle (at Hastings) and another in the bailey at the bridge.”

In this deed the prebend is described as of the Chapel of Wertling or Guymund. There is no explanation of this, but Guymund was probably the name of the holder of the prebend or of a benefactor to it.²

The value of the prebendary endowments in 1291 is stated in Pope Nicholas's taxation to be £16 13s. 4d., where it is thus noticed: “*Prebenda de Wartling XXV. marks. Vicar. de Wertling x m̄rs n̄o excedit.*”

By what means Wertling afterwards dwindled to insignificance does not appear; but whereas here it gives name to the *prebend*, we find it within a century afterwards mentioned merely as a *church* appropriated to Hoo; and the latter church changing place with it, itself denominated the “Prebend of Hoo.” This fact is stated in an instrument on record, whereby Hoo, Wartling, and Nenfield were erected into three distinct prebends. It is entitled “Ordination of three prebends, or division of one into three, in the Chapel of the Castle of Hastings, by Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, and runs as follows:—

¹ The copy of this Charter in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral reads—¹Gwyngū, ²The Manor of Wista. ³Salulusta. ⁴Donluggata. ⁵Bochereia. ⁶Codiggis. The copy of the Charter numbered “*Sussex D. 1073*,” *Calendar of Ancient Documents (Record Series)* Vol. III., p. 532 reads—“Land at Hada,” also ³Sauheista, ⁴Dondiggata, ⁵Cocherria.

² The Domesday account of Wartling is as follows:—

“William holds of the Earle Werlinges. Alnod held it of King Edward and could go with his land where he pleased, and then and now it vouched for five hides. There is land for sixteen ploughs. In demesne are two ploughs and thirty villeins, with ten bordars having eighteen ploughs. There are three salterns of 7s., wood for thirty hogs, and thirty acres of meadow.

“Of the land of this manor Girard holds one hide, Ralph one hide, Wennenc, a priest, two rods. There are twelve villeins with four bordars, with nine ploughs and eight acres of meadow.

“The whole manor in the time of King Edward and afterwards was worth £10. Now what William holds £10. What the Knight £4.”

Division of Wartling, Ninfield and Hooe Prebend

ORDINATION OF THE THREE PREBENDS, OR DIVISION OF ONE INTO THREE, IN THE CHAPEL OF THE CASTLE OF HASTYNGS BY RALPH, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER (MAY 27TH, 1200).

“To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present letter shall come, Ralph, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Chichester, Greeting in the Lord. The devotion of a pious mind is to be cordially received, and to be cherished with the more open charity the more it redounds to the welfare and honour of the Church. Wherefore, considering the pious intention and laudable purpose of that venerable man our beloved Master Peter de Coln Medes, Chaplain of our Lord the Pope, formerly Canon of the Church of St. Mary of Hastyngs, with the consent and good-will of the noble matron, Alice, Countess of Eu, at that time patroness of the said Church of Hastyngs, at the instance and petition of the abovesaid master, he having moreover renounced his prebend of Hoo, which he had in the Church abovesaid, by his letters patent by John de Aquino his messenger and proxy appointed for this purpose, having first taken counsel with our brothers and fellow-bishops, to wit, Bath, Lincoln, Salisbury, and other men present, we ordain thus, that the abovesaid prebend of Hoo, with its appurtenances, namely the Church of Wartlyng and the Church of Nynnefeld, reserving a fair and proper portion for the vicars who serve the abovesaid churches, shall be made into three prebends to which for the future proper persons shall be admitted by the diocesan of the place at the presentation of Alice, Countess of Eu, or her heirs, on condition, namely, that the priests chosen (*pictati*) shall be suitable and proper as is fitting and canons of the said Church, who also when they shall be admitted shall take a solemn oath of continual residence in the aforesaid Church of Hastyngs. But we have ordained these prebends for the execution of this ordination on this occasion (to be supplied) by proper persons. Willing by this our ordination that no prejudice shall in future be caused to the said Countess or her heirs to prevent the said Countess of Eu or her heirs from presenting to the abovesaid prebends whensoever they are vacant, proper persons, namely priests, in accordance with the ordinances abovesaid. We will also that in the abovesaid Church of Hastyngs the anniversary day shall be solemnly celebrated every year by the abovesaid Masters, so that the said three canons shall pay two shillings yearly in equal portions, and the canons and vicars who shall have been present at the service on the anniversary day abovesaid shall distribute the same in equal portions. This our ordination, therefore, justly and canonically to the honour of God and of the Church of St. Mary of Hastyngs, by us made, we notify by our letters patent to all who shall see the deed, as to be for ever of force, by the authority of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of All Saints, and under pain of our anathema. Forbidding any one henceforth to presume to come against this our constitution, or with rash daring to controvert the same. Done in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1200, the 27th day of the month of May. In approval and ratification of this constitution and ordination we have confirmed the same with our seal.” (*Chancery Misc. Rolls*).

“CONFIRMATION OF THE AFORESAID ORDINATION BY STEPHEN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“To all sons of Holy Mother Church who shall see these present letters, Stephen (Langton) by the Divine pity humble minister of the Church of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Greeting in the Lord. Know all of you that we have inspected the charter of our venerable brother the Bishop of Chichester in form as follows: To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present letter shall come, Ralph, by the Grace of God, second (*sic*) Bishop of Chichester, Greeting in the Lord. The devotion of a pious mind is to be cordially received, etc., as above. Now we confirm this charter by the authority of the Church of Canterbury as justly and reasonably made. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made and signed with our seal. Given in the year of our Lord and month abovesaid.”

In the second year of Edward I. on the inquisition made preparatory to the grant

William de Sancto Leodegario (St. Ledger) covenanted with Robert Frankeleyn, granting to the latter certain land called Lefiescroft, lying between the “curia” of the said Robert and the water called Wodedik, and five roods of meadow by the meadow of the Church of Wertlyng (Wartling, Co. Suss.), and a certain warren extending under the meadow by the highway from the warren which was Simon Kuner’s to the water called Metponde, and one rood of land lying between his meadow and the meadow of Herst (Herstmonceaux), abutting on the highway from Herst to Borham (Boreham Street), for rent service, the said Robert to give two arrows at Easter, to keep two lamps in the Church of Wertlyng, “*et hospitando predictam rodam terre derna domo*,” etc. *Temp. Henry III. Lat. Copy. (Add. Ch. 31, 309.)*

Difficulty of Identification of the Prebends

to John of Brittany, we find, notwithstanding the above-mentioned division, Wertling, Nemesefeld, and Hoo, spoken of as only one prebend. "Also they" (the jurors) "say that the prebend of Wertling, Nemesend, and Hoo, is worth by the year fifty marks." In an extent of the manors of Burghurst, Bivelham, and Hamerden, taken *anno* 8 of the same king, it still continues to be mentioned as one prebend, but with a different arrangement of the places, namely, "Prebend de Wertling, Hoo, and Nemesend, val. p. ann. xxx marc." In another extent of Hastings Castle and Town "*cum prebend. et decimis eidem pertinentibus*," *anno* 2, Edward I., we for the first time find the prebends separately reckoned, namely, (1) Pesemershe Prebend, (2) Brightlinge Prebend, (3) Wertling Prebend, (4) Numereford Prebend, (5) Hoo Prebend, etc. In the visitation 19 Edward III., the prebendaries of the three places are styled as they happened to be, "Prebendary of one portion of Wrotling, Nemesefeld, and Hoo; prebendary of the first portion of Wrotling, Nemesefeld, and Hoo; prebendary of the third portion of Wrotling, Nemesefeld, and Hoo, etc."

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 29 Henry VIII., Nemesefeld or Ninfield is entirely omitted, and Hoo and Wartlinge are enumerated as the third and fourth prebends on the list; finally in the grant *anno* 38, of the same king, it is again mentioned singly, but reckoned as the fifth prebend. It is thus described and valued in the latter two documents:—

Valor Ecclesiasticus.—"Prebend of Wartling, Thomas Garrett clerk, prebendary of the same, valued clear, *per annum* in monies, payable for the same by the Dean of Hastings, 40s. Tenth therefrom, 4s."

Grant to Sir Anthony Browne.—"All that late prebend of Wartlinge, with its rights, members, and appurtenances. with thirty acres of land of Uplande in Wartlinge: and all tenths of grain and corn in the parish of Wartlinge."

It is not easy at the present time to account for the variation which we find, as above, in speaking of this, and its companion prebends of Hoo and Ninfield. But as it is evident, by whatever denomination they were called, that they were reckoned as separate prebends, after the division of them made in the time of the Countess Alice, and that they are so described and valued at the Dissolution, we have given such further particulars of them as we have met with under their own proper head.

A list of the prebendaries of Wartling, Ninfield, and Hoo, is given on page 375.

In the grant to Sir Anthony Browne, 38 Henry VIII., the prebends of Wertling, Nenfield, and Hoo, are said to have been subject to annual pensions, extended in value at £6 per annum, payable to Hastings College.

There is an interesting document in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.* No. 703 ff. 150, 150e, 151), entitled "*A Rolle of the severall Armors and furniture with their names of the clergie within the Archdeaconry of Lewes and Deanery of South Malling with the Deanery of Battel in the County of Sussex. Rated and appoynted the 11th day of March, A.D., 1612, by the Rt. Reverend Father in God Samuel (Haisnet) Lo. Bishoppe of Chichester.*" By this it appears that the clergy of Wartling and Northam, who were Mr. Jo. Giles, vicar, and Mr. Jo. Bartin, vicar, were responsible for "A musquet furnished."

Mr. Herbert remarks, describing the Church in 1824, that, "The roof is ceiled, and the floor well-paved with tiles. It has a gallery at the western end of the nave. In 1779 the eastern end of the Chancel, with the wainscot in it, as also the roof, are spoken of by Sir William Burrell (who visited it in that year) as wanting repair, but they have since been amended. Dedicated to St.

Architecture of Wartling Church

Mary Magdalen; patron—Sir Whistler Webster, situated in the deanery of Dallington, appropriated to Hastings College, valued in the King's books at 16*l* 0*s*. 2½*d*, tenths 1*l* 12*s*. 0½*d*."

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF WARTLING CHURCH (1902).

THE EXTERIOR.

The plan of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen consists of a nave, with north aisle extending about half the length of the Church, with a similar aisle on the south side, which possibly formerly extended eastward for a third bay; a chancel lighted only from the east, with many indications of restorations in brick of later date than that of the old Church, which is almost throughout of the Perpendicular period. Above the tiled roof of the nave at the west end is a small wooden tower, weather-boarded, surmounted by a short oak-shingled broached spire, the vane bearing the date 1781.¹

There is a mean brick porch on the south side (apparently replacing a more ancient one with a high-pitched roof) with a semi-circular arched doorway, above which is a date-stone inscribed 1737, with the initials W. G. and W. M.

The principal entrance is through a modern porch on the north side, carried out in the Perpendicular style, and has a gabled roof covered with old slab-stones. The western window is a modern insertion of three lights, with arched head and Perpendicular bar-tracery. The two windows of the north aisle are of Perpendicular work, each with three lights; the western one, square headed with cusped lights; the eastern is more deeply recessed, with pointed head filled with interlacing and bar-tracery with cusping, the leading of the lights being peculiar.

The south aisle is lighted by two two-light plain windows, the mullions and jambs of which are terminated by the wooden wall-plate of the roof. These windows have evidently been heightened, as they are shown in Lambert's drawing² square headed, but of smaller size, and not reaching to the wall-plate. A small square-headed window with cinquefoil-headed light is inserted in the east wall of the south aisle.

There is a window now blocked with boards in the south wall of the chancel which appears from Lambert's drawing (Burrell MSS.) to have been a square window of two trefoils headed lights, with a square label with returned ends, the whole of Perpendicular design. There are also traces in this wall of an arch having a centreing of 10 feet. Much alteration has evidently taken place on this side of the building. In Lambert's drawing there is shewn the blocked remnant of a long lancet window near the eastern end of the south wall of the chancel.

The east window is modern, of three lights, with a pointed arch filled with Geometrical tracery in imitation of the Decorated style. According to Lambert's drawing it formerly had three large trefoil-headed lights, enclosed by a pointed arch with bar-tracery in the Perpendicular style.

On the exterior wall of the south aisle, carved in high relief, will be seen the Poitier-badge of the Pelham family, a Buckle (see p. 202 *ante*), and on the face of the buttress, also cut in high relief, is the representation of a water-wheel (or Catherine-wheel). There

¹ There are four bells. The tenor bell measures 38 inches in diameter, and weighs 8 cwt. 3 qrs. 26 lbs. The inscriptions on the bells are as follows:—

Nos. 1 and 3.

Thomas Lester and T. Pack, Londini, fecit, 1753.

No. 2.

"At proper times my voice I'll raise,
And sound to my subscribers praise,

Thomas Lester and Thomas Pack, of London, made me 1753."

No. 4.

"Mr. Richard Thornton, vicar; Thos. Ewest & Thos. Iarret, Ch. Wardens, 1753;
Thos. Lester & T. Pack, *fecit*."

(*Vide S. Arch. Collns.* vol. xvi., pp. 194, 228).

² Burrell MS. 5,670, British Museum.

The Manor of Wartling

is moreover a pointed shield (plain) also carved in high relief, on a stone beneath the cinquefoil-headed window on the east of the aisle. On the interior splay of the cinquefoil window is an incised shield with an irregular starlike pattern radiating from the centre of the shield. There are also here two memorial tablets (bearing date 1728 and 1806 respectively), probably brought from the interior during one of the many alterations to which this Church has been subject.

THE INTERIOR.

Both the north and south arcades are of Perpendicular character. The northern arcade of the nave is of two bays, with acutely pointed arches with chamfered angles, supported by octagonal columns and demi-columns at the responds. The octagonal capitals consist of simple moulding. The bases are also octagons with hollow chamfers.

The south aisle is similar in every respect to the north, except that the arches are more obtuse, and the moulded capitals are different in profile. An alteration has taken place at the eastern end, the respond here being partly hidden by masonry. It is presumed that the position of the present chancel-arch is not the same as originally planned, as it stands in advance of the respond of the arcade on the south, but not in advance of that of the north. The chancel arch is, in design, similar in every respect to the arcading on the north, except that the bases of the chancel-arch piers are more richly moulded, and are dissimilar in profile one to the other. The chancel presents but little of architectural interest.

The roof is of timber, plastered on the underside of the tiling. The roof-principals consisting of corbelled tie-beams and rafters, are moulded on their edges, the other rafters and ties being plain. At the west end, in situation corresponding to a tower-arch, is a modern arched structure of wood, painted white, with moulded capitals in questionable taste.

The north doorway within the porch consists of a suite of mouldings with a pointed arch, which was originally enclosed by a hood-moulding. This appears to have been taken out and rebuilt in a reversed position—that is, the external moulding is now within the church, and the internal sub-arch facing towards the porch.

There was formerly an arched opening on the south wall of the chancel, now blocked, and this probably led into a chapel at the east end of the south aisle.

In the chancel are numerous tablets to the memory of the Curteis family, of Windmill Hill.

The Manor of Wartling, called also "Werlinges," "Wourtling"; also "Westlinge," "Werlinge," and "Wartlinge," lies in the Hundred of Wartling, Herstmonceux, and Ninfield. This was one of the numerous manors held by Robert Count of Eu, and as such is mentioned in Domesday Book. In succeeding times, it was held by John de St. Leger, and other members of that ancient family.

Anno 12, Edward II., Nicholas de la Beche, who was the possessor of other manors in Sussex, was the owner of the Manor of "Warteling." This courtier was evidently on very familiar terms with the King, for by a Wardrobe Account of March 27th, 1311, we find that he, together with Sir Humphrey de Littlebury and Sir Thomas Latimer, received twenty pounds, for the peculiar service of "dragging the King out of bed on Easter Monday!" (Sussex Archæol. Soc. Collns.)

From the Nonæ Roll of 1340 (14 Edward III.), there appears at this time to have been "at Wartling 200 acres of marsh and scrub-land which used to be cultivated, now submerged by the flood of water and sediment."

Anno 2, Edward III., the manor was held by Sir Thomas Hoo, knight, Lord Hoo, and he obtained from that King a grant for a market, weekly, to be held on a Tuesday, in this his manor of Wertling, and a fair yearly, on the eve and morrow of St. Mary Magdalen. *Anno 16* of the same reign, it was reckoned on inquisition taken, that the same Sir Thomas held five fees in Wertling, Coudenne, and Sokenershe, pertaining to the Rape of Hastings, which were worth £34 per annum.

Old Incumbents of Wartling

In the Subsidy Roll of 13 Henry IV. it is stated that "Lady de Hoo has the Manor of Wortlynge, and rents, lands, etc., in Warbulton and Bokstepe, worth yearly above reprisals £60," and also that "John Colbrand has lands, etc., in Wortlinge and Bokstepe, worth yearly £20."

In the 11th year of Henry VIII., a charter was granted to Sir Richard Carew, knight, and Richard Devenish, cousins and heirs of Sir Thomas Hoo, confirming the free warren granted to John, son of Geoffrey de St. Leger, and also the grant of the market and fair to Sir Thomas Hoo. Carew was son and heir of Alianor, one of the four daughters and heirs of Thomas, Lord of Hoo and Hastings, and Devenish was son and heir of Elizabeth, another of the said daughters.

Anno 28 Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney was found by inquisition to have died seized of the Manor of Wertling. In 35 Elizabeth, Anthony, Viscount Montague, died seized thereof, leaving William, Viscount Montague, his son and heir (*Bodley MS.*). It subsequently passed from that family, and in the year 1766, being in the possession of Lord Craven, was by him sold to John, Earl of Ashburnham.

From the Account Book of John Everenden, it appears that the value of property in Wartling in 1648 was £1,917. 10s. *od.*

INCUMBENTS.

(*Patrons*—Prebends of Wartling—1725. Thomas Webster, Bart. ; 1890. Mrs. Staples.)

REDE'S REGISTER.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1285.	Nicholas de Sprouton	res. Hugh Kendal	The King	
1288.	Nicholas de Hastings		The King	Same persons?
1297	Adam de Bliithe	d. Sprouton	The King	<i>alias</i> Blida or Blid.
1311	Ingelram de Corleton			See p. 143.
1314	John de Snodland			See p. 145.
1373. Ex.	John Somer			
1373.	William de Dalby			
1402. Nov. 7. Ex.	Jno. Attewell, cap.	res. Jno. Baker, <i>als</i> Clement	The Bishop	Westham.
	Jno. Baker	res. Jno. Attewell	Canons of the Coll. Ch. of Hastyngs	Wrytling.
1404. July 17. Ex.	John Baker	res. John Burton	Abbot and Convent of Hyda (Winton)	Tetelscombe.
	John Burton	res. Jno. Baker	Prebend of Wrotlyng, Nenefeld and Hoo	Wrotlyng(V).
1405. May 14. (113b).	Thos. Byteryng		The Bishop (by lapse)	Wrotlyng(V).
1408. May 16. Ex.	Thos. Beteryng	r. Thos. Norberton	Sr. Wm Echingham	Echyngham.
	Thos. Norberton	r. Thos. Biteryng	Canons of Hastyngs <i>ac prebenderios preb. de</i> Wrotlyng, Newnefeld and Hoo	Wrotlyng(V).
1409. March 10. (135f).	Rd. Shroesbury, cap.	d. Thos. Norton (bf. Norburton)	Canons of the Royal free Chapel of St. Mary's, Hastyngs, and Prebendaries of Wratling, etc.	Wratlyng(V).

The Prebend of Ninfield

WARE'S REGISTER.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1415.	Henry Foston			
1419. Jan. 26.	John Freeman	res. Henry Foston	Canons of the Royal free Chapel of St. Mary's, Hastings, and Prebendaries of Wrating, etc.	
1430. Ex.	Roger Friend			

STORY'S REGISTER.

1430.	John Acworth			
Ex.	Thomas Balbyn			
1491. Oct. 23.	Wm. Wymarke	r. Thos. Baylbyn	Canons of the Royal Chapel, Hastings	Wartlyng.

SHYRBORN'S REGISTER.

1509. March 21.	Thos. Kemeys, A.M.	d. Wm. Wymarke	Canons of Hastyngs	Wartlyng (V).
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COLLATIONS.

1519. Oct. 12. (fo. 29.6).	Thos. Cheynye, cap.	d. Thos. Kemmys		Wartlyng (V).
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SHYRBORN'S REGISTER. *Tem.* STILEMAN, fo. 57.

530. May 1.	Leonard Savell, <i>Ut. Jur. Duc</i>	r. Thos. Cheney	Canons of the free Rl. Chap. of the B. Mary, Hastings, and Prebs. of Watlyng, Ninfield and Hoo	Watlyng (V).
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(*Tem.* STILEMAN).

1532. Sept. 18. (fo. 16).	Rob. Fuller	r. Leonard Savell	Jno. Pers. and Simon Fewlar Prebs. of Wartlyng and Nenfield	Watlyng (V).
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1539.	Laurence Wod-coke			
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VICARS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION.

1545, William Marden ; 1547, John Kitching ; 1554, Leonard Hostler (or Ostler) ; 1560, Hetius Horsey, B.A. ; 1566, William Miller ; 1575, Thomas Mawdsley ; 1581, James Goreley (or Gurley), B.A. ; 1587-8, Robert Smith, A.M. ; 1602, Thomas Healie (or Heely) ; 1605, John Payne (or Peryn), S.T.P. ; 1611, John Bartin ; 1618, William Moore ; 1648, Mascal Gyles ; 1652, John Moore ; 1662-3, William Watson ; 1663, Henry Fisher ; 1680-1, Samuel Creed, A.M. ; 1689, Peregrine Periham ; 1705, Philip Shore, A.M. ; 1725, Richard Thorneton, junr., A.M. ; 1758, Robert Andrews, M.A. ; 1793, Harry West ; 1797, Jeremiah Smith ; 1811, John Godfrey Thomas, M.A. ; 1841, Henry Edward Pratt, M.A. ; 1844, Edward Boys Elliman ; 1846, John Richardson Major, D.D. ; 1852, William Harvey, M.A. ; 1854, Henry Campbell Gray, M.A. ; 1856, James Chataway, M.A. ; 1866, Edward Curteis Grayham, B.A. ; 1875, John Robinson Porter, M.A. ; 1888, John Henry Corr ; 1890, George Russell Poole.

NINFIELD.

The Prebend of Ninfield is thus described in the Grant to Sir Anthony Browne :—

"All that the late Prebend of Nenfield, etc., with all that annual pension of 40s. yearly issuing and receivable from the Prebend of Wartlinge, and Hoo in Wartlinge, to the same late Prebende of Nelfelde late belonging."

Sir William Burrell in his MS. in the British Museum says :—

"The Church of Nenfield is small, but by no means an unpleasant structure in external appearance. It has a spire, steeple shingled. In the tower are three bells. On the tenor

Architecture of Ninfield Church

is this inscription :—*Martinus quem saluet trinus et unius hic est.* The windows, as well as the church, are in the Gothic style ; but the former, though of handsome shape, do not contain any painted glass ; nor has the interior anything remarkable in it. It is a vicarage, dedicated to St. Mary ; patron, the Earl of Ashburnham ; situated in the Deanery of Dallington ; appropriated to Hastings College ; value in the King's Books, £8 ; tenths, 16s."¹

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF NINFIELD CHURCH.

EXTERIOR.

The Church of St. Mary, is small, and of no great architectural interest. It consists of a nave and a wide north aisle, which is continued eastwards, and forms an organ-chamber by the side of the chancel. The present wooden tower rises from and above the tiled roof over the extreme west end of the nave.²

The nave is lighted on the south side by three square-headed windows of Perpendicular style (the one next the tower being modern), and the north aisle by three windows of modern design. The south porch to the main door of the Church is a plain brick structure, the keystone of the simple arch bears the initials, I. B.—P. B., 1735 ; the gable bearing an oak sundial (perhaps Jacobean) figured with gold, the whole now rendered useless by the shadow of the trees. The tower³ or bell-loft is a mean square wooden structure, weather-boarded, with mouldings and false battlements, the whole painted white. It has a low pyramidal tiled roof, surmounted by a gilt vane pierced with the date 1858, and the initials T. S. and I. V.⁴

The chancel is lighted by a group of three lancet lights at the east end, and on its south side by two small similar windows, all of which are modern. In the south wall is a priest's door (now blocked),⁵ with a pointed arch ; the whole of rude construction. It bears the initials I. B. and the date 1671. Two old dripstone terminals are inserted into this wall, one a male head, and the other the head of a female, crowned (the latter probably belonging to the Decorated period).

At the west end of the nave, immediately under the tower, is an old pointed-headed doorway with plain chamfered angles. The angles at this end of the nave are strengthened by angle-buttresses of red brick of no architectural interest.

Above the doorway is a two-light pointed arched window, erected by public subscription to commemorate the 60th year of the reign of Queen Victoria. According to Lambert's drawing it had formerly a plain pointed-headed arched window.

INTERIOR.

The main entrance to the Church is on the south, and is obtained by a door within the porch before mentioned, the jambs enriched with simple mouldings of Perpendicular date, which are carried round the pointed arch without impost or capitals. The stonework throughout of modern date. The nave consists of three bays of pointed arches with plain soffits and moulded hoods, which are supported by two low pillars, circular in plan, surmounted by square and chamfered imposts. The timber roof is of apparently early English construction, with moulded tie-beams, and king-posts with moulded caps. The roof was evidently originally open-timbered, but is now covered with match-boarding. The aisle on the north is entirely of modern construction, and has an open-timbered roof. The three lancet windows of the chancel (above mentioned) have wide splayed jambs, surmounted by a pointed arched rear vault. The large arch to the organ-chamber is flat pointed, supported by three-quarter shafts or columns with early English caps and bases of modern work.

The ceiling of the chancel is similar in every respect to that of the nave. The chancel is

¹ Horsfield states that the living is in the patronage of the Church of Canterbury, and he describes the Church as one of the meanest in Sussex.

² The tenor bell is an ancient one, and inscribed :—*Hic Est Martinus Quem Salvat Trinus Et Unus. William ffounder me fecit.* (Described and figured, vol. xxvi., p. 148, *S. Arch. Collns.*)

³ In the 18th century the roof was covered with stone slabs, and had a dormer window above the porch. The south wall was then heavily buttressed, and had but one window, its label with returned ends and two pointed lights. The chancel had a single lancet-light on the south wall.

⁴ The tower had formerly a shingle broach-spire. It is thus shown in the picture drawn by Lambert from the south-west, at the end of the 18th Century (Burrell MSS).

⁵ In Lambert's drawing it is shewn with a door.

Ancient Notices of Ninfield

enriched with ancient and modern panelled and carved oak choir-stalls, the ends formed into "poppy heads." The panelling, together with a dado on the wall behind the altar, is carved in the Jacobean style. The reredos is made up of pieces of carved oak. The reading-desk is of carved oak (perhaps Elizabethan). The pulpit is modern.

The font (2 ft. 8 in. in height) is rectangular, and has an octagonal base. It belongs to the Perpendicular period. It has a carved wooden cover (late 17th Century). The churchyard contains a fine old yew-tree and some carved tombstones of the 17th Century.

The terrier of Ninfield mentions:—"A barn and a field containing half an acre; a green containing half an acre, more or less. Signed, 1st May, 1745."¹

The Endowment of the Prebend of Ninfield is valued in Pope Nicholas's taxation (1291) at £16 13s. 4d.; and, at the time of the Dissolution it is stated that the prebend had attached to it the Church of Ninfield, and a pension from the Wartling Prebend. In the valuation this is said to be the most richly endowed of the prebends.

Ninfield is mentioned in Domesday Book as follows:—"In Nirefeld, which the Count of Eu holds, the Abbot (of Battle) has six rods of land, and there are five villeins and one Bordar with 3 ploughs. It is worth 10 shillings."

On October 24th, 1204, the Sheriff was directed to permit Goslenn de Maresco to hold five marks of land at Ninfield, which were his brother Peter's (*Rot. Lit. Cl.* 6 John, m. 13). In 1221, after the forfeiture of the English estates of the Count of Eu, Ninfield passed to the family of Hastings. A free warren was granted in 1271 to Matthew Hastings (*Rot. Chart.* 55 Henry III., pt. 1, m. 4), who died in 1276 seized of two knights' fees in Ninfield (*Inq. p.m.* 5 Edward I., No. 7).

The following are some of the principal families returned in the subsidy-roll of 1295 (23 Edward I.):—

Élia ad Cherche, 7s.; Gilbert de Ecclesia, 7s. 5½d.; The Relict of Symon de Ecclesia, 22½d.; Reginald Brun, 6s. 3¾d.; Robert de Rofford, 17½d.; Thomas Ywnge, 2s. 8½d.; Thomas Brun, 16½d.; Walter Hervy, 2s. 1d.; William de Swynham, 2s. 10½d.; Thomas Brembel, 15½d.; Walter Pedder, 18d.

In 1320, the Chantry Chapel of Leigh in Kent, to which the Church of Fairlight was attached, held lands in Ninfield; and Ralph, the parson of the Chapel, held an inquisition *ad quod damnum* (14 Edward II., No. 105).

In the next subsidy roll of 1 Edward III., 1327, the following owners of property in Ninfield are mentioned:—

Will de Septvannis, 13s. 10¾d.; John de Eston, 2s. 11d.; Hamon le Muleward, 4s. 5¾d.; Stephen atte Staandard, 2s. 8d.; John Potakyn, 22½d.; Stephen la Yonge, 2s. 4¾d.; John de Thoma, 14½d.; Thom de Wyndham, 3s. 8½d.; Stephen Arnold, 11½d.; Robert Ingeram, 4s. 5d.; Robert Brun, 2s. 2¾d.; Thom atte Churche, 2s. 3d.; John Broun, 2s. 1¾d.; Thom de Rasheford, 2s. 6½d.; John atte Churche, 2s. 2½d.; John Soundy, 22½d.; Will Ingeram, 2s. 0½d.

The principal owner was of the family of Septvann, of Ash in Kent, who also had property at Lyd and Broomhill, and a residence at Milton near Canterbury, till 1448. An only child of Elizabeth married Sir William Fogg, of Repton near Ashford. Their arms were Azure, three wheat-skreens or fans *or*.

The name of Stephen-at-the-Standard tends to confirm the tradition of Standard Hill, and at any rate shows the existence of the name five hundred

¹ N.B.—"I have seen an antient Terrier of Nenfield in the Register Court at Lewes, and in that the Green is not mentioned (W. Burrell, MSS).

Old Incumbents of Ninfield

years ago. Some of the names occur in the subsidy roll five years later—
in 1332:—

Will de Sepevannis, 16s. 6½d.; John Soundy, 3s. 4½d.; Stephen Yonge, 2s. 7d.; John Broun, 3s. 10½d.; John Cok, 3s. 0½d.; Stephen Ingram, 2s. 2½d.; Hamond le Meleward, 4s. 2½d.; Thom le Bifforde, 5s. 2½d.; Thom atte Church, 7s. 0½d.

The *Nonæ* Roll of 1340 (14 Edward III.) gives a mournful description of the place. The inquisition was not taken until the spring of 1342, and it then appeared on the oaths of Thomas de Swynham, Robert Ingeram, John Symme, and Stephen de Yonge, that a great stretch of arable land, called Morhall, had been submerged. It is moreover stated that "there was land also at Ninfield, the tithe on which used to be 11s. 8d., now by the flood of water totally submerged," and that "130 acres of arable lie uncultivated on account of the poverty of the parish (*causa paupertatis parochiae*)," and further, that there was no merchant in the parish, nor any other person who did not live by the tillage of the land.

The following names are recorded in the Bishops' Books as the Vicars and Patrons:—

<i>Date of Admission.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1387	Walter Roberd, or Robyn		The Canons of Wartling, Ninfield, and Hooe.
1401. March 16 (Bishop Redes <i>Register</i>)	Thomas Boyton	res. Walter Roberd	The Canons of the Coll. Ch. of Hastyngs, and Prebendaries of Wartelyng, Ninfield, and Hoo; Nicholas Mocking, Thomas Stondon, and Solomon Hywode.
1401. March 16 (<i>Misc. Chanc. Rolls</i> , 2¼)	William Furtho		
1402. Nov. 10	Jno. Titilshide	res. William Furtho	The same.
1403-4. March 26 ¹	John Serles		The same, but now called the Canons of the King's free Chapel at Hastyngs.
1415	Roger Turnour		
1478	Thomas Brasbrugge		
1509	Thomas Ducworth, or Dudworth		
1509-10. Feb. 28	John Bell, cap.	res. Thos. Ducworth	The same.

VICARS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION.

1554, Christopher Yanwythe, or Janwythe (deprived). 1554, April 11, Thos. Atkynson, cap. dep. C. Yanwythe; patron, Sir Anthony Browne, Knt. 1560, Thos. Style, or Styles, *cler.*; patron, the Bishop (*jure devoluto*). 1600, Feb. 14th, Lawrence Boswell, A.M., death Thomas Styles; patron, Sir Geo. Browne, Knt. (*pro hac vice*). 1611, Nov. 22nd, John Gyles, A.M., *res.* L. Boswell; patron, John Foster (Armig.). 1611-1655, — Warner, — Luke, — Harris, Bushnell; 1655, Thomas Delves, M.A.; 1662-3, John Bowyer; 1668, Edward Nattely; 1681, John Bowyer, died; 1707, John Hammond, died; 1712, George Castleton; 1730, George Thorne; 1768, John Courtail, M.A.; 1775, Alexander Lunan; 1785, Robert Hare; 1832, John Philips, M.A.; 1853, George Rainier, B.A.; 1873, Robert Edward Reginald Watts; 1877, Robert Aitken Bennett, M.A.; 1896, John Bennett, M.A.

From the Armour Roll of the Clergy in 1612, we find that the parson of Ninfield, Mr. Jo. Steele, with the clergy of Wattling, Mounfield, and Penherst, were also responsible for "A musquet furnished."

¹ The *Misc. Chanc. Rolls*, ¼, give the date 1404, March 27th.

The Prebend of Hooe

In the valuation of 1648, the property of Ninfield parish is put down at £358 14s. 7d.¹

HOOE PREBEND.

The Manor of Hooe, Howe, Hoe, or Hoo, lies in the parishes of Hooe and Bexhill, and belonged in 1502 to Godwin, Earl of Kent.

At the Conquest it was given to Robert, Count of Eu, and continued in the possession of his family till between 1096 and 1139, when Count Henry bestowed it on the Abbey of Bec-Helluin in Normandy.

The Count of Eu, according to the custom of the time, founded many religious establishments. He had since 1106 established in the midst of the forest of Eu the priory of Saint Martin-au-Bosc, which was raised by the Abbey of Bec-Helluin, and in the gift to that priory, was included the manor of "How" in England (Estancelin).²

The marshes and salt-pits in this manor are mentioned at a very early period, and both then and subsequently appear to have constituted an important part of the manorial estates. Earl Mortain is said in the Domesday Book to have held four of these salt-pits (*salinas*) in his lordship here, which were then valued at 20s. And in the reign of Henry III., Alice, Countess of Eu, confirmed to Battle Abbey (among other estates) two salt-pits, lying in the marshes belonging to Denne, which she had of the gift of Reginald de Esseburnham.

The Manor of Hoo is very particularly described in the Domesday Book as follows :—

"In the Manor of Hoo which the Count of Eu holds the Abbot (of Battle) has half a hide, and there are 2 villeins with 1 plough. It is worth 5 shillings."

Again :—

"The Count of Eu holds in demesne the Manor which is called Hov. Earl Godwin held it, and in the time of King Edward and now it vouched for 12 hides. There is land for 44 ploughs. In demesne are 2 ploughs and 44 villeins with 12 bordars having 28 ploughs. There is a little Church and 1 mill of 7 shillings, and 70 and one acres of meadow and 30 salterns of 33 shillings. Wood for pannage for 10 hogs. For herbage for 7 Hogs.

"Of the villeins' lands of this Manor Reinbert holds half a hide. Robert 2 rods and a half. Osbern 2 rods. Alured 2 rods. Girald 2 rods. Ingelram 2 rods. Withbert 4 rods and a half. Werelc 2 rods. Another Robert 2 rods.

"Between them all they have in demesne 3 ploughs and a half and 12 villeins, and 3 bordars with 7 ploughs.

"The whole manor in the time of King Edward was worth £25, and afterwards £6. Now the Count's demesne £14. His knights £7 and seven shillings.

And again in another part of the Survey :—

"In Hoo the Count (of Mortain) holds 4 salterns in demesne which are worth 20 shillings."

Among the MSS. records at H.M. Record Office there are 335 slips of parchment, which are the original returns from the juries sworn in the year 1265 to enquire into the property of those, who during the Barons' war had taken part against the King either at Lewes or Evesham, or at the sieges of Rochester or

¹ John Bell was still Vicar in 1534, and was the last Incumbent before the Dissolution. The Vicarage was then valued at £8.

² There has been some considerable mistake about this foundation. See *Sussex Arch. Cols.* v. XVI. p. 299. Geoffrey le Parker, of Bixle (Bexhill) was abbot of Bec-Helluin 1315 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, m. 19, *dorso*).

The Manor of Hooe

Kenilworth. They are entitled "*Inquisitiones de rebellibus*, 49 Henry III.," and there is the following reference to these parts :—

No. 247. Inquest held in the hundred of Ninefeld by Hugh de Coding, Simon de Catsfield, John de Odecumb, Ralph de Swynham, Thomas de Ho, Robert Ingeram, Gregory de Chelilond, Andrew Ingeram, Geoffrey Frauncis, and Andrew de Thorne, William de Broc, and Symon the Turner, Jurymen, who say on their oaths that the Earl of Gloucester¹ has taken seisin of the Manor of Ho, which is worth 30 marks a year in all issues, and nine marks 3s. in rent at St. Michael's term. Wardens. Thomas de Ho. Gregory de Chelilond.

The value of the endowments of the prebend of Hoo, according to Pope Nicholas's taxation in 1291, was £16 13s. 4d.

In the *Nonæ* Roll of 1340 the following item appears: "Hoo, 400 acres of marsh and scrub-land, flooded by fresh water and the sea, used to be cultivated," and for this the tithes in 1292 seems to have been £2 3s. 4d. The third part of the manorial land is described in the Roll as uncultivated, from the defect and poverty of the parishioners. The Patent Rolls of Richard II., Henry IV., V., and VI., record the appointment of commissioners who were interested in the locality to repair the sea-banks along the coast from Bourne, through Pevensay, to Bixle (Bexhill) and Hastings and inland as far as Hurst (monceux), Ho (Hooe), Helyng (Hellingly), Aylesham (Hailsham), and Wylingdon. Among these commissioners were the names of Roger Ashburnham, the Abbot of Begeham (Bayham), the Prior of Michelham, Sir William Fienles, John Pelham, and William Manekesye, and they were also directed to look after the "bekyns" and array hobelers to defend the coast. These hobelers were tenants bound by their tenure to keep a light nag (hobby), and to be on the alert so as to give alarm in the case of invasion or sudden danger from the seaside.

The editor of *Magna Britannia*, p. 508, says that Hoo was the manor and estate of the famous John, Duke of Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., and under him Governor of France. He died at Rouen in Normandy, 14 Henry VI., without lawful issue, leaving King Henry his heir, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame in that city.

Anno 30, Henry VI. "The salt rent within the Manor of Hoo (the same manor having then come to the Crown by the seizure of the estates of the alien priories) was granted by the King (pat. 1. m. 2 and 3) in exchange for the field called Milvenhalls, situated in the parish of New Windsor." *Anno* 34, Henry VI., laws were enacted for the reparation and defence of the marshes of Hooe, and between the limits of Batesford, Ashburnham, etc. (39 Henry VI., p. 1.)

Reg. Edward IV. Hooe Manor (which still remained in the Crown) was bestowed by that King on Ashford College in Kent (part of the possessions of Hastings College) on the suppression of which, it was granted with the latter by Henry VIII. to Sir Anthony Browne.

Anno 4, Edward VI. The Manor of Hoo, with its appurtenances, was alienated by John Ponett to John Cheke, Esq., held by fealty of King Edward VI.

¹ Upon an Inquisition 22 Edward I. respecting *utrum sint liberi vel nativi* the Jurors found that when Alicia, Countess of Eu, lost the Rape of Hastings, she was seised of the Manor of Hooe, and they did not know whether it belonged to the King, to the prior of Okeburne, or the prior of St. Martin du Bosc, but the Jurors said that Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, entered into the said Manor in the time of war after the battle of Lewes, and that Brother Richard, prior of Okeburne, afterwards entered into the same. (Burr : MSS. 5679, p. 528.)

Old Incumbents of Hooe

Anno 8, Elizabeth. Richas Sackville, miles, p. ob. 21, April (value of this manor, £21 10s. od.) *Bodley MSS.* vol. 186, p. 28.

At the time of the Dissolution, the prebend of Hooe was endowed with the Church of Hooe, and with lands and tithes in the same parish besides.

INCUMBENTS OF HOOE.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>	
1364	John Henry		The Prebend of Hooe		
1374	John Thorp				
1386 Ex.	John Ivot				
1386	Henry Brakle				
1395	John atte Welle				
1400 Ex.	John Astell				
REDE'S REGISTER, A.D. 1400.					
1400 Nov. 27	Thomas Colne <i>als.</i> Sevard or Gerard	Confirmation of election of Prior res. Astell	Canons of the Royal Chapel of Hastings	Hoo.	
1402	John Smyth de Clareburgh				
1402 Aug. 13	{	William Preston cap.	res. Wm. Hokkeley	Canons of Hastyngs and Prebs. of the Prebend of Wertlynge, Hoo, and Ninesfeld.	Hoo.
Ex.		Wm. Hokkeley	res. Wm. Preston	Prior and Convent of Lewes	Rottyngden.
1403-4 Jan. 26	Jno. Schovelere ¹ or Schoffelere cap.	res. Wm. Preston	Canons of the Royal Chapel of Hastings	Hoo (V).	
1415-16	John Langforde				
1417	Thomas Wybard				
1440-1	William Wetwang (died)				

PRATY'S REGISTER.

1441 Mar. 1	Jno. Andrews	d. Wm. Wet Wage	² The Prebendaries of Wratlyng, Nenfild, and Hoo (<i>vide supra</i>)	Hoo (V).
1444 May 8	Wm. Peynteur	r. John Andrewe	Jno. Saundres and Jno. Fawkes	Hoo

STORY'S REGISTER.

Fo. 24	(Pars 2nd.) fo. 23a 1 Richard III.			
1483 Jan. 28	Jno. Sawle cap.	r. Jno. Bawdre	Jno. Woods, Preb. of Hoo in the Royal C. of Hastyngs	Hoo (V).

VICARS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION.

1540-1, Leonard Hostler ; 1555, Edward Sargeant ; 1560, John Gilmore ; 1596, John Gilmore ; 1601-2, John Egliobny ; 1612, Marmaduke Burton ; 1625-6, Robert Jeames ; 1646, *John Moore* ;

¹ 1402, Jan. 26th, John Shonclere (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls*, $\frac{4}{34}$)

² The administration is to the perpetual vicarage of the Parish Church of Hoo in the free Royal Chapel of the Blessed Mary "*infra castrum de Hastyngs*," to which he stood presented by the venerable Hen. Jno. Sandres, Gerard Lyne, and Henry Faukes, prebendaries of the prebend of Wratlyng, Nenfild, and Hoo.

Ancient Notices of Hooe

1655-6, John Bushnell ; 1660, William Watson ; 1664, Henry Fisher ; 1680, John Browne, A.B. ; 1686, Thomas Bowers ; 1709, Thomas Lord ; 1728-9 Richard Thorneton, M.A. ; 1758, Robert Andrews, M.A. ; 1771, Thomas Bracken, M.A. ; 1782, Walter King, M.A. ; 1784, William Copland, M.A. ; 1785, William Copland ; 1796, Thomas Fuller ; 1833, George Haygarth ; 1840, John Oswald Routh, M.A. ; 1853, Thomas Robert Jones ; 1857, Nasson Maning, B.A. ; 1889, Cuthbert Routh, M.A.

The prebend of Hoo is thus mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and the Grant to Sir Anthony Browne :

Valor Ecclesiasticus.—Prebend of Hoo, Robert Phyllips, clerk, prebendary of the same, value *p. ann.*, with all profits, etc., payable by the said Dean of Hastyngs, *xls.* Tenths therefrom *iiij*s. Grant, "All that the late prebend of Hoo, *als.* Howe, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances Also all those 50 acres of land of brookland and uplande, and the farm and tenths of grain and corn in Hoo, with its appurtenances."

29 Elizabeth, "Prebend" de Howe (granted to Sir Anthony Browne, knight, 38 Henry VIII. with all gardens, brooklands, lands, hereditaments, tithes, grain, and corn to the said prebend belonging, alienated by Anthony, Viscount Montague to John Upton. Held *in capite* by *L.D.* (July 29th, 29 Elizabeth.)

Same year (Sept. 2nd) "Idem Prebenda" and the tenths in Bodiham (except 500 acres and the vicarage of Hooe) and all those lands called *Ketch in Ham* (Etchingham), late parcel of the afore-said prebend, were alienated by John Upton to John Lovett, Sen., and others held *in capite* by *L.D.* 40 and 43 Elizabeth. The Queen was found seized of this manor,

From a list of Crown presentations during the reign of Elizabeth (see *Lauds. MSS.* 443, 4-5) it appears that on Feb. 1st, 1601-2, John Egliionby was appointed Vicar of Hoo.

Anno 3, James I. (April 1st). The manor and prebend, with their appurtenances, and all lands and hereditaments in Hooe, *als.* Howe, and elsewhere, were alienated by John Lovett, Sen., to John Lovett, his son. Held *in capite* by *L.D.*

Anno 6, James I. (1608) the King was found seized ; and on Oct. 4th, in that year, on a survey taken by T. Marshall, the jury find :

"That Robert Earl of Dorset claimed by letters patent granted to Richard Coningsby, dated December 22nd, *an.* 35 Elizabeth, to hold the site of this manor, with the demesne lands, and all lands thereto belonging, formerly the possession of Sir John Cheke, knight, and exchanged with him, to hold from the determination of other letters patent granted to Thomas Record for 44 years, at £44 *per ann.* rent, being 222 acres and a half, estimated at £73 6s. 8d. (except timber, ward, marriage, relief, court baron, court leet, view of frank-pledge, perquisites and profits of courts, fines, forfeitures, escheats, felons' goods, advowsons, etc.).

The same jurors further found as to the same manor as follows, namely :

Situation.—That the said manor of Hoo is situated within the hundred of Hoo.

Royalties.—All hawking, fishing, and fowling, within the said manor belongs to His Highness.

Customs.—Upon the death of every freeholder there is due to His Majesty an heriot, namely : the best beast ; and the heir of every freeholder, at the time of his entry into his lands, doth pay to His Highness a relief, namely : one whole year's rent.

Commons.—There is a parcel of waste land or common, containing by estimation six acres, upon which the tenants of the said manor do common with all manner their cattle.

Manor House.—The capital mansion-house of the said manor, with the barns and other buildings formerly demised by letters patent to Robert Record for twenty-one years, ended at Michaelmas, are much decayed ; "which to repair sufficiently will cost £30" (T. Marshall's *Original Survey*, p. 333. In 1776 in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, late vicar of Brighton).

By the Clergy Armour-Roll of 1612 it appears that Mr. Marmaduke Burton was parson of Hoo. From 1612 to 1621 (inclusive), Richard, Earl of Dorset, was seized, being said (*Bodley MSS.*) to have held the manor of Sir William Garway at £10 *per ann.* for the site and demesnes. He died on March 28th, 1624.

Old Description of Hooe Church

In 1629 the rents due to this manor in Bexhill, Wartling, and Ninfield amounted to £1 19s. 7d. ob. The whole rents of the manor to £9 8s. 9d. The demesne-lands were marsh, 132 acres; wood, 300; pasture, 85. Total in Hooe, 517 acres. In Ninfield, wood, combe land, 61 acres. Herst wood, 614. Total 675 acres.

In the year 1630, Edward, Earl of Dorset was seized, and in the same year he sold to Edward Baynes and Thomas Turpin certain lands, part of the same called Priest lands, etc., for and towards the discharge of his father, Richard, Earl of Dorset's debts.

In the year 1636, on a survey taken of this manor, it appeared then to consist altogether of freeholders, holding by fealty, suit of court, their several rents, reliefs, and one heriot only, on alienation or death.

Anno 16, George III. John Fuller, Esq., of Heathfield, was lord paramount of the parish of Hooe (which manor had belonged to his father and grandfather).

Anno 26, George III. The Rev. Thomas Fuller sold this manor to—
(Anno 29, George III.). John Fuller, Esq., of Lewes (Burrell MSS).

THE CHURCH OF HOOE, ETC.

The church of St. James, of Hooe, is of a large size, and has in its tower four bells; the benefice is a vicarage, patron, Sir Whistler Webster (1776), now Mr. O. F. Routh, situated in the Deanery of Dallington; appropriated to Hastings College. Mr. Hayley stated that it was valued in the King's books at £18 14s. 3d. "21 Edward I. Prebenda de Hoe xxv marc'." Pope Nicholas's Valuation, which also thus mentions "Vicar. de Hoo VII. mrs no excedit."¹

Sir William Burrell says :

"When I visited this church in 1781, I found it consisted of a handsome nave and chancel, with a covered ceiling, paved with brick, and well pewed; the wall at the east end of the nave damp, for want of a free circulation of air, which may be obtained by making casements in the windows. At the top of the chancel window, in painted glass, are portrayed the figures of a king and queen, sitting; the king holding the orb, the queen with her hands crossed, designed for King Edward III. and his Queen Philippa. The King is drawn according to the usual representations of him, with a long beard, and regal coronet. The Queen, in countenance, much resembles the monumental effigies of her in Westminster Abbey. They are both very well done for the age."

Of the four bells, the tenor one when Sir William saw it, was cracked. Round its rim, he informs us, was inscribed in capitals "*Sancta Margareta ora pro nobis.*"

Horsfield describes the Church as

"an antique edifice of stone, comprising a low and embattled tower, nave and chancel, with a small chapel on the south side used as a vestry; but this probably belonged to some manor in the neighbourhood. The pointed style of architecture prevails, although some of the windows, etc., are in the *tresfoil* taste. Various ornamented corbels, as Saracens and minister's heads, appear on the south side. In the south-eastern corner of the chancel there is a very small piscina. In the eastern window, in small compartments, are two regal figures supposed to be intended for Edward III. and Queen Philippa. The former holds his right hand erected as high as the head, while his left grasps a golden orb. Her hands are joined. Both figures have flowing hair. The font is small, ancient, and square, with octangular columns at the angles."

¹ Horsfield states the value to be £7 2s. 5d. only.

Architecture of Hooe Church

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF HOOE CHURCH (1902).

THE EXTERIOR.

The edifice is in every respect a very characteristic specimen of Perpendicular work, and is probably all of one state or period, with the exception of the vestry, which is of much earlier date.¹

The church consists of nave, chancel, and large tower at the west end, low porch on the south side, and a vestry at the east end at the north side of the chancel.²

The nave is lighted on the south by three two-light windows with pointed arches filled with bar-tracery, and on the north by three two-light square-headed windows.

The east window in the chancel is of three lights, with obtuse arch filled with vertical bar-tracery. Light is also admitted to the chancel by two two-light square-headed windows in the south wall.

The tower, although not lofty, is of massive proportion, in two storeys surmounted by a battlemented parapet, and a small octagonal stair-turret with battlemented head at the north-west angle.³

The upper storey has three double windows and one single window filled with louvre-boards. The roof of the tower is red-tiled, of low pyramidal form, and surmounted by a small vane.

The west-door in the tower basement is well proportioned, with arched head which, together with the jambs, is enriched with characteristic mouldings.

Over this door is a deeply recessed three-light window, the head filled with tracery of good design.

The porch on the south is complete with angle-buttresses, two square-headed two-light windows, and doorway with moulded jambs and pointed arch enclosed by a square hood-mould or drip-stone with carved heads as terminals. The spandrels of the arch are filled with Tudor roses, and foliage. Just outside the door is an incised stone slab formerly filled by a brass plate. It was removed from the nave in 1890 and placed here. It seems to have been a brass cross and the inscription "Of your charitie pray for the soule of Richard Hollyer and Margaret and Alas, his wives. The said Richard decessed the xxvi day of January 1539." There was another to "Thomas Acrouch, yeoman and Elizabeth his wife. He died xxviii day of December 1576. She the x day of July 1569." Another just outside the west wall of the tower was inscribed to Thomas Bowers, a former vicar.

THE INTERIOR.

The nave is without aisles or much architectural interest. At the east end of the nave there was formerly a light (now blocked) above the Rood, and the walls were formerly covered with fresco decoration, now destroyed.

The chancel-arch is pointed, with hollow chamfers supported by semi-octagonal piers with Perpendicular base and capitals of poor design. The chancel is orientated slightly southward from the nave.

A lofty pointed chamfered arch opens into the tower, supported by semi-octagonal piers with moulded capitals and bases of simple design.

¹ Mr. J. J. Newport (a local historian) mentions in his "Account of Hooe Church, Sussex," that at the restoration of the church in 1890, portions of a window of the 12th century were discovered.

² The internal dimensions of the church are as follows:—*Chancel*, 24 feet by 16; *Nave*, 74 feet by 26; *Tower*, 20 feet square.

³ There are five bells all recast in 1789, and three of them (the second, the treble, and the fourth), recast again in 1899 by Mears and Stainbank. *The tenor* (F Sharp, 11 cwt. 24 lbs.) inscribed "John Norton and John Blackman, Churchwardens. "Music is medicine to the mind" (1789). *The fourth* (G Sharp, 8 cwt. 1 qr., 7 lbs.), inscribed "To the glory of God, this tower was restored, three bells recast, and the peal refitted by Miss H. C. Routh, A.D., 1899, in memory of her brother, John O. Routh, Vicar from 1842 to 1852." *The third* (A Sharp, 6 cwt. 3 qrs., 9 lbs.), "Long live King George ye 3rd" Restored (1789). *The second* (B, 5 cwt. 2 qrs., 17 lbs.). *The treble* (C Sharp, 5 cwt., 23 lbs.). These two latter and the fourth are inscribed with the maker's name as above. Some of the old inscriptions are preserved in the *Sx. Arch. Coll.* vol. xvi., p. 213, and in Mr. J. J. Newport's account of the church.

The Prebendaries divide the Joint Revenues

In the north-west angle of the tower is a doorway opening into a spiral staircase leading to the roof.

The roof of the nave is waggon-headed and open-timbered, of massive construction; the rafters are of oak and closely placed, every fifth rafter being enriched by mouldings.

There is a north door, blocked up in 1890. It has plain jambs and a low pointed arch. The south doorway within the porch has a low pointed arch, with the outer angles enriched with wave mouldings, with moulded bases but without capitals. There are the remains of a holy-water stoup on the east side of the door.

Remains of the Rood-loft are to be seen by corbels on the north and south wall with the doorway (blocked up in 1840) giving access to the same on the south side of the chancel-arch. The stairway was contained partly within the south-east angle of the nave, and partly in a buttress on the exterior. The doorway is of early English design, and adjacent to the lower entrance-doorway on the right in the south wall there is a piscina in perfect state and possibly of the Early English period.¹

The east window, described on the exterior, has a wide splay and has a rear-vault arch slightly pointed but nearly semicircular. In the north wall of the chancel there is a pointed arched opening with plain soffit, formerly leading to the vestry. There is a priests' door of simple construction in the south wall.

The roof of the chancel is open-timbered, with moulded tie-beam with octagonal king-post having a moulded capital and base. Four plain stone corbels are to be seen immediately below the wall-plate on the north side.

There is a small piscina of Perpendicular date in the south wall of the chancel, the front of the basin being broken away, and the sill of the splay of the window on the south-east side is formed into a sort of sedilium, and is now used as a Credence table. The Communion rails are said to date from the year 1636, and the reredos was inserted in 1898.

The vestry, referred to above, is lighted by two well proportioned small lancet windows with deep splays on the inside. At the east end is a large arched recess. This chapel was owned by the Ashburnham family, and there may have been an altar contained in an apse beyond this recess.

The whole is of the Lancet period and is probably the oldest part of the church. It probably had an Early English roof. There is a small rude pointed-arched recess in the wall (near the floor) on the south side of the arched recess above mentioned. The doorway leading from the church is pointed and stop-chamfered, and may be of the same period.

The font is massive and handsome. The basin, of square form, its sides slanting downwards and the angles at the bottom are rounded. The opening is large and round. This basin is supported on a central massive round pillar flanked by four small octagonal shafts.² The whole stands on a moulded plinth and two stone steps. It is probably of the Early English period.

PREBENDARIES OF WARTLING, NINFIELD, AND HOOE.

The Patent Rolls, as might be expected, disclose three separate lists of Prebendaries; but in every case the Prebend is described "as a third portion" without particularizing Wartling, Ninfield, or Hooe. The present author made a most careful search among the authorities, but was unable to decide if the lists given below apply to an individual part of this triune prebend. The prebendaries seem to have been tenants in common of the joint revenues of the three prebends, and exercised the patronage jointly.

LIST I

Temp. Henry I. Guymund (or Guynmerdus), mentioned as prebendary in Earl Henry's confirmation-charter.

1247, Nov. 18. Laurence de London, presented by Henry III. (*Pat.* 32 Hen. III. m. 13.)

———— William de Lewes, died 1306/7.

¹ From an inscription on a flooring-slab near it, Mr. J. J. Newport thinks that the side altar here may have been dedicated to St. Margaret.

² The whole is composed of grey Purbeck marble, but the shafts supporting the basin have been much restored with stone and cement. Mr. Newport mentions a stoup on a pedestal which formerly stood near the south door, but which is now removed.

List of Prebendaries

- 1306/7, Feb. 8. Roger de Clare, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 35, Ed. I. m. 35.)
 1312, Oct. 31. Thomas de Redynges, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 6 Ed. II. P. I. m. 12 and P. II. m. 13), vacated 1314.
 1314, Sept. 15. William de Melton cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 8 Ed. II. P. I. m. 23), resigned 1315.
 1315, Sept. 28. Adam de Pontefract cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 9 Ed. II. P. I. m. 22 and 28), died 1316.
 1316, July 19. Rd. de Ayremynne cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 10 Ed. II. P. I. m. 33).
 ——— Henry de Stenewaille resigned 1320.
 1320, Aug. 9. John de Stranghenho, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 14 Ed. II. P. I. m. 18) resigned 1326/7.
 1326/7, Feb. 24. John de la Chambre, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 1. Edward III. P. I. m. 26.)
 1327. 10 Kal Dec. John de Goodale, died 1332.
 1332, May 3. Robert de Tanton cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 6 Ed. III. P. I. m. 3.)
 1343, May 10. Nich. de Bokeland, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 17 Ed. III. P. I. m. 21).
 1344, Sept. 30. John Oliver cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 18 Ed. III. P. 2. m. 25), vacated 1361/2.¹
 1361/2, Mar. 18. Adam de Hertyngdon, presented by Edward III. *Pat.* 36 Ed. III. P. I. m. 22), vacated 1362/3.
 1362/3, Feb. 17. William de Wykeham cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 37 Ed. III. P. I. m. 35) exchanged 1362/3. (See Brightling Prebend. *Post.*)
 1362/3, March 17. Andrew de Stratford, presented by Edward III. (Harl. MSS. 6969 F. 51), resigned 1364/5.
 1364/5, Feb. 5. Richard de Brokelby or Flanckyn, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 39 Ed. III. P. I. m. 32 and 35) died 1376/7.
 1376/7, March 2. Simon Clement, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 51 Ed. III. P. I. m. 34), died 1384.
 1384, April 13. Robert Asshenden, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 7 Rd. II. P. II. m. 19), died 1384.
 1384, May 2. Nicholas Slake, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 7 Rd. II. P. II. m. 13 and 8 Rd. II. P. I. m. 34), resigned 1385/6.
 1385/6, Jan. 12. John Vyne, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 9 Rd. II. P. I. m. 1), exchanged 1386.
 1386, May 22. William Aston, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 9 Rd. II. P. II. m. 12), exchanged 1393.
 1393, June 13. Solomon Haywarde, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* Rd. II. P. III. m. 2).
 1416/7, March 1. John Cowper. (*Pat.* 4 Henry V. m. 5), died 1425/6.
 1425/6, Feb. 5. Henry Kays, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 4 Henry VI. P. I. m. 10), resigned 1426.
 1426, July 1. Reginald Pulham, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 4 Henry VI. P. II. m. 12), resigned 1432/3.
 1432/3, March 17. Gerard Hesyll, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 11 Hen. VI. P. II. m. 4), died 1452.
 1452, April 19. John Penant, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 29 Hen. VI. P. II. m. 3).

LIST II

- Hugh de Kendal, cl., resigned 1284/5.
 1284/5, Jan. 2. Nich. de Sprouton, cap., presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 13 Ed. I. m. 22), died 1298,
 1298, May 10. Adam de Blida, cl., presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 26 Ed. I. m. 16), resigned 1311.²

¹ 19 Ed. III.—John Oliver, styled in a visitation made this year, "Prebendary of the third portion of Wrotling, Nemeffield, and Hoo."

² 27 Ed. I.—Lord Thomas Blithe presented to "Wertlying." (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls* $\frac{4}{34}$). Query, was this an error for Adam de Blida?

Of Wartling, Ninfield, and Hooe

1311, Dec. 19. Ingleram de Carleton, cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 5 Ed. II. P. I. m. 5), died 1313.

1313/4, Jan. 8. John de Snodland, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 7 Ed. II. P. II. m. 26), died 1337.

— James de Berkele, resigned 1324.¹

1324, Mar. 25. Robt. de Langeton, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 17 Ed. II. P. II. m. 25), died 1334/5.²

1337, May 19. John de Wodefod, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 11 Ed. III. P. I. m. 28 and P. 2. m. 31), exchanged 1343.

1343, April 17. John de Heselarlon, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 17 Ed. III. P. I. m. 21). Resigned 1347/8.³

1347/8, Jan. 28. James de Hotham, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 21 Ed. III. P. III. m. 4). Exchanged 1348/9.

1348/9, Jan. 27. Thos. de Repplyngham, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 23 Ed. III. P. I. m. 31). Exchanged 1350.

1350, May 17. Wm. de Pelmogna, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 24 Ed. III. P. I. m. 13). Died 1362.

1362, Oct. 1. John de Rouceby, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 36 Ed. III. P. II. m. 28).⁴

— John Scarle, resigned 1385.

1385, April 17. Richard de Stokton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 8 Rd. II. P. II. m. 22).

1389, Nov. 26. Simon Russell, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 13 Rd. II. P. II. m. 25).

1393, Nov. 4. Thomas Staundon, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 17 Rd. II. P. I. m. 15).⁵

1393/4, Jan. 27. Thomas Butiller (or Boteler), presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 17 Rd. II. P. II. m. 42). Exchanged 1395.

1395, June 10. Walter Gybbes, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 18 Rd. P. II. m. 7).

1407, Apl. 29. Hugo Holbeache, presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 8 Hen. IV. P. II. m. 20). Resigned 1408.⁶

1408, Oct. 24. John Wandestre, cap., presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 10 Hen. IV. P. I. m. 23 and 25). Died 1416.

1416/7, Jan. 6. Richard Blithe, presented by Henry V. (*Pat.* 4 Hen. V. m. 7). Died 1423.

1423, Nov. 2. Thomas Bailly, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 2 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 34). Exchanged 1423/4.⁷

1423/4, Feb. 6. Walter Birchmere, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 2 Hen. VI. P. II. m. 28). Died 1426/7.

1426/7, Feb. 7. Thos. Burwell, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 5 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 14). Resigned 1430.

1430, July 16. William Hebbenge, Bac. in Decress, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 8 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 11). Exchanged 1434.

¹ These did not take effect.

² Under "Wrytlingho" in Vol. XXI of the *Sx. Arch. Coll.* the following appears "7 Ed. III. Robert de Langeton, exchanged with Richard de Barewe, Parson of Raleigh."

³ 19 Ed. V. Master In^o de Herlerton, probably the same styled in a visitation made this year. "Prebendary of one portion of Wrotling, Nemeffeld, and Hoo," and who appeared before the commissioners by proxy, Sir In. de Canterbury, priest.

⁴ The *Sx. Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI. gives 3 Rich. II. John de Roxceby (probably the same Robert de Faryngton. 3 Rich. II. m. 33, August 1, Westminster. Query—Was this an intermediate exchange?

⁵ The *Sx. Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI. dates the resignation of "Thomas Standon" as 8 Hen. IV., whence we may infer that perhaps the appointments of Thomas Butiller and Walter Gybbes did not take effect.

⁶ Bishop Rede's Register, under date of 1406, May 3, gives the appointment of "Hugh Holbache" by the Crown to the Prebend of Wertlyng, Nenfeld, and Hoo. The appointment of "John Wandestre" on the resignation of Hugh Holbache is also given in the same Register, the date being 1407, Oct. 24, and the benefice is thus described:—

"Ad tertiam partem pb̄e de Wratlyng Nennifeld et Hoo in lib. cap. reg. de Hastyngs."

⁷ The *Sx. Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI. gives the intermediate appointment of John Everdon 1 Henry VI.

List of Prebendaries

- 1434, April 29. Alexander Broun, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 12 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 8).
 Exchanged 1435.
 1435, April 12. Galfridus Medue or Creyke, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 13 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 8). Exchanged 1437/8.
 1437/8, Feb. 21. John Saunders, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 16 Hen. VI. P. 2. m. 37).

LIST III

- Geoffrey de Winton, deceased (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls.* $\frac{1}{4}$).
- 16 Edward I., Sept. 28. Walter de Totehull or Totehell, deceased. Vacated 1298.
 1298, Dec. 31. Andrew de Lincolnia, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 27 Ed. I. m. 37).
 Resigned 1318.¹
 1318, April 15. John de Stretford, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 11 Ed. II. P. II. m. 17 and 20). Resigned 1320.
 1320, June 4. Henry de Cornubia (of Cornwall), presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 13 Ed. II. P. I. m. 5).
 1329, June 23 or December. John de Camera exchanged with Gerard de Seiseriaco, died 1330 (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls.* $\frac{1}{4}$).²
 1330, Oct. 7. Adam de Eyton, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 4 Ed. III. P. II. m. 36).
 Vacated 1334.
 1334, Oct. 1. John de Elton or Etton, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 8 Ed. III. P. II. m. 20).
 Exchanged 1335.
 1335, March 30. John de Ayleston, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 9 Ed. III. P. I. m. 29).³
 1335, Oct. 8. Thos. de Staunton, presented by Ed. III. (*Pat.* 9 Ed. III. P. II. m. 16). He was formerly preb. of Godestre in the King's Free Chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand.
 1338, May 8. John de Flete, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 12 Ed. III. P. I. m. 10 and P. II. m. 34). Died 1344.⁴
 1344, June 22. John Wade, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 18 Ed. III. P. I. m. 5). Exchanged 1346.⁵
 1346, Dec. 15. John de Ellerker, formerly preb. of Holington, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 20. Ed. III. P. III. m. 4). Resigned 1348/9.
 1348/9, Jan. 30. William de Osberton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 22 Ed. III. P. I. m. 42). Resigned 1350.
 1350, May 29. Robert de Walton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 24 Ed. III. P. I. m. 5 and 23). Resigned 1353.⁶
 1353, Dec. 15. William Osberton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 27 Ed. III. P. III. m. 3). Resigned 1355.
 1355, May 23. William de Stanford, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 29 Ed. III. P. I. m. 6).
 Exchanged 1355.
 1355, June 5. Thomas de Aston (or Alston), presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 29 Ed. III. P. 2. m. 24). Exchanged 1336.⁷

¹ According to the *Misc. Chanc. Rolls* $\frac{1}{4}$, this was a presentation to the Prebend of Hoo.

² Under the title "Wrytlingho" Vol. XXI. of the *Sx. Arch. Coll.* gives the following items, "3 Ed. III., John de Camera resigned, Gerard de Septenaco died."

³ An. 1335. John de Ayleston and John Elton, prebendaries of the prebends of Wertling-hoo, and Nenfeld, attended the commissioners in the Conventual Church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, by their procurator, Robert de Hytlington, on affairs connected with the visitation of the College, 19 Ed. III.

⁴ 1340, June 3. John de Thormeton (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls* $\frac{1}{4}$).

⁵ According to *Sx. Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI. "John de Thormeton exchanged with John Wade, parson of Stanton Wyvyll, Linc. 14 Ed. III."

19 Ed. III. Sir John Wade, Dean of Hastings, styled in a visitation made this year "Prebendary of the third portion of Wrotling, Nemenefeld, and Hoo."

⁶ The *Sussex Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI. page LX. states that Robert de Walton in 24 Ed. III. exchanged with Nicholas Talmach, preb. of Wherwell.

⁷ According to the List given in *Sx. Arch. Coll.* Vol. XXI., Thomas de Alston exchanged (38 Ed. III.) with John de Erdington, prebendary of St. Margaret, Leicester, in the Church of St. Mary Lincoln, but this does not seem to have taken effect; for the next entry given states that "39 Ed. III. Thomas de Alston exchanges with Robert Richmond, prebendary of Estrat in the Collegiate Church of Llandewycheny, diocese of St. David."

Of Wartling, Ninfield, and Hooe

- 1366, July 1. William de Thrisford, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 40 Ed. III. P. II. m. 40).
 1369, Nov. 20. Robert de Walton, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 43 Ed. III. P. II. m. 8).
 1376, Sept. 26. John Landryn, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 50 Ed. III. P. II. m. 29).
 Exchanged 1386.
 1386, Apl. 3. Richard Stratton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 9 Rd. II. m. 15).
 1388, July 28. Thomas de Stanley, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 12 Rd. II. P. I. m. 26).
 Exchanged 1393.
 1393, Dec. 23. John Burton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 17 Rd. II. P. I. m. 5).
 1395/6, Feb. 28. Ralph Repyndon, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 19 Rd. II. P. I. m. 36).
 Exchanged 1396.
 1396, Oct. 21. Nicholas Mockyng, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 20 Rd. II. P. I. m. 8).
 Died 1424.¹
 1424, July 14. Richard Welles, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 2 Hen. VI. P. III. m. 10).
 Died 1427.
 1427, Dec. 27. Roger Clerk, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 6 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 7).
 Died 1439.
 1439, Dec. 9. William Boston, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 18 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 10).²
 Thomas Carr. Exchanged 1448/9.
 1448/9, Jan. 11. John Clampayn, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 27 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 18).
 Resigned 1455.
 1455, Apr. 26. John Woode, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 33 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 3).³

The Register of Ricardus FitzJames Epus A.D. 1505, fo. 42, gives the appointment on May 5th, of Robert Philipson, upon the resignation of James Whilstones to the "Prebend terciē ptis pergois de Hoo, Nenefeld and Wartlyng in the Colleg. C. Hastyns." The patron is stated to be "Edward Hastyns Knt. Lord of Hastyns and Hungreford."

Shyrborn's Register, A.D. 1517, fo. 136, on February 13th, gives the appointment of Simon Fowler to "the 3rd part of the Prebend of Wartlyng, Hoo, and Nenefeld" upon the death of Thos. Fyncham by "Jno. Ernley by grant *pro hac vice* from Sir Geo. Hastyns Knt. Lord of Hastyns."

In Shyrborn's Register, A.D. 1532, upon the appointment of Rob. Fuller to the Vicarage of Wartlyng the name of Jno. Pers is given as Prebendary of Wartlyng.

In Shyrborn's Register, A.D. 1535, the appointment is given of Thomas Garrett on April 6th, upon the death of Jno. Lewknor, to the prebend of Wartlyng, upon the presentation of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

Anno 29 Hen. VIII. Thomas Garrett, clerk, is styled Prebendary of Wartlyng (only) at the valuation made this year.

¹ Bishop Rede's Register under date 27 Nov., 1400 (see *ante* 232) gives the induction of Sir Thomas Colne otherwise Gerardus, to the perpetual Vicarage of Hoo, vacant by the voluntary resignation of Sir John Astyl, the patrons being Nicholas Mokkinge, Salomon Haywode, and Thomas Standone, canons of the Royal Chapel of Hastings.

² Bishop Praty's Register gives the appointment of "Henry Faukes" on February 19th, 1441, by the King, to the "Prebend of Wratlyng, Nenefeld, and Hoo, in libera capella regia de Hastyns."

In a note to the appointment of John Andrews to the Vicarage of Hoo, in the same Register the names of Jno. Saundres (see list 2 *ante*) Gerard Lyne, and Henry Faukes are given as the Prebendaries in 1441 of the Prebend of Wratlyng, Nenefeld, and Hoo.

³ In an entry in Story's Register (Pars. 2nd), fo. 24, on Jan. 28th, 1483, the name of "John Wode, Preb. of Hoo, in the Royal C. of Hastyns" appears as the patron on a presentation to Hoo Vicarage.

CHAPTER II

PREBEND OF BEXHILL, OTHERWISE BULVERHITHE



THE description of the endowments of this prebend as contained in the confirmation of Count Robert's foundation, is as follows :—

“To the prebend of William, son of Allek, (Alea, Alec or Alice, or Alleck, or FitzAllak), the church of Bexley (Bexela, Beckley),¹ and the tithes, and a half hide of land and one rod at Casteleboga (Long Cistele, or Castlebogram), two rods and the Chapel of Boleware (Bolewareheth, or Bolewar) and certain land close to that monastery² (adjoining the monastery there), and two thousand herrings every year, with certain other customary fish (with certain other customs of fish), and the church of Stotting (or Stotling, or Stuting), with land and tithes and the tithe in Chicheham (Chiteham, or Chicheton, or Chitcham), and the third part of the tithe in Blakebroke (Blakbroc),³ and one dwelling in the bailey, and another under, and (for the other prebend) in this prebend Roger acquired his garden at Bosham (Boseham) which Ralph de Balliol granted to him and his successors.”

The principal foundation of this prebend (it will be seen) was at Bexhill, and perhaps for this reason it was originally called the prebend of Bexhill. It is the second prebend mentioned in Count Henry's Charter. In the extent taken anno 2^o Edward I. (No. 105, M. 5), preparatory to the exchange with John of Brittany, the annual revenues of the prebend (then known as the prebend of Bulverhythe) are valued at 20s. only. *Anno* 15 Edward II. the King is said to have had the College Church and the tenths or tithes, and half a hide of land, together with Bolewar chapel and land, etc., the church of Stotlyng with the land and tithes, Chickeham or Chiteham with the tithe, three-parts of Blakebrook, (h)ortus de Besham, (the garden of Bosham) and Helisham “Hospit’,” in the prebend of William Fitz-Alec; in fact, the whole of this prebend, excepting the church of Bexhill. In the visitation anno 19 Edward III. there is no mention whatever, either of the prebend or prebendary amongst the others therein enumerated; from which we may presume that it was then vacant.

Previous to the Conquest the Manor of Bexhill, or, as it was then called, Bixlea, Bixle, Bexlei, or Bexelei, etc., was in the hands of the Bishops of Selsey (a See afterwards transferred to Chichester). An old deed purporting to be written in A.D. 772, would seem to contain the original grant to the See of Selsey. It is as follows :—

¹ The copy of this Charter in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral reads—“Becsela”—“Cistelebogam”—“Stuting”—“Besham.” The reference to the Charter numbered “Sussex—D. 1073 *Calendar of Ancient Documents, Record Series*, Vol. III., p. 532, reads—“Beksela, “Blacroc.”

² The priory or Monastery of the Holy Trinity, Hastings, is stated by Dugdale to have been founded by Sir Walter Bricet in Richard I.'s reign. He quotes no authority. However, its seal in the British Museum (see *Catalogue of Seals*) appears to be in the style of the 12th century. Another monastery to which the allusion could apply at this early period is that of Fécamp, which owned from Saxon times possessions in the vicinity; with greater probability the New Monastery at Battle which owned land at Bexhill. (See *Battle Chronicle*).

³ Blackbrook is still a *field name* in the parish.

The Anglo-Saxon Charter, A.D. 772

Grant for life by Offa, King of the Angles, to Oswald, Bishop of Chichester, of land at Bixlea, or Bexhill, co. Sussex, with reversion to the See of Chichester (Selsey). August 15th, A.D. 772. (MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 387).

In the name of our Lord God the Saviour.

Everything that is done for this present life, scarcely lasts until death, but what is done for eternal life, remains eternally, even after death. Therefore, everyone ought to think and devise with careful forethought of the mind that, since the possessions of this present age fail us, he may obtain the abiding possessions of the Heavenly promises. Wherefore I, Offa, King of the Angles, for the good of my soul, from love to God, made over to Oswald, the venerable Bishop, as I formerly promised to Almighty God, some portion of the county of Sussex, for building a monastery on it, and for enlarging the church (basilica) which may serve for Divine praise and to the honour of the Saints. I make over the possession of it in perpetuity, that is eight hides (cassatos) of land in the place which is called Bixlea, as is marked out by the boundaries. [The foregoing is in Latin, then follows in Anglo-Saxon.]

These are the land-boundaries of the eight hides of domain (i.e., land in occupation of the lord) in the land of the Bexwaras (Bex-dwellers). First in the (?) neighbouring trees, then from the — tree south to the meadow-land, then along the seashore to over against Codancliff (? Couden-Cliff) Eastwards (more probably Esteferd is the name of a place—? Easterford—opposite Codancliff and meaning the river-bank-land) and then inland to the old sea-dyke; then north through the short grass (pasture-land) to the boundary-post; from the post to Nodingford; from the ford along the river to Straftbridge; from the bridge up along the drain to the Bedan-well; from the well south along the boundary again to — tree.

[Then follows in Latin] In those places that are called by the following names:—At Berna Hornan¹ III. hida, at Thyrtlesham I., at Ibbanhyrstel I., at Croghyrste VIII., at Hrige I., at Gyllingan II., at Fuccerham VII., and at Blacanbrocan I., at Ikelesham III., (then in Latin), with all that belongs to it, things, fields, woods, meadows, fisheries. That from this day the above-named land, which as I have said was given by me in God's name, shall be free from all royal exactions, and remain in perpetuity transferred to the use of the servants of God. On this condition, however, that after his day this donation shall revert to the Episcopal See called SELESEIG.

If anyone ever dares to lessen this donation made by me in the greatest or in the slightest degree, let him know that in the strict judgment of Almighty God he will incur the penalty of his presumption, and will not be acquitted of the wickedness brought home to him.

[The following is in Anglo-Saxon] Then there are the leased lands of land given to dependants in Bexlea.

These are the fen boundaries at Icolesham (Icklesham), at Bingwell on the cliff, out to the middle brook then to Tattingsnaed (i.e. Tatting clearing), then out to the swamp in the Eadpining Valley as far as the boundary of Kent, thence west along Bethel's brook in the middle of (? it). . . .

Then follows in Latin: This short deed (*cartula*) was written in the year 772 after the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the tenth Indiction, on the fifteenth day of August.

† I, Offa, King of the Mercians, as power has been given to me by the ruling God, have confirmed this charter of donation, signing it with my own hand, and have affixed the sign of the Holy Cross.

† I, Ecerht, King of Kent, have agreed and signed.

† I, Jaenberhtus, by the grace of God, Archbishop, have signed.

† I, Cynewulf, King of the Western Saxons, have agreed to this donation and signed.

† I, Eadberhtus, have assented and signed.

† I, Osualdus, bishop, have signed those things that were given to me.

† I, Righeah, bishop, have agreed.

† I, Diora, bishop, have signed.

† I, Osualdus, Duke of Sussex, have agreed.

† I, Osmund, Duke, have confirmed it.

† I, AElbuunald, Duke, have acquiesced.

† I, Oslac, Duke, have agreed.

And these witnesses were also present whose names are written below.

† Botuine Abbot, † Eata, † Bryne, † Berht, † Heabercht, † Stidberht, † Byrnhere, † Brorda, † Cyne, † Tota, † Berthuald, † Ealdred, † Scira, † Oesne, † Lulling, † Æmele, prefect (the Latin is *antistes*—"president," and in later Latin occasionally "bishop").

All these who consented signed and confirmed it.

¹ Barn Horne is a field-name in the vicinity.

Ancient Records of Bexhill

These are the land-boundaries at Barnhorne ; first as far as Mosswell ; from the well south to the valley (cumb) ; from the valley up to the hamlet lytland (? and) heathfield (or untilled land) in Wucanwell (i.e. Vulcan's or Devil's well, perhaps a "Natural Gas" well) ; then south and east to the old road, along the road to the deep valley to Wiwigmere ; from the mere to Fiveways and then south by the eastward swamp as far as the corner (hyrnam or Hornham ?) ; then east to the (?) island-enclosure ; then north to the wood and then east along the wood and then south to Cyllan hill ; from the hill to Cyllan spring ; west along the stream to Thunorslege (i.e. Thunder-clap) ; and then along the stream west around the salt-marsh and then north to Black (brook) stream—up along the stream to Spenham (or Swenham) ; north along the swamp to Siferthing steorfan and then as far as the northern Foulford and then up to the old dyke ; along the dyke east and again to Mosswell.

King William, after the Conquest, however, bestowed the Manor with the rest of the Rape of Hastings on Robert, Count of Eu, and in the Domesday Book the Manor appears in the particulars of the estates of this nobleman. The Domesday Book also records that the Manor was formerly parcel of the Bishopric. The following is a translation of this ancient record :—

"In Bexlei Hundred—Osbern holdeth of the Earl Bexlei—Bishop Alric¹ held it in the time of King Edward, because it belongs to the See (Selsey), and he afterwards held until King William gave the castellany (*castellariam*) of Hastings to the Count (of Eu). In the time of King Edward, and now, it vouched for 20 hides. There is land for 26 ploughs."

"Of the land of this manor the Count himself holdeth in demesne 3 hides, and there he hath 1 plough and 7 villeins with 4 ploughs."

"Of the same land Osbern hath 10 hides—Wenenc 1 hide—William de Sept Mueles 2 hides and a half, less half a rod. Robert St Leger 1 hide and half a rod, Reinbert half a hide, Anschtill half a hide, Robert Cruel half a hide, Geoffrey and Roger,² clerks, 1 hide in prebend." "There are two churches. In demesne are 4 ploughs and 46 villeins and 27 cottars with 28 ploughs in all the manor 6 acres of meadow.

"The whole manor in the time of King Edward was worth £20, and afterwards it was waste. Now £18 and 10 shillings. Of these the Count's share takes 40 shillings.

"Osbern holdeth of the Count 2 rods of land in the same hundred, and for 2 rods it hath always vouched. There he hath 5 oxen in a plough. It was worth 8 shillings, now 16 shillings.

"Leuenot held Bolintun³ of King Edward, and it then and now vouched for 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs.

"Of this land the Count holdeth in demesne 3 rods, and there hath 20 burgesses and 5 cottars with 2 ploughs.

"The Abbey of Ultresport⁴ holdeth 3 hides less 2 rods and they vouch for so much. In demesne is 1 plough, and 13 villeins with 13 cottars have 5 ploughs and 20 acres of meadow.

"In the time of King Edward the whole manor was worth £6 and afterwards 50 shillings, now the Count hath 43 shillings and the monks £4."

Notwithstanding the mention in the Domesday Survey of two churches in Bexhill, the church or chapel of Bulverhythe does not seem to have been intended. One of these churches was probably the present church of St. Mary of Bexhill, and the other perhaps the church or chapel at Northeye, now ruined, but the foundations of which are still traceable.

The Manor continued in the possession of the Counts of Eu until the reign of Stephen, notwithstanding the protests of the bishops, who claimed of King Stephen "the manor of Bixla (Bexhill) with the hundred and churches and its

¹ Ægelric was Bishop of Selsey in 1059. This Prelate continued in the See at the time of the Norman Conquest and for four years after (1070) when he died. The above extract from Domesday clearly shows the appropriation of the manor of Bexhill to the bishopric of Selsey in the time of Edward the Confessor.

² See Earl Henry's Charter.

³ This is supposed to be Bulverhithe.

⁴ The Benedictine Abbey of Tréport, *Ulterius portus* or sometimes *Ulterior portus*, at the mouth of the Bresle, was founded by Robert, Count of Eu.

The Church Restored to the Bishop, A.D. 1148

appurtenances from the time of the Conquest, and from the time thereof memory is not," until at last in that reign it was restored to the See of Chichester by a deed of John, Count of Eu, and a grant of confirmation of King Stephen. The following is a memorandum in the register of Chichester Cathedral :¹—

John, Count of Eu, made a recognition or acknowledgment that his grandfather and father did unjustly take away from the church of the Holy Trinity of Chichester their mother the village called Bixle, with the churches and all other its appurtenances and notwithstanding remonstrances of Godefrid, Ralph, and Siffrid, Bishops of that said church and the claims by them laid thereto, did for a long time against justice and the writings of the said church with peril of their soul detain the same.²

Wherefore, he, with the consent of King Stephen, for the health of those his parents and himself, wholly restored to the said church, and Hilary bishop thereof, the said village with the churches and all its members and other its appurtenances as well in woodland as in plain land and in waters with its liberties and customs and retained nothing to himself or his successors or heirs of right, custom, or service, and lest at any time hereafter any dispute should arise concerning the appurtenances of the said village, he allowed everything to belong thereto, which the writings of the church of Chichester show, saving nevertheless the service of the King.

This restitution (not 1248, as in Dugdale's copy of the charter), was made in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1148 at London in the church of St. Paul on the XVIII kalends of December on which day was the feast and translation of St. Erkenwald, confessor in that church. And there were then present as witnesses of that restitution, Robert, Bishop of London, Ralph Bishop of Bath, S. Bishop of Worcester, and R. Bishop of Exeter, Gervase, Abbot of Westminster, Edward, Abbot of Reading, Galfrid, Abbot of Waverleye, and other persons.

Confirmed by King Stephen.

The Black and Red Books of the Exchequer (1166) mention that "In Bixla are 10 hides which of old the Bishop of Chichester held in his demesne, but then the Count of Eu taking away that land from the Bishop and church enfeoffed thereof 4 knights. The Bishop and church recovered 5 hides in demesne of that land and two knights hold the other 5 hides of the Bishop for 2 fees."

A house of residence in Bexhill had been presented to the canons by Robert de Creol (probably an ancestor of the Ashburnham family), and later this house probably became the Bishop's Palace, for there are several recorded instances of their having made an eastern residence in the county at Bexhill, and particularly Richard de la Wyche, who is even stated by Horsfield to have died there, but this is incorrect.³

The manor of Bexhill was still in the possession of the Bishops of Chichester in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII. when we find among the records of the first-fruits and tenths of the Bishop of Chichester "demesne lands in Bexhill £7, and quit and copyhold rents £9 18s. 1d."

Battle Abbey formerly owned a portion of the tithes of Bexhill, and in 32 Henry III. the same abbey recovered 20 acres of land with the appurtenances in "Bixle" of William de Northeye. Upon the inquisition taken at Bixle before John Olyver, the King's escheator, June 15, 1388 (12 Richard II.), on the oaths of John Brekellesham and others, it was found that Thomas Rushoke, late Bishop of Chichester, held the manor of Bixle with the appurtenances in which was a

¹ *Mon. Ang.* V., 3 p. 1, 127 b. 20 *Ex. registro Eccl. Cath. penes Decanum and capit.* A. 640.

² The great Normans possessed themselves by force of several manors then belonging to the church at, or soon after the Conquest. See another instance in Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in Eadmer, f. 9, n. 30, and in Eadm. f. 196, n. 20.

³ Richard de la Wyche, after whom "Wych Cross" in the parish of Maresfield is perhaps named, died at the "Maison Dieu," Dover (see *Acta Sanctorum*), and was buried at Chichester in 1253.

Architecture of Bexhill Church

message worth nothing beyond reprises. One hundred acres of land, of which there were that year sown with corn twelve acres, with beans six acres, with rye four acres, and with oats twenty-six acres, worth per acre to let to farm 3*d.* and no more. There were also eighty acres of pasture worth 12*d.* an acre, also eight acres of thick woodland worth nothing beyond reprises, also 110*s.* a year rents of assize payable quarterly, and the profits of the court worth beyond reprises 10*s.*, also 30 cocks to be rendered on the feast of the Nativity worth 2*d.* a head, also one hundred eggs to be rendered at Easter worth 5*d.*, total £8 6*s.* 9*d.*¹

In 1390 Richard de Metford, Bishop of Chichester, granted to Sir William de Northeye Knt. and his heirs the park of Boxholt or Buckholt in Bexhill hundred, to be holden by him so long as he should continue to pay to the same Bishop or his successors, as an acknowledgement of the fealty and services due from him to them as their tenant, "one hind of his herd (*unam damam de grege*), and a fox-net (*unam vulpinam cassiam*)." A note has been added in the margin of the Register, whence the particulars of this grant were taken, namely, "*Rcte ad capiend vulp.*"

The subsidy-roll of Henry IV.'s reign states, "John Brenchisle," to be the owner (*inter alia*) of the manors of "Bokholt and Bixle" of the yearly value of £10. Anno 26 Henry VI., Adam Moleyness, Bishop of Chichester, had the King's license to empark 2,000 acres of land in Bexhill, and to embattle or crenelate his manor-house and enclose it with stone.²

By a deed of exchange dated 12th July, 3rd Elizabeth, during the vacancy of the See of Chichester, the Queen took into her own hands the manor of Bexhill (otherwise Beckeshill) and lands, etc., thereto belonging, and in 12 Elizabeth we find that Lord Buckhurst was seized of the manor. It afterwards passed to the Dorset family, and then to the Countess of Plymouth.

BEXHILL CHURCH.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION (1902).

The Church of St. Peter, at Bexhill, consists of a nave with north and south aisles and a chancel. A handsome square tower stands at the western end of the church. The south aisle has lately been lengthened by the side of the chancel to form an organ-chamber, and a vestry has been built on the north side of the chancel communicating with it.

The tower is large and square, with an embattled parapet having small pinacles at the angles. It has a low red-tiled pyramidal roof, surmounted by a vane. The angles of the tower-walls are strongly buttressed. The whole of the stonework of this tower has recently been refaced. Before the Restoration there was a small light in the east wall of the tower, above the roof of the nave.

The south aisle has lately been rebuilt. Before the general restoration of the church in 1879, there was a porch with an arched opening near the south-western angle of the church, now replaced by the present porch. On its east side, between two buttresses in the centre of the south aisle, appears to have stood a high, round-headed doorway without a porch. Near the eastern end of the aisle was a long square-headed window, with four trefoil-headed lights. In the roof of this aisle were two dormer-windows with three square sashes to each, and there was also one over the north aisle. The whole of the south wall was in a very weak state, and was heavily buttressed.

The walls of the chancel were rebuilt in 1879. In the south wall were formerly three long lancet windows, and there was one on the north side (*Burrell MS.*). There are now three similar windows, but they are differently disposed, not being equi-distant with one another as formerly.

¹ Addl. MSS. no. 9165, p. 213, collated with original at Carlton-House-Ride MS.

² This is supposed to be the house now occupied by Earl de la Warr. All traces of the park, however, are now gone.

Architecture of Bexhill Church

A small vestry formerly stood in the angle formed between the chancel and the south aisle. This vestry had two small ogee windows in its south wall, and may have belonged to the Decorated period. The eastern wall of the chancel had, as now, three long lancet-windows of the Early English form, but the present mullions are new. Two modern lancet-lights are to be seen in the northern wall above the new vestry.

The northern wall has been less altered than any of the exterior walls of the church. Its windows are arranged in two sections, one set of three two-light Perpendicular windows with cinq-foiled heads being designed to light the north aisle proper, while two similar Perpendicular cinq-foiled headed lights open into a chapel formed from the eastern end of the aisle. In the east wall of this chapel is a large, pointed, Perpendicular window of three cinq-foiled principal lights, with panelled tracery above. There is a space to allow light between the window and the vestry, which latter is entered from the outside. A pointed doorway now, as usual, blocked, is to be seen in the centre of the wall of the north aisle. It has Decorated mouldings. There are no signs of its having had a porch.

INTERIOR.

The tower opens into the nave by a wide opening, surmounted by a pointed arch with a plain soffit rising from simple chamfered imposts. In its southern wall is a recess having a round-headed arch springing from the plain chamfered imposts.

The nave in its present form is 44 feet long by 14 feet wide, but it appears to have been extended with the chancel beyond its original design at three different periods.

The oldest portion of the church now standing is to be seen at the western end of the nave. The first two bays on either side are formed by two semicircular arches resting centrally on a round pillar and springing from responds on the east and west sides. Those on the west are attached to the western wall, and those on the east to rectangular piers apparently formed from what was once part of the contemporary chancel-wall. The capitals of the round pillars and the wall capitals or responds are all varied in form. Those on the south side have foliated designs carved upon them; those on the north have scalloped designs. The abacus is worked in the Early English manner, and the bases of the pillars are also Early English in form. This group forms the original nave (25 ft. 6 ins. in length by 14 ft. 6 ins. in breadth). Beyond this nave perhaps stood an apsidal chancel. The aisle on the north side (9 ft. 6 ins.) is probably of the original breadth, but that on the south has been remodelled and widened to 18 feet.

This first church is late Norman in style passing into Early English, and was probably built after the year 1148, when John Count of Eu restored this church and portion of the Prebend of Bexela to Hilary, Bishop of Chichester.

The west tower-window is large but modern, of four principal shouldered lights surmounted by tracery of Early English design.

A third bay (9 ft. 6 ins. in length) was added to the aisle in the Early English period, and the apsidal (?) chancel replaced by a wide Early English arch dividing the nave from the new chancel, which was afterwards removed to its present position. This Early English chancel is said to have had a chapel on its south side (see *Hastings Past and Present*. 1855, p. 128); but traces of this are not now to be seen since the rebuilding of the south aisle. The Early English bay added to the aisle was formed by an arch, with one bold chamfered rib, resting on two small shafts attached to responds or pillars with bell-shaped capitals. Half of these responds are attached, on one side, to the back of the pier (originally the earlier chancel-wall) and on the other side against the chancel-wall of the Early English chancel, which has now been converted, like the former wall, into two rectangular piers. Three of these small shafts have been reduced to mere corbels, owing, it must be presumed, to the destruction of the lower portion of the shafts and bases. A fourth bay, 14 feet in length, appears to have been added in the Decorated period, when the Early English chancel-arch was removed and placed in its present position at the entrance of the chancel. On the north side the bay is formed by one wide arch with a moulded rib, resting on either side upon half octagonal pillars with Decorated capitals. The western half-column or respond is attached to the back of what was the Early English chancel-wall, which was, as above stated, converted into a rectangular pier. The eastern one is attached to the present chancel-wall. The side of the nave opposite to this northern bay is divided into two bays instead of one, made up of two pointed arches resting centrally on a round pillar with a large bell-shaped capital. The sides of the arches die into the rectangular pier on the west side, and the chancel-wall on the east. This is perhaps a copy of the original side of the Early English chancel which formerly opened into the Early English chapel above mentioned; but it presents an extremely odd appearance since the restoration of the church.

Early Christian Tomb in the Church

The chancel has been lengthened since the Decorated period, but it appears to have been formerly lighted by lancet-windows from Early English times downwards: the mullions of the windows were probably rebuilt into the walls after the first removal.

The small vestry with the ogee window, formerly at the south-west of the chancel, was probably built in the Decorated period. It opened by a door into the south aisle. This aisle has been widened, its wall having been rebuilt. A large organ-chamber has lately been built on the south-west side of the chancel, opening into the south aisle and chancel. All traces of the former vestry and the Early English south chapel are now removed. The north aisle, as before mentioned, has been least altered, and probably remains of the original breadth of the Norman church, being extended in length from time to time with the alterations of the nave. It terminates in a chapel corresponding in length to the last or Decorated bay of the church, by which it opens into the nave. It is divided from the rest of the north aisle by a set-off in the north wall projecting 4 feet. Between the last rectangular pier in the nave and this set-off there sprang a low, rather flat, Perpendicular pointed arch which dies into the masonry on either side. All the windows in this chapel and the north aisle, as previously noticed when describing the exterior, are of Perpendicular design.

There is a fine ceiling extending from the tower eastern wall to the present chancel-wall. It is waggon-headed and of late workmanship. It is divided into compartments by moulded ribs and purlins with carved bosses at the points of intersection.

The present dimensions of the church are

	<i>Length.</i>	<i>Breadth.</i>
Tower basement	18 ft.	14 ft. 6 ins.
Nave	44 „	14 „ 6 „
Chancel	36 „	17 „ 0 „
Thickness of chancel-wall	3 „ 6 ins.	...
Thickness of tower-wall	3 „ 6 „	...
Total length of church	105 feet.	
West aisle, including chapel	44 ft.	9 ft. 6 in.
South aisle	44 „	18 „ 0 „
Chapel part of north arch	20 „	13 „ 0 „
Modern organ-chamber at end of north arch	25 „	15 „ 0 „

One of the most interesting sepulchral remains yet found in the South of England was discovered near the central round Norman pillar on the south side of the church, and is now embedded in the roundheaded recess in the southern wall of the tower-basement. It is the lid of a stone coffin or cist of small proportions and of unusual shape. It measures 2 ft. 9½ ins. in length by 16 ins. at the head, narrowing to 4½ ins. at the foot. The form resembles that of an oblong truncated pyramid. It appears almost rectangular, but the broadest part of the truncated portion at the head is 5½ ins. and at the foot 4½ ins. The whole surface of the stone-lid is covered with Runic-like designs; a serpent is engraved on either side of the slope ascending from the foot. Some of the work is interlaced in the Celtic style, and the key-pattern is also introduced, the latter being an unusual feature in such monuments in the South of England. There is the usual intermixture of Celtic, Scandinavian, and Saxon designs, the former perhaps predominating.

The present font standing in the tower-basement is modern, but it is generally said to have been an exact copy of the old one, though there seems some reason to doubt this, because in the Rectory garden-rockery there is what appears to be the top of a very plain font of Early English design, which was probably the old church-font. The section of the top of the old font is square, but carved out into four large egg-shaped hollows, one on each side. The bowl of the font is round and deep.

Before we leave Bexhill Church, it should be mentioned that it formerly possessed a fine old painted window. In two compartments of the tracery were two regal figures, probably representing Christ and the Blessed Virgin, as at Hooe Church. It is doubtful from what window in the church this painted glass was taken. The following details and correspondence sufficiently show how this window was lost to the church, and came into the possession of Horace Walpole, eventually drifting into other hands.

Letter from Horace Walpole to George Montague, Esq., Strawberry Hill, Monday, November 24th, 1760, mentions that—

“ I am come to put my *Anecdotes of Painting* into the press . . . I want you kindly to help

The Bexhill Painted Glass purloined

me in a little affair that regards it. I have found in an MS. that in the church of Beckley or Bexley in Sussex there are portraits on glass in a window of Henry III and his Queen. I have looked in the map, and find the first name between Bodiham and Rye, but I am not sure it is the place. I will be much obliged to you if you will write directly to your Sir Whistler (Webster) and beg him to inform himself very exactly if there is any such thing in such church near Bodiham. Pray state it minutely; because if there is I will have them drawn for the frontispiece to my work."¹

The windows were subsequently engraved, and appeared in various editions of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

Unfortunately Mr. Montague's reply is not forthcoming, but we learn the result of the correspondence, from a letter addressed by Walpole to the Rev. Cole, dated Strawberry Hill, October 23rd, 1771:—

"I am building a small chapel, too, in my garden, to receive two valuable pieces of antiquity, and which have been presents singularly lucky for me. They are the window from Bexhill, with the portraits of Henry III. and his Queen, procured for me by Lord Ashburnham. The other, great part of the tomb of Capoccio, mentioned in my *Anecdotes of Painting*, on the subject of the Confessor's Shrine, and sent to me from Rome, by Mr. Hamilton, our Minister at Naples. It is very extraordinary that I should happen to be master of these curiosities."—Vol. ii. pp. 393-4.

The next extract is from A Description of the Villa, of Mr. Horace Walpole, at Strawberry Hill, etc., in *Works*, vol. ii. 4to, London, 1798, p. 508:—

"Strawberry Hill,
"The Chapel.

"In the windows are the original portraits² of Henry III and his Queen in painted glass, with other saints and coats of arms.

"The window was brought from the church of Bexhill, in Sussex. The two principal figures are King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, his Queen, the only portraits of them extant. King Henry died in 1272, and we know of no painted glass more ancient than the reign of King John. These portraits have been engraved for the frontispiece to the *Anecdotes of Painting*." (4to Strawberry Hill, 1765, vol. i.; also frontispiece to vol. iii. of *Collected Works*, 1798.)

The next extract shows the subsequent fate of the window.—*Auction Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill, collected by Horace Walpole*. 4to. Lond. 1842. p. 247.

"Twenty-fourth day's sale.
"The Chapel in the grounds.

"84. A very fine ancient stained glass window, in seventeen compartments, in which are represented the original portraits of Henry III and his Queen, with saints at whole length, coats of arms and other devices; it was a present from the Earl of Ashburnham, and was brought from the church of Bexhill, in Sussex.

"The portraits of Henry and his Queen are the only ones known; they have been engraved, and are more fully described in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*."

Ædes Strawberriana. Names of purchasers and the prices to the detailed Sale Catalogue of the Collection, etc.. etc. 4to. Lond. 1842. p. 56.

"Twenty-fourth day's sale, May 21st, 1842.

"Furniture in the Long Gallery, the Stained Glass Windows, Shrine and Effects in the Chapel, etc." It was sold to "—Whitaker, Esq." (probably of Cambridge), for £30 9s., and is now preserved by Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum, at Hardwick House, Bury St. Edmunds, having been purchased by his grandfather, the late Rev. Sir Thomas Gray Cullum, Bart., F.S.A. The lights were mounted as a staircase-window, along with other old pieces of stained glass. The Author has lately seen these two lights: they belong to the Perpendicular period (early Fifteenth Century); both figures have a nimbus about the head, and the hand of the male figure is raised as if in giving the Blessing. They probably represent Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary. See as to similar window in Hooe Church of about the same date.

¹ Mr. Wm. Horsfield, criticizing the engraving in his *History of Sussex*, says:—"The engraver seems to have taken some liberty with the drawing by shortening and curling the hair, which in the original was waving or flowing and long. Nor was the beard thin, sharp, and the points extended as in the plate, but rather bushy upon the chin. (See *Hayley MSS.* vol. ii. p. 165.) Mr. Hayley was of opinion that Edward III and Queen Phillipa were the persons represented."

² "These were a present from the then Earl of Ashburnham."

St. Mary's Church at Bulverhithe

Mr. Hayley remarks that the living was valued in the King's books at £24 10s. 2½d.

The following is a list of Rectors of St. Peter's Church of Bexhill, compiled from the public records :—

1245-6, Lawrence de London. 1261, William (vicar). 1288, Robert (vicar). 1313, William de Loppedell. 1324-5, Thomas (vicar). 1337, Simon de Shoreham. 1350, exchanged Thomas de Innungere de Peteworth. 1350, Hugh Julien de Guldenmorden. 1367, exchange William de Retford. 1367, Henry Torkard de Newerk. 1401, William Baker. 1401, Walter Bataylle. 1413, William Cade. 1455, Michael Courthope. 1458-9, John Selby (monk). 1507, resigned John Adams S.T.P. 1507, Richard Ardern, M.A. 1516, resigned John Wynman. 1516, Richard Borde.

The following were appointed Vicars :—

1519-20, William Fleshmonger. 1524, Thomas White. 1529, Edward More, A.M. 1541 John White. 1544, died — Byrgys. 1544, William Praty. 1549, John Wyman. 1567, Thomas Mawdesley. 1589, Thomas Pie, S.T.D. 1610, John Bridgeman, D.D. 1616, John Nutt, B.D. 1641, Thomas Smith. 1645, John Harrison, B.D. 1660, William Carr. 1661, Thomas Delves, M.A. 1677, John Bradford, M.A. 1685-6, Thomas Milner, M.A. 1722, Henry Ott. 1739, William Ashburnham, M.A. 1757, Henry Lushington, M.A. 1799, Meredith Jones, M.A. 1792, George Pelham, M.A. 1827, Thomas Baker, M.A. 1836, Thomas Berch, L.L.D. 1840, Henry Winckworth Simpson, M.A.

The following have been appointed Rectors :—

1876, Charles Leopold Stanley Clarke, B.C.L. 1889, William Leighton Grane, M.A. 1900, Theodore Townson Churton, M.A.

BULVERHITHE,

Called Bollefride, Bolverhide, Bulwarheth, Bulewarheth, Bu lwardreth, Bulwarhythe Bulwareche, etc., is a member of the capital Cinque Port of Hastings, and by a decree made at a general Brodhull, 10 Henry VII, held at Romney, Hastings was assessed for it 20d. to be paid for defraying public charges, for the common relief and aid of all the ports and their members. There was formerly a haven here on the east side of Galley Hill, called Bollefride, afterwards Bolverhithe. Mr. Hayley says: It was the place where William the Conqueror landed, and he conceives its name to be compounded of two Saxon words, signifying "the townsmen's harbour." It still continues to be a member of the port of Hastings. The old harbour was formerly scoured by the river Asten, which found an outlet near Galley Hill. It has been suggested by Mr. M. A. Lower that the name *Asten* may have something to do with the etymology of the word Hastings.

In seventeenth century maps (*not earlier nor later*) there is depicted an island which extended to about the middle of the haven (see p. 5).

After the Bishops of Chichester had recovered their property in Bexhill, the prebendary was exclusively known as a canon of Bulverhithe.

The church, which was perhaps built by one of the Counts of Eu, was of Norman architecture with Early English additions, but for many centuries the building has been in ruins. From partial excavations made in 1861 by the late Mr. T. Ross, several times Mayor of Hastings, the dimensions of the foundations were arrived at, and a ground-plan was traced. The length of the church within the walls appeared to be 101 feet, length of nave 57 ft. 8 ins., width of the same, 23 ft. 6 ins., length of chancel 25 ft., width of the same 17 ft. 9 ins., and the tower at the west end, 12 ft. 6 ins. square. The piscina was placed in the north wall, and was very plain. Within the niche was the groove which received the wooden or stone shelf, probably a credence-table; the basin was gone, but the drain-pipe conveying

The Manor of Bulverhithe

the water away was about 4 inches from the wall, and appeared to have no outlet. It is not known when the church went to ruin, but Camden remarks that the church was roofless in Holland's time.

THE MANOR, ETC.

Bulverhithe appears, from the earliest times, to have constituted part of the demesne-land of the Rape and Castle, and as such is mentioned in a variety of documents. It is distinct from the manor of that name, which is in Bexhill parish. In 22 Edw. I Henry, Count of Eu, among the rents which he confirmed to the treasury of the church of St. Mary of Hastings, and out of his demesnes of Bulwareche belonging to his Sherifffdom, was the sum of 6*s.*, and confirms the grants of Earl Henry, his grandfather, and in the same town of a certain *mansura* which was Ulnards 12*d.*

Anno 3 Edw. II, John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, lord of the Rape of Hastings, procured a grant of a weekly market (see p. 142) on the Monday, and a fair of four days every year, the eve and the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (patroness of the College of Hastings) and two days after, to his manor of Bolewarheth. On an inquisition at the death of the same John of Brittany an. 8. Edw. 3.—the jurors returned—"That there were at Bulwarheth pertaining to the said barony of Hastings—20 acres of salt pasture worth per annum 6*s.* 8*d.*, price of the acre 4*d.* Also that there were rents of assize of the same 54*s.* and 5*d.*, owing from divers tenants thereof, viz., at the feast of St. Andrew' 22*s.* 5*d.*, at Hock day 22*s.* 5*d.*, and at the feast of St. Michael 9*s.* Also that there was at the same a passage over the water of Bule-warethe, which less or more produced one year with another, 8*s.* per annum, and which was payable by equal portions, at the four usual times of payment of rent in the year—making together a total annual revenue of 68*s.* 4*d.*"

This amount appears to have varied in subsequent inquisitions (see account of the Rape).

In the year 1372 St. Mary of Bulverhythe was still returned as a place of worship by the bailiff of Hastings.

At the time of the Armada, when the defence of the Sussex coast was considered, it was recommended that at Bulver Hyde Point, which was deemed a place fit for landing, there should be "a rampier to bere one demiculverin and one sacre."

The following is a survey made of Bulverhide in the reign of Elizabeth—entitled :—

"THE BOUNDARYES TAKEN OF BULVERHITH." (*Pelham Evidences*).

"Theis be the marks and bounds of Bulverhith of the franchises and libertye ther viewed and shewed unto Edmund Frank, bailif of Hastinge, John Motte, comen clerk ther, Richard Lane, chamberlain of the same town ; by Henry Whygtfeld, Robert Wyders, and Thomas Gunter, inhabitants within the same Franches and Libertye, as hereafter followeth :—

Firste the said bounds beginneth at the sea-syde, at a place called Gulsowhill (Gallowhill, Galleyhill or Gallows hill) gate, and so goethe cleane by an hedge between Gullowdowne and a field called the Breache vnto the vpper corner of a brooke, called the Black Brooke (near Glynde Gap) and so from thence directly over the same brooke vnto an elbowe in the nether hedge of a feld of John Baker, called the Great Marlinge, parcell of the tenement of Glinde ; and from the same elbowe directly to a mean gate goinge into a parcell of land of the said John Baker, called the Little Marlinge vij foote beneath an ashe standing beside the said meane gate ; and so from that meane gate over the said Little Marlinge, and another croft of the said John Baker, directly vnto a gappe vij foote above a willowe, standinge between the said crofte, and another crofte, lyenge to the highwaie ther, and from thence over directly the same crofte, and crosse the said highwaie, in at a meane gate wher some tyme stode a house, the which house stode parte in the franchises,

Decay of Bulverhithe Harbour

and parte in the forreine ; and one John Shepherd dwelled in the same house, and so from thence directly over a crofte ther unto the upper corner of a meadowe, called Gobbey's Meadowe ; and so by an hedge between the said meadowe, and the lands of John Baker called Glinde ; and from the said meadowe fetchinge in a crofte of the Lord Hastings¹ and so from the other corner of the same crofte, down by a watercourse that leadeth between the lands of Richard Deavenish Esquire² called Pepilsham (Pepsham), against the north till yt cometh to the corner of the east end of Pepilsham ; and so from thence directly unto a stone and a stake, standing in the highwaie leading over Bulverhith Gate, to the lands of Mr. Harbottell againste the east ; and so from thence directly over the stone beache unto the sea, and so leadinge by the sea syde unto Gallowhill Gate, wher the said bounds firste begun." Anno 1622, Richard Earl of Dorset is described as being seized of this manor ; before which Sir Thomas Sackville is said to have settled on his son Thomas, the Prebend, Chapel, and Chapel-yard of Bulverhythe, of the clear value yearly of £16 13s. 4d.³

The amount of the demesne land appertaining about this period to the Rape, is not stated, but it was probably considerable, exclusive of the prebendal estate mentioned above. It was then in the possession of Sir Thomas Pelham, as lord of the Rape and Castle, and in 1626 (12 Car. 1.) in an indenture of that date, to which he is a principal party, is thus described, together with the Castle, etc.⁴ "All that the Castle and Honour and Rape of Hastings, and all those his (Sir Thomas's) lands called the Castle Hill, and Bulverhide lands and marshes, lying near to the Castle of Hastings."

At an assembly of the Corporation of Hastings held on Sept. 22nd, 1676, it was decreed that "all shallops and other outlandish vessels which put into Bulverhide haven or stretch a rope or line, and if any the maisters or men thereof doe come on shore wherever between the liberty of this towne shall paie 12d. for everie vessell to the pierwardens." There are frequent mentions of the Bulverhythe pier in the Chamberlain's Accounts of Hastings Corporation. Anno 1739.—It is stated that 2s. 6d. is due to the lord of the manor (Qy. Rape ?) on every vessel that lands goods at "Bulverhide."

The greater part of what was Bulverhithe is now swallowed up by the sea (Jeake, *S. Cinque Port Charters*, p. 124.)

PREBENDARIES OF BULVERHITHE.

- Reg. Henry I. William Alleck, mentioned in Count Henry's Confirmation Charter.
1202/3, Jan. 3. Robert of London, presented by King John. (*Pat.* 4, John m. 6.)
1212, June 24. Daniel, son of Richard, presented by King John. (*Pat.* 14, John m. 5.)
1252/3, Mar. 3. Henry de Sutherst, or Mitherst, or Muherst, presented by Henry III. (*Pat.* 37 Hen. III m. 16.) He died in 1275/6.
1275/6,⁵ Feb. 6. Laurence de Wyndesore, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 4, Ed. I. m. 30.) He resigned in 1279/80.
1279/80, Jan. 20. Robert Aylward or Walteri, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 8, Ed. I. m. 24.) Died 1294/5.
1294/5, Mar. 6. Thomas de Asshebourne, cl., presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 23, Ed. I. m. 16.) Died 1295.

¹ The croft here mentioned was part of the demesne land here appertaining to the Rape, which at this period was held by Henry Lord Hastings in right of the Castle

² The family of Devenishe appears to have early held land here, it being stated 12 Edw. IV that William Passelegh (Pashley, Wadhurst) son and heir of John Passelegh, armiger, son and heir of John Passelegh, Knight, remised to John Denyshe (Devenish) and others—all the right in one message and 300 acres of land in the ville of St. Andrew of Hastings, St. Mary, in the Castle of Hasting and Hollington. (*Roll. Pat. Claus.* 12 Edw. IV.)

³ Burrell MSS. Mus. Brit.

⁴ Indenture between Sir Thomas Pelham, John Millington, and John Field, preparatory to levying a fine of the same, etc.

⁵ *The Miscellaneous Chancery Rolls*, 4/24, give 1 Edward I, May 5. William de Dover, cap. was presented to Edward I. (Query, did this take effect). The same authority has the death of William de Dover in 19 Ed. I., and the presentation on May 21 of Walter de Agmetesham.

Prebendaries of Bulverhithe

- 1295, Nov. 11. Walt. de Agmondesham, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 23, Ed. I. m. 1.)
 Died 1303.
- 1303, Nov. 6. William de Bedewynde, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 31, Ed. I. m. 9.)
- 1307, Dec. 30. Robert de Hurle, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 3, Ed. II. P. I. m. 2.)
 Resigned 1309/10.
- 1309/10, Feb. 29. William de Pevenseye, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 3, Ed. II. m. 19.)
1320. John de Claxton resigned.
- 1320, April 25. Galfridus de Clare, presented by Edward II., exchanged 1348. (N.B. 1335. "Geoffery de Clare, clerk and warden of the Free Chapel of our most illustrious Lord the King of England in his Castle of Hastings, and Prebendary of Bolewareche," appeared personally before the commissioners in the conventual Church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, on affairs connected with the visitation of this College, and was charged with neglect, *see* Visitation, 19 Ed. III. page 196.)
- 1348, April 2. Stephen de Ketelbergh, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 22, Ed. III. P. I. m. 15.)
- 1348, May 28. John de Grey, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 22, Ed. III. P. II. m. 34.)
 Vacated 1349/50.
- 1349/50, Jan. 16. William de Shrovesbury, exchanged 1352.
- 1352, June 21. Edmund la Zouch, Preb. of Brondesbury, St. Paul's Cathedral, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 26, Ed. III. P. 2, m. 22.) Exchanged 1354.
- 1354, May 8. William de Ukkefield, warden of the chapel of Leppeford, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 27/28, Ed. III. P. I. m. 12.) Vacated 1357/8.
- 1358, June 18. Robert de Hedyngham presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 32, Ed. III. P. I. m. 6.) Exchanged 1361.
- 1361, Aug. 10. John de Codyngton, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 35, Ed. III. P. II m. 6.)
- 1369, sept. 7. Robert Crull, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 43, Ed. III. P. II. m. 22.)
 Resigned 1374.
- 1370, Nov. 21. William Reed, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 44, Ed. III. P. III. m. 13 and 17.) This did not take effect.
- 1374, June 30. William de Grisleye or Grysley, presented by Edward III. on resignation of William (Qy. Robert?) Crull resigned. (*Pat.* 48, Ed. III. P. I. m. 10 and 13.)
- 1374, Aug. 31. John de Harleston, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 48, Ed. III. P. I. m. 3. and pt. 2. m. 25.) Resigned 1383.
- 1383, Oct. 5. John Eyr, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 7, Rd. II. P. I. m. 25.)
 Resigned 1385.
- 1384/5, Mar. 3. James de Billyngford, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 8, Rd. II. P. I. m. 24.) Did not take effect.
- 1385, Nov. 5. Henry Broklond, cap. or de Bokeland, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 9, Rd. II. P. I. m. 23.) Exchanged 1386.
- 1386, June 5. Thomas Banastre de Eltislee, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 9, Rd. II. P. II. m. 6 and 10.) Resigned 1393/4.
- 1393/94, Jan. 29. Robert Elteslee, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 17, Rich. II. P. I. m. 2.)
 Exchanged 1398.
- 1398, Oct. 8. John Wotton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 22, Rich. II. P. I. m. 6.)
 Exchanged 1399.
- 1399, Nov. 27. Thomas Atte Lee, presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 1, Henry. IV. P. III. m. 12.¹)
- 1413/14, Feb. 6. Henry Shelford, cl., presented by Henry V. (*Pat.* 1, Hen. V. P. V. m. 22.)
 Resigned 1432.
- 1432, July 3. William Stevenes, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 10, Hen. VI. P. II. m. 15.)
1453. William Broun, cl., resigned.
- 1453, June 15. William Tracy, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 31, Hen. VI. P. I. m. 2.)
 Exchanged 1458/1459.
- 1458/9, Feb. 12. Matthew Brandrede, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 37 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 11.)
- 1523, June 7, William Chandler was collated by the Bishop (*jure devoluto*) to the prebend of Bulverhide on the death of Henry Swan. Tem. Stileman fo. 65. (See Shyrborn's Reg.)

¹ On Dec. 5th, 1398, the name of Thomas Atte Lee (see above) appears in Bishop Rede's (of Chichester) Register, appointed to the Prebend of Bulwarhythe, "in libera capella regia de Hastyns" in the place of the above-named John Wotton (resigned.)

CHAPTER III

CROWHURST PREBEND



HIS prebend is not mentioned by name among those founded with the College by Count Robert, of Eu, and may (perhaps) therefore not have then been in existence.¹ The first mention of it is in the Inquisition 2 Edward I. (p. 106 *ante*), when the jurors returned—that the prebend of Crowhurst was worth by the year 10 marks. In the extent of Burghurst Manor, etc., 8 Edward I. (p. 113 *ante*), it is thus again noticed. "*Prebenda de Crowherste val p. ann. 15 marc.*" In each of these documents it is the last-mentioned prebend on the list: ranking in 2 Edward I., as the 7th prebend; in 8 Edward I., as the 8th prebend. Dugdale (*Mon. Angl.* 2. 84) and from him Tanner, say that Henry, 3rd Count of Eu, was the founder, presumably from the mention of its rents in the Grant and Confirmation by Henry (II.) Count of Eu.

The prebend of Crowhurst has been confounded with the prebend of Malrepast by some writers, but there appears to be no authority for such a supposition. It was, perhaps, the prebend of Hugh de Flocer mentioned in the Charter of Robert to which Walter Fitz Lambert (who, according to the Domesday Survey, held lands at Crowhurst of Count Robert), and Geoffrey, the brother of Hugh, were the benefactors. Walter Fitz Lambert in the Charter of Count Henry (*temp.* Henry I.) is called the founder of this prebend, and its endowments consisted of lands, and the tithes of his own lands and of those of his yeomen in Haylesham. It was also stipulated that Geoffrey should 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 Guestling with its tithes and a house in the Castle: but it does not seem that the Church of Guestling ever became part of the prebend.

PREBENDARIES.

1208, Nov. 19. Nich. de Bathonia (*Pat.* 10 John m. 3).

1274, April 28. William de Dovoer, or Dover, cap., presented by Edward I., (MS. Harl. f. 28 b., 6958, Preb. of Hastings, fo. 59 b., R. of Langele, fo. 28 b., and also *Pat.* 2 Edward I. m. 18 and 5 Edward III. P. I. m. 22). Resigned 1305.

1305, Oct. 6. Roger de Portes, presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 33 Ed. I., p. 2, m. 12.) Exchanged 1336.²

1336, Mar. 26. Walter de Lyndregge, cl., parson of Norton (dioc. Norwich), had custody of the vacant deanery of Hastings College, and was presented to the prebend of Crowhurst by Edward III. (*Pat.* 10, Ed. III., P. I. m. 36 and 19.)

¹ See, however, Grant of Confirmation by Henry (II.) Count of Eu (p. 59 *ante*).

² 1320, Nov. 6. William de Clif, cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 14 Ed. II., P. I. m. 12), but Roger de Portes was restored by mandate of the Pope.

Prebendaries of Crowhurst

1339-40, Mar. 2. John de Etton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 14 Ed. III., P. I. m. 33).¹

1351, Aug. 28. Thomas de Keynes, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 25 Ed. III., P. 2, m. 11.) Resigned 1357.

1357, Sept. 30. William de Bukebrugg (or Blakerug), cap., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 31 Ed. III., P. 2, m. 6.) Exchanged 1363.²

1363, May 6. Adam Robelyn, cl., prebendary of Thorpe in the Collegiate Church of Howden presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 37, Ed. III., P. I. m. 22.)

1363, Nov. 7. Wm. de Bukbrugge, cap., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 37 Ed. III. P. 2, m. 24.) Vacated 1382.

1382, Sept. 10. Thomas Forster, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 6 Rich. II. P. I. m. 26 and P. 2, m. 24.) Vacated 1399.

1399, Apr. 30. Richard Prentys, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 22 Rich. II., P. III., m. 22.) Died 1416.

1416, Oct. 23. William Haytoun, cl., presented by Henry V. (*Pat.* 4 Hen. V., m. 13.) Died 1435.

1435, Sept. 28. Henry Hanslape, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 14 Hen. VI., P. I. m. 23.)

John Bonnes (or Brewes), died 1451.

1451, May 13. John Pemberton, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 29 Hen. VI., P. II., m. 15.)

INCUMBENTS OF CROWHURST.

(*Patrons*: 1409, Prior and Convent of Hastings; 1482, Thomas Pelham, Esq.; 1524, Godard Oxenbridge, Knt.; 1662, John Pelham, Bart.; 1861, Thomas Papillon, Esq.; 1889, P. O. Papillon, Esq.)

VICARS.

1339, William Baron; 1409 (died), William Whytred; 1409, John Dalynghton; 1442-3 (resigned), William Russell; 1442-3, Robert Gray; 1444-5, Richard Carpenter.

RECTORS.

1482 (died), Roger Shoyswell; 1482, William Jackson; 1524-25, William Devenyshe; 1526-27, John ap Morys, or Clun, or John Chine (died or resigned); 1533-34, John Yonge; 1552, William Sayrell or Savell; 1567, William Tylmen; 1568, William Rydley, B.A.; 1590, William Dodd; 1610, Marmaduke Burton; 1641, William Pelham; 1662, Henry Barrett; 1666, Matthew Wing; 1705-6, Peter Pickering, A.M.; 1730, John Sorsbie; 1764, Henry Harcourt; 1800, Thomas Baker, M.A.; 1804, Charles Hardinge, Bart., M.A.; 1859, Francis Martin Cameron; 1861, Henry Arnold Olivier, M.A.; 1864, Thomas Henry Papillon; 1872, James Dewing, B.A.; 1885, Henry Hawkins; 1889, James Price Bacon Phillips.

Of the nature of the endowment of the Prebend of Crowhurst, the church or churches appropriated to it, or its value when dissolved, the scanty information in existence relative to it, furnishes us with few particulars. Henry VIII. granted to Sir A. Browne twenty-six shillings and eight pence annually issuing from the prebend of Crowhurst (see p. 316).

¹ 19 Edward III. Walter de Lyndrick, who is mentioned in the Visitation of that year as appearing before the Commissioners as prebendary of Crowhurst by his proxy, Stephen Atte Stile, clerk.

² 9 Edward III. Roger de Porter, mentioned in another part of the same document (see p. 169) to have attended as prebendary of Crowhurst, at a prior meeting held concerning the affairs of the College, in the conventual church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, January 4th, in this year.

In the account of this same visitation, it is one of the charges against Geoffrey de Clare, the then former dean, that he had sold to Master Walter de Lyndrick, late warden of the Chapel, two papal bulls of privileges to the College, and appropriated the money (20s.) to his own use.

³ 1361-62, Feb. 15. Wm. de Wykeham, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 36 Ed. III., P. I., m. 27; also Harl. 6964, f. 95), but this presentation did not take effect. (See *ante*, page 207. and *post*, chap. on Brightling).

Early History of Crowhurst

Respecting the manor and church, the following notices are found among the Pelham Evidences, the Burrell MSS., and other documents. The manor lies chiefly in the parish of Crowhurst, through which the "Asten" flows: the remainder in Seddlescombe. It is enfranchised from the Rape of Hastings and is paramount to the manors of Guestling and Gensing. In the time of Edward the Confessor, this was one of the lordships of Harold, Earl of the West Saxons, as appears from the Domesday Book, in which it is extended and valued as follows:—

"In Crowherst, which Walter holds of the Count of Eu, the Abbot (of Battle) has one rod of land with one villein. It is worth 12 pence. Earl Herald held Crohest. It then paid geld for six hides; now for three hides. There is land for twenty-two ploughs. Walter Fitz Lambert holds it of the Count (of Eu) and has two ploughs in demesne; and twelve villeins and six cottars have twelve ploughs. There are fifteen acres of meadow, and a wood of four hogs. A certain Walo holds half a hide and two rods. There are three villeins and one plough. In the time of King Edward it was valued at eight pounds; now at one hundred shillings. It has been waste."

Crowhurst Manor seems to have passed with the honour of Hastings, and to have been granted with it, at the Conquest, to Count Robert of Eu.

By the will of Richard De la Wych, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1253, among a number of pecuniary bequests is the sum of £20, bequeathed to Robert of Crocherst.

During the thirteenth century we have the deed by which Henry, Count of Eu, granted and confirmed for ever to the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Hastings the Churches of St. George at Crowhurst and of St. Mary at Ticehurst, and all that belong to them, as the deed of the donor Walter de Scotney testified. The witnesses to this deed included Walter, the Presbyter of Germanville, and William, his clerk, John of Brune, Gilbert St. Andorn, Ralph de Augo (Eu), Guy de *Pilo cervino* (? Deerhurst), Festinus de Merleville, Almandus de Granden, Giletus Fitz Kimber.¹

Peter de Scotney granted and confirmed, to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Hastings and to the Canons worshipping God therein, the donation made by his father Walter de Scotney (who, according to the *Cal. Rot. Chartarum*, p. 60 under 29 Henry III., was the owner of Crowhurst Manor and had a free warren), of the churches of St. Mary at Ticehurst and St. George at Crowhurst, with all that appertained 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 the condition that the priests ministering in these churches should be chosen in common by the lord of Crowhurst and the chapter of the Priory of St. Trinity. And, if the priest of these churches so chosen should be found incompetent by the lord of the soil and of the parish, he should not be removed nor should a more efficient priest be appointed, unless by the consent of the same lord and chapter. He further gave to the Canons, in exchange for a rent of sixteen shillings contained also in his father's charter, 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. Also, he confirmed to the canons the land of Waterdune, the meadow under the Castle,

¹ The Count's seal, which is a figure of himself on horseback, has been partly destroyed. It appears to be composed of a mixture of green and white wax, and is attached to the deed by a string of green and white thread.

St. Peter of Hastings

the salt-pan of Hoo, and the tithes of all his salt made throughout England which he then had or might at anytime thereafter possess. This deed was witnessed by Hugh, Parson of Elham, William de Monceaux, then Constable of Hastings, William Morvin, William de Haltune, Oliver de Westfield, William de Gensinges, William de Bohem, Peter de Monceaux, Gilbert de Gensinges, Richard Fritonden, and others. The seal, impressed with the coat of arms of the Scotneys, is about an inch and a half in diameter, and is of green wax. The inscription on the seal reads:—SIGILL. PETRI DE SCOTENIE.

In Pope Nicholas's Taxation (1291) the church of Ticehurst is rated at £26 13s. 4d., and the Vicarage at £8. The church of Crowhurst, which is called "a prebend," is rated at £4 6s. 8d., while the portion of the prior of Hastings therein is put at £2 13s. 4d.¹

Tanner, quoting from the Episcopal Registers of the Bishops of Chichester, (*temp.* Seffrid II) states that the Churches of Crowhurst and Ticehurst were confirmed to the Canons by this Bishop as the gift of Walter de Seaton (error for Scoteney).

Another deed, executed at Hastings on December 15th, 1240, appears to be a composition made between the Prior of Combwell in Kent and the Prior of Hastings, with reference to a dispute between them about the tithes of some land in Ticehurst called Colinton.

The deed commences with the recognition of the right of all pious men to use their best endeavours to bring disputes to a satisfactory conclusion. The canons of Holy Trinity Priory maintained that the tithes in question belonged to their Church as a parochial right, they being the owners of the Ticehurst church. This assumption the Combwell canons traversed, and the matter was referred to the decision of the judges as the delegates of the Pope; they put an end to the dispute by an amicable adjustment, with the full sanction and consent of the Chapters of both Priories, in the following manner. 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" for a house standing on the same land. They also demised to the same Canons all the right that they had in the Church of Saint Peter, Hastings, to be held by these Canons for ever in the same manner as the Priory had held 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 theretofore entered upon and all further recourse to law, and engaged each with the other firmly and faithfully to observe for ever the agreement thereby entered into. In testimony of which the seals of both Chapters were affixed to this deed, made in the form of a cheirograph.²

Anno 8, Edw. III. By inquisition taken at Derfold on the death of John of Brittany, it was found—that he held at his decease the barony of Hastings

¹ This entry may indicate that the prebend belonging Hastings College Church was partly derived from the tithes of the Church, though the patronage of the benefice in the Church was in the Priory of Hastings.

² The seals are, however, too much mutilated for an accurate description.

The Manor of Crowhurst

with several manors therein recited, and *inter alia*, the Manor of Crowhurst granted to John of Brittany by Edward I., at which time the Manor of Crowhurst aforesaid was extended as follows, namely:—

“That there was in the said manor of Crowhurst, a capital messuage and buildings, with a garden, and houses of easement, which was valued at 18*d.* per annum, without reprises—that the pasture appertaining to the said garden was valued at 9*d.* per annum. The fruit belonging to the said garden was not extended.

Also that there were belonging to the same manor 144 acres of arable land worth 37*s.* 4*d.*, of which 80 acres were worth 4*d.* per acre, and 64 acres worth 2*d.* per acre; also that there were belonging to the same 14½ acres of pasture worth 20*s.* 2*d.* per annum, price of the acre 18*d.*, together with 8 acres of marsh, &c., worth 2*d.* per acre; also there belonged unto the same manor a Park, containing by estimation 60 acres of land, whereof the pasture was worth 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and they were able to sell of dead-wood in the same park, one year with another to the value of 6*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

Also there belonged to the said Manor a certain wood, called Forwood, containing by estimation 70 acres, whereof the pasture was worth 6*s.* 8*d.* and the dead-wood of the same 8*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The pannage of the said park and wood was not extended, because all the tenants of the said Manor had common in the said pannage for all their hogs.

Also there belonged to the said manor of rents of assize, £7 6*s.* 8*d.* namely at Christmas, 15*s.*; at Easter, 58*s.* 9*d.*; at the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 14*s.*; and at Michaelmas, 58*s.* And of other rents, at Christmas, one cock and twenty-six hens, worth 5*s.* 6*d.* per annum; price of the cock 1*d.* and of the hens 1½*d.* Also there belonged to the said manor from a certain custom called “maderpanes” 2*s.* 2*d.* Also there arose from the custom of tallage, 13*s.* 4*d.*, and from the custom called carucage, 6*s.* 8*d.* &c. The pleas and profits of court were worth also, one year with another, 10*s.* Total value of same manor per annum, £16 11*s.* 10½*d.*”

Anno 13. Edward III. Among the Manors held of the Honour of Hastings by Castle-guard rent, Crowhurst is rated at 4*s.* 6*d.* per annum. In a rent-roll of Sir John Pelham's estate, taken *anno* 5, Henry VI., the Manor is valued at £20 5*s.* 0*d.* per annum. Some small part of the privileged “*leuga*” belonging to Battle Abbey was within this manor. The quantity was one virgate, and was obtained in exchange with Walter Fitz Lambert, who gave it for a piece of woodland which was in the compass of the “*leuga*.”

In another Inquisition taken on the death of John of Brittany (son of the foregoing) *anno* 15, Edward III. the customary rents of assize are said to have amounted to 102*s.* per annum; of customary works, 30*s.*; of rents at Christmas, 20 cocks and hens, price 4*s.* 2*d.*; of rents at the feast of Easter, 20*s.*; and of pleas and profits of Court 111*s.* per annum.

The value of Sussex timber appears from the fact that in 1358 John, Earl of Richmond, had some timber sent from Sussex to build a bridge at Boston, at the same time as he was repairing his manor of Crowhurst—and the fortifications of Rye were restored by aid of the oaks of Crowhurst and the trees of Brede.

In 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 Crowhurst and Burghersh, in the County of Sussex (Pat. 34 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 33).

From the Subsidy collected by the Abbot of Robertsbridge in 3 Rich. II. A.D. 1380, and in the list of valuations of the true worth of Benefices newly valued from which the subsidy of “16*d.* in a mark from two parts of the said value is granted to the King,” the Benefice of the Vicar of Crowhurst is valued at 30*s.*

By *Pat.* 5, *Rich.* 2, p. 1, m. 16. Sir John Devereux, Kt., in consideration of his acceptable services, obtained from John, Duke of Brittany, a grant of 100 marks

Description of the Old Church

per annum for life to be received yearly out of the manors of Crowhurst, Buleham (Bibleham) and Burghersh (Burwash) in the Rape of Hastings (D.B. 2. 17b.a.) Hayley, vol. i. Col. 155. *Crowhurst*.

Anno 3 Jac. I. The King granted the perpetuity of this manor, together with the Rape &c., to Sir Thomas Pelham, of Laughton, and his heirs for ever. In 1765, John Pelham, Esq., was the proprietor of this manor, which he held in descent from Sir Nicholas Pelham. He died on April 7th, 1786, leaving Henry Pelham, Esq., Commissioner of the Customs, his only brother and heir.

From the details of the history mentioned in the foregoing chronicle we may gather that Crowhurst Manor never formed any part of the endowment of the Prebend of Crowhurst, nor was ever out of the possession of the Pelham family from the first grant to Sir John Pelham, though an attempt was made to wrest it from him with the Rape, &c.

In Henry VIII.'s valuation the Rectory of Ticehurst is stated to be worth £10 13s. 4d., and in 26 Henry VIII., all that the Hastings Priory received from Crowhurst was a rent of £1 os. 0d. called "Mede rent."

From the Parsons' Armour Roll of 1612, we find that the Vicar of Crowhurst was Mr. Jo. Gilmore and, with Hooe, was responsible for "one Musquet."

The valuation of the Parish in 1648 amounted to £368.

According to the Burrell MS. the living in the King's Books was valued at 10 pounds per annum. Patron in 1777 John Pelham, Esq.

THE OLD CHURCH.

"Mr. Herbert in 1824 wrote that the exterior appearance of Crowhurst Church, and its style of architecture will be sufficiently understood from the drawing shown in the Burrell collection, which represents it as it was between the years 1770 and 1780.¹ In the steeple is a large window to the west, which has been filled with painted glass: in the top of the middle of the lower light of it remains an escutcheon intended to represent the arms of France and England, quarterly. A great antiquity may be inferred from the style of drawing of the animals in the first and second quarters: these, though intended to represent lions, resemble rather polecats, being slender, with short legs, and a bushy tail extended and only two in each quarter. In one of the upper compartments remains a partition. In the top point of this window, on the outside, the stonework is formed into the shape of a Pelham buckle: and on each side of the door-frame without, under the said window, is a similar buckle."

"Mr. Peter Pickering, June 21, 1726, had the Bishop's license to take down part of the chancel, and to shorten it by 10 feet, as it was too long to bear any due proportion to the church and very ruinous and decayed by time."

"The Church was (in part?) rebuilt in 1794."

The drawing above mentioned, by Lambert (Burrell MS. 5676. P. 40) was taken from the south-east side and shows the church as consisting of a chancel and nave with a square embattled tower at the west end. The entrance on the south was by a plain gabled porch of mean design; over this in the south wall was a small round-headed window. Close to the porch on the east was another door (probably the original one) with a round head. It is shown in the drawing as blocked up. There was a large broad-pointed headed light in the south wall near the junction of the nave and chancel. The chancel had a pointed headed priests' door in the south wall and on either side a trefoil-headed light that on the west seems to have been lengthened to make a "low side window." This window had afterwards been blocked at the top and bottom, and a mean square light had been introduced into the centre of the casement. The light on the east of the priests' door was blocked by a large buttress. The chancel mentioned above as having been shortened in 1726 had a group of three short and broad square-headed lights without tracery, forming the east window.

The Church of St. George, Crowhurst

MODERN DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH (1902).

The Church of St. George at Crowhurst consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, and a square embattled tower at its western end. With the exception of the tower, the whole is of modern construction.

It was rebuilt by the architect, Mr. W. H. Teulon, in the year 1856, at a cost of about £1,500 and was re-opened in August, 1857. The church was re-erected on the old foundations, the chancel being lengthened to its original size.

The tower is of good proportions, with massive angle-buttresses, terminated by an embattled parapet and low pyramidal roof and vane. The upper part is enriched with three two-light belfry-windows each in two bays with ogee heads. The fourth window above the roof of the nave has a single light with a square head. The door in the centre of the west wall is a good specimen of Perpendicular work—the jambs and pointed arch enriched by wave mouldings with plain shields under square moulded drip-stones, the terminations of which are worked with the “Pelham Buckle.”

The large west window¹ above the door is of three lights, with arched head filled with Perpendicular bar-tracery, the upper centre compartment being wrought to represent, or in imitation of, the “Pelham Buckle.” The upper portions of these lights are cusped. Above the window is a small opening. Access to the belfry is obtained by a small stairway-projection at the south-eastern angle.

There are three bells inscribed—

(1). William Hvll made mee, 1686 IH. John Fuller, Chvrch Warden.

(2). Thomas Mears & Son of London fecit 1808.

(3). John Carpenter Chrestogher Roade, Wardens. A.B. John Plmaar made mee 1651 (*sic*).

In 1686 it was reported that one of the bells was cracked and wanted recasting. This was probably No. 1.

THE INTERIOR.

The entrance from the nave to the tower is by means of a somewhat narrow and lofty arched opening. The arch is supported by semi-octagonal shafts with capitals and bases of characteristic Perpendicular work. There is a doorway leading to the belfry-stairs in the south-eastern angle. In front of the tower-opening there was formerly a gallery, to the front of which was affixed the “Pelham Buckle” badge, carved in wood. The gallery was removed in 1856.

There is a large yew-tree on the south side of the Church, said to be the largest in Sussex. Its girth at 3 feet from the ground is 26 feet.

AN ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE.

On the south side of the Church of Crowhurst and close to the farmhouse called Court Lodge are the ruins of a building belonging to about the middle of the thirteenth century, and this perhaps was “the capital message” mentioned in the Inquisition of 8 Edward III (see p. 396, *ante*).

The ruins consist of portions of a parallelogram measuring internally 40 feet by 23 feet, and of a square porch at the south-eastern angle of the principal building. The parallelogram had a low vaulted ground-floor, lighted by two short lancet deeply-splayed windows at each end, one alone remaining on the west side near the south-western angle. If there were windows at the sides they do not now remain, owing to the broken state of the walls. The whole of the vaulting has fallen, but corbels remain in the angles, and there are traces of the arches on the walls.

No doorway is left, but it was probably in the south wall; and there is the jamb of a door at the south-western angle of the principal building. No part of the walls of the upper room remains, except the gable in the eastern wall.

The outer doorcase of the porch has been destroyed, but the inner exists, and has good Early English mouldings; it had shafts, but these have been removed. Near the south-western angle of the porch is a door-jamb with filleted and roll-mouldings. The shafts have disappeared, but the capitals remain, and are elegantly carved in foliage of Early English design. The groined vault remains, though ribs have fallen and the whole is in a dangerous and ruinous state. Over the porch was a small room, the only access to which was by a door leading from the end of the

¹ The stone of the windows is said to be “Greensward Stone.” It was taken down and re-chisled during the “restoration” of the Church, “and restored exactly in its ancient form.—(*Handbook to Hastings and St. Leonards*, 1893, M. Howard.)

The Ancient Manor House

large upper room. A wall is carried by a "squinch arch" out across the south-eastern angle between the porch and the main building, to allow of the formation of this communication.

This small room, which was gabled like the principal building, may have served as an oratory. All the buildings are heavily buttressed at the angles.

The large upper room of the main building had a handsome two-light window at its eastern end. The tracery of this window is partly destroyed, but it evidently had two pointed lights with a circle above. The mouldings of the circle are rich and the hood-moulding on the exterior is terminated by a carved monk's head on the south side.

It will be seen from the foregoing that unless some parts of the original house have disappeared the plan must have been of great simplicity. (See ground-plan in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. vii. p. 46.)

CHAPTER IV

MALREPAST PREBEND

ALSO CALLED MARLPAST, MAILREPAST, MARLEPAST, MAUREPAST, ETC.



HIS prebend is thus described in the Confirmation Charter of Count Henry of Eu :—

“For the prebend of Hubert de Marleyght (Walter son of Lambert granted) the tithe of Agynton. And Count Henry increased this prebend with one meadow beyond the mill under the Castle.”

It is ranked as the fourth prebend on the list in the Charter above mentioned and seems to have been the most poorly endowed of any there enumerated, being valued in the inquisition 2 Edward I as worth only one¹ mark per annum ; and in the extent of the eighth year of that King at no more than half a mark per annum. It is ranked in both these latter documents as the 6th prebend. In the extent 15 Edward I it ranks as the 9th prebend. There is no mention of it either in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, or in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne ; whence we may presume that it had been dissolved before the other prebends, perhaps, on account of the insufficiency of its revenues to afford a decent maintenance for the prebendary who held it.

The situation of this prebend is unknown, and the name of Hubert or Ulbert does not appear among the Count's tenants in the Domesday Book. There was a place called Malrepast near Horsham, but there was a meadow called Marlepace (probably the meadow beyond the mill above mentioned in Count Henry's Charter).

PREBENDARIES

The following are the names of the Prebendaries of this prebend :—

Reg. Hen. I. Hubert (or Ulbert), prebendary—Confirmation Charter, Henry, Count of Eu.

Ivo de Malrepath (or Marlepas) died 1293-94. (See p. 121 *ante*).

1293-94, Feb. 15, or 22. Thomas de Ripa (Repe), presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 22 Ed. I. m. 23).

1317, June 15. Richard Camel, cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 10 Ed. II. P. II. m. 2).

1322, Sept. 6. Bertrand Ferrant, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 16 Ed. II. P. I. m. 23), resigned 1332.

1327. Henry Mohur. (*Pat.* 1 Ed. III.)

1330. John Forb (p. 161). (*Pat.* 4 Ed. III. P. I. m. 19.)²

1332, Dec. 16. Robert (or John) de Ayleston, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 6 Ed. III. P. III. m. 8), died in 1334.

1334, June 14. Richard de Turbervill, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 8 Ed. III. P. I. m. 15), resigned 1335.

¹ Some copies of this document read one mark: the value given in the next Inquisition is *half* a mark and makes it appear probable that one mark is the right value, and that some copyists have mistaken 1 for the Roman figure l, and have given the value as 40 marks.

² This apparently did not take effect.

Prebendaries of Marlepas

1335, May 31. William de Alberwyk, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 9 Ed. III. P. I. m. 15) exchanged 1341.

1341, May 24. William de Feriby, preb. of Sharowe in the chapel of St. Wilfrid, Ripon, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 15 Ed. III. P. II. m. 49), resigned 1344.¹

1344, Nov. 6. William de Nassyngton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 18 Ed. III. P. II. m. 7), resigned 1352.

1352, Dec. 12. Philip de Nassyngton, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 26 Ed. III. P. III. m. 7), resigned 1360.

1360, Aug. 20. Walter de Lyndregge, cl., (or Lindrigge), presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 34, Ed. III. P. II. m. 15), vacated 1365.

1365, Aug. 30. Walter Elyot, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 39 Ed. III. P. II. m. 28).

1398, Sept. 2. Simon Hoke, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 22. Rd. II. P. I. m. 15), resigned 1400-1.

1399. William Repyngton. (*Pat.* 1 Hen. IV.)²

1400-01, Mar. 17. Thomas Preston, cap. presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 1-2 Hen. IV. P. II. m. 7), died 1404.³

1404. Thomas Southwell. (*Pat.* 5 Hen. IV.), resigned 1431-2.

1431-32, Mar. 1. William Bontemps (or Boutemps), presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 10 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 3), died 1442-43.

1442-43, Feb. 14. John Mason, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 21 Hen. VI. P. I. m. 10).

¹ An. 1335. Richard de Inbervyle, probably the same as "de Turberville," mentioned in the proceedings on the Visitation of the College (19 Edw. III.) as having appeared before the commissioners, in the conventual church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, by his procurator John de Rokele, vicar-choral in Hastings College.

Anno 19. Edw. III. William de Feriby, prebendary of Malrepast, appeared on the above business, before the same commissioners, at Hastings College, by his procurator, Walter de Conyhirst.

² This does not appear to have taken effect, or else was revoked.

³ Bishop Rede's Register gives the appointment of Wm. Repyngton under the date of June 13th, 1400. The presentation was made by the Crown, and the benefice is described as Preb. of Marlepas "*in capella regia de Hastynge.*" Thomas Preston's appointment is also given, the date being May 8th, 1401, and it is stated that the prebend was vacant by the resignation of Hoke.

CHAPTER V
 SALEHURST PREBEND, SUSSEX
 (SECTION I.)



HIS was one of the prebends of the original foundation of Count Robert of Eu; and, with the particulars of its first endowment, it is thus mentioned in Count Henry's Confirmation Charter:—

“In the prebend of Eustace, Rainbert (Ramb.) the sheriff by consent of Count Robert gave the Church of Sallest (Sallesta or Salerst) and the land and the tithes, and the tithes of the land of Robert Pelicus and the tithes of Hachingham (Hathyngeham) and the tithes of Somerwell (Sonwell or Sowella) and the Church of Montefeld and the tithes, and one rod (virgate) of land and the tithes of Hegia (Hegea), and the Church of Odymer and tithes, and the tithes of Borham and the tithes of Maselilonde (Marsland) and tithes under the castle, and the tithes of Soanel meadow, and the meadow which Coleb (ert) holds and the land of Gertesellan (Gertselham or Gertselle) and the Count gave one dwelling in the castle and the same Rainbert gave again to this prebend the meadow of Sylerta (Salerta).

“Rai(n)bert the Sheriff, with the consent of the Count, gave fifteen pence (from) land of Odmere for fifty shillings which he owed to the Church.

“Drogo (or Trogo) de Pevensea gave to the same Canons (i.e. of St. Mary's College) in common (a tithes of) 20 measures (ambres) of salt every year at Odimere (at Rye and Mimera).”

In order, Salehurst is the 5th prebend mentioned in the Charter. The inquisition 2 Edw. I. entirely omits the name of Salehurst; as do also the Extent *anno* 8 of the same monarch, the Extent *anno* 15 Edw. I., the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and the grant to Sir Anthony Browne, in the latter four cases the principal reason being that the prebend of Salehurst, with the churches of Mountfield and Udimore, was made over to the Abbey of Robertsbridge by William de Echingham in 1249, with the full consent of the supreme Pontiff, and in 1365 the Abbot of Robertsbridge for the time being was appointed Canon and brother. (For a detailed account of the dispute with reference to this transfer, see the Chapter on Robertsbridge Abbey, *post.*)¹

The Dean of the College of St. Mary retained his pension from the prebend of Salehurst, even after its transfer to the Abbey.

In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1291, its revenues, with those of Udimore were valued at twenty-four pounds.

On the dissolution of the monasteries, the advowson of the vicarage was granted by letters patent of 31 Henry VIII. April 24th, together with the other possessions of Robertsbridge Abbey, to the Sidney family.

Salehurst is in the Archdeaconry of Lewes and Deanery of Dallington, and according to Burrell the vicarage was valued in the King's Books at £14.

SALEHURST CHURCH (1902).

The Parish Church of St. Mary, Salehurst, is a large and important edifice chiefly of the

¹ Robt. de Tanton was presented to the preb. of Salehurst, Feb. 10, 1332-33. (Pat. 7 Edw. III p 1, m. 24.)

Architecture of Salehurst Church

Early English and Decorated periods, consisting of a large nave with northern and southern aisles, chancel and western tower.

THE EXTERIOR.

The tower is large and lofty, square in form, with massive buttresses which are continued upwards as pilasters till the belfry-level, when they are arranged to form slightly projecting angle-turrets to the battlemented parapet. The upper portion rises above the nave, and is pierced by four two-light openings under square labels. This portion of the tower is evidently of later date than the other portions of the Church. The openings on the south side are two lancet-headed windows, and a small square-headed opening with square labels.

On the south side of the nave the clerestory is pierced by a group of windows, the centre one of three lights with lancet-heads, the two outer windows having double lights and the intervening ones being of single lights—all are of similar shape, but vary in size.

The southern aisle extends the whole length of the nave and tower, and is pierced by six two-light windows with square heads, which are filled with ogee bar-tracery ornamented with cusplings. At the eastern end of this aisle is a three-light window of similar design.

Between each of the windows of the south side there is a buttress worked into stages. The south door is small, with Decorated moulded jambs and pointed arch. The porch of the door is an ancient structure of massive timber, but of simple construction; it has an oak-shingled roof. It is probably the work of the same hand as the porch at Mountfield Church. (See *post.*) The roof of the nave is covered with tiles and those of the aisles with slates. The southern aisle is terminated on the east by a massive Early English buttress worked in stages, with gabled head.

The wall of the tower with a west door and handsome porch forms the west front.

The windows in the upper portion of the western wall of the tower are similar to those on the north and south sides. The lowest portion above the porch is pierced by a large five-light Early English window, of simple design, with trefoiled heads forming slight tracery.

The western doorway is large and important, with richly moulded jambs and arch. The outer order of the arch, which is semicircular, springs from a moulded capital which is a termination to a shaft worked on the jamb-stones and supported by moulded bases: the whole is of Early Decorated work.

The porch enclosing this door is important. It is Decorated in character, with moulded pointed arch supported by semi-octagonal piers with moulded caps and bases; the angle-buttresses of good design are placed at the external angles. A battlemented parapet runs around the porch, which has a flat roof with an internal groined ceiling having stone ribs and cement-filling. The ribs rise from moulded springers.

A moulded niche forming the upper portion of the arch on the exterior has a slightly pointed cinque-foiled head. Four escutcheons or shields of arms enrich the front immediately under the cornice, arranged in pairs on either side of the niche.

The Burrell MS. identifies the coats as follows: the first shield is blank (? unidentified); the second barry of six on a chief three escalops; the third the arms of Etchingham; and the fourth argent a bend engrailed gules for Culpeper.

THE INTERIOR.

The interior is of handsome proportions, with fine arcading of six bays on either side. The arches have plain soffits, with chamfered angles supported by octagonal piers, and responds with octagonal capitals. The bases to the piers in the southern arcade are chamfered, while those on the north are chamfered and moulded.

The roof of the nave is open-timbered, of modern workmanship.

The chancel-arch is wide and lofty, without moulding or enrichments, except upon the capitals and bases of the piers. The whole, with the exception of the arch, is modern. The entrance to the rood-loft was through the north-eastern angle of the aisle, and appears to be of the Perpendicular period. A corbel in the southern wall and an offset on each side indicate its position.

The chancel has an open-timbered roof with worked rafters, all of modern execution.

There is a plain pointed-arch piscina in the south wall of the chancel.

In the northern wall is an ogee-arched recess, with moulded cinque-foiled head, like a so-called Easter Sepulchre. Near to it, against the northern wall, is part of an old altar-stone standing on its end. It has four crosses on it.

A moulded and pointed arched opening, the arch supported by semi-octagonal piers with simple moulded capitals, leads from the chancel into the Mickelthwaite Chapel on the north-east

Architecture of Salehurst Church

side of the church. There is a piscina with pointed and trefoiled head in the south-eastern corner of the chapel. It also contains on the northern wall an ogee-arched mural tomb with crocketed hood-mould, and there is no terminal now to be seen: from its lower extremities rise two square pinnacles with gabled and crocketed terminals.

The entrance to this chapel from the northern aisle is by means of an arch, with chamfered edges, which is supported on the south side by a corbel carved in grotesque—consisting of a hooded head and shoulders. There is evidence of a corresponding corbel having existed opposite, on the north wall.

This chapel, the eaves of which are higher than those of the aisles, is ceiled between the oak-timbered rafters.

At the eastern end of the southern aisle is a small chapel, on the south side of which is a small ogee recess with trefoil head.

The base of the tower opens out into the church by a lofty opening, with acutely pointed arch supported by semi-octagonal piers with moulded caps and bases, opening to the northern and southern aisles through similar arched openings but they are rather less lofty. These portions are now used as vestries.

There are here in the floor four large flat iron tombstones to the Peckham family, dated 1679, 1689, 1712, and 1733 respectively.

The font, which stands in the tower-basement near the left side of the opening to the nave, is a shallow basin of large diameter with an upper beaded rim: the bowl is of fine contour, and is supported by a short circular shaft standing upon a moulded base, enriched with a chain of four dragons (biting each other) carved in high relief, and plainly chamfered circular plinth and base.

Near the south-western window is a slight square pointed recess which seems to suggest the position of a doorway now blocked.

A shouldered-arched doorway leads to the belfry.

There are eight bells, with the following inscriptions respectively:—

No. 1. "Holiness to the Lord." *C. et G. Mears, fecerunt Londini MDCCCXLVII.* St. Mary Salehurst. Jacob George Wrench Clerk, D.C.L., Vicar. James Hilare, Stephen Smith, Church Wardens. Fest. Purif. B. V. M. A.D. MDCCCXLVII.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5. Pack and Chapman, *fecit* 1771.

Nos. 6 and 7. John Peckham. Pack and Chapman of London, *fecit* 1771.

No. 8. George Peckham, John Hillder, Ch: Wardens. Pack and Chapman of London, *fecit* 1771.

The tenor-bell is 48 inches in diameter, and weighs 19 cwt. 10 lbs.

The south side of the chancel has two windows, one of two lights with cinque-foiled heads under a square labelled moulding; the other a plain window with a lancet-head of modern insertion. In this wall before the new vestry was built there was, according to Lambert's drawing (Burrell MS., late 18th century), a similar window to that first mentioned with square head: that near the south-western angle being lower than the other so that it may have been used as a low side window. Between these two windows there is shown in the drawing a somewhat broad lancet-headed window.

The eastern window of the church is of three lights with interlacing bar-tracery filling the arched head and is enriched with cusplings, the whole of simple design of the Early Decorated period. Lambert shows this window as a characteristic Perpendicular window of three lights and the pointed arch filled with panels of bar-tracery.

The north side of the chancel has two plain windows with lancet-heads. A plain doorway is inserted in the north-western angle.

The north aisle has a group of windows similar to those in the south aisle, except that the tower-section of the aisle has no window in the north wall, but at the western end of the aisle there are two lancet-headed windows of simple form. There is a north door similar to the south door of the church.

The north aisle is continued as a chapel. The eastern window of this chapel is a good specimen of a Decorated laced-tracery window with moulded bars and mullions, the tracery being enriched with moulded cusplings. The window of this chapel on the north is of two lights with pointed heads and trefoil tracery under a pointed arch, the tracery enriched with cusplings (Decorated).

The lighting of the clerestory on the north side is by groups of windows similar in every respect to those described in the south.

Prebendaries of Salehurst

The north view of the tower presents an elevation corresponding in detail to that previously described on the south side.

PREBENDARIES.

There are few names recorded other than those of the Abbots of Robertsbridge.

Ralph de Eselyng. (Rector — 1278.)

Robert de Tautin, presented 10 Feby., 1332-33. (*Pat.* 7 Ed. III. P. I. m. 24.)

Philip de Weston, presented 26 March, 1342.

INCUMBENTS OF SALEHURST.

The following Vicars are mentioned in the public records and Bishop's registers :—

1397, Richard Julyan exchanged with John Lytlyngton. 1409, John Fakenham exchanged with William Morley. 1417, John Pulteney exchanged with John Royton. 1422, William Kene. 1425-26, William Ragdayle exchanged with John Cook. 1445, John Mannyng died. 1445, William Felde. 1451, Nicholas Greve. 1461, William Lea exchanged with Edward Capell. 1506-7, John Clement died. 1506-7, John Goodwyn. 1516, William Parsons resigned. 1516, William Brockenden (Abbot of Robertsbridge). 1523, John Bryde (Abbot of Boxley). 1524, William Hethfeld. 1552-53, John Horrock died. 1553, Hugh Cropper. 1572, William Hopkinson.¹ 1596-97, Thomas Lorde, A.M. 1642, John Lord, A.M. 1681, Nathaniel Ashe, A.M. 1690-91, Simeon Ashe. 1728, John Calvert, A.M. 1731-32, William Jenkins, M.A. 1743, William Clarke, M.A. 1748, Thomas Jenkin, B.A. 1768, Drake Holingbery, M.A. 1772, William Lord, M.A. 1779, Stephen Jenkin, B.A. 1781, Stephen Jenkin, B.A. 1827, Jacob George Wrench D.C.L. 1860, Alexander Orr, B.A. 1878, Robert Wood Loosemore, M.A.

The Parsons' Armour Roll of 1612 contains the following items :—

Est Gilford . . .	Mr. Richard Greenwood, parson	} A musquet furnished.
Salehurst . . .	Mr. Jo. Waylett, parson	

The following interesting record appears in the oldest Register of Salehurst parish-church :—

April 18th, 1597.

Memorand. that the duties for Churchinge of women in the pishe of Salehurst is vnto the minister jx^d ob. and vnto the Clarke ij^d — Item the due vnto the minister for a marriage is xj^d — And vnto the Clarke ij^d the Banes and ij^d the marriage.

Item due for burials as followeth :—To the minister in the Chancell, $xiijs$ $iiij^d$ — To the clarke in the Chancell, vjs $viiij^d$ — To the pishe in the Church, vjs $viiij^d$ — To the clarke in the church, vs o — To the clarke in the churchyard for great coffins, ijs vj^d — for great corses vncoffined, ij^o — for Chrisomers and such like coffined, j^o $iiij^d$ — and uncoffined, o^o xij^d — for tolling the passing bell an houre, j^o — for ringing the sermon bell an houre, j^o o — To the clarke for carrying the beere, os $iiij^d$ — If it be fetched, os ij^d — It. at funeralls the minister is to have the mourning, pullpit cloth, and the clarke the herst cloth. — It. the minister hathe ever chosen the pishe clarke, and one of the churchwardens, and bothe the sydemen — It. if they bring a beere or poles with the corps the clarke is to have them — If any corps goe out of ye parish, they are to pay double duties and to have leave — If any corps come out of an other parish to be buried here, they are to pay double duties besides breakinge the ground, which is $xiijs$ 4^d in ye church, and 6^s $viiij^d$ in the churchyard — For marryage by license double fees both of ye minister and clarke.

SALEHURST MANOR.

The following is a translation of the Domesday Record :—

IN HENBERT HUNDRED.

“Reinbert holdeth of the Count Salhert—Countess Goda held it—Then and now it vouched or half a hide.—There is land for 4 ploughs—In demesne is one, and 7 villeins and 8 cottars

¹ William Hopkinson, vicar of Salehurst, was one of the ministers in Sussex who would not subscribe the Articles in favour of the Book of Common Prayer in 1583, but on being summoned on December 6th, he and the others all subscribed.

The Church of Udimore

with 6 ploughs—There is a church and 16 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth 20 shillings, now 30 shillings. It hath been waste."

Anno 23 Ed. I. William de Echingham procured a charter of free warren for his lordship of Salherste, or Salehyrst.

1340. The Nonæ Roll of this year gives the following item "Salehurst with Udimere—Gatebergh Marsh," but no value is appended.

1348. Sir James de Echingham, according to the *Rot. Parl.* II. p. 211, petitioned the King for the removal of an obstruction of the Rother at Knellesflete, which prevented his ships and boats (niefs and bateaux) from coming into his manor of Echingham, and destroyed (the trade of) the town of Saleherste and also his market there.

In the time of Elizabeth the Manor was in the possession of the Tyrwhitts, a Lincolnshire family.

1648. In this year upon a valuation of the Rape of Hastings, property in Salehurst is valued at £2,027 10s. *od.*

Large iron and steel-works appear to have existed at Robertsbridge Abbey and also iron-forges at other places in the parish.

UDIMORE.

The Church of Udimore, as before stated, was attached to the prebend of Salehurst; the following is a brief history and description of the same, and also of the parish.

Horsfield states that the name is derived from "Eau de mere"—water of the sea—and that the sea formerly flowed on one side of it. In a note he gives a traditional (superstitious) story which connects the name with the words, "over the mere."

We find in the Domesday Survey the following reference to the place under the name Dodimere:—

IN BABINRERODE HUNDRED.

"Reinbert holds of the Count (of Eu) Dodimere—Algar held it of Earl Godwine—Then, and now, it vouched for 6 hides—There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne is one, and 22 villeins have 15 ploughs. There is a Church and two acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward, and now worth £8; when received 30 shillings."

The manor of Udimore lay in the parishes of Udimore and Rye. In 37 Henry III. the owner was William de Echingham, and it remained in his family until the reign of Henry VI.

In the year 1294 Edward I., in the course of his journeys through Sussex, frequently visited Udimore, for we find that on November 2 at "Odymer"¹ he prorogued Parliament from the Sunday after the feast of Saint Martin to the Sunday next before Saint Andrew the Apostle, November 27th.

¹ *Hayley*, vol. i. Col. 365. An. 1298. 25 Ed. I. The King took up his residence for some days at "Odemer," being about to sail with an army from Wynchelsea into Flanders; and there it was that "he was attended upon by ye Deputies of ye Nobles with ye remonstrance and petitionment and at Winchelsea."

The writ for Prorogation of Parliament in 23 Edward I. is *teste Rege Odmer 2^o Die Novembris.* (Rymer's *Fœdera*). There are some documents mentioned as dated at Odymer.

"Because in order to congregate and prepare our fleet, which we hope by the favour of God will be most highly profitable for the defence of the kingdom and the attack of our enemies, and which we believe the most useful matter above all things to be hastened, it will be needful for us to tarry so long in the parts of Winchelsea that we shall not be able to be present at the same day and place" (*Rymer* i. 832).

Architecture of Udimore Church

The commission for the custody and defence of the seacoast in Kent and Sussex is also dated from Odymer (*Rymer* p. 271) entrusting the three eastern rapes to William de Stokes and the three western to William de Alta Ripa.

In the next year (23 Ed. I.) William de Echingham procured a charter of free warren for his lordships of Odymer (*Dug. Bar.* II. 66.)

Edward I. again visited Odymer in August 1297, and many documents in *Rymer* refer to his sojourn. One, dated August 12th, was issued by the King to excuse the exactions of provisions, &c., which had been necessitated by the war. On August 13th he wrote to prepare the Earl of Flanders for his early appearance with succour, now that he had arrived at his port of embarkation :—

“ But now are we there, thank God, at the harbour whence our passage is to be made, and the Bishops came thither (to give the blessing) on the Eve of St. Lawrence (Aug. 9th) and we cause all things needful for our passage to be hastened in so far as we can.” (Old French.)

Nothing more of note is recorded until 19 Ed. IV. (1478) when John Elrington obtained a license for free warren in his manors of Dextherne and Udimere, also to form a park and to fortify his house (Pat. Rolls, p. 1. m. 20.)

According to a valuation in Henry VIII.'s reign, the Priory of Holy Trinity, Hastings, had rents in Odymer of £1 10s. 2d.

In the time of Elizabeth, Frederick and afterwards Henry, Lord Windsor, were proprietors of the Manor; and in the reign of James I. John Burdett, and subsequently John Bromfield were the owners; while still later in 1717 Spencer Compton, Earl of Burlington, became possessed of it in right of his wife.

The old manor-house (at which Edward I. probably stayed) was situate a few rods south of the churchyard; the last proprietor residing in it was, according to Horsfield, Thomas Bromfield, Esq., who died in 1690. In 1648 Udimore was valued at £814 13s. 4d. The Burrell MS. mentions that the living of Udimore is a vicarage in the archdeaconry of Lewes, and deanery of Dallington, valued in the King's books at £8 5s. 2½d. There are about 4 to 5 acres of glebe. It was endowed with £400 from private benefactors, £800 royal bounty and £200 from a parliamentary grant.

UDIMORE CHURCH (1903).

THE EXTERIOR.

The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Udimore is a small, plain structure chiefly of the Early English period. In plan it consists of a nave and chancel, with square tower at the western end.

At the south side of the nave there appears to have been an aisle divided from it by an arcade of three bays with pointed arches, (which although now blocked may be traced in the southern wall. The piers upon which the arches rest may be still seen. They have Early English caps and bases.

The door of the church is made through the centre of one of these blocked bays, and is enclosed within a mean porch of late construction.

To the west of the porch, high up, immediately below the roof-plate is a large square window of late 18th century pattern, probably inserted to light a gallery within. There is a large buttress worked in stages at the south-western angle. On the western side of the porch, occupying the centre of the third blocked bay, is a window of two lights with trefoiled heads. The window on the west side of the porch is of late construction.

According to Lambert's drawing (*Burrell MS.*) there was formerly a small lancet-light above the gable of the porch.

The chancel is without buttresses, and is pierced, in all, by nine lancet-lights—three in each of its walls. The light nearest the south-western angle has a rectangular opening beneath it (now blocked), forming a low side window.

Between it and the centre light is a priests' door, with a slightly pointed head. Of the three lights in the east wall of the chancel, that in the centre is rather higher than its fellows.

Incumbents of Udimore

The north wall of the church has been subjected to several alterations, but there appears to be no trace of the existence of an aisle on this side. There is a large square window, like that on the south, lighting the gallery, and two of similar date, but lower in the wall, near the north-eastern and north-western angles of the nave. Above it is a short, rather wide, blocked window with semicircular head, probably an original window of the church. There seem to have been at some time two narrow north doors standing side by side, but one is much shorter than the other and perhaps was subsequently superseded by the higher door; both have semicircular heads, and are now blocked.

The tower is square and massively built into two stages, the height of the walls being rather lower than the apex of the roof of the nave. It is covered by a pyramidal roof without a parapet, the eaves projecting from the walls on all sides. It is surmounted by a small vane. There was formerly a dormer-window in this roof overlooking the roof of the nave.

Against the western wall is a large buttress of brick, worked into three stages, extending from the basement to the eaves; this buttress with the mortar and plaster covering the wall obscures a western doorway, of a Perpendicular design. The north side is pierced by a lancet window in the upper stage of the wall.

The southern wall of the tower has a rectangular projection enclosing a stairway lit by small slits in its side and a larger light near the top. The roof of the tower is continued over the top of this projection to form its roof.

THE INTERIOR.

The Church, within, wears an appearance of architectural simplicity. The measurements are as follows:—tower basement $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet, nave $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet, chancel 35 feet—total length of church 97 feet.

The blocked arcade in the south wall may be seen, the arches of the second and third bays resting on a small round pier with moulded and carved capital projecting from the wall, the carving being of a floriated pattern. Between the south-eastern angle of the nave and the chancel-opening was probably an altar, as there is here a small pointed-headed piscina with stop chamfered angles. On the north wall, near the pulpit, are traces of mural paintings.

The chancel-opening consists of a pointed moulded arch, the outer orders springing from imposts, stop chamfered at the angles and with a moulded abacus. The inner order rests on plain flat-sided corbels, the faces of these being enriched with two small bands of dog-tooth and other mouldings. The abacus of the corbel is formed by a continuation of the abacus of the impost which is carried around the top.

The chancel was originally very plain and simple, but it has recently been elaborately decorated in the Italian style. Some ancient tiles have been retained in the flooring. There is a large piscina in the southern wall at the side of the altar, and a recess in the wall behind the altar with a fillet cut upon it, as if intended to receive wooden fittings. This was probably an aumbry. A plain string-course runs around all the chancel walls and rises above the priest's door on the south.

The tower opens into the nave by a pointed arched opening, the arch springing from imposts with simply moulded capitals. The door to the belfry is in the southern wall of the tower.

This arch has recently been cleared of the gallery and organ which formerly concealed it. The old high pews of the church have also recently been removed, as also the two-decker pulpit and reading or clerk's desk.

There are three bells; No. 1 is inscribed "Ioseph Hatch made me 1636." No. 3 "*Josephus Hatch me fecit.*" "TF. RE. CW. 1635." (A medallion bearing 3 bells and the initials "I. H. *Sussex Arch. Collns.* Vol. xvi. P. 227)

INCUMBENTS OF UDIMORE.

1392, (Oct. 4) Sir Thomas Walsham. 1393, John de Sudbury (died.) 1393, Robert Palmer 1393-94, (Aug. 5) Roger Jonus or Jonnes. 1396, (22 July) John Fulman. [Vicars] 1413, John Rauf (resigned.) 1413, Richard Norys. 1416, John Bakere exchanged with William Fretsby. 1439, John Sturmyn. 1439-40, Thomas Turnour. 1478, John Oxbrigge, resigned. 1478, Robert Legge, B.D. 1480, William Waltham or Crampisley. 1480-81, John Hardyng. 1483-84, Thomas Frensh. 1490-91, John Sproxton. 1510, William James (resigned). 1510, Robert Popehill. 1524, John Attwood, died. 1524-25, Richard Salthouse. 1530, Walter Wulvyn. 1534, John Hope (resigned). 1534, Thomas Bexwyke. 1594, John Elwin. 1600, John More, A.M. 1602-3, Nicholas Chauntler. 1615, John Brabon. 1632, John Warren. 1638, James Floate, B.A. 1643, William Francis. 1647, John Balsar. 1648, William Cage, M.A. 1666, Thomas Colvill. 1722,

The Church of Mountfield

Stevens Parr (died). 1722, — Webber. 1746, George Garnett, died. 1792, Peter Collet, died. [Perpetual curates.] 1792, Morgan Davies. 1834, John Myers, died. 1835, James Allan Smith, B.A. 1841, William Brocklebank, B.A. 1869, Thomas Lewis. 1897, George Ernest Frewer, M.A.

MOUNTFIELD.

This benefice was also attached to the prebend of Salehurst. The name is also met with as Moundifeud, Mundifield, Munfield, and Montifelle, etc.

In the Domesday Book the following reference appears:—

“The same Reinbert holds of the Count (of Eu) Montifelle. God held it in the time of King Eadward and could go where he pleased. Then, and now, it vouched for one hide—There is land for eight ploughs. In demesne are 2 ; and 9 villeins with 2 cottars have six ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow and wood for 10 hogs. In the time of King Edward it was worth £3, and afterwards 20 shillings. Now £4.

In the reign of Henry III. William, son and heir of Roger de Sokener, was lord of the Manor of Mountfield.

In the year 1283 Edward I. granted to Edmund de Passeleye a free warren in (*inter alia*) Mundefeld with a penalty of £10 upon trespassers, but reserving the King's rights within the boundaries of his forest. This charter was under the Privy seal, and witnessed at Clarendon on February 24th, 1283, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Hugh le Despenser the elder, John de Saint John, William de Montacute, Steward of the Household, and others.

William de Echingham also obtained a charter of free warren (23 Edward I.), and the Echinghams owned the manor from this time until the reign of Edward IV., when Thomas Echingham died seized in 1468.

In 16 Edward III. Robert de Wanton held the fourth part of a fee in Mundefeld by the payment of one penny by the year for all services and valuations, 22 shillings by the year belonging to the rape of Hastings.

The Rectory of Moundefeld, parcel of the dissolved monastery of Robertsbridge, was granted in 31 Henry VIII. to Sir William Sidney, Knt., and Agnes, his wife, in fee.

In later times Dame Elizabeth Tyrwhitt, Henry English, and Nicholl, were the proprietors of the Manor.

The Parsons' Armour Roll contains the name of Mr. Jo. Rolfe, Vicar, who with the clergy of Whatling, Penhurst, and Ninfield, was responsible for a musquet furnished.

Mountfield was valued in 1648 at £789 6s. 0d.

The living, which is in the Deanery of Dallington, is in the patronage of Earl De la Warr—In Pope Nicholas's taxation it was rated at 15 marks, and in the King's Books at £5 13s. 4d.

The rectory, glebe-land, tithes, and the advowson of the vicarage were alienated, in 26 Elizabeth, to John Downton, Gent. by George Stubberfield (*Burrell MSS.*)

There are about 14 acres of glebe, and there is a residence with large garden belonging to the vicarage. The great tithes, with which there are about 12 acres of glebe, belong to Earl De la Warr.

Architecture of Mountfield Church

MOUNTFIELD CHURCH (1902).

THE EXTERIOR.

The Church of All Saints is an Early English structure of small dimensions, consisting of a nave and chancel with a massive square low stone tower at the western end. The tower, which is strengthened by three buttresses, is surmounted by a broached oak-shingled spire of somewhat obtuse angle. The tower is built in two stages with weathered offset, the upper portion containing in the south and north side simple lancet-windows; entrance is obtained by a plain doorway with pointed head, the angles of the jambs and arch being chamfered. The nave is lighted on the south side by three windows. One is of two lights with cinquefoiled heads under square label mouldings, the upper quoin-stone being enriched by shields, one of which bears the arms of the Etchingam family. The second window is of two lights with ogee-shaped heads, the soffits enriched with cinquefoils. The third is a rather wide lancet-headed window.

The north side of the nave is lighted by one two-light square-headed Perpendicular window under square a label, the lights being enriched with cinquefoil head with blind panelling above. Two small narrow circular-headed windows with wide internal splays are also in this wall, and these are probably the four windows with which the church was originally lighted.

The eastern window is modern, of three lights with intersecting bar-tracery filling the pointed arch. In both the north and the south walls of the chancel is a plain lancet-headed window. A second window on the south-western corner, with lancet head, is probably the upper part only of a low side window, the original sill of which has been raised to its present level.

There is a priests' door, a simple opening with square jambs. Two inclined stones slightly curved on the soffits form the head of the doorway.

The church is entered by a small low pointed doorway through an interesting oaken porch of massive and substantial construction, the older part of which is probably as old as the church, namely of the Early English period. The door has been restored but the base chamfer-stone of the jamb on the east does not now occupy its proper position. (Compare the porch at Salehurst Church).

THE INTERIOR.

The interior is simple and unpretentious, and without architectural enrichments. The roof is plastered and has moulded curved beams, ridge and purlins; the curved rafters are supported by brackets, the upper portion being moulded like the wall plates.

The chancel has a semicircular arched opening with square jambs and soffits, the arch springing from a square chamfered impost or abacus. The chancel has a plain plastered polygonal ceiling with moulded wall-plates. The vestry on the north side, entered by a small doorway, is modern.

On either side of the chancel-arch is a hagioscope or squint measuring 2ft. 3ins. by 2ft., the height being to the crown of the low pointed arched top. These openings are quite plain with chamfered edges.

The piscina, on the south side of the chancel, is probably Early English, but its trefoiled head seems to suggest a later date. There is a good specimen of Renaissance church-furniture to be seen in the altar-rails. The modern organ and gallery are placed at the western end of the church.

The lower basement is entered by a simple modern door, probably replacing a high one with a round head like that at the southern entrance. The stairs to the belfry are of interesting construction, being built of heavy oak-timber with the treads and risers formed by solid pieces of wood triangular in section.

The large stone font is of a massive cylindrical or drum shape, enriched with simple mouldings and fillets. The upper portion is fitted with eight panels or compartments enriched in bold carved relief with *fleurs-de-lys*—Tudor four-leaved flowers—and three scallop-shells. The lower segment is ornamented with moulded blockings.

Near the font is a standard alms-box of oak, with a moulded plinth.

There is but one old bell in the belfry; it is inscribed between two crosses, *Wax (sic) Augustine Sonet in Aure Dei*. Upon the bell is cast a shield with the royal arms that were in vogue from the time of Henry V. to Elizabeth.

INCUMBENTS OF MOUNTFIELD.

Circa 1278, William Eslinge. 1288, William —. 1363, — Weeder. 1373, William de Walton exchanged with Thomas Fenyr. 1421 (March 13), Thomas Kymburle. 1424, John Nathalle exchanged with William Bousay. 1438 (August 20), John Hope. 1429, John Chamberlayn. 1439,

Robertsbridge Abbey

Thomas Wryght exchanged with John Cooper. 1441 (November 10), Thomas Brown. 1466, Alex Chambre. 1480-81, William Billington. 1481-82, John Percy. 1530, John Ketericke resigned. 1530, Walter Hope. 1534, Robert Wylson (died). 1534 (September 23), Robert Parkerst. 1547-48, William Walter. 1554, Dominick Segar. 1558, Rowland Stubberfield. 1593, William Moore, A.B. 1594, John Rolfe. 1617, Robert Hatley. 1628, Thomas Carr. 1642, William Hunt (died). 1643, Richard Dyke. 1649, Florence Cook. 1678-79, Royle Bateman, A.M. 1684-85, John Mason. 1689-90, Richard Thornton. 1732, Francis Woodgate, A.B. 1791, Richard Jordan, M.A. 1836, William Margeson. 1871, Felix John Buckley, M.A. 1880, John David Macbride Crofts, M.A. 1898, Charles William Goodall Wilson, M.A.

(SECTION II).

THE PREBEND OF SALEHURST WITH ROBERTS- BRIDGE ABBEY

The ruins of the Abbey of Robertsbridge are situated on the southern bank of the Rother.

According to the Confirmatory Charter of 1 Richard I., this Abbey appears to have been founded in the parish of Salehurst by one Alured of St. Martin in the year 1176, although from the Chronicle of the Church of Rochester it would seem that the Founder was Robert of St. Martin. It may have been that the idea of the original institution was conceived by Robert and then afterwards confirmed and enlarged by Alured. In another charter Alicia, the wife of Alured, because she was a principal benefactress, is termed the "Foundress."

Robert of St. Martin probably built the bridge at the place where the high road from Hastings to Tunbridge crossed the Rother. In the charters and also in the Common Seal of the Abbey the place is named "Pons Roberti" and it may therefore be assumed that Robert of St. Martin gave his name to the hamlet and to the Abbey. Some authorities contend that the name is Rotherbridge, derived from the name of the River Rother, but although a plausible suggestion, this is probably not the case, for in the Saxon Chronicle the River is called "Limene." Sir William Burrell (*Add. MSS.* 6344, f. 529 and 747) thought that the original name was Rotherbridge, from the cattle that passed over it, which were anciently called "Rother beasts;" but he very properly admits that Robertsbridge is the oldest form of the name extant.¹

The Abbey of Robertsbridge belonged to the Cistercian Order, a branch of the Benedictines founded at Cistercium (or Cîteaux) in Burgundy in 1098. The Order is thought to have been introduced into England about the year 1128, by the third Abbot of Cîteaux, who was an Englishman named Stephen Harding. Their monasteries were generally built in solitary and uncultivated places, and in 26 Henry VIII were seventy-five in number, exclusive of the Cistercian Nunneries which numbered twenty-six.

¹ Hayley refers to the Bridge as having derived its name from the Rother beasts and adds "The Bridge therefore seems originally to have taken its name from its use, and ye generality of people have in length of time through ignorance of ye true meaning and original of ye name supposed it (as in many cases it is so) to be ye name of and have accordingly applied it to ye stream yt runs under it. There is a farm adjoining, ye name of which seems to me to have some relation to yt of ye bridge and I am of opinion yt Redlands was originally called Rotherlands, Rotherhithe in like manner is now corrupted to Redriffe—Tho' Redlands might be Reedlands." Hayley, Vol. II., Col. 529. (From whom Sir William Burrell's information was probably derived.)

Foundation of Robertsbridge Abbey

At an early date the Cistercians obtained from successive Popes an exemption from payment of tithes on the produce of lands, tilled by their own hands, or at their expense, or on the increase of their live stock, and also gardens, shrubberies, and fisheries. This was important to the Cistercians, who were well known as sheep-farmers.

It will be noticed that in the Charter of Richard I., Alured (or Alfred) St. Martin, the Founder of the Abbey is styled "Dapifer Noster," and Mr. Stapleton says that he also held the same office in the next reign. The name of Alured St. Martin occurs constantly as witness to Royal charters of this time, and in 1180 and 1184 he is found in the Norman Exchequer Rolls accounting for issue of bailiwick of the Pays de Bray and *præpositura* of Drincourt or Neufchâtel-en-Bray (See *Rot. Scacc.* pp. cii. CXXXVIII.). He seems to have been a tenant of the Count of Eu both in Normandy and England, for in 1161 he obtained from his kinsman, Geoffrey de St. Martin, in exchange for certain Norman estates all the lands or feoff of Walilond which Geoffrey held of the Count of Eu in England, or, as it is described in the Charter of Geoffrey St. Martin, land of Wariland with appurtenances.

In later deeds this appears as Walland Merse in the parish of Ivychurch. The feoff was to be held of Geoffrey as freely as his father ever held it, by giving him the services of one knight. This deed, it will be noticed, was done in the same year that the Kings of France and England were reconciled and the date of 1161 is also mentioned (See also Hoveden 1-217, Peace of 1161).¹

The name of Walilond appears in several deeds which relate to small pieces of property made over to the Abbey, and Ralph de Hechindenne confirms to the monks the possession of Croke in Oxenelle, of Wokele, Fuggelbroc, and Ydenne

¹ "Let those who are now living and those who are to come know that I, Geoffrey de St. Martin have given and conceded in fief inheritance, to Alured of St. Martin and his heirs all my land which I hold from the Count of Eu, viz. the land of Warilanda, with all that pertains to it, whether wood or in plains, in lands, in meadows, in marshes, and in all things that belong to the above-mentioned land, so to be held and to be had from me and my heirs by him and his heirs just as my father held it during his life, by giving me the services of one soldier. But on account of this donation and concession, the above-mentioned Alured claimed from me all his land which he held from me, wherever it might be, quietly, freely and absolutely. Moreover the above-mentioned Alured restored to me and gave up whatever he held from the chamberlain in the mill-house of Sacqueville.¹ And he granted to me, whatever he held from Thomas de Mareis and his heirs at Augusta (Oust Mareis, close to Eu), and whatever else he held from them. And besides that, he gave me forty marks of silver for the above-mentioned donation ("and convention, that it might be faithfully and firmly kept in perpetuity.")² John, Count of Eu was present at this convention, donation and concession, in whose presence this was done, and many others, viz. Thomas de Augo, Guy d'Avesnes, Richard de Draguilla, Walter de St. Anian, Robert de Tillol, Reginald de Dodeville, William de Dodeville, Ralph Ponteil, Wilfred de Merlincamp, Amilus de St. Mark, Geoffrey de Bernou-Maisnil, Simon de Criolio, William de Basoc. I Geoffrey, however, beseech the King and Count however (*sic*) that they will cause this convention to be strictly kept. This concession and donation was granted in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 1161, in the same year that the King of France and the King of England made peace. The Count's Chaplain at the time, wrote this deed: "There is an equestrian seal attached to the deed "Atte Cernes, Augi Iohannes, Sigillum," and seal of Geoffrey de St. Martin—a dog or ? lion. *Brit. Mus.* Egerton Ch. 371.

¹ Sacqueville, 5 miles south of Dieppe (?)

² Written over an erasure.

Grants to the Abbey

(Iden), with certain lands which Gilbertus Cinerarius (the Latin form of the name of Ashburner) held in his lordship.

The original endowment of the Abbey made by Alured St. Martin consisted of all the lands, tenements, men, and services which the founder held of Geoffrey de St. Martin and his heirs in the rape of Hastings, while the first Abbot was probably Dennis, appointed about 1184. Other lands and manors were soon granted by other benefactors or else acquired by purchase in the neighbouring parishes of Pette, Gestal (Guestling), Playdon, Heikelshom (Icklesham), and Iden.

The Count of Eu at this time was John, the grandson of Robert, and in the twelfth year of Henry II., on the levy of an "aid," he had 56 knights' fees in England. Count John, as we have seen, was married to Alicia, the daughter of Adeliza, Queen of Henry I. After the death of the Count in 1170 his Countess married Alured St. Martin. This lady, for pious reasons, gave to the Abbey Sneling of Inergate (Snargate in Kent) and his family with his tenement of Snergate and its appurtenances, which formed part of her free dowry, for the maintenance of hospitality. This deed contains the names as witnesses, the Count of Eu (her son), Robert (her brother), Alured St. Martin (her husband), Sanson of Gestling, and Stephen de St. Martin.

Henry, Count of Eu, was another benefactor of the Abbey, for he gave Werth (Wertham) with the valley (*combam*) adjoining his forest of Brightling (*Bristlinga*) elsewhere described as Cumdenne, and confirms an agreement respecting these lands made between the Monks and Ringer of Northiam (*Ringerium de Nordia*). This deed is witnessed by Osbertus Abbas, Augi Aluredus de St. Martino, Ingeramus de Frissenvill, Walterus de Escotegnies, Willielmus de Achineham, Sanson de Gestling, Stephanus de S. Martino, Willielmus de Bodinham, Willielmus de S. Martino *et multi alii*.

He also granted as an hereditary possession the whole feoff of Fodilande, which had been purchased by the monks of Reginald de Meynys and Matilda his wife and of Ingeram de Fressenville. In the *Monasticon* "Fudlandes" are said to be in Selsecombe and Ewhurst, and are subsequently stated to contain together 244 acres. From another document (*Penshurst MSS.*) it appears that the Count added to these gifts a prebend in the Church of St. Mary of Hastings. As an acknowledgment of this munificence, the Abbot Dennis and the brethren, by a formal deed conceded to the Count as well in life as in death all the benefits of their prayers and services by which he could be profited either here or in Purgatory, and they moreover declared that his mother "the foundress of their Abbey" should also participate in all their orisons and services for ever.

About this time the Charter of Richard I. confirms to Alured de St. Martin "*dapifero nostro*" the gifts made to him by Henry, Count of Eu in the presence of the late King Henry II., after the death of the Countess Alicia, of certain lands Eleham and Bensintone, parcel of her *maritagium* for his life; what interest the monks had in the land does not appear. The deed is as follows:—

Richard, by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy, Earl of Aquitaine, and Anjou, Greeting to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs and all Bailiffs, and his faithful servants, greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this present charter, have confirmed to Alured of Saint Martin our steward that concession and donation which Henry, Count of Eu granted to Alured, in the presence of the Lord King, our father, after the death of Alicia his mother, on the petition of the said Alured and of other friends of the same Count, of lands of the marriage-portion of his mother, viz., of Eleham and of Bensinton, which the

Grants to the Abbey of Robertsbridge

said Count granted to the said Alured, with all that belonged to it, to be held during his whole life, with the exception of the presentation to the church, to which the parson was to be instituted on the presentation of the Count, if it should happen to fall vacant during the life time of Alured, according to what is contained in the charter of the Lord King, our father, and in the charter of the above-mentioned Count. Wherefore we wish, and firmly order, that the said Alured should have and hold those lands as long as he lives, well and in peace, freely and quietly, undiminished, fully and honourably. In wood and field, in meadows and pasture lands. In waters and mills. In warrens, in ponds, and in marshes. In roads and paths, and in all other places and in other things that belong to them. With all liberties and free customs, with the exception of the presentation to the church, as the above-mentioned hath granted it to him, and as his charter testifieth. Witnesses: H. Durham, H. Coventry, H. Salisbury, bishops, W. de Saint John, John Marescall, William Marescall, Roger *de Pratellis*, Geoffrey Fitzpeter, Robert de Witefeld. Given under the hand of William Lonchamp, our Chancellor, Bishop elect of Ely, at Canterbury, the thirtieth day of November in the first year of our reign. Under the first seal of Richard I. *Sandf.* p. 55. Slightly broken, but otherwise in fine condition. *Brit. Mus.* Egerton, Ch. 372.

In the year 1192 the same Abbot Dionysius, together with the Abbot of Boxley, were the lords justices sent into Germany to ascertain the place where King Richard the First was imprisoned. It is related that after traversing the greater part of Germany the Abbots at last met with him at a *village* called *Oxefer* (? Augsburg) in Bavaria, on his way to an audience with the Emperor to be held on Palm Sunday. The Abbots were present at the conclusion of the Agreement between the Emperor and the King, on the Thursday before Easter 1193; and soon after they returned to England, bringing with them the terms of this convention. (*Hoveden*).

We next find John, Count of Eu, another son of Alicia in 1195 (*circa*) confirming the monks in the quiet possession of all grants made to them by his predecessors, and of other estates previously acquired in his barony by gift or purchase. These include tenements in Pett, Setelscumbe (Sedlescombe), Farlega (Fairlight), Kattesfield (Catsfield), Bromhelle (Bromhill), and Dallington.¹

The second Abbot was William, elected in 1197.² His name is mentioned in the *Monasticon* and also in the *Penshurst MSS.* Soon after his succession, Abbot William, with his brother of Boxley, went to Rome on the part of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to seek judgment from the Pope concerning the disputes between the Primate and the Monks of Canterbury.

One other charter of this interesting period remains to be noticed, and this gives the consent and ratification of Henry, Count of Eu, and Alured de St. Martin to a composition between the Prior of Christ's Church, Canterbury, and the Abbot of Robertsbridge concerning a piece of marshland between the embankment (*wallam*) belonging to the Monks of Oxney (*Oxeneiam*).³

In the early part of the next century Idonia de Herste, a relation of the Herstmonceux family, gives a formal acknowledgment that she had received from Alured de St. Martin "all her rent for Promhelle, to wit, 6*d.* sterling, which Alured

¹ The Count's seal, of brown wax, circular, somewhat dished, is extant in fine preservation. *Sigillum Johannis Comitis Augi.*

The Seal of Geoffrey de St. Martin, brown wax, 2 inches in diameter, lion passant to sinister. *Sigillū Gavfridi De Sco Martino.*

² In November, 1198, the Abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge were sent to Canterbury to mediate between the Archbishop and the Priory of Canterbury *re* Lambeth Church, and they reported to the Pope (*Gervase of Canterbury*, pp. 560-567. Vol. I. *Memorials of Richard I.* Vol. II. *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*; *Stubbs*).

³ The charter, which has the seals of the Count and also Alured annexed, and in tolerable preservation, is now in the British Museum, having been presented to that institution by Lord Frederick Campbell.

The Abbey and the See of Chichester

used to pay her annually for xiiij years together, reckoning from the first feast of St. Michael after the coronation of Richard I." The date of this acquittance must therefore, have been about 1202 ; and about the same time she conferred upon the Abbey the tenement of Promhelle (Bromhill) for the same quit-rent of sixpence. There is also a confirmation by William de Herste of his mother's grant, with the proviso that "for this grant and confirmation the said monks should concede to him a common beneficial interest in the house, and a participation in all the prayers which they should make in their house for ever." The grant is again confirmed by his son William de Monceux, about the time when one of the two, probably in consequence of some intermarriage between the families of Herst and Monceux gave to their seat the compound name of Herstmonceux, which it has ever since retained.

Prior to the year 1204 the monks obtained from Seffrid (Bishop of Chichester from 1180 to that year) some sort of confirmation of their position in the diocese. No part of the lands of Robertsbridge were held of the Bishop, and no act of his could in fact complete their title. The deed simply places them under the protection of God, of the Church of Chichester, and his own, and confirms to them *ea qua fungimur auctoritate* all their present and future lawfully-acquired possessions. He then enumerates these. *First*, the entire fee of Robertsbridge (*Pons Roberti*) where their Church is situated, and which his beloved Alured de St. Martin had given them in frankalmoign. *Secondly*, all the land which Alured had held in fee-farm of the Canons of Saint Mary in Hastings. *Thirdly*, all Alured's land between Winchelsea and Clivesende (Cliffs End, Fairlight), the land of Fairleia (Fairlight), and the land of Gencelin (Gensing, this was in Sedlescombe parish). The instrument concludes with a threat of Divine vengeance and the unbending wrath of the See of Chichester against any one who should molest the monks, in respect of the franchises and privileges granted to them by King Henry II.

Sefrid by the "grace of God, bishop of Chichester, Greeting eternal salvation in Christ to all the sons of our holy mother, the Church. We are bound by our fatherly care to advance all religious men and carefully to provide for their peace and quietness, as far as it is possible for us. That is the reason why we confirm our beloved sons, the Abbot of Pons Roberti (Robertsbridge), and his brethren the monks who profess the rule of the blessed Benedict, in the possession of whatever goods and possessions that they may justly and canonically possess or may obtain in the future by any just means by God's aid, and by the authority that we wield we confirm it to them in perpetuity. But especially the whole fief of (*Pons Roberti*) Robertsbridge, where the church of those brethren is situated, which our beloved son Alured of St. Martin, the founder of that house gave as a perpetual free gift, with the park and the houses and everything that belonged to it, with the cultivated lands, woods and plains [&c.], as the Charter of the said Alured testifieth. And also all the land which the same Alured held on fee farm from the canons of Saint Mary in Hastings, by an annual payment of six shillings for all service, and also the land which the same Alured had between Winchelsea and Clivesende (Cliffs End), with its houses, as the said Alured gave and granted to them. Also the land at Farley (Fairlight), and the land at Gencelinum (Gensing), and the land at Polesherse, which the said Alured bought at his own cost, and gave and confirmed to them. And he also fully granted to them the liberties and immunities of all customs which the illustrious King, Henry II. of England, of his royal liberality, gave to them and confirmed by his charter. We, therefore, decree and, by the authority that we wield, we prohibit any one from presuming rashly to disturb the said brethren in their above-mentioned possessions and in any way to disturb them by any vexations or annoyances, or from venturing to interfere with their liberties and immunities conceded to them by apostolic Highness. If any one should presume to do this, unless, when he has been admonished he give proper satisfaction and amend his ways, let him know that he will incur Divine vengeance and the anger of the Church of Chichester. No. III. *Brit. Mus.* Egerton, Ch. 373.

Passing on, we find that John, Count of Eu, died without issue, and his niece

The Pope Protects the Abbey

Alicia, daughter and heir of his brother Count Henry and the wife of Ralph de Yssodun or Osyndon, became Countess of Eu in her own right. In 1215 a deed of confirmation was granted to the monks by Ralph. In this deed Alured de St. Martin is called the "Founder of the Abbey of Robertsbridge," and it appears that the land at Farlega or Farleia (Fairlight), bought of Thomas de St. Leger; that at Seddlescombe, of Gilbert, son of Genceline; and that of Werth, Combe Ruwindene (also belonging to the Monastery and otherwise spelt Rowenden or Rundean) were all in the parish of Brightling.

The next year (1216) saw the accession of John as the third Abbot of Robertsbridge. According to the *Monasticon* (V. 460) this Abbot afterwards became Prior of Boxley: He appears to have been employed during his Abbacy in many weighty matters of State, for on October 30th, 1222 (7 Henry III.), the King's Treasurer is ordered to pay 10 marks to the Abbot of Robertsbridge and 40 to Master William de Sco Albino for going as the King's messengers to Poitou (*Rot. Claus.* i. 518); and again on May 26th, 1224, there is an order for 50 marks to be paid to the Abbots of Robertsbridge and Boxley for going on the King's business to the Court of Rome. (*Ib.* 528.)

The monks were next granted by the same Ralph de Yssodun free pasturage in his forest of Werth, for their bullocks, sheep, and hogs.¹

In consequence of oppression suffered both from laymen and ecclesiastics, the Abbot was compelled to appeal to Pope Honorius III. for protection. The Pontiff accordingly issued a decree, dated at Viterbo in the fourth year of his pontificate, and addressed to the dignitaries of the English Church.²

¹ The seal to this deed is a mounted knight, sword in hand, a customary device of all baronial seals until about A.D. 1218—with the inscription SIGILL. RADULFI DE ISSOUDUN COMITIS D'EU. The reverse contained his coat of arms, namely, a shield and barry of five.

² A document of Stephen Langton (Archbishop 1206, Cardinal 1212-13—*ob.* 1228) states that he has received the mandate of Pope Honorius III., which he sets out at length. This is addressed to the Archbishop and his Suffragans, and to all Abbots, Priors, and other prelates of that province. After complaining in general terms of neglect of spiritual authority as evident in the maltreatment of religious persons and particularly of those privileged by the Apostolic See, he refers specially to the case of the Abbot and Monastery of Robertsbridge who had complained to him both of frequent injuries and daily denial of justice, and had prayed for letters apostolic, addressed to the Archbishop, &c., exhorting them to protect them in their troubles. Wherefore the Pope commanded those to whom the letter was addressed, that as to those persons who might have irreverently invaded the possessions, goods, or houses of the brethren or their tenants, or who might have unjustly detained from them property left by will, or who should have presumed to promulgate sentence of excommunication, or of interdict, against the brethren themselves, contrary to their indulgences from the Apostolic See, or to extort from them tithes of their cultivated lands, held before the General Council, or their live stock—after service of a monition, if they were laymen, they should strike them with a sentence of excommunication publicly, and with lighted candles; if clerks, regular canons or monks, they should suspend them, without appeal, from office and benefice, neither sentence to be relaxed until full satisfaction had been made to the brethren. Any laics or clerks secular who on account of laying violent hands on the monks or their goods, should have been involved in the bonds of an anathema, were to approach the Apostolic See with letters from their diocesan to obtain absolution. The towns where any goods of the brethren were forcibly detained were to be interdicted.

Given at Orvieto. *Id. vii. Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno quarto* (7 Nov., 1219). The Archbishop therefore commands all within his province to cause the privileges in question to be observed, punishing by ecclesiastical censures being threatened against those who resisted.

A fragment of Langton's archiepiscopal seal remains appended. The seal itself is rendered remarkable by the insertion of a gem beneath the feet of the effigy. The counter-seal represents the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, but is imperfect.

Grants to the Abbey of Robertsbridge

There is one instance on record in which it was put in force, namely, in 1223 against William de Pertlington, a laic, who was condemned by the Abbot of Sisnes and the Prior of Rochester, after a trial by jury, to pay the monks of Robertsbridge 10 marks damages, with 50 shillings expenses, and 40 shillings for their loss of time.¹

About this time it seems that Cecilia de Albrincis, a widow, with the consent of her son William, assigned to the Abbey of Robertsbridge her capital messuage and manor of Sutton near Seaford, and by another deed this William de Averanchis [Avranches] (as his name appears on the seal) gives over lands to one Lacford (now Latchford) at the same Sutton, for the yearly rent of 1 lb of cumin and 1-20th part of knight's fee. This nobleman was involved in the disputes between King John and his barons, was thrown into prison, and only regained his freedom by selling some of his property (*Dugd. Baronage*, i—467).

In the British Museum there is an original deed of Wm. de Averanchis which confirms his mother's grant to the Abbey, adding also "*Dennam que vocatur Omble.*" (Low Dean?) To this several notable names appear as witnesses, including William, Earl of Warren, William, Earl of Sussex, Gilbert de Aquila (Pevensey Honour), Simon of Echingham and William his brother, William de Munceaus (? Monceux), Richard de Cumbe and Walter de Dene.

In 1221 the monks were confirmed in their possession of the Manor of Sutton and its appurtenances by Henry III., and again some hundred years later, by a confirmatory charter of Edward III.

After the death of Ralph de Yssodun, his wife, the second Countess Alicia, in 1225 gave to the Abbey the right of pasturage in her forest of Burgherse (Burwash) for 20 oxen, as many cows with their calves, and mares with their foals; and in 1241 she added to her previous bounty the mill of Winham with the millpond and all things appertaining thereunto; this seems to have been in Brightling (*Monasticon*, No. 10).

¹ A similar proceeding under a Papal commission is recorded in one of the documents now under consideration, namely, an undated instrument under the seals of W. (William) Abbot of Cumbwell (in Kent) and L. Prior of Ledes, which recites the text of letters apostolic of Pope Innocent III. addressed to them, whereby it appears that the Abbot and Monks of Robertsbridge had been sued for tithes of lands tilled at their own expense (contrary to their privileges) by Thomas, Rector of Salehurst, and other Clerks of the Chichester Diocese. Therefore the Pope commanded the Abbot and Prior to compel the Rector and others to desist from such exactions under pain of ecclesiastical censure—after previous monition—and without appeal. These letters bore date at Rome "13 Calends of March in the seventh year of our Pontificate" (Feb. 17, 1250). By virtue of which letters the Abbot and Prior had cited John, Chaplain of the Church of Sedlescombe, after previous commonition peremptorily once, twice, and thrice. He had not appeared but had contumaciously absented himself, wherefore by the advice of prudent and discreet persons acting as assessors to them, the Abbot and Prior decreed that he was not to extort tithes contrary to the privilege, commanding him to observe perpetual silence in that behalf. Two seals are attached, namely:

1. Pointed oval, 1½ inches by ¾ inch. Effigy of an Abbot in a cope bareheaded, a pastoral staff in the left hand, book in right hand. Legend + *Sigillum Willelmi Abbatis de Combwella.*
2. Circular, slightly oval; 1 inch long. Gem in metal setting. A head in profile of inferior work. Legend (+ *cave cav. . . . G. E.*).¹

¹ A MS. volume in the Bodleian Library bears this inscription:—

"This book belongs to St. Mary of Robertsbridge; whoever shall steal it, or sell it, or in any way alienate it from this house, or mutilate it, let him be *anathema maranatha.*"

A subsequent possessor (circa 1327) has added:—

"I John, Bishop of Exeter, *know not where the aforesaid house is*, nor did I steal this book but acquired it in a lawful way."

Grants to Robertsbridge Abbey

Besides those already enumerated, other members of the St. Martin family were benefactors of the Abbey—William de St. Martin gave lands and rents—Walter, who describes himself as the son of Geoffrey (who parted with his feoff of Waliond to Alured in exchange for lands in Normandy) confirms Alured's grant of it to the monks, and Roger confirms and assents to an agreement which they had made with one Randolph de Ethend.

The family of St. Leger also appears in the list of benefactors.¹

Thomas de St. Leger gave the monks "all his pasture of Farleghe which he held in his possession on the day in which the monastery was finished A.D. 1176" for a quit-rent of half a mark of silver, and Geoffrey de St. Leger, his grandson, endowed the Abbey with all his marsh-land in the feoff of Sokernesse in the marsh below Rye (*in mora subter Riam*) lying between the land of Robert de Crevequer and Winchelsea, and between the great Fleet (*fletum*) which reaches as far as Rye and the water of Chene.

Hendearth, the widow of John de St. Leger, and mother of Geoffrey, "being moved to please the monks of Robertsbridge touching her dowry in the feoff of Farleia" renounces all claim thereto, and resigns it to them in peace and without cavil for three marks and a half of silver. A farm in Brightling is still named Sockenersh, and there was formerly an iron forge there. And the church contains a chapel on the north side of the chancel called the Sockenersh Chapel. (See Brightling prebend). Roger de Sockenerse (or Swokenerse) who speaks of himself as the son of William de St. Leger, appears as the grantor in two deeds, and he is a witness to five other. The name of William de Sokenerse also appears as witness in nine deeds. The Sokenerses held the manor of Snave under the Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury.

By another document one Alan Pollard sells to the monks certain land called Legingett, the consideration being five marks and two golden albs for his wife. An alb was a vestment worn by the officiating priests and by women of quality, made of fine white linen, with tight sleeves, and embroidered with gold or otherwise decorated.

The Lunsfords, who derived their name from a property in the parish of Etchingham, were another notable family.² Hugo granted one acre of his meadow at Lundresford, at the dedication of their church and towards its endowment, near the spring in the said meadow and on its south side; while Matilda, his daughter and heiress, in her widowhood is the donor of another acre lying north of the pool and alder-bed, and adjacent to the acre given by her father, together with a right of way over the land called Posterneham near the Guildhouse of Lundresford.

By another deed she gave a tenement in Henherst, near the forest of the Count of Eu, over against Blakebroc, for a quit rent of 6*d.* to be "paid yearly at the Abbey-gate on Michaelmas Day." John de Lunsford subsequently confirmed the grants of the two acres of meadow given by his uncle Hugh and cousin Matilda, and he added two and a quarter acres more adjoining. Lastly, Adelia formerly wife of Richard, son of Hugo de Lunsford, releases in perpetuity all her tenement of Holbem reserving to herself a life-interest.

¹ This family was settled at Fairlight and Dallington, and held under the Countess Alicia three knights' fees and a half, being also the possessors of a charter of free warren.

² Their signatures appear with great frequency as witnesses to deeds relating to the Abbey, and they also made many concessions to the Abbot and monks.

Disputes between the Abbeys of Battle and Robertsbridge

We next come to several charters dealing with disputes about certain ecclesiastical property, a matter which occasioned much anxiety to the monks for a long space of years; and here we have an early instance of a reference to arbitration, for in the 28th year of Henry III. (February 8th, 1244) there is a decree made by arbiters, among whom was the Abbot of Bayham, who was the principal arbiter in a dispute between the Abbot and monastery of Battle and the Abbot and monastery of Robertsbridge. The Abbot of Robertsbridge by this document is named William, and he had probably succeeded John after the latter's translation to Boxley. The decree first relates to certain land at Wickham, and then to the services of the tenants and the cognizance of crimes in their respective jurisdictions. The Abbey of Robertsbridge was to preserve the dykes in the marshes from the inroads of the sea. The decree or *Laud* is as follows—

Know all men to whom the present writing shall come that, since there was upon many matters a controversy between Ralph the Abbot and the Abbey of Battle on the one part and William the Abbot and the Abbey of Robertsbridge on the other, they have at length agreed upon the following arbitrators, namely William de la Dune, Henry Boydiner, Henry de Gvingeton, Geoffrey de Saxenhurste, Simon de Brunford, Richard de Merivale, and upon the Abbot of Bayham as umpire in chief as followeth :

It is arranged between the Abbot and Abbey of Battle and the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge that they have agreed the following, to wit, [*here follow the names of the arbitrators as above*] for terminating once and for all before the aforesaid arbitrators any disputes that have arisen or may arise between them. And if the Abbot and Abbey of Battle will not abide by the decision of the aforesaid arbitrators, they grant that the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge shall have all the land which they have in the old and new marsh without any demur or claim on the part of the Abbot and Abbey of Battle. But if the Abbot, etc. of Robertsbridge will not abide by the decision of the aforesaid arbitrators, as hath been stated, they grant that the Abbot, etc. of Battle shall have all the land in the new enclosure which is in the fee of the said Abbot, etc. of Battle without any demur or claim on the part of the said Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge. But if any one of the arbitrators of the Abbot of Battle cannot attend, let the Abbot appoint any substitute he pleaseth and let the Abbot of Robertsbridge do the same. If the umpire-in-chief cannot or will not attend, let another be selected by consent of both sides. All the aforesaid both sides promised faithfully and loyally to observe and, for the greater security, both the Abbot and Abbey of Battle and the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge have set their seals to this deed. Given in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry, son of King John, in the month of January on the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul.

Therefore, having heard the claims put forward on both sides and the answers thereunto given, the said arbitrators decided as followeth, namely, that the agreements made at Neddrefeld [Netherfield] between the said parties and reduced to writing concerning the land of Wicham with its appurtenances, and the new enclosure in the Grykes Marsh, shall hold good for ever, save that for the relief and suit of court or other things which might fall to the Abbot, etc. of Robertsbridge and his successors no recompense be made except for a rent of two shillings and for the lands which belonged to Richard le Venur, James de Sedelscombe and Petronella de Sedelscombe: for the rent of which lands, relief, heriot, suit or other escheat no recompense shall ever be made. But in return for the remission and quit-claim of the said relief and other escheats of the said land of Wicham, the Abbot, etc. of Battle remit to the said Abbot, etc. of Robertsbridge and his successors the suit of court which they were to exact from the said Abbot, etc. on account of the lands which they hold of them in Grykes Marsh. Moreover they remit and grant quit-claim to the said Abbot etc. of Robertsbridge and his successors the suit of court which they were used to exact at Lageday of the tenants of the said Abbot of Robertsbridge in the fee of the Abbot of Battle, to wit, Hugh Burgess, William Burgess, Nicholas Spirewing, Thomas Batur, Boidinus FitzBurg, Vincent de Popleshers, William FitzMartin, Martin Batur, Robert Fos, Hamon Leurich, Nicholas Leurich, Simon Edulphus, Ellis Braynwood, Ralph FitzRichard, and the heirs of the said tenants.

Accordingly if in process of time more buildings are erected on the lands of the Abbot of Robertsbridge which he holdeth in fee from the Abbot of Battle, those that dwell in the same shall attend the court of the Abbot of Battle at Lageday, doing with the men of the said Abbot of Battle all things as is contained in the liberties and franchises of the same Abbot of Battle.

Arbitration between Battle and Robertsbridge Abbeys

Moreover the aforesaid tenants and their heirs are bound to attend and pay scot and lot with the men of the Abbot of Battle of Grykes and Promhelle for all things which concern the pleas of the Crown : in the same way (and likewise) the tenants of the Abbot of Battle of Grykes and Promelle shall pay scot and lot together with the aforesaid men of the Abbot of Robertsbridge. But if a murder or any other misfortune to the peace of the Crown should take place in the land of the said Abbot of Robertsbridge which belongeth to the fee of the Abbot of Battle which should be looked into, let the serjeant or bailiff of the said Abbot of Battle be summoned to look into it, and let the serjeant or bailiff of the Abbot of Robertsbridge be present, should he so desire.

It was also appointed and ordained by the said arbitrators that all the lands concerning which there was a dispute between the said parties in the court of our Lord King Richard, concerning which a deed of conveyance was drawn up in the said Court, should be measured and each party have his share in accordance with the tenor of the said conveyance all free and without dispute, provided always that the Abbot of Robertsbridge shall have of the portion of the Abbot of Battle that portion which is befitting for him for the enclosure of the marsh and the keeping up of the walls, as is provided for in the deeds which the Abbot of Robertsbridge hath of the Abbot and Abbey of Battle.

It was decided also by the said arbitrators that the communal walls situated within the lordship of the Abbot of Battle should remain to the said Abbot and his tenants together with the foot of the wall which shall be eight feet and a half in width, and that eight feet should remain to make a dyke between the said foot of the wall and the marsh, unless by deed drawn up between the parties some other agreement shall be come to. Let the same thing be done for the said Abbot of Robertsbridge in his lordship.

It was decided also that, in the deed to be drawn up between the said parties concerning the land of Wicham and the new enclosure on the marsh, mention should be made of the fact that the Abbot, etc. of Robertsbridge and his successors are bound to maintain the walls against the sea and have all things pertaining to the walls, as is contained [in the deed] made between the parties concerning the aforesaid new enclosure. Provided always that if any defect in maintaining the walls occur, the said Abbot of Battle and his successors may constrain the Abbot of Robertsbridge and his successors to the fit and proper maintenance of the walls according to the law of the marsh.

It was decided also that the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge and their successors shall pay scot and lot for all the common ditches by which the lands of the said Abbot are drained, in proportion to the amount of land that he holdeth in the marsh.

It was also decided by the arbitrators that the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge shall show in good faith all diligence in obtaining a quit-claim for the Abbot and Abbey of Battle of the land of Wicham of Richard le Venur and James de Sedelescumbe before the next Sunday on which is sung¹ "*letare Jerusalem*"; otherwise the said Abbot of Robertsbridge shall restore to the said Abbot and Chapter of Battle the quit-claim which he hath of Richard, James, and Petronella de Sedelscumbe. Moreover, by consent of the parties it was decided by the arbitrators that they be quits as concerning the convention made between them concerning the enclosure of the new marsh which lieth before the house of Ralph de Brede towards la Chene. The said arbitrators, therefore, in arbitrating pronounce that all the premises, under the penalty declared in the clause above, should be on both sides diligently and faithfully observed, adding that the clause signed and sealed with the seals of the parties should remain in the possession of the Abbot of Bayham, that if any party contravene or will not abide by the said arbitration the document shall be given to the party that will abide by it.

In witness whereof the aforesaid arbitrators and the Abbot and Abbey of Battle as well as the Abbot and Abbey of Robertsbridge have set their seals to the present document drawn up as a conveyance between the said parties.

Done on the eighth day of the month of February in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry son of King John.

Four seals remain viz. :

1.—The common seal of Battle Abbey, as figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. I. pl. lix., as a counter-seal to which is impressed the seal of the Abbot in pontificals. Fragments only.

2.—The seal of Reginald, Abbot of Bayham, figured below. (The Rev. G. M. Cooper was unaware of the existence of any seal of this monastery.)

3.—Antique gem in metal rim. Man with foot raised, possibly Jason. Legend—illegible.

¹ Fourth Sunday in Lent.

The Abbeys of Tréport and Robertsbridge

4.—Pointed oval, 1 inch long. Pelican in her piety. Legend—*Pellicano Dei*.

Seal of Reginald, Abbot of Bayham.

There are only four seals remaining attached to this decree, but they include the seal of the Abbot of Begheham.

For the next eight years the Abbey of Robertsbridge was involved in a suit with Herbert de Burgherse (Burwash), and afterwards with his son Reginald, concerning 100 acres of land in Burwash. The litigation began in 43 Henry III., (A.D. 1250) and was not settled until the parties met before the Queen at Westminster, a compromise being then arrived at, "and thus peace was established in the presence of our Lady the Queen on the following Advent Sunday, and in the 42nd year of the reign of King Henry."

37 Henry III. A charter dated Westminster June 8th (produced before the Barons of the Exchequer 17 Edward II. MS. addl. 28,500) confirmed (*inter alia*) to the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge all the lands which they held of the Abbot and Convent of Tréport, to wit, Bolintone (Bulverhythe), Peplsham, Pleydenne and Stande (*sic*). These, it is evident, had been sold at an early date by the French to the English Monastery, for by an indented deed in this collection dated 13 Kal. November (Oct. 20) 1249, Laurence Abbot of Tréport and the Convent there, and William Abbot of Robertsbridge and the Convent there, agree that the Convent and Abbot of Robertsbridge shall pay yearly 9 marks sterling of lawful money to the Abbot and Convent of Tréport as they were wont, according to the tenour of an old charter; and shall preserve them indemnified from every plea, transaction, and warranty which Laurence Abbot of Tréport made to the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge at Westminster before the Justices of the Lord King of England in respect of the lands which they (the monks of Robertsbridge) held of them in the Rape of Hastings. And if the Abbot of Tréport be in the mercy of the Lord King by reason of the warranty, the aforesaid Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge shall faithfully acquit him, so that the Abbot and Convent of Tréport shall be ready and prepared so far as they may and know, to assist and succour the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge (when they shall be required and warned by them) to recover at law plenary possession and seisin of the lands which they hold of them by the service of nine marks, in such manner that when the Abbot of Tréport shall come into England the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge will provide for him and his, as to their expenses so long as they shall stay in England on the business aforesaid. Both parties, therefore promised *in verba Dei* to observe faithfully the premises. This Indenture is under the following seals¹:—

1. Oval: 2 inches by 1½ inch. Bareheaded Abbot in alb and chasuble, Pastoral staff in right hand, book in left. Legend + S. LAURENT II: Abb̄is: ED: VLTRI: PORTO: Counterseal 1 inch in diameter. Nimbed Angel, three-quarter length, holding censer + SECRETUM MEUM MICHl.

2. Oval: 3 inches by 2½ inches. St. Michael with shield and sword trampling on the Dragon. Legend + (Ulterio) RIS PORTUS—SIG (num?) MICHAELIS HABETUR. This shows a fine figure of an Archangel upon it, but is blurred. The counterpart of this deed with the seal without counterseal is figured in *Sx. Arch. Coll.* VIII. p. 171 is in the Egerton Charters. The common seal of the Abbey is figured by Mr. Cooper, *S.A.C.*, and *Archæological Journal*, XIII. p. 194—(*Egerton MSS.*)

The monks continued to experience difficulties with their possessions, for we next find Walter de Scotney, one of the family residing at Scotney Castle, Lamberhurst, in two deeds confirming certain lands in his feoff; probably in Lydd or Bromhill, where the Scotneys had a manor, which the monks had bought of Gilbert, son of Genceline, and of Reginald de Mainers and Matilda his wife; and this confirmation is repeated by Peter de Scotney in almost the same words.²

¹ See *ante*, p. 291.

² Walter de Scotney was accused of administering poison to Richard, Earl of Gloucester and his brother William de Clare, resulting in the death of the latter. He was tried and found guilty upon this indictment, being afterwards executed at Winchester in 1259. (See p. 94, *ante*.)

Damage by the Great Storm of 1287

In 1261 the Abbot Walter appears to have well defended the rights of the Monastery, for in A.D. 1273 an opponent was compelled to make an abject submission in the following terms:—

“To all the faithful in Christ, &c. You will understand that I William Godfrey (Godefridus) raised a very unjust suit against the Abbot and Monastery of Robertsbridge concerning a right of way to a certain marsh in the parish of Stane (? Stone). Moved at length with compunction for my offence and my very grievous crime, I have withdrawn the action, acknowledging for myself and my heirs that I had no just ground for it; and, while touching the Sacred Scriptures, I have sworn that never by me or any one appointed by me nor by any counsel or help of mine, shall any controversy be again raised on this subject.”

The year 1287 witnessed the great storm mentioned by Camden, which drove the sea over the marshes between Lydd and Romney, and submerged the greater part of the parish of Bromhill. The storm caused a vast destruction of life and property, sweeping away both men and cattle, and destroying the church there, the site of which is at present marked by a heap of boulders and a few fragments of hewn stone. The storm also diverted the mouth of the River Rother, forcing it to find a new and more direct passage into the sea at Rye. The remains in Sussex of this parish of Promhill (or Bromhill) consist of only a small quantity of pasture-land, with a very meagre population.

Some idea of the wealth of the monastery at this period is obtained from the statement in Pope Nicholas's Taxation in 1291, which estimates the Revenue at £109 4s. 2d.

In 1293 Thomas was the Superior of the Abbey (*Plac. de Quo Warr.* 354. 21 Ed. I.), and this Abbot was honoured by two visits from the King, Edward I. visiting the Abbey on Nov. 22nd, 1295,¹ during a short stay at Winchelsea, and again two years later on August 8th, 1297. Soon after this, Robert occupied the Abbacy (*circa* 1300).

Salehurst (in which parish the Abbey of Robertsbridge was situate) Church appears to have been regarded as the mother-church of Mountfield and Udimore which at that time was valued at 50 marks annually. The Abbot tried to appropriate these Churches, and the monastery were compelled to obtain licenses from the King to hold them, and the Bishop's permission to appropriate the tithes, subject to the performance of the existing services of the Church. This endeavour is recorded in *Add. MSS.* No. 28,500 British Museum, in a small volume containing copies of records and terriers or rentals of the monastery, and a portion of a chronicle relative to this transaction. Some leaves are lost, but enough remains to make out the story.

The monks first procured from Sir William de Echingham the promise of the advowsons, and then obtained the King's license in mortmain to hold them. By this license the monks were also allowed to acquire lands and tenements to the value of £100 a year, in consideration of the great losses which they had sustained by inroads of the sea in the marsh-lands of Rye, Winchelsea, and Bromhill. This license was obtained by Brother Lawrence, who was then Abbot of Robertsbridge and is dated May 20th? (*The Sx. Arch. Colls.* VIII. p. 161 says in 1309).

The Abbot then went to Fotheringay Castle, where John, Duke of Brittany

¹ His visit to Robertsbridge Abbey, when Prince of Wales, just before the battle of Lewes has been already mentioned (see p. 98, *ante*).

Advowsons granted to the Abbey of Robertsbridge

was residing, and with difficulty and not without tears persuaded the Duke to give his license also.

Sir W. Etchingham, on seeing the charters of the King and Duke, made his own, in duplicate, of the advowsons together with an acre of land for glebe, lying east of the gate of the Abbey "which is called in English Scynte Maries Aker."

William of Etchingham gives to God and the Church of St: Mary Robertsbridge and to Brother Lawrence, the Abbot, and his monks there one acre of his brushlands (*terra brocalis*) in Salehurst together with the advowsons of the Churches of Saleherst, Odimere, and Mundefield, and their appurtenances. This acre of land lay without the eastern gate of the Abbey, near the bank of the river (*ripam*, which runs from Robertsbridge to Bodiham Bridge. It was of the donor's tene-ment of Hegham, and he gave it in free and perpetual alms with clause of warranty. The witnesses to this charter (Ed. II.) are Sir Rob. de Passeleghe, Sir Hy. Wardenden, and Sir Baldwyn de Stowe, knights; Edward de Passleghe, Will de Lunesford, Alan de Bokesselle, Roger Doghet, Henry de Scharndenne, Richard de Codynge, Olyver de Cressey, Wm. de Ponte and many others.

Fine seal in green wax, with counterseal. The description of the seal is as follows: The coat of Sir William de Etchingham (azure), fretty (argent), for Etchingham; three crescents and a canton, for Stopham, the mother of William (Eva, daughter of Ralph de Stopham). There are three other coats, the identification of which is yet in doubt. The charter is not dated, but it may be safely referred to the year 2 Edward II.

The Abbot undertook another journey about Candlemas 1309-10 (3 Edward II.), to York, where the Bishop of Chichester (John de Langton) then was in attendance (perhaps on the King, as he was Chancellor). The Bishop refused his consent. About the middle of Lent 1310, unknown to the Bishop, the Abbot went to Avignon to seek audience of the Pope, and obtained his Bull authorizing the appropriation; but, not having money enough for his expenses, he had to send home for some, and it was brought to him by a trusty messenger. He reached home with this Papal privilege about the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula*, in the 4th year of Edward II.'s reign (Aug. 1st, 1310), and had a fine levied in the King's Court on the Octave of St. Martin (Nov. 18th, 1310), wherein Wm. de Echingham warranted the advowsons for himself and his heirs.

On Sept. 8th, 1311 (feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin), Brother Lawrence retired from the Abbatial chair, and he was succeeded on Sept. 10th by Brother John de Wallynfield, a monk of the house, whose first duty it was to go to London and wait on the newly arrived Cardinal Arnold (Novelli) of the title of St. Prisca Cardinal Priest, sometime Abbot of the Cistercian House of Fons Frigidus (Font Froide), in the diocese of Narbonne (?). The object of the visit was to induce the great man to intercede between Robertsbridge Abbey, and the Bishop, Archdeacon, Dean and Chapter, of Chichester, in whose joint names an appeal had been lodged in the Roman Court against the Bull of appropriation obtained privily by Abbot Lawrence.

There is then an hiatus of some years in the Manuscript.

By Charter in 1315, dated at London on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Agatha the Virgin (Feb. 9th), 1315, John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond and Lord of the Rape of Hastings, granted and confirmed to the Abbot of Robertsbridge and the Monastery there are all the lands and tenements, etc., which

Robertsbridge Abbey

William de Etchingham had given to them in the Rape of Hastings, according to his charter in free and perpetual alms, and likewise the water of Poukheldebroke, and the course of that water so that they might freely conduct that water to their millpond at Wynhamford, with all other water descending to the said mill, providing that they do not raise the dam (*calcetium*) of the millpond higher than it was raised on the day of the date of the deed, with a release of all actions and demands on account of the diversion of the water. Witness Sir Rob. de Hastings, Sir Peter de Grauntsown, Sir Robert de Feltone his knights, John de Stykeneye his Seneschal, Robert de Kersebroke, his Bailiff of the Rape of Hastings, Matthew of St. Giles (de Sancto Egidio), his Chamberlain, Oyer de Podeyns, Marshal of his Household and others.

By charter dated on the Thursday next after the Annunciation B.V.M. 12 Ed. II. (that is, March 29th, 1319), Wm. de Etchingham grants, remits, and for himself and his heirs quits claim to Sir Nicholas the Abbot and the monastery of Robertsbridge all his right and claim in one acre and a half of meadow with appurtenances in Salehirst, called Lesebroke de Horepoleslond, which he had of the gift of Alan de Bokeselle, Knight, to hold the meadow which is of the fee of Echingham in frank almoigne, witness Sir Robert de Echingham, Sir Alan de Bokeselle knights, William de Laresford (? Lonesford), Wm. de Ponte, Wm. de Haremare Elphen Foghelyng, and others.¹

Sir William died without issue in 20 Ed. II. (1327) Alan being then Abbot of Robertsbridge (see the *Monasticon*) and Sir William was succeeded by his brother and heir Sir Robert, who also soon died without issue. The next heir was his brother, Sir Simon of Echingham, who brought an action of *quare impedit* against the Abbot of Robertsbridge in the Common Pleas in Trinity Term 6 Ed. III. (1332) to enforce his alleged right of presentation to the prebend of Salehurst in the free chapel of the King at Hastings then vacant. A transcript of the record is entered in fol. 10 of the British Museum MS. From this it appears that judgment went against Sir Simon, and it may be noted that the Abbot produced the license in mortmain of Edward II., and pleaded that the benefice was full, by presentation of Sir William de Echingham, of one John de Godele his Clerk.

The book commences again apparently in 1332, when there had been proceedings in the Court of Arches relative to this prebend, and the Dean and Canons (of Hastings) about 1333 commenced a fresh suit in the Spiritual Court against the monastery with reference to the appropriation.

Another adversary of the Abbey was Robert de Tanthone, Clerk of Edward III., and sometime Keeper of the Privy Seal (1333) and at his death (1335) he was Treasurer to the Household. He had procured from the King, who seems to have claimed the advowson of the Prebend, or from Sir Simon de Echingham or

¹ (A Fragment of a handsome seal). A duplicate of this document is preserved in a neatly-constructed leathern case. (See *Thorp, Cat.* p. 62, Battle Abbey charters). Description of Seal and coat of J. Brittany.

Pat 10. Ed. 2. p. 2. m. 15. indorso.

In 10 Ed. 2. to Robert de Bardelby and Edmund de Passele for those in ye Marshes betwixt ye Redehulle and ye Town of Roberts-Brigge on each side ye River Lymene (the Rother).

Pat 14. Ed. 2. p. 2. m. 5. indorso.

In 14 Ed. 2. to John de Ifeld, John Malemaynes of Hoo and Richard de Echingham for those in ye Marshes betwixt ye Town of Apuldre and Robertsbrigge on each side of ye said River Lymene.

Litigation concerning its Possessions

both, the presentation to the Church and prebend of Salehurst, and in 1333 was engaged in an appeal against the Abbot and Monastery touching the same. At this time Edward was occupied with his expedition in aid of Edward Baliol, and was besieging Berwick-on-Tweed, where Robt. de Tanthone was in waiting on him. And Sir Simon brought a fresh action of *quare impedit* against the Abbot to present a fit person, perhaps the said Robert de Tanthone, for (by the latter's procurement) Royal letters were sent to London to the Judges of the Court of King's Bench to assist Sir Simon as much as possible.

Robert also induced the King to order the Justices to send to him the record and process for examination by his Council. This resulted in the despatch of letters under the Privy Seal (lit. private letters) to the Chancery ordering all the charters of the Abbot *lately* granted by the King and his Council without his knowledge to be cancelled.

On receipt of these letters one of the clerks of the Chancery, John de St. Paul (a friend of the Abbot), said that it would be a very bad precedent if the King out of his own head should revoke charters made by the Council and duly enrolled, and he delayed giving effect to the Royal mandate.

Robert de Tanthone then obtained a fresh presentation from the King (not Sir Simon) and the King sent his writ to the Abbot by two great clerks, and sent to the Sheriff of Sussex his writ of *scire facias* summoning the Abbot to appear before Chancery three weeks after Easter, to answer as to the patents which the writ alleged had been obtained craftily, against the King's knowledge. (The patents were probably those of 6 Ed. III. *rot. parl. ej. anni. 3d. pars m 3 et m to de appropriatione Ecclesiarum de Saleherst Odemere et Mundefield* cited by Tanner. There is a hint in fo. 2 b. of the Chronicle that the King's Council had amended the patent. The occurrence of the two patents in one regal year on the same subject seems to point to an amendment or further grant.)

He also caused four writs of *quare impedit* to be issued in either Bench against Sir Simon de Etchingham and the Abbot, that they should permit him, the King, to present to the prebend of Salehurst then vacant by his gift.

The Abbot, John de Lamberhurst, though ill, set off for York the day after he received the writ, and took with him the cellarer, Brother John of Battle. He stopped in London on his way northward, and appeared before Sir William Herle and his fellow-justices there, appointing Thomas of Battle (the cellarer's brother) and one Berham of Southwark his attorneys in the action of *quare impedit*. He then went on to York, and in a few days appeared before the Archbishop of York, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and the other Lords of the Council. The Abbot demurred that he was not summoned to answer as to the Charter of the King's father, but only as to the present King's, and the demurrer was allowed by the Lord Keeper, to whom the Bishop of Chichester had written in the Abbot's favour and then the proceedings on the *scire facias* ended. Meanwhile Brother Thomas was apparently successful in London.

The interests of the Royal Chapel of St. Mary of Hastings Castle appear to have been entrusted to Master Geoffrey de Clare, a Canon, for soon after we find that he was Dean of the College. He had previously acted as proctor to Robert de Tanthone in the ecclesiastical suit, but hearing of the Abbot's success in Chancery, he bethought himself of the ingratitude of Sir Robert de Tanthone in trying to oust his former friend Sir Simon from his right and profit in the prebend.

Robertsbridge Abbey

Accordingly Master Geoffrey promised on the morrow of the Ascension (May 14th, 1333) at Winchester, for the love of Thomas, to do his best to stay the King's presentation and his nominee, and to settle matters with Sir Simon if the Abbot and Monastery would bind themselves to allow a reasonable stipend for a vicar to discharge the duty of the prebend of Saleherst in the free Chapel. Thomas dissembled and—*ore non corde*—treated Geoffrey's offer but lightly; but, considering the doubtful issue of the recent proceedings, and the heavy expense of the suits at Avignon and in England, he promised to endeavour to persuade the Abbot and Monastery to agree to the terms proposed, except as to reconciliation with Sir Simon, which seemed dishonourable, having regard to his ingratitude and remembering that by the judgment referred to he had lost any rights in the matter in dispute; subsequently, however, on being urged by Geoffrey, he agreed to come to terms with Sir Simon, and on Whit Sunday after dinner (by appointment made by letter in the morning) the parties met in Sir Simon's chamber at Echingham, and agreed on the articles of peace as follows:—

Sir Simon was to have a present of 20 marks sterling, William de Echingham, a bastard son of the late William, was to be appointed to some respectable office, or in case of old age or infirmity he was to receive the victuals of a monk for life, and a stipend of 11 marks was to be settled by the monastery on the Vicar in the Castle of Hastings. This agreement was ratified by the oaths of Sir Simon for himself, of Geoffrey (who had been made Dean) for the Canons of Hastings, and of Brother Thomas as proctor for the convent. All parties agreed to seek peace with the King and Robert de Tanthone; but about Midsummer the Abbot was served with a fresh writ of *scire facias* by the King (still besieging Berwick with the same Robert in his retinue) addressed to the Sheriff of Sussex, commanding him to appear by the Octave of St. John the Baptist wherever the King might then be, to answer as to the letters patent of Edward II.

The Abbot, having confessed and received the viaticum, left Robertsbridge on June 22nd, 1333, on his journey to York, taking with him Brother John of Battle, William of Stamyndenne (the Abbot's own brother) and others. They passed the night at Lamberhurst, where the Abbey held some property, and the next night at Bromley—and passed through London on St. John's Day, the Abbot hearing Mass in the famous Nunnery of Stratford-atte-Bowe (or Bromley in Middlesex) and dined (perhaps too well) with the Abbot of the neighbouring Cistercian Convent of Stratford. Immediately after dinner he returned, in the great heat of the day, to his Inn at Gerscherche (Gracechurch?) where, on entering his chamber, he fell down dead. The two monks, his companions, sent word to Robertsbridge, and Brother Thomas of Battle was sent up to London. His first step was to seek out the Sheriff of Sussex, in order to ascertain whether he had returned the writ of *scire facias* with an endorsement of service or not, the monastery being advised that if this had been done and no appearance were put in for the Abbot, judgment would go by default. After searching all over London in vain they found the Sheriff in Kent, and learned that he had endorsed the writ and handed it to his Sub-sheriff (Under-sheriff) for return. By entreaties and gifts Thomas obtained an amendment of the return, certifying the death of the Abbot. Brothers John and William watched the case at York, and it ended in the abatement of all suits in *scire facias* and *quare impedit*. Meanwhile Thomas of Battle was left in London involved in many perils, sore vexed by the rector of the

Action by the Dean of Hastings against the Abbot

parish where the Abbot died, who caused his palfrey to be seized as a "mortuary" by the officers of the Court of Arches. This seizure was discharged by finding security, but the palfrey was again detained by the bailiffs of the Sheriffs of London. This arrest it seems was also discharged, but the Londoners, fearing that by the abduction of the palfrey, the rector would lose his rights, were filled with fury and barricaded ("*vallaverunt*") the building where the palfrey and its master's corpse were housed.

The monk was obliged to leave the palfrey in custody, till the lawyers decided to whom it belonged. He procured a two-wheeled vehicle ("*quandam bigam*"), and brought the body to Robertsbridge, not without difficulty; there it was buried with all honour before the steps of the presbytery, in the presence of a worshipful company of the gentry, on the morrow of SS. Processus and Martinianus (July 3rd, 1333).

The monks hesitated as to the policy of immediately electing a new Abbot, but eventually they did so on St. Appollinaris's Day (July 23rd), in the presence of the Cistercian Abbot of Boxley and Coggeshall. Their choice was Brother John Wormedale, monk and porter of the House.

He was summoned to York the same year (7 Ed. III.) under a new writ of *scire facias* returnable on the Nativity of the B. V. M. (Sept. 9th), alleging that the patents of both Kings were fraudulently obtained. Brother John of Battle went with the Abbot to York, where he was interrogated before the Archbishop of York, then Keeper, Sir Geoffrey de Scrop, Chief Justice, and other members of the Council, as to how and by what right he had taken possession of a prebend of the King's free Chapel of the Castle of Hastings, he not being a canon and having neither a stall nor a place in the Chapter as a canon should have. An adjournment took place to the morrow of All Souls' Day (Nov. 3rd), for, by the assistance of friends made before the late Abbot's death, though against a strong opposition of the partisans of Sir Robert de Tanthone and his party, the Abbot was allowed to return home without judgment being given.

Before going, the Abbot had charged Brother Thomas of Battle to procure a ratification of the agreement with the Dean and Canons and the Echingham family. This he did, but on slightly altered terms, so that when the parties met at Robertsbridge, Sir Simon de Echingham's payment was altered from 20 to 30 marks, while the consideration given to William de Echingham was a corrody of the victuals of a monk for life wherever he might be, and without further consideration. For these considerations Sir Simon released to the monks all his right in the churches and prebends.

The following is an abstract of the documents thus procured :—

ABSTRACT OF PATENT ROLL OF EDWARD III. P. 2. M. 7.

For the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge of the Cistercian Order and the Dean and Chapter of the King's Free Chapel of Hastings.

The King, &c. We have inspected a deed indented, made between the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge of the Cistercian Order and the Dean and Chapter of Our Free Chapel of Hastings in these words :—Whereas formerly there having arisen matters of dispute between the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Robertsbridge in the Diocese of Chichester, possessing or pretending to have the Prebend of Salherst with the Church of Mundefeld on the same dependent and other appurtenances thereto in the King's free chapel in his Castle of Hastings

Abbots of Robertsbridge become Canons of Hastings

in the said diocese, to him and his monastery to their own proper uses for ever, upon certain rights and charges to the said prebend and Church belonging as is pretended of the one part and the Dean and Chapter of Hastings in the name and right of the said Chapel of the other part, the said parties for peace and quietness, wishing to avoid suit agreed as follows, to wit, that the said Abbot and Convent having obtained the said prebend of Salherst with the Church of Mundefeld to their own use shall have and enjoy the same quietly without interruption from the said Dean, and that the said Abbot and his successors shall be received and admitted as a canon and brother by the said Dean and Chapter and shall have a stall in the choir and a place in the Chapter, with full canonical rights as other non-resident prebendaries. Nothing, however, of the oblations, &c., by reason of the said prebend to be sold.

And the said Abbot and his successors upon their installation to the said prebend shall take the oath of brotherhood and obedience in things lawful and canonical, and that he shall find as he ought at his own proper costs by reason of the said prebend a fit secular priest as vicar in the stall of the said prebend with a fit habit (*habitu*) to minister continually, and if he die, resign or be removed the said Abbot and his successors shall present another fit priest to the said Dean and Chapter to be examined and admitted by the said Dean. Also the said Abbot shall pay for the Chapel aforesaid whatever charges shall be lawfully imposed upon the non-resident prebendaries and canons.

In witness whereof 2 deeds in the manner of cirographs are sealed with the common seals of the Chapters, whereof one is dated and made in the monastery of Robertsbridge and the other at Hastings on the 7th of the Ides of October, 1333. We now by these present confirm the said agreement and all things contained in the said deed.

In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness, the King at Chilterne, 6 November.

By writ of Privy Seal.

The King, &c. Whereas the Lord Edward, late King of England, Our Father, on account of the great damage to lands and tenement which the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge have sustained by the inundations of the sea in the marshes of Wynchelse, Rye and Promhull next the sea coast granted to the Abbot that he might acquire 100 librates, land and rent of his proper fee or otherwise, to hold to him and his successors for ever paying to the chief lords the services due and accustomed. Afterwards Our said Father granted to William de Echyngham that he might assign to the said Abbot and Convent the advowsons of the Churches of Salherst Oymere and Mundefeld in co. Sussex, worth per ann. 50 marks according to the extent thereof made by Walter de Gloucester, ischeator; to hold to them and their successors for ever in part satisfaction of the 100 librates of land and rent. The said king likewise gave special license to the said Abbot to receive the same. Now, We for the fine made to Us by the said Abbot give him license to appropriate the said Churches to his own use for ever, notwithstanding that the said Churches are prebends in Our Free Chapel of Hastings, as is fully contained in the Letters Patent of Our said Father. And the said Abbot and his successors to be canons of the said Chapel and to be admitted thereto by the Dean and to have a stall in the choir and a place in the Chapter.

Witness as above.

The King to the Dean and Chapter of his free Chapel of Hastings greeting. Whereas We have granted to the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge that they may appropriate the prebend of Salherst and the Churches of Oymere and Mundefeld and may hold the same for ever &c., &c. We, therefore, command you to admit the said Abbot as a canon and brother of the said Chapel and to assign to him a stall in the choir and a place in the Chapter of the said Chapel by reason of the said Prebend.

Witness as above.

The 40 shillings stipend to be paid to the Vicar was altered for an undertaking to provide him with a suitable stipend, commons, and habit. The Abbot and his successors were to claim nothing in the Chapel, save the rights of a single non-resident canon, according to the tenour of an indenture under the common seals of both Houses. This was afterwards confirmed, in circumstances presently appearing, under the Great Seal.

About the same time, the King with Robert de Tanthone in his suite, having left Scotland arrived in the neighbourhood of London, and Master Geoffrey de

Royal Confirmation Charter

Clare began negotiations with Robert, involving the journey of himself, the Abbot, and Brother Thomas to Waltham Abbey, where the Court lay. (The instruments are dated at Waltham between Sept. 30th and Oct. 8th, 1333, *Ry. Foed.*) They all arrived there on Michaelmas Day and "*in maxima angustia cordum et corporum,*" much harassed by the thronged state of the Abbey, and the difficulty of settling their business. They stayed three days, during which time they came to an agreement with their adversary, later on ratified by the monastery under the Common Seal. The terms were an annuity of fourscore marks to be paid to Robert for his life. The Abbot thought the conditions hard, but Robert would take no less for his withdrawal from opposition.

The Abbot then attempted to secure the King's consent. He went with Robert de Tanthone to Windsor, with the view of obtaining letters patent directing the Chancery to settle the action in *scire facias*. The Chancellor interfered, and asked how the King was to have service in his chapel secure if the Abbot appropriated the prebend. The Dean produced the composition between his Foundation and the Abbey, but exception was taken to it on behalf of the King as insufficient, and the Chancellor (John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester) desired Master Geoffrey to attend him at his Manor of Farnham shortly before All Souls' Day to receive back the composition with amendments to be made to it. Objection was then taken that the proceedings in *scire facias* were adjourned to the morrow of All Souls' Day at York where the Chancery was, and if the Abbot did not appear judgment would go against him. Therefore a writ of Privy Seal was sent to York by swift messenger, to stay proceedings till Hilary term.

The composition was amended to the satisfaction of the Chancellor, and resealed by the parties, and Geoffrey and Thomas set off for York about St. Nicholas's Day, in most inclement weather, with fresh Privy Seals for settling the dispute.

The order of the Chancellor and the King's Council (letter under the Great Seal of Edward III. dated at Chiltern, Nov. 6th, probably the date of privy seal, 7 Edward III.), after reciting Edward II.'s license in mortmain, Sir William de Echingham's gift of the advowsons, and how the King had given licenses by patent to the Abbot and monastery to appropriate the Churches, notwithstanding that they formed part of a prebend in the free chapel of Hastings; that subsequently the Abbot and monastery had been impeached before the King and his Council in Chancery, for the reason that in the said letters patent there had been no mention whatever of the prebend of Salehurst and because divers emoluments, as a stall in the choir and a place in the Chapter, distribution, and other things besides the Churches, belonged to that prebend, and for other causes. The King then, for as much as in him lay, granted (1) his licence to the Abbot and monastery to appropriate to their own uses the prebend of Salehurst and the churches in question, and allowing that the Abbot and his successors should be canons of the said Chapel there, that they should have a stall in the choir and place in the chapter, as is usual and without let or hindrance, notwithstanding the Mortmain Act.

(2) A charter confirming the composition between the Dean and Canons and the Abbot and monastery.

(3) Letters patent for installing the Abbot.

(4) Writ close, addressed to the Dean and Canons to the same effect.

The Abbot of Robertsbridge installed at Hastings Chapel

These matters being settled, Brother Thomas, by reason of the near approach of Christmas, on the 6th day after leaving York (that is, Christmas Eve), separating from Master Geoffrey, came to Stratford Abbey near London and spent Christmas there, the solemnity of Christmas constraining him.

On St. Stephen's Day, having taken his meat with the Abbot, he went to London and slept there. Next morning he journeyed home, arriving on the feast of the Holy Innocents. He there found his brother John of Battle (the cellarer) *in extremis*, and the following day at the hour of matins he died; and it is noted that Thomas succeeded him in his office.

On the last day of February, 1333-1334, the Abbot, in the habit of a canon, was formally installed in the first stall on the right side of the choir, being the stall belonging to the prebend of Salehurst, and a place in the chapter-house was assigned to him by the Dean in the presence and hearing of Simon de Echingham and many other notables of the County and town. Soon after the Rector of the Chapel at Mountfield, namely, "Wilhelmus Juvenis" resigning, the Abbot obtained possession of that benefice, and a perpetual vicar was ordained.

Here the Chronicle (probably the production of Brother Thomas's own pen) ends, and with it the history of a litigation protracted over 24 years.

From other sources, it is seen that the Crown favoured the Abbot, for it appears that, in order to remove difficulties with reference to the prebend, both Edward II. and Edward III. issued several royal mandates, and covenants were made between the college and the Abbot. Moreover one Vincent, who appears to have held the stall of Salehurst, formally agreed to release his claim to the lands called Badilond in Yweherst (Ewhurst), which formed the body of his prebend, upon certain conditions. The mandates from the Crown were read and acquiesced in at chapters held by Walter de Lindregge in 1337, and afterwards by John Wade his successor in the Wardenship, in 1344, and it was finally resolved (as above mentioned) that the Abbot of Robertsbridge and his successors should have a stall as canon in the choir of their church, and a place in their chapter, in virtue of his prebend of Salehurst. But provision was also made for the payment of vicars for the several churches annexed to the prebend, out of a common fund appropriated for that purpose.

Reverting to more general matters, we find it stated by Rymer that in 1315 (8 Edward II.) the Abbey of Robertsbridge was taxed in common with a number of other religious houses, and was compelled to furnish £40 to aid the King in a war with Scotland.

On August 27th, 1324, the Abbey was visited by Edward II. on his way from Bayham to Battle, and the monks (perhaps to propitiate the King) surpassed themselves in hospitality, and provided for this epicurean monarch all the good things that the neighbourhood could afford. (See *ante*, p. 155.)

The Abbey was soon involved in further litigation, for in 1327 Ralph de Camoys seized and carried off, at a place called Sabineland, in the parish of Chiddingleggh, three heifers which he alleged were justly distrained upon for homage due to him from the Abbot and not rendered. The Abbot brought his action which was tried at the Court held at the Castle Gate of Pevensey, but not decided until ten years later, when at the same court presided over by Robert de Sassi, the Constable of the Castle—it was adjudged that the Abbot should hold his message and the land of the said Ralph by fealty and suit at the court of

Further Grants to the Abbey

"Foxhunte *de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas*" but by no other service or payment. To this Ralph and his attorney agreed, and it was then ordered that Ralph should reimburse the Abbot for the injury done to him, and pay all the costs of the suit.

The Abbey also obtained possessions in the parish of Waldron, for we find that John, son of Lawrence de Possyngewerse, the last owner of the family named after the estate, conveyed the Manor of Possingworth (in Waldron) to Sir William Harengaud and Margery his wife, by whom it was afterwards given to their daughter Margery and her heirs, with remainder to Alicia (another daughter) and her heirs. Margery in 1333 (6 Edward III.) conveyed it to William Stamynden of Lamberhurst and Roger Laket of Blechynton near Sefford, which conveyance was confirmed by Thomas, son and heir of Sir John Harengaud. Stamynden in 1334 surrendered all his right and title to the estate to Laket, and two years later (in 1336) Laket assigned it to the Abbot of Robertsbridge, together with a rent of four shillings and fivepence farthing, which John de Maryham paid for another tenement in Waldron called "Atte Watere."

In 1335 (8 Edward III.) Mariota, widow of John Reynolds of Winchelsea, released her right of dower in four semes (quarters) of wheat and one of oats, arising out of a mill at Promhulle (Bromhill).

The monks next received from Robert de Clotingeham an assignment of the rent of two shillings paid by William the Collier (le Colier) for a tenement called Curtinghope, whence perhaps the Sussex family of Courthope derived their name.

The Alards of Winchelsea, whose monuments can be seen in the Church of St. Thomas in that "ancient town," also appear to have had some transactions with the monastery, for in 1339 James, son and heir of Gervase Alard (who was "Admiral of the Western seas" 34 Edward I., A.D. 1306) appointed Robert Marchant of Rye as his attorney, for giving the Abbot and monastery of Robertsbridge seisin of certain land, according to a charter in their possession; and John, who was Abbot in 1340, granted to Robert Alard, son of Robert Alard of Wynchelse a lease of this land dated "from our Abbey of Robertsbridge on the day of the blessed Martyr Wangcliffe," in the XIV. year of the reign of Edward III. (1341) Thomas atte Nassa the Mayor of Rye, Robert Marchant and six others are witnesses.

There is also a lease to Geoffrey Cade for forty years, of a tenement belonging to the Abbey in the town of Rye with a quay (*caya*) attached to it, at an annual rent of ten shillings. In this lease Geoffrey covenants to keep the tenement in good repair while "the religious" were to repair the quay, and defend him against all charges that might be made against him by the people of the town.

By another deed, Renger de Watlingetune gave to the monks a piece of land 7 perches wide and 12 long, to enlarge their vineyard at Fudilande (in Ewhurst) and to make an outer ditch thereunto; and there is also a release by Petronella Telfish of a field, called Fairfield, in the village of Robertsbridge.

In 1377 on the Day of St. Lawrence, the last year of Edward III.'s reign, letters patent were dated at Robertsbridge under the privy seal and signet of the King's brother, John, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, being a grant for life to John Wodeward of the Bailiwick of Hastings.

Three years later, namely in 1380, we find that the Abbot and monks of

Disputes between Canterbury and Robertsbridge

Robertsbridge were employed in collecting from the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes the subsidy granted to Richard II. On Oct. 20th, 1382, the patent rolls show that an inspection and confirmation was made in favour of the Abbot, of the Letters Patent before mentioned, containing the pardon of Edward III. for acquiring the prebend of Salehurst. For this the monks paid $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to the Hanaper offices. We also find recorded on the Patent Rolls an inspection and confirmation on May 26th, 1384, of the letters patent of John, Duke of Brittany, before mentioned by John Wodeward, the fees in the Hanaper being 20 shillings. (See p. 220 *ante*.)

“In 1 Henry IV. William de Makenade and his fellow-commissioners sitting at Apledoure on the Thursday next after the Feast of S. Valentine to enquire into the defects in the banks and sewers within the precincts of Smalhyde and Promehelle, found that 628 acres of marsh lying in a place called the Becard, which had long lain in danger of the sea and at that time were often overflowed, ought to be preserved and defended by a certain bank, beginning at Fayrefeld's Hole in the said place, called Becard and so extending itself by the seaside unto the bank of the Prior and Convent of Christ's Church in Canterbury towards the north, which bank ought to be made on the coast at the common charge of all persons receiving advantage and benefit thereby and that the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge were then possessed of 271 acres and a half of the said marshes for which they ought to contribute to the said charge of making that bank ; and that Thomas, then Archbishop of Canterbury, with the said Prior and Convent of Christ Church and certain other persons were possessors of the residue thereof for the which every one of them according to the proportion of what he so held was to contribute, upon which verdict there grew a dispute betwixt the said Prior and the Abbot of Robertsbridge, the Abbot and his Convent alleging that their proportion of the said marsh so to be defended was much greater than by the Inquisition the Jurors had found it to be, for they said that Henry sometime Count of Eu by a certain grant of his gave to the then Abbot of Robertsbridge (Predecessors to the present Abbot) and the Convent of that house 700 acres of marsh in the town of Snergate, as well as within the bank as without ; of which they said that the marsh then to be taken in was parcel and to make good that their claim, did exhibit the charters of the said Earl made time out of mind, as also the letters patent of King Richard I. and King Henry III. with other Kings ratifying the said Grant.

“Whereunto the Prior of Canterbury answered that upon the making of that Charter by the said Count of Eu there arose a controversy betwixt Alan then Prior of Christ Church and his Convent as Lords of the Manor of Apuldre within the Precinct whereof the said marsh lay situate and Dionyse then Abbot of Robertsbridge and the Convent of that Monastery for the title of the whole marsh and that upon an amicable agreement then made betwixt them the said Abbot and Convent did quit all their title thereto unto the before specified Prior and Convent of Christ Church. But the said Prior and Convent, out of a pious regard to the wants of the said Abbot and Convent did by their special favour then grant you and their successors 100 acres of those 700, viz. :—100 lying next to the bank of the said Abbot and Convent near unto the land of Adam de Cherringe which at the same time they had inclosed about the Newewodrove and that the agreement was by the before mentioned Count then ratified and confirmed, as the instruments testifying the same then exhibited did fully manifest, so that the said Abbot and convent ought not to challenge anything more in that said marsh other than in those 100 acres so given to them as aforesaid.

“In consideration therefore of all the premises and circumstances and especially of the antiquity of the evidences produced on each part as also to the obscurity of the bounds and limits of the said towns of Snergate and Apuldree, the perfect knowledge whereof by reason of the great and continual inundation of the sea could not or was ever likely to be well discovered ; all parties therefore more desiring peace than strife and contention did unanimously agree that the said Prior and Convent of Christ Church should release unto the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge and their successors all their title to that parcel of land called the Newewoderove and in 28 acres of land then newly enclosed, viz. : the Becarde towards Apuldre and in the said 271 acres and a half of and then to be enclosed in the Becarde adjoining to the said parcel of land called the Newewoderove, lying in length under the bank dividing the said land of the Newewoderove and the said marsh so to be enclosed in the Becarde so that the said Prior and Convent of Christ Church or their successors should have power to claim any right therein after that time. And in like sort the said Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge did release unto the said Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church and their successors all their right

Robertsbridge Abbey Rental

and title to the residue of that marsh lying next to the Church of Fayresfelde towards the east and the course of the sea passing from Rye to Apuldre towards the west and the bounds dividing the Counties of Kent and Sussex towards the south, so that they should challenge no title therein from thenceforth." ¹

According to the *Monasticon*, Dionysius was Abbot in 1400, and in 1410 we find the Abbot's name to be John.

About this time the monastery received from Simon Blakebourne, Serjeant-at-Arms, on behalf of the King, a request for a Grant in Aid. The amount demanded does not appear, but in a letter written in reply by the Abbot to the King's Council, he strenuously pleads extreme poverty on behalf of himself and his brethren which rendered them utterly unable out of their own resources to satisfy the royal demands. He promises, however, to do his best to raise the money among his foreign friends, so far as his credit could go, and transmit it for the King's use.

Among the documents preserved at Penshurst there is a complete account of receipts and expenditure for the year ending March 25th, 1418, as rendered quarterly by John Othewy (Ottaway) the bursar of the Abbey.

The actual receipts for the year were £108 13s. 7¼d., while the expenses amounted to £122 10s. 3½d., leaving a deficit of £13 16s. 8¼d. But this was reduced by the balance in hand at the commencement of the year of £11 13s. 11d. and thus the bursar had not spent much beyond the total income.

Notwithstanding the grants of property the rental was still about the same figure as that previously estimated in 1291. Perhaps this is explained by the damage done to the lands near the coast by repeated incursions of the sea.

The receipts from Christmas 1417, to Lady day 1418, were as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
From Lamberhurst (rent of land and mills)	6	0	0
From Woderove, a quarter's rent	2	3	4
From Madresham (in Beckley) ditto	1	13	4
From Werthe (in Brightling) ditto	1	13	4
From Possyngwerthe (in Waldron) ditto	0	16	8
From Odyham, ditto	1	6	8
From Fother (<i>alias</i> Fothermershe in Beckley) ditto	0	16	8
From The Park Tannery (<i>Tanaria de Park</i>) ditto	0	14	0
From Popeshurst (in Salehurst and Mountfield) ditto	0	9	7
From Wynhamforde (<i>alias</i> Winham in Brightling) ditto	0	5	0
From Odymer (Udimore) ditto	1	0	0
From Peplesham (in Bexhill) ditto and 6s. 8d. arrears	1	6	8
From Mondefield (Mountfield) ditto	2	0	0
From rent of house-tenants at Woderove	0	3	7½
From Master William the priest, for his table between the Nativity of Our Lord and the end of Easter	0	16	8
	£21	5	6¼

The last item appears to have been for a visitor at the Abbey who paid for his board. In other parts of the account certain other occasional sources of revenue are mentioned, as, for example :—

	£	s.	d.
From Sir Roger ffenys (Fiennes) for ij quarters of Wheat	1	1	4
From Sale of two Horses	1	13	4
From the Lady of Bodyham for the piece of land called Freymed (Friar's mead)	0	1	0
From Master Peter Leverych, rector of Adelborg, for one month and his servants	1	6	8

¹ Extracted from the Hayley MSS. in the Brit. Mus.

Robertsbridge Abbey Rental

and then there are also various sums for timber, pasturage, copsewood, &c., sold to different individuals. The quarter's income accordingly differs considerably in amount, and some of the rents were payable half-yearly instead of quarterly.

The following are some of the items of expenditure :—

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Provision for the common table and for hospitality			
" <i>In companagio conventus et hospitii</i> " (the regular charge) for each quarter	13	0	0
For clothing of eight monks for the year (this occurs half-yearly in two sums of £2 8s. 4d. and £2 12s. 0d.)	5	0	4
Given to the servant of the Abbot of Stratforde, and to our lord the King's valets (<i>valettis domini regis</i>)		0	3 0
For one spectacle with ij wax lights (<i>ceris</i>)		0	1 1
The expenses of Brother John Ottewy (the bursar) to Winchelse		0	0 7
The pay of William Byche (Bish.? apparently a labourer) for iij days		0	1 0
Pension paid to the Castle of Hastings (half-yearly)		1	6 8
For pewter vessels ("pewt wessell") bought of John Beert		0	11 8
One horse bought of John Anerty for the Abbot		1	10 0
The Abbot's expenses to Chichester and Smalyde ¹		1	8 11
Given to Christ's poor (<i>pauperibus Xti.</i>) (This charge occurs in every quarter; in each of the other quarters it is 1s.)		0	3 8
For ij pipes of wine		5	0 0
A brief procured for the rector of Warbylton		0	4 0
Given to his clerk, the King's messenger, and others		0	9 10
To the reapers of the manor		0	3 2
Repaid to the sub-cellarer for bacon sold (" <i>pro bacon vendito</i> ")		0	12 0
" <i>In rata</i> " of our Lord the Pope for ij years		0	14 4
Fourteen yards of "blancket" bought for the Abbot		1	16 0
Seven yards of "faldying" bought for ditto		0	6 8
Green cloth bought by the Rector of Hawkherst		1	10 6
1 lb. of cinnamon and " <i>galunga</i> " (some kind of Indian spice)		0	3 1
Wm. Sneppe (Snape) for covering the well of the causeway (<i>calceti</i>)		0	0 6
For bell-clappers and other iron implements (<i>plectris et aliis ferramentis</i>)		0	0 4
One bushel of mustard seed (1 <i>bz. de semine cenapij</i>)		0	2 0
Given to the Rector of Ywhurst		0	6 8
A horse bought of John Corsle		1	10 1
Pay of shepherd (<i>opilionis</i>) at Tysehurste, with repairs of the fold there		0	15 10
Mending saddles and bridles with new stirrups (<i>stygerophis</i>) ²		0	4 6
"Sinsai" bought for my Lord Archbishop and other guests ³		0	3 0
Given to the Lord Archbishop's cooks		0	3 4
The Abbot's expenses to Woderove and Boxley		0	12 4
Mending barn at Madresham		0	3 4
Paid off from the account of John Whiton, cellarer anno 3 Hen. V. ⁴		8	17 8
Ditto from the account of Wm. Batayle, bursar		1	0 1½
Ditto ditto of Thos. Stone, sub-cellarer		5	0 9
Gilbert Hammes's pension (for half a year)		0	6 8
Shoes bought for gifts and for the Abbot ⁵		0	14 6
For making towells ⁶		0	0 4
Paper bought for the audit (<i>p. temp compoti</i>)		0	0 4

¹ Smallhyth, a hamlet belonging to Tenderden, where is a passage over the Rother into the Isle of Oxney.

² From the Saxon "stigan" to mount and "rap" a rope (see *Junius, Etym. Ang. v.* 'stirrop'. Our Sussex rapes are conjectured to have derived their names from a rough mode of measuring land by ropes, as now by chains.)

³ This is charged also in the next quarter on a feast-day. It may be a misreading from a contraction of *servisia*, *cerevisia*, beer—or perhaps it was ginger.

⁴ "*Solutum de pede compoti*" apparently the balance of an outstanding account.

⁵ "*In calcellis emptis ad dona et pro abbate*" probably for *calceolis* or "*calceamentis*."

⁶ "*In manut gijs fact*" Mantergium—*togilla cum qua tergitur manus*—*Vet. Gloss.*

The Manor of Robertsbridge

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wine and " <i>sinia</i> " bought for Shrove-tide ¹ and for guests	0	6	7
Necessaries for my lord Abbot	0	2	8
Given to the brethren of Rye, the servants of Sir John Pelham and other visitors	0	3	10
Expenses of Henry Wubble (hod. "Wibley") and Thos. Stokker to Wynchelse and Odymer at different times	0	3	2
Mending messuages at Bokard	2	3	10
One empty pipe (<i>pipa</i>) bought of Thos. Ketyl	0	2	0
Collecting rods and "wythys"	0	1	0
Serge (or coarse cloth) for the hall (<i>In sagis emptis pro aula</i>).	0	0	8
Paid the sub-cellarer for the table of Master William the priest	0	8	4
Stipend of Stephen Ion, shepherd at Tysehurste	0	10	0
Repairing the Mills at Lamberhurst	1	0	0
Expenses of William Curteys to Winchelse	0	1	7
Paid to our Lord the King for Rotherlonde	0	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Given to Robert Oxenbregge	0	6	8

In the following items the figures have been obliterated :—

- Repairing the house of the Park tannery.
- Two torches (*ij torchis*) made for the Abbot's chamber.
- A pillion (*pilione*) bought for the Abbot in London.
- For a fine at Sandore (*in commune fine apud Sandore*).²
- For pay of the soldiers at that place.
- For guarding the sea-side there (*in custodia super mare ibidem*).
- For hire of cows of Thos. Piryman (Perriman?)
- Expenses of Thos. Frend to London.
- Half a lb. of pepper (*piperis*) bought for the Abbot.
- Expenses of John Stable (Stapley?) to Boxley, and Henry Wybble to Woderove.
- Given to the brethren of Aylsforde, a minstrel (ministrall), and others.

In 1436 we find that there is another Abbot John, for the previous one is spoken of in 1417-18 as "*nuper defuncti*," and in the same year a royal pardon bearing the date of July 17th, 14 Henry VI. acquits the Abbot of all infringements of the Statute law of which an upright man might unintentionally be guilty and also "all kinds of robberies, murders, rapes of women, rebellions, insurrections felonies, conspiracies" &c. "provided they were committed prior to September 2nd in the tenth year of this King's reign."

The Manor is divided into its five boroughs, namely :

1. The "Borowe" of Robertsbridge itself.
2. That of Farlegh (ffarelyghe) including parts of the parishes of Fairlight, Guestling, and Westfield.
3. Hodlegh, lying in Dallington, Brightling, Burwash, Ticehurst, and Mayfield.
4. Peryfelde in Northiam.
5. Stretfelde, comprising parts of Ewhurst, Northiam, Seddlescombe, Whatlington, Brede, and Pleyden.

The amount of the rents, which were usually collected by one of the tenants in each borough and handed over to the bedell of Robertsbridge, was £36 6s. 7d.

From another source it appears that the "borowe of Peplysham" in "Bexley" or Bexhill was considered as parcel of Robertsbridge, but was held freely (i.e. customary freehold) by Herbert Pelham, Esq.,³ at the rent of four pounds per annum.

Another ancient record entitled "Rental of the Abbot and Convent of Robertsbridge,

¹ "*Carniprivium*" Shrove Tuesday, the last day on which flesh might be eaten, observed as a festival.

² Sandore-Sutton—the ancient appellation of their manor near Seaford, where it appears that they contributed to keep watch and ward against the inroads of foreign invaders by sea.

³ This gentleman was also the owner of the Manors of Michelham and Whatlington. Another member of this family held a farm in the borowe called Park Farm, where perhaps was the tannery before mentioned.

Dissolution of the Abbey, 1569

renewed in the 49th year of the reign of King Henry VI. and of his age and in the first year of his restoration to his royal power," contains a list of persons who paid quit-rents to the Abbey for free or copyhold tenements in the Manor of Robertsbridge. The list gives the names of the tenants in full and the amount of quit rent due from each, though the tenements are not specified by name but designated by that of some preceding occupier.

"Glassye borowe" (possibly the site of a glass-house) in the parishes of Beckley and Peasemars, also seems to have been parcel of the Manor of Robertsbridge, likewise Holmesherst in Burwash which contained eleven tenements.

In 14 Edward IV. The King having received advertisement that the banks, ditches, etc. lying on the seacoast and marshes between Robertsbridge in Sussex and the town of Romney in Kent were by the raging of the sea and violence of the tides much broken and decayed to the great damage of those parts, and being therefore desirous that some speedy remedy should be used therein did by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, July 16th in the year aforesaid constitute Sir John Fogge, Sir William Hauk, and Sir John Gilford Knts, and John Usyngton, John Brumston, Henry Auger, Will Belknap, and Robert Oxenbrige Esquires, as also Bartholomew Bolney, Roger Brent, John Fyneux, Vincent Fynche, John Nethersole, and John Hert, his commissioners, giving power to any four three or two of them, whereof the said Bartholomew Roger, John Fyneux, Vincent Fynche, John Nethersole, and John Hert were to be one, to take view of the said banks, etc.

Dugdale's *Hist. of Imbanking* fo. 46. Whereupon afterwards in 18 Edward IV. Sir Jn. Fogge Knt. and his fellow-justices assembled at Lydd, and made and published certain statutes and ordinances for the preservation and government of all the lands and marshes lying within certain limits as set forth in p. 49, etc.

In 1507 the *Monasticon* gives the name of the Abbot of Robertsbridge as John Goodwin, and in the Hayley Papers (*Add. MSS.* 6351 f. 75) occurs a presentment citing this Abbot, together with William Brykenden, William Austen, William Pypesden, monks of Robertsbridge, and five yeomen of the same place for having gathered together divers malefactors and disturbers of the King's peace; and riotously and in warlike manner and array, to wit, with swords, staves, knives and other arms, forcibly entered the house of one Godard Oxenbridge at Northbridge, in the parish of Salehurst, on the 6th day of August, in the 13th year of King Henry VII.'s reign, and then and there dug and obstructed the course of a rivulet called Lyme, and caused it to run in another direction. The result of this formidable indictment does not appear.

The Patent Roll 2 Edward I. M. 5. *dorso*, contains another reference to the diversion of a watercourse at Salehurst in which the Abbot and William of Echingham were concerned.—See also p. 242 *ante*.

We now come to the closing days of the Monastery. In 1534 the Abbacy was held by Thomas Taylor, but his tenure was of short duration, for on April 6th, 1539, he surrendered his Abbey (which then had a rental of £272 9s.) into the hands of the King. The Abbot received a pension of £50 a year, and small annual allowances were also made to the monks, of varying amount according to their offices and seniority. At the time of the dissolution (as in 1417) the number of monks was probably eight, although from a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it would seem that there were twelve. In 1553 Taylor was still living, and in receipt of his pension. At the same time Thomas Sprat, William London Lawrence Thrower, and Robert Cooper, surviving monks, received £8, £6 13s. 4d., £6, and £4 respectively.

In conclusion, mention ought perhaps to be made of the MS. account of the estate of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, and Lord

List of Abbots of Robertsbridge

President of Wales, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The Manuscript was probably written a few years previous to the death of Sir Henry, which took place in 1590; as a minute and faithful record of the Abbey property at no great distance of time from its suppression, it is a relic of considerable interest. It begins with a Schedule of lands appropriated by Sir Henry for his daughter Mary's jointure, but it is doubtful whether the portion formerly belonging to the Abbey was included in this jointure. In connexion with the large "hammer-ponds" common in these parts of Kent and Sussex, there are French names of persons and also of lands, indicating that artificers of that nation had taken part in the manufacture of the Wealden iron. There is also appended to the list of "demesne lands of Robertsbridge let to various tenants" the following reservation: "The lorde of the saide manor holdith in his owne handes the Yron fforge with certein of the demeanes called the ffurnace ponds conteyning xiiij acres overflowed, the fforge-pond conteyning ix acres overflowed with the profytt and ffelling of all the wood lyable to the same." In a lease of the demesne lands of the manor of Lamberhurst a like reservation is made of the underwoods and trees with liberty for the lord to fell *cole*, and carry away the same the lessee being allowed to take sufficient housbote, plowbote, waynbote, and hedgbote. Among the tenants in this record are the families of Allfrey and Stonestreet. Rycharde Allfrey had three distinct copyholds and Wm. Stonestrete ten. The former also is said to "hold in fferme by indenture dated in the 10th year of Elizabeth certeyne demeane landes" at the annual rent of vij pounds and the latter held in like manner "the glene" and other parts of the demesnes at a rent of vjli: xiijs iiijd (£6 13s. 4d.).

The portion of the Abbey property which passed to the Sidneys seems to have been held by them until the commencement of the 18th Century, when it was sold to Mr. Sambrooke. The rental in 1684 was represented to have been £965 11s. 4d. Mr. Sambrooke afterwards sold the property to Sir Godfrey Webster, and the site of the Abbey and lands adjacent ultimately came into the hands of Edward Allfrey, Esq.

No monumental remains of the Abbey are now to be seen. There are some woodcuts in the 8th volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (page 172 and 173) of a fleuried cross raised on a slab, and also the indent of a brass in which the central portion of an elegant cross was probably occupied by the Virgin and Child. There are also particulars of the Pelham Arms and an illustration of an Armorial Tile.

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF ROBERTSBRIDGE.

	A.D.
Dennis, probably the first abbot	<i>circa</i> 1184
William . . . . .	. 1197
John, afterwards Prior of Boxley	in 1216
William	occ. 1244 and 1249
Waller . . . . .	. 1261
Roger	occ. 1263 and 1277
Maynard	before 1293
Thomas . . . . .	. 1293
Robert	<i>circa</i> 1300
Lawrence . . . . .	. occ. 1309
John de Wallyngefelde	el. Sept. 8th 1311
Nicholas	occ. March 29th, 1319 1320
Alan	<i>circa</i> 1327

List of Abbots of Robertsbridge

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF ROBERTSBRIDGE—*Continued.*

	A.D.
John de Lamberhurst	ob. June 24th 1333
John de Wormedale.	el. July 23rd 1333
Dennis	[occ. 1340 1400
John . . . . .	. 1410
John (not the same, says Mr. Cooper) for in 1417-18 the Abbot is spoken of as " <i>nuper defuncti</i>" . . . . .	. 1436
William Brockden (see Salehurst list of prebendaries) . . . . .	. 1517
John Goodwin . . . . .	. 1506
Thomas Taylor . . . . .	. 1534

CHAPTER VI
WEST THURROCK PREBEND

ESSEX, IN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON¹



HIS Prebend was among the first of those founded by Count Robert and is mentioned in Count Henry's Confirmation Charter, under the denomination of the "Prebend of Aucher." The original endowment is mentioned in the same charter, as follows:—To Aucher the Prebend of the Church of Thurroc (Turroc, or Thurrock), and the land to the said Church belonging, with the meadows and marshes, and the tithes of the same manor; and at Cistelebergham, or Gistlebergham, two rods of land and one dwelling at Estheda, or Hestrea, and one in the Castle.² To him also belonged "the rule of the grammar-school" of the Collegiate Church at Hastings.³

Newcourt (*Report parochiale* v. II) gives the following account of the Prebend and Vicarage of West Thurrock, under the head, "Archdeaconry of Essex."

"West Thurrock Vicarage is next to Thurrock Magna, on the West, therefore called West Thurrock, in the Archdeaconry of Essex, Deanery and Hundred of Ghaffred, exempt from any subjection to the Archdeacon, and subject only to the Bishop and his commissary. The Church dedicated to Saint Clement, is *Ecclesia Prebendalis*, a prebendal Church of old, appropriated to the Royal Chapel or Collegiate Church of Hastings in Sussex: the Prebendary, whereof, was formerly Rector, and had the right of presentation to the Vicarage there, till the suppression of Colleges, Churches, Chapels, Chantries, etc. Anno 1, Edward VI., and in all presentations the incumbent was styled—A Canon in the Collegiate Church of Hastings, in the diocese of Chichester, and prebendary of the prebendal or parish Church of Saint Clement, of West Thurrock, and as such perpetual patron of the said Vicarage," or words to the same effect.

¹ By Order in Council dated 8 August, 1845, so much of the county of Kent as was in the diocese and archdeaconry of Rochester, except the city and deanery of Rochester, was taken from the diocese of Rochester and added to those of Canterbury and London, and the county of Essex except certain parishes, was added together with the whole of the county of Hertford to the diocese of Rochester. In 1877 the diocese of St. Albans was founded, Hertfordshire, Essex and North Woolwich forming the diocese, so that the church of West Thurrock is now in the diocese of St. Albans.

² See p. 96. In the grant made to Peter of Savoy, 46 Henry III. there is enumerated (*int. al.*) one knight's fee in Thurrock, in the county of Essex, which is said to have been held of the Honour (of Hastings) by Bartholomew de Brent. And the same is again mentioned in the grant to John of Brittany 53 Henry III. by the description of "Le fee dun chevalier en Thurroc dens le comté de Essex. Bartholomew de Brientum tent de l'Honor de Hastings." See further Pat. 13. Edward II. m. 11 C. 15. De prebend. de West Thurrock.

³ The name of Aucher does not appear among the Count's vassals in the Domesday Book; but in a deed of 1198, transferring the advowson of St. Michael's, Hastings, except the tenement held by Michael, the Dean of St. Mary's for his life, from the College to Holy Trinity Priory, the name of Henry, son of Richard Fitz Aucher, the Constable of Hastings, appears as one of the witnesses.

West Thurrock Church at the Dissolution

1553, 3 OCTOBER. 6 EDWARD VI.

The following is an account of the Church goods taken from the Augmentation office, on the dissolution of the prebend. As with the Royal Free Chapel itself the survey is much belated.

EXCHEQUER.

I. A. CHURCH GOODS ESSEX.

WEST THURROCK.

Return of the Church goods of West Thurrock the 3rd day of October, 1553.

- Item, the bell weighing by estimation, eighteen hundred.
- „ One Chalice weighing by estimation, six ounces.}
- „ One Cope of fustans.
- „ One vestment of green say.
- „ One vestment of dornick.
- „ One sepulture cloth.
- „ An altar-cloth of damask.
- „ Three banners of cloth of linen—cloth painted.
- „ Two corporal clothes, one of blue satin and the other of red satin.
- „ Two albes of linen clothes.
- „ Two surplices of linen clothes.
- „ Seven tableclothes, fine linen.
- „ Eight towels of linen clothes.
- „ A cross of latin (? latten).
- „ One Bible—one paraphrase—one Psalter.
- „ Sixteen Candlesticks.

All these parcels above written remaineth in West Thurrock Church. Also we had two Chalices and certain other stuff that was stolen at several times out of the Church.

Reserved to the use of the Church there : a Chalice, one cope, two tableclothes, four towels and two surplices : the residue to be committed to Roger Reynolds to the use of the King's Majesty.

{ WILLIAM BERNERS,
WILLIAM AYLOFF,
ANTHONY BROWN,
WILLIAM PAVY (? PAREY)

“After the Suppression of the Royal Free Chapels and their prebends, the Rectory of West Thurrock and the advowson of the Vicarage were for some time vested in the Right Hon. Viscount Montague, for by him they were alienated, Anno 10 Eliz. to Henry Josselyn, Esquire. Then the advowson of the Vicarage appears to be vested in Humphrey Hayes for some time ; then in George Reading ; then in Daniel Halford, Esquire, and next in Sir Henry Hammond¹ (? Hayman) Knight, and Dame Mary his wife, who was probably one of the daughters and heirs of the said Halford ; for in 5 Car. I. Daniel Halford held the Prebend and Rectory, and the tithes of corn and hay, with the advowson of the Vicarage, by the fourth part of a Knight's fee ; Martha and Mary being his daughters and heirs ; and upon the partition of his estate, this of West Thurrock came to Mary, being as was said wholly exempt from the Archdeacon ; and it pays him no procuration nor synodals, and is only subject to the Bishop, who has the right of institution and induction, and all other episcopal jurisdiction.”

First fruits, £5 13s. 4d. ; tenths, £1 11s. 4d. ; Proc' episc', £1 0s. 4d. ; for the Rector, and for the Vicar, 5s. Procuration for the Archdeacon, and synodals, nothing.

West Thurrock prebend, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 29 Henry VIII. is estimated with all its profits and commodities (exclusively of a yearly pension of 53 shillings and 4 pence payable to the Dean of Hastings) to have been worth £12 6s. 8d. per annum, subject to a deduction of 24 shillings and 8 pence for tithes (See p. 313). The prebend of West Thurrock is neither mentioned in the Inquisi-

¹ His brass so spelt is in the Church.

Architecture of West Thurrock Church

tion 2 Edward I., nor in the extents anno 8 and anno 15 of the same King. In the grant to Sir Anthony Browne it is thus noticed : *Necnon totam illam prebendam de West Thurrock in Essex.* And further as having paid an annual pension to Hastings College of 53s. 4d. as in the *Valor ecclesiasticus* above.

The Church stands on an isolated position on the river-marsh, bordering the Thames, and far away from any dwelling. It is approached by a road called the Manor Road, which is thought to have been a pilgrims' way towards Canterbury, and it is supposed that the pilgrims crossed the river by means of a ferry at this point, and were shriven at the Church before passing over.

WEST THURROCK CHURCH (1903).¹

The church of St. Clement of West Thurrock consists of a short nave with north and south aisles, a chancel with chapels on the north and south sides, and a large and massive embattled tower at the western end.

The southern wall of the nave is composed of rubble, in which flint predominates. It is at present in a very weak state, and heavily buttressed with brickwork, probably of the eighteenth century. It is pierced with only one window (Decorated) of two lights, somewhat obtusely pointed, surmounted by bar-tracery, including a central quatrefoil, the whole enclosed within a pointed arched head ; the stonework of the window is in an extremely weathered condition. There is a low doorway leading into the nave at the south-western angle of the nave, which has been refaced with brickwork, probably in the eighteenth century.

The south aisle is continued eastward to the centre of the chancel-wall to form a chapel. This was rebuilt about the year 1842 in brickwork with bands of dressed flints. It is pierced by two modern windows of debased Gothic pattern.

So much of the southern wall of the chancel as is now to be seen is pierced by one lancet-light. Half of the blocked remains of a priest's door may be seen where the wall of the south chapel terminates. The east wall of the chancel is gabled, and has a large pointed-headed lancet window of three lights, with acutely pointed lancets. Between their heads on each side is a small circle with pierced trefoil cusping, containing ancient glass. The window is of a late thirteenth century pattern. Above the point of the arch, in the plaster-covering the stonework is inscribed the date, "1628," and the initials D. H. (Sir Daniel Holford). This, however, does not indicate the date of the window, which is ancient and in a state of great decay.

The northern wall of the chancel has a single lancet-light, with some glass quarries of the thirteenth century. The western wall of the north chapel has one pointed window of two trefoil-headed lights, surmounted by a quatrefoil in moulded plate tracery, arranged under a plain hood mould with returned ends. This chapel is lighted by two windows—that nearest the north-eastern corner is somewhat low in height. It is of two lights with cusped-ogee heads with slight bar-tracery, including a quatrefoil. The window next the north-western corner of the chapel is a Perpendicular insertion, perhaps replacing an older one, and there is an old quatrefoil built in the wall above it.² It is oblong, of two lights with cinquefoil heads with rude laced tracery.

¹ Though "the Church of Turroc" is mentioned as having formed a portion of the original endowment of the Collegiate Church of Hastings late in the twelfth century, and may therefore have been originally of Anglo-Saxon foundation, "there is now no work to be recognized of an older date than the thirteenth century. Of that time there is a good deal : all the walls and arches of the chancel and of the north chapel and north aisle of the nave are of the thirteenth century. The south arcade of the nave is of the fourteenth century, at which time the aisle on that side seems to have been added, and the windows of the north altered to correspond with it. Similar changes were made in the north chapel, and some of the work is very curious. The tower was added in the fifteenth century, but the present top story is of the seventeenth or eighteenth.

"The south chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century, with a burial-vault below and pews above on a raised floor."

"The north window of the chancel has some glass of the thirteenth century, which seems to be in its original position. There are also fragments of fourteenth century glass in some of the other windows" (J. T. Mickelthwaite's MS. Report on the Church, January 7th, 1903).

² Within, this quatrefoil is included in the same rearvault and is filled with ancient glass.

Architecture of West Thurrock Church

The western wall of the chapel stands out from the north aisle and is gabled ; high up, below the head of the gable is a small blocked lancet-light.

The wall of the north aisle has but one window. It is of large size with two pointed lights and rude laced tracery filling the pointed arched top ; above is a hood-mould with returned ends. There is a north door near the north-western corner of the aisle, opposite to the door on the south side. It has plain wave mouldings. The western wall of this aisle has a small lancet loop.

The tower, which is buttressed at the angles and without stair-turret, is built in three stages, the lower two being of stone-rubble with broad bands of dressed flints, and is of Perpendicular date. The upper stage is of red brick, including the embattled parapet, and is probably of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The upper section of the tower is pierced on the south by round-headed openings with louvre-boards, the opening on the western and northern sides being double. In the middle and lower stages of the tower are two oblong windows, each with two lights having cinquefoiled heads ; the tops of these lights have been restored. There is a pointed headed doorway in the west wall of the tower, forming the principal entrance to the Church. It has plain-roll and wave mouldings.

THE INTERIOR.

The church is entered through the tower-basement, both the north and south aisle doors being disused.¹ The tower opens upon the nave by a moulded arch, resting upon imposts, with semi-octagonal moulded caps and bases.

The body of the church, which is shorter than the chancel, is rather wider than it is long owing to the somewhat unusual width of the aisles. Each arcade of the nave consists of two bays, formed by two pointed arches resting on a central round pier and half-pillars at the responds, with moulded caps and bases. The moulding of the capitals on the north are different from those on the south, but the bases are the same.

The chancel-arch is somewhat obtusely pointed, with chamfered and recessed soffit. It springs from semi-octagonal imposts with Decorated moulded caps and bases.

The chancel or choir consists of two bays, the arches on each side resting centrally on an octagonal pier with half pillars with Decorated octagonal moulded caps and bases. The soffits of the arches are chamfered and recessed. The chancel-rails are of old oak, supported by turned pillars or ballusters. In the south wall of the chancel, beneath the lancet window, is a large and handsome piscina of unusual form. It has two basins corbelled out below, carved to represent knots. There is a ledge above the basins. The opening is moulded and trefoiled. The head is canopied in gable-form, and is carved, and projects from the sill of the splay of the window above. The lancet in the northern wall of the chancel contains some quarries of the twelfth century.

Both chapels to the north and south of the choir are entered by pointed arched openings, the arch springing from responds with plainly moulded capitals. The capital on the south of the south wall is modern.

The south chapel, called the Grantham chapel, has been rebuilt, as before mentioned.

The east window of the chapel on the north has a pointed-headed rear vault, and on either side there are large pointed-headed recesses. Beneath these a plainly moulded string-course is run across the wall.

The font is octagonal, and richly moulded with square panels containing quatrefoils. Its pedestal is octagonal, with panelled sides, with moulded plinth and base. The basin is large and round. It is of blue greystone, but has been painted to resemble white granite.

Of the tombs, and grave-slabs in the Church, that of one of the Deans of Hastings Collegiate Church is the oldest. It is now situate beneath the altar, lying from north to south. It consists of a large oblong slab of stone with carved depressions, evidently once filled with brass plates. In the centre there are the matrices of a long floriated cross, resting on some animal. Above the cross is the bust of a priest, probably the Dean, in whose memory it was made. The inscription engraved in Lombardic letters around the edge of the stone—

Nichol(a)s : Fer(m)baud : gist : ici : dieu : de : sa : alme : eyt : merci :

Nicholas : Fermbaud : lies : here : God : on : his : soul : have : mercy :

The date of the slab must be about 1319, when this Dean died, and his burial here may indicate that some of the architectural work was executed during his tenure of the prebend.

¹ There are now three bells in place of the one taken away in 1553. They are all inscribed within a rich band of ornamental work, Richard Harvell, 1632 John Petchy. Access to the belfry is by a wooden ladder.

West Thurrock in Domesday

There are three small sepulchral brasses to Katherina Ridinge (née Heies), Humphrey Heies, and his son of the same name ; they are dated 1591, 1584, and 1585 respectively. There is the matrix of another in the north chapel, of a priest kneeling at a cross.

One handsome monument stood at the eastern end of the south chancel ; two alabaster figures, larger than life, were placed upon it in a (re)cumbent posture : the husband was represented in armour, the wife as dressed in the fashion of the times. Their children are represented in *bas relief*. *Inscription*—"This is the entrance into the vault of Christopher Holford, Esq., which was made in 1608." It is greatly mutilated.

Morant in his *History of Essex*, under the title, "Purfleet manor in parish of West Thurrock," says :—

"The Church, dedicated to St. Clement, consists of a body and two aisles : as doth also the chancel. It was the endowment of one of the seven prebends, founded in the Collegiate Church within the castle of Hastings in Sussex. The prebendary was Rector, and had the great tithes of this parish appropriated to him—and presented to the Vicarage. Upon the dissolution of religious houses, King Henry VIII. granted this prebend of West Thurrock, with all the marsh and upland and tithes of corn and grain thereto belonging, 1 Jan. 1546 to Sir Anthony Browne and Elizabeth his wife.

And under "Greys Thurrock" :—

"In Edward the Confessor's reign the lands in this parish belonged to Harold and Almar."

The *Domesday* account is as follows :—

THE LAND OF THE COUNT OF OU[EU].

*The Hundred of Cafforda (Chafford).*¹

"Turruc [(West) Thurrock], which was held by Harold as a manor, and as 13 hides, is held by the Count in desmesne. Then 12 villeins ; now 17. Then 16 bordars ; now 45. Then 16 serfs ; now 8. Then 6 ploughs on the demesne ; now 5. Then 10 ploughs belonging to the men ; now 13. (There is) wood (land) for 200 swine, 40 acres of meadow (and) pasture for 500 sheep. Then 1 fishery ; now 2. Then as now 5 cows, 3 rounceys, 16 swine, (and) 550 sheep. It was then worth 12 pounds ; now 30. And there are 7 houses at London which belong to the manor and are included in this rent."

There were other lands under the name of Turocha held under the Bishop of Bayeux in the hundred of Chafford, which are believed to be either in West Thurrock or Grays (See *Victoria Counties Histories*, Essex, vol. i. pp. 457–58).

PREBENDARIES.

1213.	Robert de Augo (d'Eu) vacated
1213.	Resigned Osbert of Eu.
1213, Nov. 30.	Wm. de Wrotham Archd. of Taunton, presented by King John (Pat. 15, John P. 1 m. 7). Walter de Faukeberge, pres., by Alice Countess of Eu.
1290, June 9.	Walter de Langton, presented by John of Brittany (Pat. 18, Ed. I. m. 25).
1304–5, Jan. 12.	Nich. de Fermbaud, presented by Walter (Langton), Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Pat. 33 Ed. I. p. 1, m. 19), made Dean of the Chapel, pp. 144 and 147.
1319–20, Feb. 13.	Wm. de Cusantia. ²
(<i>Newcourt's List.</i>)	<i>Cicestr' etc., Preb.' Prebendae de West Thurrock</i> Rector.—N.B. This same William held also the prebend of Wenlakesbarn, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
1342.	William Flamerans (or Flameranus) exchanged 1342 (Pat. 15, Ed. III).
1342.	Paulus de Monteforum, resigned 1357 (addl. MSS. B. M. B. 14, 33, 393, f. 251). ³

¹ *Cart. Ant. D.D.* 13. See *Victoria Counties Histories*, p. 388.

² 1308. William de Cusancia. *Canonicus Lib. Cap. Reg. de Hastings in dioc.*

³ Visitation 19 Edw. III. Master Paul de Monte Flor.—mentioned to have been then prebendary of West Thurrock, and to have appeared before the Commissioners by his proxy,

Prebendaries of West Thurrock

- 1357, Sept. 30. Thomas de Kaynes, on presentation of Wm. de Wanton, patron Qy. presented by Ed. III, Pat. 31 Ed. III. p. 2 m. 6), died 1367.¹
- 1367, Sept. 30. John Rauf cap., presented by Edward III. (Pat. 41, Ed. III. p. 2 m. 23), exchanged 1381.²
- 1381, Nov. 16. John Stanstede, presented by Wm. de Waweton (Qy. Wanton) Pat. 5, Rd. II, p. 1 m. 10), died 1383.
- 1385, Sept. 26. Richard Medford, presented by Wm. de Waweton (Braybroke London, Reg. II), exchange 1386.³
- 1386, Aug. 31. Richard Clifford, presented by Richard II. (Pat. 10, Rd. II. p. 1 m. 27).
1409. Joseph de Hemesthorpe—Rector—Prebendary, etc.—Also Master of Saint (Newcourt's List.) Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower of London.
- 1411–12, Feb. 7. Peter de Alcobasse, presented by Henry IV. (Pat. 13, Henry IV., p. 1. m. 10) 8 Hen. V. (Pat. Rolls) Joseph Hemesthorpe died.
1414. Thomas Feriby. ⁴The mandate to try his election is given by Rymer (Vol. IX. p. 125), and bears date as above. It will be seen that he succeeded Joseph de Hemesthorpe above-mentioned, or rather Peter de Alcobasse, whom he complains of, as having been unjustly thrust into this prebend, contrary to his right in the same. The following document mentioning the petition from him to King Henry V., and the King's answer thereon, contains a number of other curious particulars, and is as follows :—

On the prosecution of Thomas Feriby, clerk, otherwise called Thomas Feriby, priest, praying us as followeth :—

For as much as, when the prebend or prebendal Church of West Thurrock in the diocese of London, in the King's Free Chapel of Hastings, in the diocese of Chichester, was lately vacant by the death of John (Joseph), Hemesthorpe, then last in possession of the same, and was in the gift of Sir William Bouchier, in right of his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of Eleanor, late Duchess of Gloucester, all things, which were herein required, according, by the same Thomas, on the presentation of William, was canonically admitted to the same prebend or prebendal Church and was instituted and inducted into the same and has held possession thereof since then peaceably and quietly.

And without any process of law, by Peter de Alcobasse, under pretence of a certain collation of our aforesaid father to the aforementioned Peter, by the name of his beloved physician, Peter de Alcobasse, he has been unjustly removed and expelled from the said prebend or prebendal Church, named the Prebend of West Thurrock, in his Free Chapel of Hastings, on the untruthful suggestion of Peter himself, to our same father suggesting, that the said prebend or prebendal Church was vacant, when it was not vacant, and that the gift of it belonged to our father (to whom it did not belong), by Letters Patent of our said father, to the no small loss and injury of Thomas himself and contrary to the form of the said statute published in the said thirteenth year.

Sir John de Caunterbury, priest. Sir William de Cusanc is stated in an instrument recited in the account of the said visitation, to have attended with the other members of the College, as prebendary of West Thurrock, in the conventual church of Bermondsey, Surrey, A.D. 1335.

¹ 1363. Tho : de Keynes—Rector—prebendary as aforesaid, and also prebendary of Twyford. (Newcourt's List.)

² 1369. William Raufe—Rector, etc.—William (or John) Raut, had the King's letter of (Newcourt's List.) presentation to this Prebend, as void by the death of Thomas Keys, dated September 30th, 1367, pat. 41. Edw. III. p. 2, and resigned it about November, 1381. Pat. 5. Ric. 2, p. 1.

³ 1384. Ric. de Medford—Rector—Canon, etc. He was also Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, London. Otherwise called—Ralph Meddiford, e.g. "Grant of the next vacancy or (Newcourt's List.) patronage and installation of Ralph Meddiford to the Prebend of West Thurrock—7 Ric. II." Pat. Rolls.

⁴ He seems, judging from the name, to have been a descendant from the same family as Sir William de Feriby, prebendary of Pesemershe, and William de Feriby, prebendary of Malrepast, also mentioned in the Visitation, 19 Edw. III.—see p. 195. There appears to be some confusion as to the correct date of the presentation of Thomas Feriby.

Prebendaries of West Thurrock

We willed that the Letters Patent of our father thus granted to the same Peter concerning his collation to the said prebend or prebendal Church, and whatsoever may have followed from them, be revoked and annulled and that Thomas himself be restored to his possession of the same prebend or prebendal Church, together with the revenues and profits received therefrom from the time of his aforesaid removal by the aforesaid Peter.

By our writ we gave charge to our Sheriff of Essex to make known to the above Peter, wherever he should be, to present himself before us in our Court of Chancery by a certain day already past, to show what he hath to say for us or for himself to show why the said Letters which our said father thus granted to the same Peter concerning his collation to the said prebend or prebendal Church and whatsoever may have followed from them should not be revoked and annulled and the same Thomas be restored to his possession of the same prebend or prebendal Church, together with the revenues and profits received therefrom from the time of his aforesaid removal by the aforesaid Peter, and further to do and receive whatsoever our Court thinketh fit.

And when the aforesaid writ was returned before us in our aforesaid Chancery on the said day and the same writ came before us for argument, and moreover the aforesaid Thomas appeared in person, and the aforesaid Peter by John Corac, his attorney for that day, before us and the arguments and allegations on both sides were heard before us.

The same Peter among other things hath asserted that our aforementioned father, by his Letter Patent, of which the date is (i.e. dated) Westminster seventh day of February in the thirteenth year of his reign, did give and grant to the same Peter the aforesaid prebend lately vacant and in the gift of our same father to hold with all its rights and purtenances whatsoever. Wherefore he did not think that he ought to proceed further in the said cause without consulting us and begging of us the assistance which hath been granted to him.

On which pretext you in the aforesaid cause have hitherto postponed proceedings, and do postpone them to the no small loss and injury of Thomas himself. Wherefore he hath prayed us to provide for him a suitable remedy herein.

We, granting the said prayer, and wishing what is right herein to be done, charge that if in the aforesaid cause before you such an allegation be made that in the matter of that cause you proceed with such dispatch as you might rightly and in accordance with the law and custom of the Kingdom of England, and render justice to the said parties, the said allegation notwithstanding, provided always that herein you in no wise proceed to deliver justice without consulting us.

Witness the King, Leicester, May 13th.

- 1411, Jan. 24. Bishop Rede's Register then gives the induction of Thomas Feriby to the Church or Prebend of West Thurrock—on the death of John Ernesthorp (sic.). The patron was William Bouchier.
- 1432, May 10. Thomas Bourghier (Fitzhugh London Reg. 13), resigned 1435.¹
(*Newcourt's List.*)
- 1435, May 9. Thomas Graunt, presented by Henry VI. (Pat. 13, Hen. VI. p. 1, m. 18) resigned 1460-61.²
(*Newcourt's List.*)
- 1460-61, Mar. 8. Richard Bole, Bac. in Laws, presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc. (Pat. 1, Edw. IV. p. 1, m. 5).³
(*Newcourt's List.*)
1468. Lyonel Wydevil, vacated 1474.⁴
(*Newcourt's List.*)
1485. William Pykenham, died 1497.⁵
(*Newcourt's List.*)
1509. John Lacy, Rector and Prebendary of West Thurrock (*Newcourt's List.*)

¹ 1432. Thomas Bouchier, Rector, etc., and Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, London.

² 1457. T. Grant, Rector, Prebendary, etc., as aforesaid and precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

³ 1463. Richard Bole, Rector, Prebendary of West Thurrock, and also Prebendary or Reculverland.

⁴ 1468. Leonellus Wideville, Rector, etc., and also Prebendary of More, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

⁵ 1485. William Pykenham, L.O. Rector, etc., and also Prebendary of Wenlakesbarn in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

CHAPTER VII

Prebend of Peasmarsh



THE confirmation-charter of Count Henry of Eu thus describes this prebend and its original endowment by Count Robert of Eu.

“To the prebend of Theobald¹ the church of Pesemersshe and the land to the same belonging, and the church of Beckley (*Beccalia*, Bectal, Becaley) and the land in like manner, and the church of Hiham (Northiam) and the land in like manner and the church of Iden, and land and tithe of the chapel of Playden, and the tithe and half the tithe of Cecymore (Cecinora, Cetenore, Catenore) and half the tithe of Tottona, and two virgates of land at Haldenesham (Aldenesham, Aldemesham), and the tithe of Bosemay (Bosmer, Bosmei Rosemary), and of Chetingisham (Chethincham), and Paulilesmore at Rye, and half Hanstrede (Ansed, Hanstrete).”

Another reading of this charter substitutes the church at Dallington in the place of Beckley and Hiham (Northiam). This prebend ranked the seventh, according to the first constitution. Its prebendary is not stated to have had any prebendal house within the Castle, nor possession of any description within St. Mary de Castro parish, but he is recorded in the charter as having had the superintendence of the singing-school in the collegiate church.

It seems somewhat extraordinary that Peasmarsh is not mentioned in Domesday, there being but the mention of a place named Pilesham, which according to Mr. W. D. Parish is a place identical with Pelsham in Peasmarsh (*Domesday Book*, *Sussex*, H. Wolff, Lewes).

In the Inquisition 2 Edward I. “The Prebend of Peasmerst” is said to have been worth by the year 30 marks, and occupies the first place on the list. In an extent of 8 Edward I. it is valued at 60 marks per annum.

At the Dissolution the holder of the prebend of Peasmarsh was possessed of 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 Peasmarsh, 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.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 29 Henry VIII., describes the prebend as follows:—
“*Prebenda de Pesemarshe*, John Ducatt, clerk, prebendary of the same, is clearly worth *per annum*, with all profits and returns over and above 66s. 8d. to be paid yearly to the Dean of Hastings as an annual payment, £6 13s. 4d. Tithe thereon 6s. 11d.”

It is thus again mentioned in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne, 38 Henry VIII. :—

“All that the Prebend of Peasmarsh, with its rights, members, possessions, and appurtenances whatsoever, together with the rectory and church of Peasmarsh, with its appurtenances

¹ This Theobald is probably Tetbald, a priest, who held 3 rods of the Count of Eu and one church in Pleidenham (Playden) in Colespore Hundred (see *Domesday Book*, page 20a, column 1).

Architecture of Peamarsh Church

and all tenths of corn and grain in the same parish of Peasmarsh : and all that annual pension of 20s. a year issuing from the rectory of Northiam, 26s. 8d. issuing from the rectory of Beckley, 10s. issuing from the rectory of Iden, 13s. 4d. issuing from the rectory of Playden. And also the advowsons etc. of the rectories and churches of Northiam, Beckley, Playden, and Iden, to the said late prebend of Peasmarsh late belonging and appertaining."

The value of the patronage of this prebend, after deducting £3 6s. 8d. paid annually to the Dean as a pension, was £6 13s. 4d.

In the valuation of Henry VIII. of the neighbouring priory of Holy Trinity at Hastings the priory is stated to have lost certain (marsh) land in Peasmarsh, valued at £2 1s. 8d. "at different times by the overflowing of the sea."

The Parsons' Armour Roll of 1612 gives the following:—

Peasmarsh is in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, and Deanery of Dallington, the ecclesiastical living being a discharged vicarage, formerly appropriated to the college at Hastings. It was valued in the King's books at £5 9s. 2d. In 1569 Mr. Gyles, who had been a member of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and was vicar of Peasmarsh, bequeathed the advowson of this living to that college wherein the patronage is now vested.

There are about two acres of glebe, and the great tithes are in the possession of the principal landowners.

The following account of the church is given from the *Burrell MSS.*:—

"The Church is dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, and occupies a high position about half a mile from the London road. It comprises a tower, nave, side-aisles, and chancel, the latter being overgrown with ivy. In the chancel there is one mutilated gothic, and six lancet-shaped windows. In the southern wall are four small pointed arches or recesses, one of which is a piscina. The chancel opens into the nave with a plain semicircular arch, while three pointed arches cut plain, with partly ornamented square pillars, divide the aisles from the nave. There is an old coffin-stone with remains of a cross in relief, in the south aisle. The font, which consists of an entire stone without ornament, is of octagonal shape."

PEASMARSH CHURCH : ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION (1902)

The church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Peasmarsh consists of a nave with north and south aisles, chancel, and a square tower at the western end. The general architectural style is Early English, with more modern insertions. It was restored in the years 1850 and 1864.

The roof over the main building is partly slate, and partly tiled ; the south aisle being covered by a gable-spanned roof, but that on the north being a continuation of the nave-roof.

The south aisle is lighted by two wide two-light windows, with flowing Decorated tracery filling the low pointed arched head, the tracery enriched with cusplings. There is a window at the western end of this aisle of the same form, and it appears to be the original from which the two above-mentioned windows have been more recently copied. On the eastern wall of this aisle is a small window with a trefoiled head.

An Early English semicircular-headed doorway with roll mouldings forms the entrance to the church, and it is protected by a porch having a sharply-pointed tiled roof with a stone gable over the entrance. The entrance has plain square jambs with stop-chamfered angles and surmounted by a sharply-pointed arch with dripstone, the arch supported by impost mouldings and carved terminals (it seems a modern restoration). Above the door is a small new sunk panel with lancet-head—a lancet-opening is inserted on each side of the wall with large internal splays.

The east window of the Church is of three lights, with modern bar-tracery filling the obtusely pointed head.¹ The chancel is lighted on the north and south sides by three original lancet-windows of good proportion. A priests' door with pointed arched head is also inserted in the southern wall. Near the angle in the south wall is a small pointed low side window, now blocked. Between the windows over the priests' door is a carved stone, representing a leopard-like animal crouching with its tail between its legs.

On the north side, adjoining the chancel, a small modern vestry has been built. The north

¹ Formerly a simple circle in plate-tracery (see Lambert's Drawing Burrell MSS.).

Prebendaries of Peasmarsh

aisle contains a pair of two-light windows, with flat cinque-foiled heads within a square-headed label with returned ends. There is a north door, now blocked up, of Perpendicular style, with a four-centred arch, and moulded jambs with shaped hood-mould. A small, plain lancet-window pierces the western wall of the north aisle, and two trefoil-headed windows at the eastern end of the aisle are now thrown into the vestry.

The tower is a low square structure, surmounted by a short, timber, oak-shingled broach-spire. The bell-chamber has three early lancet-lights now filled with wooden louvre-boards. A moulded lancet-window at a lower level in the west porch is apparently of modern insertion. There was formerly a door at this point, but it is now blocked up. The angle-buttresses extending about half way up the tower are of Norman design—pointing to the early character of the work. A modern lancet-window lights up the tower-basement on the south side.

There are four old bells, the tenor one of which is $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and weighs 8 cwt. 3 qrs. 26 lb. Numbers 1, 2, and 3 are inscribed "*Joseph Hatch made me 1631*," No. 4 "*Josephus Hatch me fecit S.B. iv—Cw—1631*." On the second, third and fourth bell there is a medallion bearing three bells and the initials "I.H."

THE INTERIOR

The general character of the interior of the church is of the Early English style, in an early stage of development.

The nave is divided from the side aisle by three pointed arches on each side, with plain soffits and chamfered angles. These are supported on square piers with chamfered angles and simple moulding forming capitals. The bases consist merely of a splayed plinth. The angles of the piers of the eastern bay on either side were enriched by small angle-shafts with simple bell-shaped capitals and circular bases. On the south-eastern pier these shafts have evidently been destroyed.

The roof is ceiled with modern match-boarding, no construction beyond the tie-beams being visible. The roofs of the north and south aisles are plastered on the under side of the rafters.

An interesting semicircular arched opening leads to the chancel, of Norman workmanship; the jambs and soffit of the arch are quite plain. These are separated by a moulded impost of Norman section and incised stellar enrichments. The two imposts are of different sections. On the two large quoin-stones on either side is a rudely-carved animal, perhaps intended for leopards or lions, and they are of similar form to some shown on the border of the Bayeux Tapestry. The animal on the north side is in a crouching position, but that on the south is rampant. The present horse-shoe shape of the whole arch is due to its crippling owing to the displacement of its abutments. The crown of the arch is disfigured by a late group of text tablets. A large round-headed hagio-scope pierces the south-western wall of the chancel near this arch.

In the southern wall of the chancel is a sedilia of two seats, each recess being surmounted by a pointed arch. These together with jambs have chamfered angles. They are stepped above one another. Immediately adjoining these on the east end, of similar construction, is a small piscina and also a pointed-headed recess.

The roof of the chancel is ceiled to the under side of the rafters; two old moulded tie-beams and an iron rod above being visible. The eastern end of the south aisle may have been used as a side-chapel, since a low carved arched piscina still exists near the south-eastern angle of the south wall, of late Perpendicular date. A rudely-carved head is inserted here in the south wall.

The tower-arch is pointed with plain soffit, and occupies the full width of the aisle. Above this arch is a semicircular headed opening, now blocked, forming part of an original Norman window.

The font and pulpit are modern.

The register dates from the year 1569.

LIST I

PREBENDARIES AND INCUMBENTS

Reg. Henry I. Theobald.

1203. Roger de Basing.

1247. Robert de Shotingdon (*Pat.* 31 Henry III.)

? date. Walter de Mery, presented by Alice, Countess of Eu. See p. 133. Vacated 1253.

1253. Dec. 29. Henry de Wengeham, presented by Henry III. (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls*).

—— Lord Robert Burnelle, resigned (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls* $\frac{1}{4}$).

1269, Monday after Ash Wednesday. Ralph de Frenyngem, presented by Prince Edward. (ditto).

Prebendaries and Incumbents of Peasmarsh

- 15 Edward I., 1286/7. Lord Giles de Andinarde (ditto). See also 30 Edward I. m. 15, 1302, July 30.
- 1303, May 4. Robert de Burghershe, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 1 Ed. II. P. II. m. 13). Vacated 1312. See pp. 138 and 140 *ante*.
- 1312, July 18. Richard de Elsefeld, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 6 Ed. II. P. I. m. 24). See p. 144 *ante*.
- 1325, July 22. Robert de Holdene, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 19 Ed. II. P. I. m. 34). Died 1328. See p. 156.
- 1328, May 7 (Oct. 4). William de Bondon or Boudon, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 2 Ed. III. P. I. m. 6, and p. 2, m. 20). Died 1336.
- 1328/9. John Elys of Whitewell (*Pat.* 2 Ed. III. P. II), probably revoked or not effective.
- 1336, April 19. Richard de Feriby, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 10 Ed. III. P. I. m. 23 and 9). Resigned 1340.
- 1340, June 12. William de Feriby, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 14 Ed. III. P. II. m. 21 and 39). Died 1349. (Note A. 19 Ed. III.—William de Feriby—mentioned in the aforesaid visitation of that year, and who is said to have appeared before the commissioners by his proxy, John de Langeport.)
- 1349, Aug. 23. Godefridus Fromond, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 23 Ed. III. P. II. m. 11).
- 1352, May 10. Robert de Elmham or William de Elinham, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 26 Ed. III. P. I. m. 7).
- 1364/5. March 22. William de Sutton, presented by Ed. III. (*Pat.* 39 Ed. III. P. I. m. 23).
- 1366, May 8. William de Mulsho, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 40 Ed. III. P. I. m. 24). Resigned 1368.
- 1368, May 22. John Benet, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 42 Ed. III. P. I. m. 8).
- 1375, Oct. 1. Richard de Wykeham, cl., presented by Edward III. *Pat.* 49 Ed. III. P. II. m. 22).
- 1378, Sept. 30. Presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 2 Rd. II. P. I. m. 28 and 35), William de Pakyngton). Resigned 1378/9.
- 1378/9, Mar. 18. Henry Davy (Daux ?), p. 223, *Misc. Chanc. Rolls*, $\frac{4}{34}$, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 2 Rd. II. P. II. m. 18 and 30). Died 1415/6.
1386. Thomas Houghton, exchanged with John Adelokeston (incumbent).
- 1391 (7 ides. May), Sir Roger Hethe, on death of above (incumbent).
- 1415/6, Mar. 17. Robert Shiryngton, presented by Henry V. (*Pat.* 3 Henry V. P. II. m. 17 and Chichele, Cant. Reg. 72).
- 1416/7. John Letshire.
1430. William Willesford.
- 17 Edward IV. (1478). Dec. 24. (*Story's Register.*) Jno. Smyth, Prebendary of Pesemersh and canon of Hastings, presented Jno. Sayer, cap. to V. of Pesemersh on the resignation of Jno. Benet.
- 1480/1. John Benet resigned.
- 1480/1. John Sawyer resigned (incumbent).
- 1480/1. William Dardes (incumbent).
- 1490/1. John Petyng resigned.
- 1490/1. Robert Sharpe.
1492. Henry Midwale.
- 1500/1. John Smyth (incumbent).
- 1500, Mar. 16. (*Story's Register.*) Robert Monie, Prebendary of Peasemersh, is given as the patron on a presentation to the rectory of Iden.
- 1501, April 16. (*Story's Register.*) William Comberton, presented by Sir Edward Hastings, Lord of Hastyngs and Hungerford, to Prebendary of Pesemershe, vacant by death of Robert Monie.
1502. Robert Wrothe.
- 1522, Dec. 28. (*Shyrborn's Register.*) Robert Docket, Prebendary of Pesemershe presents Ralph Dynson, cap. to vicarage on cess. of Thomas Portar (deprived).
- 38 Henry VIII. John Ducalt, Clerk.

INCUMBENTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

1522, Thomas Portar, deprived ; 1522, Ralph Dyson ; 1551, Richard Halywell ; 1584, Henry, Pye ; 1606, John Bracegirdle, S.T.B. ; 1614, John Tayler, S.T.B. ; 1629, John Wilson ; 1637

The Manor of Peasmarsh

Nicholas Savile ; 1638, John Giles ; 1645, John Cash ; 1647, William Frances ; 1652, Thomas Bunbury (died) ; 1654, John Greenfield ; 1662, Samuel Eldred ; 1694/5, John Sharpe, A.M. ; 1699, William Deyman, A.M. ; 1709, Stevens Ranby or Parr ; 1722, William Webber, A.M. ; 1760, Joseph Fearon, B.D. ; 1786, John Lettice ; 1833, Josiah Rowles Buckland, D.D. ; 1858, William Richard Brodrick, B.D. ; 1896, Francis Benjamin Allison, M.A.

The Manor of Peasmarsh Prebend lies in the parishes of Peasmarsh, Northiam, and Beckley, and is one of those mentioned in Domesday Book to have been held by Robert, Count of Eu.

In the year 3 Edward II. Stephen Burghursh held Peasmarsh ; and in Henry IV. Elizabeth *uxor* Nicholas Kirrell held it.

In the Subsidy Roll of Henry IV., 1411/2, "John Chidecroft is stated to have had lands, etc., at Pesemersh, worth yearly beyond reprises £10."

Henry VIII. Richard Shepherde, of Pesemershe, married Ann, daughter of John Oterbury, of Westfield.

31 Henry VIII. The land pertained to Sidney, to hold *in capite*.

34 Henry VIII. The land of the same was held by the Lord Windsor *in capite*.

3 and 4 Phil. et Mary. The Right Honourable Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, by indenture dated on the 20th of June, bargained and sold to Robert Shepherde, of Pesemarshe, Gent., as follows :—

"All and singular the glebe-lands of the Parsonage and Prebend of Peasmarsh : and also the Manor or Seigniorie, rents and services then belonging or appertaining to the said Parsonage or Prebend, called or known by the name of the Prebendary Rents of Peasemershe aforesaid, coming, going, issuing, and early to be perceived and had, of, in, and for, divers lands and tenements, etc., to the said manor, seigniorie, parsonage, or prebend belonging or appertaining ; together with all manner of heriots, suits of court, reliefs, escheats and other commodities and profits to the said manor, seigniorie, &c., belonging or appertaining."

In 16 Elizabeth, doubts having arisen with respect to the meaning and force of some general words in the former deed, the said Robert Shepherde, Esq., by indenture of this date,

"did acknowledge and declare,—That the advowsons, donations, presentations, and free dispositions, and patronages, of the rectories and churches of Northiam, Beckley, Iden and Playden, were not then, nor at the time of the said grant from Anthony Viscount Montague, were any way belonging to the said manor etc. or other the premises or any part thereof in said indenture bargained and sold etc. And the said Richard Shepherde did thereby confess and acknowledge, that such advowsons &c. were the property of the said Anthony Viscount Montague, and did release him from all claim he might have on the said Anthony Viscount Montague etc. Dated 25th Oct. 1574."

In 39 Elizabeth. The prebend and rectory of the same with its appurtenances, and with all portions, ties, oblations, and profits thereto belonging in Peasmarsh, held by John Gay, Gent., were alienated to Alex. Shepherde, Esq., held *in capite*, 2 Sept. 39 Elizabeth.

From the valuation of the property in the Rape, made in the year 1648, the following assessments appear :—Iden, £861 7s. 6d. ; Northiam, £875 10s. ; Peasmarsh, £973 16s. ; Playden, £461.

In 1719 the Manor was still in the possession of the Shepherde family, but in 1743 Robert and John Mascall of Ashford, Gents., appear to have been the possessors. Robert, son of John Mascall, was the lord in 1790, and the Manor subsequently became the property of Herbert Barrett Curteis, Esq.

Playden in Peasmarsh Prebend

PLAYDEN

The Domesday Survey contains the following:—

“The Count (of Eu) himself holdeth Pleidenam. Siulf held of King Edward. Then, and now, it vouched for 4 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. These men hold this land of the Count, Ednod 1 hide, Walter 1 hide, Remir 1 hide, Geoffrey half a hide, Tetbald a priest 3 rods and 1 church, and in demesne is 1 plough. Among all they have 22 villeins and 15 cottars, with 10 ploughs and a half, and in demesne is 1 plough. There are 5 acres of meadow. The whole manor in the reign of King Edward was worth £6. Now 100 shillings and 12 shillings. The Earl hath so much thereof as is worth £7 and 3 shillings.”

In the year 18 Edward IV. Sir Richard Guldeford was granted by the Abbey of Robertsbridge, 1,500 acres of marsh-land in the parishes of Playden, Iden, Bromhill, Farlegh, etc., in fee for the annual rent of xijd. (Tanner's *Notitia Mon.* 559; *Pat.* 18 Ed. IV. P. II. m. 3).

In Henry VIII.'s reign, the free chapel of Playden beside Rye, accepted at £130 13s. 4d., was amortized to the Abbey of Westminster for building the chapel of the Virgin Mary at the eastern end of that church, and for other purposes.

In the second year of the same reign a record in the Exchequer (*rot.* 24) states that 200 acres of marsh in Playden belonged to the Abbey of Robertsbridge.

1542. Before the Reformation there was a hospital in this parish, but this shared the fate of the monasteries, and in this year Andrew, Lord Windsor, obtained a grant of the site and possessions thereunto appertaining. According to the *Parsons' Armour Roll* of 1612 Mr. Jo. Freeman, parson, was responsible to provide “a corslet furnished” in respect of his benefice of “Pleydon.”

The following notes are recorded as to the ownership of the manor:—

1697. The manor of Playden Mascall belonged to Margaret Shepherd.

1748. Robert Mascall was owner, and it continued in his family in 1790.

1751. The manor of Playden Porter, or Moreland, which extended into the parishes of Peasmarsh, Beckley, Playden, and Brede, was sold by Lord Porter to William Moreland, Esq., in whose family it continued.

There is an old oak near the churchyard of Playden, in which (according to tradition) a tar-barrel was formerly fixed and used as a beacon. The tree appears to have undergone some such ordeal of fire.

Playden Church is in the archdeaconry of Lewes and deanery of Dallington, and the living, which is a discharged rectory, and in the patronage of the Lambe family, was valued in the King's books at £12.

Horsfield, *anno* 1835, stated that—

“The church, which is dedicated to St. Michael, stands near the London road. It is sometimes called Saucett or Saukett church, from the name of a hamlet in the parish. The name appears to be derived from Salt cot, probably on account of the fish formerly salted there, and for which (tradition states) Playdon was formerly famous. Many persons in the vicinity know it by no other name than Saukett Street. The church has a nave, tower and chancel, the tower being placed between the two, a position also met with in Icklesham Church (near Rye, Sussex). The tower is connected with both nave and chancel by Gothic arches. The north and south aisles of the eastern end of the nave are separated from the

Architecture of Playden Church

tower by screenwork carved in wood. The northern part is used as a vestry, and here there is a window ornamented with painted glass, consisting of two mutilated figures, one intended for our Saviour, and the other being a female (? angel with wings) playing on a guitar, or some such instrument of music. The tower, in which are three bells, is surmounted with an elegant shingled spire on which is a cross. The whole forms a conspicuous sea-mark. The nave is divided from the north and south aisles, by semicircular moulded arches, with pillars alternately round and octagonal. The windows are mostly modern. The font is octagonal with trefoil-headed recesses.

"There is a curious black slab near the north door, on which is carved two small barrels and other insignia of the brewers' art, while above is the following inscription in old Dutch characters of an early date:—'Hier is begrave cornelis roctinaus bidt wer de riele.'"

PLAYDEN CHURCH: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION (1902)

The church of St. Michael of Playden is an interesting and characteristic specimen of simple Early English architecture. The plan consists of nave with north and south aisle, a small chancel and tower of masonry rising at the intersection of the nave and chancel.

The exterior is of great simplicity, partly occasioned by the tiled roof of the nave extending in unbroken lines to the eaves of the aisles. The roof, evidently of Early English construction, has exercised a great thrust on the external walls, necessitating a series of buttresses both ancient and modern, which form a notable feature of the exterior.

In the south aisle are three windows, all of modern insertion, two of three lights, the heads square filled with Perpendicular bar-tracery, the westernmost of two lights with cusped heads.

The door-opening is without architectural embellishment of any kind. Its porch is of masonry with a tiled roof, and is of Early English date, the door-opening being plain with semicircular head, the outer angle worked with a roll-mould. There is a semicircular-headed opening immediately above the door lighting the upper portion of the porch. There is a two-light modern window at the eastern end of the south aisle.

The north aisle has two windows of modern work, one being of three lights, corresponding to those in the south aisle, and a similar one of two lights.

The easternmost window is of two lights with trefoiled top within a square arch. The westernmost window is only a few inches wide, with semicircular head and wide-splayed angles. The north door has a semicircular arch, which (together with the jambs) is worked with a large quarter round in its outer angles of original workmanship. The western end of the nave, with its two great buttresses, is enriched with a large window, arranged under an original moulded pointed arch with label, but the four light-window with the Perpendicular bar-tracery above is of modern work.

The door has a pointed arched head, which (together with the jambs) is worked at its outer angles with Perpendicular wave-and-scroll moulding. The arch is surmounted by a hood-moulding with returned ends.

The east window of the church is of very simple Perpendicular design of three lights, the side lights being pointed and the central one having a low arched head, the whole formed by mullions running vertically to intersect the under side of the four-centred arch above. It is surmounted by a simple hood-mould.

The window is somewhat deeply recessed with plain splayed jambs, evidently pointing to its late character. The window on the north side of the chancel is of two lights—with trefoil heads arranged within a square. The end of the north aisle, now a vestry, is lighted by a Perpendicular window of three lights under a pointed head filled with vertical bar-tracery. On the south side is a wide window of two lights with cinque-foiled heads arranged within a four-centred arch with hood-mould with returned ends.

The tower is of masonry rising above the main roof of the church, devoid of architectural embellishment, but with four lancet-lights on each of its four sides, of varying proportions. The tower is surmounted by a lofty, slender, oak-shingled broached spire, terminated by a large and long leaden cross.

THE INTERIOR

The interior of the church is of simple elegant proportions, and of some architectural pretensions. The arcading of the nave on either side consists of four bays: three on each side having semicircular arches moulded with the inner order plain with chamfered edges. These arches are supported by elegant and lofty piers, alternately circular and octagonal. The western-

Incumbents of Playden

most arches are pointed, the mouldings and details being the same as those just described. Above two of the arches are small circular openings with large internal splays, and there may have been clerestory windows before the roof assumed its present form.

The piers of the arches are surmounted by moulded capitals, and the bases stand on square plinths, and are also moulded. These have evidently been restored. Evidence of a pitching piece for the aisle-roof may be seen above the arches in the aisles. The circular openings, above referred to, are moulded on what was then the outside.

The great piers of the tower are rectangular in plan, grouped in three planes to receive the various moulded orders of the arches, two of which—nave and chancel—are pointed, of good and massive proportions.

The north and south arches have plain soffits; a continuous horizontal moulded impost runs around these piers in line with the abaci of the arcading.

The roofs of the nave and side-aisles are ceiled to the underside of the rafters, no timber being visible, except the moulded wall-plates and tie-beams.

The chancel possesses no architectural merit beyond a moulded wall-plate which is embattled along its upper edge. A priest's door has evidently existed in the south wall. The roof is modern.

Under the tower-arches on the north and south are two excellent old-oak carved screens. That on the south has moulded mullions, with slight tracery-heads surmounted by a moulded rail and belongs to the Decorated period. That on the north is richer in design and more heavily timbered, notably the moulded cornice which may have once formed the top of the rood-screen when in its original position. The flowing and cusped tracery is supported by turned shafts of Decorated design; one bay of the wooden arcading is of different design from the rest. This screen is probably of later date than the one on the south. There is evidence of the former existence of a rood-screen at the entrance to the chancel-choir. The vestry, at present occupying the last bay of the aisle, is entered through a pointed arched opening; a similar arched opening existed in the south aisle, forming a chapel. (No piscina remains on either side.) This arch was evidently destroyed by the pressure of the roof. The pulpit is modern. A very peculiar and quaint oaken stairway or ladder is seen in the church, under the tower, leading to the belfry. It is wider at the bottom than the top, and is without a handrail. Its unseemly position appears to be licensed by time.

There are three old bells inscribed respectively, "R. Phelps fecit. 1718."

The font is throughout octagonal in plan, with incised panels on the pedestal, the basin and plinth being moulded. It appears to be an original Perpendicular font except the basin, which seems to have been reworked on the upper faces.

The register dates from 1714 (marriages, 1716).

EARLY INCUMBENTS OF PLAYDEN

1336-7, Alan Boys; 1337, John Mythingsby; 1349, Robert de Briscowe; 1372, John Rose exchanged with William de Boulton; 1397, Richard Passemar; 1401, John de Lokhard or Loklaw; 1402-3, John Houloff; 1408-9, William Ulf, LL.B.; 1410, Thomas Aston; 1411-2, Robert Duffeld; 1412, Robert Kybbelworth, or Kybbeworth; 1430, John Barton exchanged with John Bagworth; 1444, John Syde exchanged with William Stykeland; 1480, Thomas Smyth died; 1480, Richard Castlemartyn; 1554, Robert Barrett; 1554, Robert Walmisley; 1567-8, John Regate; 1568-9, Thomas James; 1587-8, John Forwood; 1593, Richard Greenwood; 1612, John Freeman; 1614, Marmaduke Bupton, S.T.B.; 1641, Thomas Burton; 1685, John Beeston, A.M.; 1703, George Stokes, A.B.; 1713-4, Nathaniel Legge; 1755, Richard Margerson, M.A.; 1765, Robert Tennant, M.A.; 1795, John Goodwin; 1807, George Augustus Lamb, M.A.; 1865, Charles Meade Ramus, M.A.; 1896, W. T. Hobson; 1897, Swann Hurrell.

Iden in Peasmarsh Prebend

IDEN

The following is the reference to Iden in the Domesday Survey:—

IN COLESPORE HUNDRED

“Geoffrey (1 rod) and Lewin (2 rods) hold Idene of the Count (of Eu). Ednod, a freeman, held it in the time of King Edward, and then and now it vouched for 3 rods. There is land for 2 ploughs and they are there in demesne with 1 villein and 7 cottars. There are 6 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward and now, 30 shillings.”

In 15 Edward I. the King gave to William de Grandison and Sibylla his wife, his manor of Dymok in the Manor of Dertford in Kent, in exchange for the manors of Iham, and Iden, where the King maintained a park.

Afterwards the Manor of Iden was in the possession of Galfridus de Knell. The following notes as to ownership are recorded.

In 12 Edward II. Nicholas de la Beeche had a charter of free warren in this lordship (*Dug. Bar.* ii, 127).

Edward II. commanded the Sheriff of Sussex to fell dead wood unfit for timber in the King's park at Idenne (*inter alia*), and make 200 quarters of charcoal to send to John de Somery, King's scullion at Boulogne (*Cal. Close Rolls*, Edward II. m. 16, 1307), and also to prepare 100 oaks for timber in the King's park of Idenne, by view of Wm. de Etchingam, Wm. de Basingges, and Thomas the Engineer (*ibid.* m. 15).

In the subsidy-roll of Henry IV. (1411-2) it is stated that—

“Richard Pratt hath the Manor of Ydene, subject to an annuity of £8 to the Countess of Kent, with which the said Countess is charged as below, and the Manor is worth besides the said annuity £66 8s. od.”

“Countess of Kent hath a certain annuity from the said Manor of Ydene as aforesaid £8.”

9 Edward IV. Richard Dalingrudge, Esq., was seized by one knight's fee of this manor.

Temp. Elizabeth.—Ed. Foster, Gent., died in possession, leaving, as appears by inquisition, John Foster his son and heir.

According to the *Parsons' Armour Roll* of 1612, Mr. Thomas Maudsley was responsible for the provision of “a corsleit furnished” in respect of his double benefice of Iden and Pett.

1633. Inquisition p.m. held at East Grinstead shows that the manor was still held by the Fosters *temp.* Charles I.

Afterwards it appears to have passed to the Shepherds, by whom it was sold to Ralph Norton, Esq., whose daughter, Mrs. Catherine Owens, was proprietor in 1779. Later the manor belonged to Dr. Lambe.

Iden is in the archdeaconry of Lewes, and deanery of Dallington, and was valued in the King's books, according to Horsfield, at £18 8s. 6½d.

The living is a rectory in the patronage of the Lambe family.

Horsfield (1835) describes the church as follows:—

“The church is dedicated to All Saints, and has an embattled tower, with an octagonal turret at the south-eastern angle. There are also two chancels, the northern one being used as a schoolroom. In this edifice the pointed style prevails, although there are several semicircular

Architecture of Iden Church

arches in the southern wall. The western window of the tower is long, large, and pointed. The corbels of the doorway below are angels supporting shields. First party per pale—dexter, three Catherine wheels—sinister, three chevrons for Lewknor—second Lewknor again. From this it may be presumed that this family contributed to the erection of the church. In the chancel, however, there are small mural monuments for the families of Godwin and Bridger. On the floor there is a slab with the impression of a brass figure representing an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, with hands clasped in a devotional attitude. This is now preserved in the vestry" (Horsfield, 1835).

IDEN CHURCH : ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION (1902).

The church of All Saints at Iden in its present state consists of a short nave with a north aisle ; a long chancel with a chapel on its north side of similar proportions ; and a square battlemented tower at its western end. The southern wall of the nave bears evident traces of a former south aisle, the masonry of the arcading forming part of the present external wall.

The general plan of the church is of the Early English style, that of the tower being Perpendicular throughout. The windows of the south aisle are two in number ; one is old (restored) of two lights, with cinque-foiled heads, and enclosed by a four-centred arch. The other of three lights with bar-tracery filling an elliptical head (all modern work). These are placed in the masonry forming the blocking of the previously mentioned arcade.

The south door has a four-centred arch, which, together with its jambs, are simply moulded in the Perpendicular style. It is enclosed in a modern masonry and timbered, tile-covered porch.

The north aisle is lighted by a pair of two-light windows with cinque-foil pointed heads enclosed by square hood-moulds or drip-stones. The modern vestry is built out from the main building on this side. In the western wall of the north aisle is a window of two-light with trefoiled heads. It has a square head and label hood-mould of modern construction.

The east window is of large proportions, consisting of four lights,¹ under a pointed arch filled with Perpendicular bar-tracery. In the southern wall of the chancel there are two small pointed headed single-light windows with moulded casement-jambs and cinque-foiled heads of modern workmanship. A priest's door, now blocked up, existed in this wall. The chapel is of Perpendicular date, the east end with plinth and sub-plinth and moulded string course possibly marking the shape of the original roof, the superstructure being now terminated by a half-gabled end. The east window is modern, of three lights, with Perpendicular bar-tracery and cusped headed lights filling a pointed and labelled arch. There are two modern windows in the north side of the chapel of similar design, namely, of two lights, trefoiled and enclosed by three square hood-moulds. Buttresses are placed on all external angles throughout the whole church.

The square tower of masonry, which is heavily buttressed at the angles, is terminated by an embattled parapet with moulded string below.

The belfry-windows have plain chamfered jambs, surmounted by four centred arches, and with hood-moulds over them. These openings are now filled with oak louvre-boards and frames.

The west wall contains a large Perpendicular window in two heights, with a stone transome ; the moulding of the jambs is continued round the four-centred arch, which is filled with vertical bar-tracery of modern insertion.

A small four-centred recessed light is seen above this window. A characteristic Perpendicular doorway occurs immediately below the large window, the jambs of which are splayed and enriched with a small shaft on each side, with moulded bases and capitals, from which springs the deep-cut moulding of the four-centred arched head, which is enclosed by a bold square label with carved angel terminations, bearing shields of arms (on the north shield demi-sinister, three Catherine wheels ; dexter two chevrons : on the south—two chevrons).

The spandrels of the arch are filled with sunk trefoiled panels. On the north side of the lower wall is a small lancet-headed light, and on the south side a small window, similar to that above the large window on the west front. At the south-eastern angle is a projection containing the tower-staircase, terminating in an octagonal embattled turret, rising above the tower-level, and forming an exit to the roof.

There are fragments of moulded stone to be seen in the churchyard, mostly of Perpendicular date. There are six old bells, the tenor of which measures forty-five inches in diameter, and weighs 14 cwt. 1 qr. 23 lb. They are inscribed respectively :—

¹ Originally of three lights. (Lambert's Drawing. Burrell MSS.) The windows on the south side of the nave and chancel have been much altered and re-arranged.

Incumbents of Iden

- No. 1. "Mr. Thos. Marshall Jordon, Rector of Iden. Mr. Jno. Milham and Mr. Wm. Hall, Church Wardens, 1773. Pack and Chapman of London *fecit*."
- No. 2 and 3. "Thomas Mears of London, founder—1800."
- No. 4. "Thomas Mears of London, founder—1833. The Revd. George Augustus Lamb, D.D., Rector.
Christopher Dive, }
William Reeves, } Churchwardens."
- No. 5. "Thomas Mears of London, founder 1833."
- No. 6. "T. Mears, founder—London, 1833."

THE INTERIOR

The nave, which is of small dimensions, has on its north side an arcade, consisting of two bays of slightly pointed arches, with plain soffits and chamfered angles, supported in the centre by an octagonal pier with moulded capital, and at the responds the inner order of the arch is supported by small moulded corbels with grotesque heads.

In the wall of the north aisle was a north door with pointed head, and moulded with a hollow chamfer continued down the jamb; it now leads to the modern vestry.

Remains of a similar arcade (before mentioned on the outside) can be seen in the south wall, the central pier of which was square (not chamfered at the angles), with a capital having mouldings similar to that on the north, but of square form. All is of the Early English period. In this square pier has been inserted a stoup, semicircular in plan, and with a four-centred arched head; the basin has been destroyed.

The chancel-arch, of Perpendicular work, is pointed with wave-moulded orders, the innermost being supported by circular shafts with moulded capitals, heavily moulded bases, and octagonal plinths.

In the south wall of the chancel the window splays are the original splays of some former pointed or lancet-windows.

The arcading of the chancel-opening into the chapel is of bold Perpendicular design. The arches, pointed with characteristic wave and casement-mouldings, are in part supported by circular shafts with moulded circular and octagonal capitals, and with moulded bases and plinths which are modern. The outer members of the piers and arches are continuous.

There is an Early English piscina, with pointed head, inserted in the southern wall of the chancel.

A modern trefoil-headed hagioscope perforates the north-western respond of the arcade. The roof of the chancel (modern) is of open timber-work with match-boarding soffit. A pointed arch with plain soffit forms the entrance from the aisle to the chapel on the north. The angles of the quoins and arches of the windows are here enriched with ancient stop-chamfered wave-mouldings.

A small piscina exists in the southern wall of this chapel, with slightly moulded angles.

The roof, which is close-boarded and panelled, is modern.

The tower-arch is of very lofty and bold design, the shafts terminated by octagonal capitals and moulded bases in the Perpendicular style. The roof of the church is of open-timbered work, with beams and octagonal king-posts with capitals and bases, the whole much restored, but the rafters and king-posts are old.

The north aisle has an open-timbered roof, which is partly old.

The font stands near the entrance-door of the nave, and is octagonal throughout in plan. The basin is hollow-chamfered on the underside, and connects to the shaft without mouldings. The base is formed of a projecting bead and hollow chamfer.

In the chancel is a small memorial-brass to the former rector, Walter Seller. *ob.* 1428.

The register dates from the year 1559.

EARLY INCUMBENTS OF IDEN

1349, John de Kendall; 1352, Thos. de Burton; 1401, John Kepston or Kypston; 1410, William Ulf, LL.B.; 1427, Walter Seller; 1429, Walter Shiryngton resigned; 1429, Nicholas Capron; 1499, John Grave; 1499, Thomas Fyneham; 1500-1, Robert Monie; 1513, Richard Brokysbye died 1548 (see p. 307-8); 1548, Henry Hale; 1548-9, William Lenden; 1561, Thomas Molder; 1576, Thomas Maudesley—1615, Richard Martin—1643-4, John Woodhall—1688, Francis Aungier—1692, Oliver North; 1726, John Davis, A.M.; 1748, Thomas Marshall Jordan, M.A.; 1759, Thomas Marshall Jordan, M.A.; 1786, Caroline Robert Herbert, LL.B.; 1787, John Calland, B.A.; 1791, John Goodwin; 1807, George Augustus Lamb, M.A.; 1864, John Lockington Bate, M.A.

Northiam in Peasmarsh Prebend

NORTHIAM

There is but little doubt that this Manor is referred to in the Domesday Survey, under the name of Higham, in the hundred of Staple. The following is a translation :—

IN STAPLE HUNDRED

“The Count himself holdeth Higham. Earl Godwine held it. In the time of King Edward there were two hides and a half, but it vouched for two hides, as they say, and now for two hides.

“There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne is one, and 30 villeins and 10 bordars with 19 ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow, and wood for 2 hogs. In the time of King Edward it was worth 100 shillings—now £6. It hath been waste.”

Subsequently, in 24 Edward III., we find that William Fiennes was the owner of Northiam, and later on it passed into the Dacre family, for in 9 Edward IV. it is recorded that Richard, Lord Dacres, held the manors of Ewhurst and Northiam, then lately the possession of John Brynchley and Thomas Ashburnham, and formerly the property of Henry Sharndon and Richard Coding, by the service of a knight's fee and a half.

In Henry VIII.'s reign the Manor belonged to Nicholas Tufton, the husband of Margaret, daughter and heir of John Heaver, Esq., of Cranbroke, in Kent. He died on 30th Dec. 1539 (30 Henry VIII.), having by his will directed that his body should be interred in Northiam Church before the altar of St. Nicholas, and that a stone should be laid over him with “his picture” thereon, and an inscription. He left his lands, etc., to his only son John, and appointed him executor.

Upon an inquisition held after his death in 31 Henry VIII., Nicholas Tufton was found to have died seized of four messuages (£4 10s. 6d.), 70 acres of land, 73 pasture, 46 meadow, and 70 of wood in Northiam, and also 3 messuages, 3 gardens, 130 acres of land, 91 pasture, 24 meadow, 146 wood, 30 heath, and 47 of marsh in Ewhurst, holden of the manor of Moate (*Coles Collections*, B.M., vol. v. p. 337.)

The living of Northiam is a rectory in the archdeaconry of Lewes and deanery of Dallington. It was valued in 1839 in the King's books at £15 10s. 2½d., and in Pope Nicholas's Taxation the church of Nordhamme was rated at 20 marks. The glebe contains 29 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches.

“The church (St. Mary's) is described by Horsfield (1835) as partly in the Early English and partly in the Decorated style of architecture. It consists of a chancel, nave, and two aisles well pewed and ceiled. The embattled square tower, in which are six bells, is surmounted by a lofty octagonal stone spire. The porch on the south side of the church is a large one. The southern wall of the chancel has three recesses, with gothic arches canopied by the unequally elevated stone stalls of the officiating priests. And on the east of them is the locker or stoup, the receptacle of holy water.

There are several mural monuments on the northern wall. A very lofty gothic arch opens to the nave the spacious chancel, and three similar arches on each side, resting on circular columns, divide the aisles from the nave. In one of the windows of the northern aisle are two coats of arms in painted glass of the Oxenbridge family, formerly the possessors of Brede Place in the parish of Brede. These are supposed to have been brought and deposited here from Brede

Architecture of Northiam Church

Place when the chapel attached to that manor was suffered to fall into ruin, and the condition of the spoiled windows to become such as is represented in Grose's Sketch (Brit. Mus.). There is a gallery at the west end of the nave with a small organ, and another gallery is over the south aisle. From the dark colour of the walls, the whole edifice has a sombre appearance."

NORTHIAM CHURCH: ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION (1902)

The church of St. Mary of Northiam has had its original plan entirely destroyed by the large aisles on either side of the chancel. The present plan consists of a wide nave with north and south aisles, a modern chancel with two large aisles, and a square western tower surmounted by a steeple; the whole chiefly carried out in the Early English and Decorated styles.

The south aisle is lighted by a pair of two-light windows with ogee tracery filling the square heads. Two small modern trefoil-headed windows light the clerestory-level on this side. The southern porch is unsymmetrical, of rough masonry, lighted on the west by a small semicircular headed window; a pointed arched doorway of poor design leads to the interior. There is a small blocked lancet-headed window on the east side of the porch beyond the square-headed window.

The eastern end is of squared masonry, and continues up with moulded coping above the roof. It is pierced by an east window of four lights, with intersecting and vertical bar-tracery filling the pointed head. This window is deeply recessed, and has widely splayed jamb stones.

The north aisle has two Perpendicular windows of three lights each, the heads cinque-foiled and the mullions continued to the under side of the arch. A pointed doorway of plain design occupies the centre of the aisle; above this door is a modern four-light window with square head and trefoiled lights. There are two small clerestory-windows with trefoiled heads placed immediately below the wall-plate of the nave. The western end of the aisle contains a two-light window with a square head and ogee trefoiled arched opening.

The stone tower was probably of Early English design originally with an arcade of three pointed arches, of plain rough masonry, on three of its faces, with a small circular-headed light immediately below. The upper part of the tower is apparently of more recent date, of the Perpendicular style, with a battlemented parapet; and is pierced by three square-headed lights with cinque-foiled heads, that on the west side being of similar design, but in two widths. The tower is surmounted by a small sharp-pointed stone spire, with four small lights inserted with trefoil heads under arched labels. At a later period the tower has been strengthened by a masonry buttress at the north-western angle, continuing to the parapet, while a large octagonal staircase has been added to the south-western angle, finishing with a battlemented head above the tower. Two small buttresses strengthen the lower portion of the turret. These additions have interfered with the arcading previously mentioned, portions of the same having been walled up. The three centre bays on the west face now contain small louvre-openings.

The western doorway is of the Decorated period, with moulded jambs and arch, the hood-mould being terminated by carved angels holding shields. A two-light Perpendicular window is inserted immediately above this, the pointed head being filled with bar-tracery, the whole of recent insertion.

The proportions of the church are greatly marred by the addition of the large chapels at the eastern end, which are externally carried out in dressed masonry with angle-buttresses, large lancet windows deeply recessed with plain splayed jambs, the roof being hidden by parapets, imparting to the whole a very uninteresting appearance.

The porch is now used as a vestry; the doorway is similar to that at the entrance to the porch.

THE INTERIOR

The interior of the church is well lighted and spacious.

The arcading of the nave consists of three bays on either side; the arches being very pointed with plain chamfered edges, supported by eight circular piers with moulded caps and bases of Early English design. The roof is of open timber, with tie-beams and ornamented king-posts. The side-aisles have lean-to roofs plastered between the rafters.

The chancel, which is of the same width as the nave, has an arcade of three arches on either side opening into the chancel-aisles. These arches, piers, etc., are similar in design to those of the nave-arcade, though of later date. The ceiling is flat, and plastered and panelled with moulded ribs, which have carved bosses at the points of their intersections.¹

¹ The chancel was rebuilt about the year 1835 (1837-8), and it will be regretted that three sedilia with canopies, mentioned in Horfield's *Sussex*, were not preserved.—*Hastings Past and Present*, p. 148.

Incumbents of Northiam

In place of the usual chancel-arch are two buttressed piers, the upper portion of the wall being supported by a timber-bracketed beam resting upon carved stone corbels.

The chancel-aisles are devoid of ornamental interest. The openings from the side-aisles to the chancel-aisle are by half arches, with their highest points against the piers. These arches are without ornament. The end of the chancel is enriched by a dado of Jacobean or Elizabethan panelling. The fittings, with the exception of one old square pew, are modern.

The Frewen chapel or mausoleum leads out of the north chancel-aisle by means of a glazed oak screen with a four-centred arch.

The interior contains monuments of the Frewen family of Brickwall, Northiam, some of which were removed from the chancel.

The roof is of the Perpendicular style, enriched with gilding designed by Mr. Sidney Smirke. "It was erected in 1846 under a peculiar faculty exempting it from ecclesiastical jurisdiction."—*Op. cit.* p. 144.

The entrance to the tower is under a pointed arch of rude construction. The exterior of the lower portion has semicircular arched recesses on its four sides, supported by square masonry with simple imposts of Early English work. The windows are deeply splayed.

There are five old bells. The tenor bell is 43 inches in diameter, and weighs 13 cwt. 0 qrs. 6 lb. They are inscribed respectively as follows: No. 1, "R. Phelps London *fecit*, 1737"; Nos. 2, 3, 4, the same, but "*Londini*"; No. 5, "Lester & Pack of London *fecit*, 1765."

The register dates from the year 1558.

EARLY INCUMBENTS OF NORTHIAM, PRESENTED BY THE PREBENDARY OF PEASEMARSH.

1287-8, Hugh de Wengrave; 1303, Jordan Morandi; 1318, Robert de Endredeby; 1390, Philip de Garton; 1403, Richard Topclyf; 1408, Richard Passemer exchanged with Richard Barton; 1416-7, Robert Gyger died; John Croyland; 1441, William Dene died; 1441, William Suthby; 1445, William Holman; 1481, John Wright resigned; 1481, Thomas Cliff or Olyve; 1482-3, John Idele; 1518, Robert Benford died; 1533, John Osborne resigned; 1533, John May; 1541, Henry Maillet; 1551, John Gray; 1554, Owen Mawdesley; 1559-60, Thomas Stunt or Short; 1576, John Withers, S.T.P.; 1583, John Frewen; 1628, John Frewen; 1654, Thomas Frewen; 1676-7, George Barnsley; 1692-3, Thankful Frewen, A.M.; 1749, William Lord; 1779, William Lord; 1813, Henry Lord, D.D.; 1836, William Edward Lord, M.A.; 1856 John Octavius Lord.

Beckley in Peasmarsh Prebend

BECKLEY

Though the church is mentioned in Henry's (Count of Eu) charter as part of the prebend of Tetbald, no mention of it or the manor occurs in Domesday.

13 Edward IV. Hamon Belknap owned this manor, and dying left his brother his heir. The latter, by his will bearing date 15 June, 1488, desires to be buried in the Chapel of our Lady at Beckle, in Sussex, where he lived. He also gave to the high altar of the church 20*d.* in lieu of his tithes forgotten or not paid, etc.

The Parliamentary Survey has the following description:—

All that messuage and several parcels of land, etc., called "Chantry Land," alias the Mote, situate in Beckley and Peasmarsh parishes, that is to say, the messuage called the "farm house," in Beckley parish, near the highway leading from Newendon Bridge to Rye. Also all those six parcels of land, called the "Farmers," containing 26 acres. Also the close called Priest Close, containing 8 acres; also 4 acres of arable called the old Lands, containing 10 acres; also the close called King's Acre, containing etc.; also two pieces called the Massines, containing 8 acres; also those pieces of marsh-land overflowed with the tides, with a parcel of arable and pasture adjoining the chapel-close, wherein the chantry-chapel formerly stood, in Peasmarsh parish, containing 18 acres. Memo.—The premises are returned in the present possession of the State. All the woods and trees on the premises are valued worth £1 13*s.* 4*d.*

The said premises are demised by Thomas Petter by indenture of 20 Sept., 1638, whereby Thomas Bostock and Grisell, his wife, demise to T. Petter, all the aforesaid premises for twenty-one years, paying yearly £21, a gammon of bacon, and a fat goose or a couple of capons, and paying all water waste and repair: but by what right Bostock demised doth not appear, though they were summoned to produce their evidences. The said premises are therefore returned in possession.

The Burrell MSS. state that this church is a rectory dedicated to All Saints, it is in the deanery of Dallington, and valued in the King's books at £11 6*s.* 8*d.*—patron the Rev. Thomas Hooper—pays a pension to the prebendary of Peasmarsh of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* It consists of a nave, chancel, two aisles, tower of six bells, and a shingled spire. Pope Nicholas's Taxation notices it as follows:—"Ecclia de Bockeleye XX mrs." The church is situated near the village, and is environed with "ancient and goodly trees."

BECKLEY CHURCH: ARCHITECTURAL NOTES (1902)

The church of All Saints, Beckley, has been much restored (mostly in the year 1885), but the old work appears to have been incorporated where possible. The general plan consists of a wide nave, two aisles, a wide chancel, and two chapels, with a tower at the western end.

The tower of original work is square in plan, not lofty, worked in two stages; the lower of masonry, the upper rough-cast. It is flanked by two angle-buttresses, one of which is brick, and is surmounted by a low timber-shingled broach-spire, which has a small vane. The western face contains four lancet-lights with semicircular heads, one of them glazed in the lower story. The upper story on the south contains three similar lights, that on the north two. On the north

Architecture of Peasmarsh Church

is a short turret-staircase, projecting from the face of the wall, and covered with a pointed roof of stone. In the lower stage was a small light with a circular head (now blocked).

The stonework in places was laid herring-bone fashion, but this is probably not indicative of early work. The west door has a pointed head, with splayed and moulded jambs, and arch with hood-mould of Decorated date.

On the south side the aisle is lighted by two modern three-light windows, with trefoiled lights arranged under a square label-moulding. The doorway is a plain pointed arched opening, with moulded splayed angles; its porch is large and plain, and of masonry without buttresses; the door-opening has splayed jambs and a slightly pointed arch. A small lancet-shaped window is placed in either side-wall; the timber framed work of the roof of the porch above the doorway is of quaint construction.

In the western-wall of the south aisle is a small trefoil-headed window with chamfer.

In the southern chapel is a modern square-headed window of three lights, the mullions and jambs being moulded, and the square head filled with elaborate bar tracery of flowing design. The eastern end of the chapel has a two-light pointed headed window with Geometrical bar-tracery filling the pointed head.

The chancel-window is of three lights under a pointed arch, which is filled with bar lace-tracery of the Decorated period. The eastern end of the north chapel, not centrally placed, is a lofty two-light window with pointed head, without a dripstone, the head being filled with simple Geometrical tracery and quatrefoil light; the principal lights are cinquefoil.

The northern wall of this chapel has a single-light window with trefoil head, also without a dripstone. The north aisle contains two windows similar in every respect to those in the south aisle. The north door (now blocked) is flanked by the two small buttresses, the arched opening having slightly moulded, splayed jambs of the Decorated period. The church is further lighted by the addition of four modern dormer-windows in the roof, two on either side, and of elaborate workmanship, their construction being principally of wood, the lights of each being three in number with flowing tracery.

THE INTERIOR

The interior is of elegant proportions, and well lighted throughout. The arcading, consisting of three bays, is continued by means of a fourth bay into the chancel, and forms openings to the side-chapels. The arcades are of plain Decorated character, the arches and sub-arches being pointed with chamfered angles. These are supported by octagonal piers varying slightly in design. The easternmost piers are of larger section than the others, springing from which the wide chancel-arch rises to a point, and is slightly enriched by a hollow chamfer on its angles.

In the western arches, which die into the west wall, the sub-arch is continued and rests upon an octagonal moulded corbel, on one side with an early grotesque head, the other being modern. The entrance to the tower is by a pointed arch with square jambs and moulded capitals, and bases, all of which are of recent insertion.¹

The nave-roof is of elaborate construction, and old, but much restored.

It is of open timber-work, supported by three curved ribs and bracketted tie-beams, and two half ones at the east and west walls. The purlins are bracketted to the principal rafters to form wind-braces, and the horizontal ridge is similarly treated. The wall-space over the tie-beam in the east principal is filled with panelled work of ornamental design, and is modern. The chancel-roof is of open timbered work, and is supported by three principals with arched beams or braces with hammer-beams supported by oaken brackets, the spandrels being filled with carved tracery.

In the south wall of the chancel are Decorated sedilia with pointed head, cusped to form trefoils; the openings are level, but of dissimilar widths; an ogee-headed piscina adjoins these. It has a modern stone slab, probably replacing the basin.

The arched opening, forming the entrance to the rood-loft, with four steps, occupies an unusual position in the northern wall of the chancel beyond the last bay of the arcade, and close to the present altar-rails.

¹ There are six old bells. The tenor bell is $42\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and weighs 13 cwt. 2 qrs. 11 lb. They are inscribed: No. 1, "Richard Phelps made me 1708." No. 2, "T. Mears of London fecit 1825." No. 3, "Thos. Hooper Rector T. Larkin J. Stonham Ch. Wardens; 1780. Wm. Mears London fecit." Nos. 4 and 5, "R. Phelps made me 1708." No. 6, "Richard Phelps made me. Mr. Thomas Hooper, Rector William Whatman, William Nueball Churchwardens 1708."

Incumbents of Beckley

The north chapel has a ceiling of plain rafters plastered between. There is a small piscina with a rude pointed head in the southern wall of the chapel, below the entrance to the rood-loft.

The south chapel, now occupied by the organ, seems to have been entirely rebuilt, and the roof is modern. The east window is old, and inserted into the new wall. On the east side of the south door of the church is an arched recess forming part of a stoup; this has been restored without the basin. The whole of the church-furniture is modern oak, and of good design. The modern font is elliptical in plan of Renaissance form, the bowl being of white veined marble carved with a reeded pattern, its base being of stone.

The arched openings between the aisles and chapels are pointed. On one side the arch springs from the piers, on the other it is supported on moulded octagonal corbels, the lower portion worked into grotesque heads.

The register dates from the year 1597.

INCUMBENTS OF BECKLEY

1245-6, Laurence de London; 1246, Michael — ?; 1321, Thomas Whetstone; 1390, William Asshurst; 1402, William Rogyn; 1430-1, John Wodehale; 1521, Richard Scawfyld died; 1521, William Beckle, or Buckle; 1553-4, Oliver Stacye; 1556, Thomas Stownt; 1572-3, William Cape; 1575, Richard Foster, M.A.; 1593, Stephen Vynall; 1594-5, William Cope or Cape; 1597, John Bautree, A.M.; 1612, Thomas Sharpe, A.M.; 1673, John Holman died; 1682, Richard Forster, M.A.; 1699, Thomas Hooper, M.A.; 1752, Thomas Hooper, junr., LL.B.; 1804, Henry Hodges, B.A.; 1837, William Glaister, M.A.; 1861, William Hedley, M.A.; 1878, Thomas Shadforth, M.A.; 1888, James Lee-Warner, M.A.; 1900, Robert Burton Poole, D.D.

CHAPTER VIII

STONE PREBEND



HIS Prebend is not mentioned by name among those enumerated as having been founded by Robert, Count of Eu, unless it was the prebend of Geoffrey de Blangi, the particulars of the endowment of which are appended:—The first mention of it is in the Inquisition 2 Edw. I., where it is said to be valued at three marks and a half per annum, and stands the 5th prebend on the list. It appears to have increased in value very soon after that time, being thus mentioned in the Extent. an. 8 of the same king. “Prebenda de Stone, val. p. ann. 50s.” It is therein enumerated as the 7th prebend on the list. It is also enumerated in the Extent an. 15 Ed. I. as the 7th prebend.

It had ceased to exist before the reign of Henry VIII., being neither mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, nor in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne. It is probable that the land termed “Stone-land,” in the latter document, was part of the possession of this prebend.

THE MANOR

The Burrell MS. (Mus. Brit.) only gives the following meagre account of the Manor of Stone, which throws no light on this prebend.

“*Stone*.—This manor lies in the parishes of St. Mary le Castle and Watlington; it is a small straggling manor. The court is held in or near the Castle of Hastings, to which it pays an annual quit-rent of £1 19s. 4d. for all lands in the Rape of Hastings.”

In the prebend of Geoffrey de (Qy. “and”) Blangi (Blanchi, or Blangas) two (? one) dwelling in the baily and a half hide (? two) of land in Cildecona (Cildetona, Cyldeconam, or Cilditon) and the tithe (Qy. half) of Gerlings (Gerlins) and a half hide at Hornam (Horna—Qy. Horne in Northiam¹) and the chapel of Wechtune (Welchenor or Wetsitun) and tithe, and one (? half) rod of land there, one virgate and a half and the tithe of Tutan (Totton, Tutuna or Tynton, or Tinturna or Tylton) and two sheaves of the tithes of Blakebroc and the tithe of Estfeld (Estflez, Estfleyte, or Estflete).

The rent here mentioned is said to have been received before the Suppression, by the Abbots of Battle (it does not appear under what authority) and is now paid to the lord of Battle Hundred.²

¹ Whorne wood (Horne wood) in Ewhurst, Horne’s Cross in Northiam. At Whorne wood there is a hamlet. Blackbroke is a common field-name in Sussex. It occurs in the parish of Bexhill.

² By the lord of Hastings Rape. At the head of the receipt given it is entitled; “Hastings College and Manor of Stone, for waste lands in Hastings Rape.” N.B.—It would seem, if the Rape is correctly charged with this rent of £1 19s. 4d., that it must have been so made chargeable by some of the ancient lords of the Rape.

Prebendaries of Stone

PREBENDARIES

Wm. Bucean, died 1291 (20 Ed. I. m. 28, Page 121, *ante*).

1291, Dec. 11. John de Cadamo (Caen), presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 20 Ed. I. m. 28), resigned 1301.

1301, Mar. 27. Nicholas de Cadamo (Caen), presented by Edward I. (*Pat.* 29 Ed. I. m. 21), resigned 1316-7.

1316-7, Feb. 19, John de Stretford, cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 10 Ed. II. p. 2 m. 28), resigned 1318.

1318, April 15. William (Qy. Walter) de Harpham, cl., presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 11 Ed. II. p. 2 m. and 20), resigned 1319.

1319, Oct. 22. Richard de Wynteworth (or Bynteworth), presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 13 Ed. II. p. 1 m. 30), exchanged 1337.

1337, Nov. 5. Henry de Idesworth, presented by Edward III. (Harl. MSS. BM. 6951 f. 166 and *Pat.* 11 Ed. III. p. 3 m. 18), exchanged 1337.

1337, Nov. 16. Richard de Wynteworth or Bynteworth, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 11 Ed. III. p. 3 m. 15), resigned 1337-8.

1337-8, Feb. 18. Richard de Wykford, ? (Wilkford—see p. 174), presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 12 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 35 and 14).

Note.—1335—Richard de Bintworth, prebendary of Stone, appeared by his procurator, John de Urdele, in the Conventual Church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, before the King's commissioners, on the affairs of Hastings College and Chapel.

1341, May 10, Bernard Brocas, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 15 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 10 and 24), resigned 1361-2.

(19 Edw. 3.—Bernard Brocas,¹ prebendary of Stone, appeared by William de Lokesley, his procurator, before the same commissioners, relative to the Visitation of the College.)

1361-2, Jan. 30. Arnaldus (Arnold) Brocas, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 36 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 33), resigned 1366-7.

1366-7, Jan. 20. John de Foxle, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 40 Ed. III. p. 2 m. 3) resigned 1370.

1370, Aug. 14. Gregorius (Gregory) de Bottele, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 44 Ed. III. p. 2 m. 6). resigned 1375.

1375, June 4. Valentinus atte Forde, cap., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 49 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 12), died 1377.

1377, Oct. 24. William de Pakyngton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 1 Rd. II. p. 1 m. 4 and 5), resigned 1378.

1378, Sept. 30. Henry Davy, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 2 Rd. II. p. 1 m. 28 and 48), resigned 1378-9.

1378-9, Mar. 18. Thomas Kingesbury, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 2 Rd. II. p. 2 m. 18 and 29), died 1382.

1382, Oct. 25. William de Norton, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 6 Rd. II. p. 1 m. 19), exchanged 1386.

1386. John Rowley, prebendary of Cadyngton Major in St. Paul's, London. (*Pat.* 10 Rd. II.).

1389. Thomas Ende (*Pat.* 13 Rd. II.).

Note.—These two appointments were either revoked, or else did not take effect.

1396, Sept. 21. Alexander Herle, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 20 Rd. II. p. 1 m. 17), resigned 1397-8.

1397-8, Jan. 30. Thomas de Weston, cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 21 Rd. II. p. 2 m. 7).

1398-9, Mar. 13. John Doneys, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 22 Rd. II. p. 2 m. 14).

1403, Dec. 1. William Aghton, presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 5 Hen. IV. p. 1 m. 25), exchanged 1406.

¹ It is possible that he was related to the family of Sir Bernard Brocas, beheaded in the reign of Edward III., and buried in Westminster Abbey.

Prebendaries of Stone

1405, Mar. 9. (Rede's Register). John Messenger, presented by the Crown to the Prebend of Stone in the Coll. Ch. of Hastings.

1406, July 21. John Message or Messenger, cap., presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 7 Hen. IV. p. 2 m. 14).

1406, July 18. (Rede's Register). The foregoing item is repeated.

1406. William Stone.

1412, May 27. (Rede's Register). Jno. Prentys was presented by the Crown to the Prebend of Stone in the royal chapel of Hastyngs.

Note.—Scrip. que fuit Cancell. anglie de ipsius admissione.

— John Druell (or Donell), resigned 1441.

1441, Nov. 4. Nicholas Cecyll, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 20 Hen. VI. p. 2 m. 19), resigned 1442.

1442, Nov. 5. William Osgodby, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 21 Hen. VI. p. 1 m. 14).

CHAPTER IX

HOLLINGTON PREBEND



HOLLINGTON PREBEND is thus mentioned in the confirmation-charter of Count Henry, together with its original endowment :—

“ In the prebend of Ralph Taiard (Tayard, or Tayardy, or Tarard) one dwelling in the castle and one garden outside the bailey, and tithes of land upon the park (or upon the meadow) ; and out of the land of Osbert and from the Underpark (or meadow, *de Subparco*) and a half hide of Herthenbergam (Herthonberga, or Herthberga, or Hechu'-Bergham) and (of the) chapel of Wiltinge (Witying) and half the tithes of Wilesham (Vilescent) and the chapel of Holinton and tithes, and the Church of Ywerstham (Ewhurst) and tithes, and land with meadow and three rods of land at Prelham, and the chapel of Bodiham and the tithes, and (mortuaries of) the parishioners of the same chapel dying at Iwerstham (Ewhurst) and the tithes of Tenegate (Donegate or Tennegate).”

In order Hollington is mentioned as the ninth prebend of Count Robert's foundation, and its prebendary, as we have seen, not only enjoyed one of the prebendal residences within the Castle, but had also an orchard or garden without the ward or below the Castle Hill, together with other land and tithes in St. Mary in the Castle parish.

The prebend appears at first to have been associated with the Prebends of Ewhurst and Bodiam.

The Manor called Hollington, *als.* Holinton, *als.* Holington, *als.* Honintun, etc., lies wholly in the parish of Hollington, and is mentioned in Domesday Book as being held by Count Robert. It extends to the parish of Warbelton.

The following are the particulars of the Manor, as contained in the Domesday Survey :—

“ In Baldeslei (Baldslow) Hundred—Godwine and Alestan held Horintone in the time of King Edward, and could go with their land where they pleased. Then it vouched for 4 hides and a half. Now for 3 hides and 2 rods. There is land for 8 ploughs.

“ Of this land the Count holdeth in demesne one hide and a half and two rods, and there hath one plough and twelve villeins with four ploughs.

“ Of the same land Reinbert hath half a hide, William one hide, Hugh half a hide, Ulward 2 rods.

“ In demesne is one plough and three villeins and three cottars with three ploughs.

“ In the manor are two acres of meadow and wood for 2 hogs.

“ The whole manor in the time of King Edward was worth 30 shillings, and afterwards 20 shillings. Now 58 shillings.”

The Manor of Wilting, mentioned in the Charter of Count Henry as part of the endowment of this prebend, is thus referred to in the Domesday Book in Baldeslei (Baldslow) Hundred.

“ Two freemen held Wiltingham in the time of King Edward. Then and now it vouched for 4 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. Of this land Ingelran holdeth of the Count 2 hides and 2 rods Reinbert half a hide and 2 rods, Ralph half a hide, Robert 2 rods. There are 3 ploughs

Hollington Prebend

in demesne and 9 villeins and 5 cottars with 6 ploughs. There are 16 acres of meadow. The whole in the time of King Edward was worth 100 shillings. Now £4. It hath been waste. The Count hath in his park one rod of this manor."

By the Charter of Count Henry I Ingelran (of Eu).

"Gave to the canons of the Church of Saint Mary of Hastings in common, half the tithe of the yearly increase of Wytlinges, and the whole tithe of the possession; and Guy his brother granted it that time when he came to the land, and besides the whole tithe of Ginnemere.' (Guinenii).

The Abbey of Battle had one virgate in Hollington, which was a part of the Leuga (or privileged area), and also one in Wiltinges. The Abbey lands are thus described in the Domesday Book :—

(*Inter alia*). "In Wiltinges which Ingelran holds of the Count, the Abbot hath 1 rod of land waste."

"In Holintun which the Count of Eu holdeth, the Abbot hath one rod of land waste. There is also one wood outside the Rape for five hogs.

"Of this land the Abbot hath in demesne two hides and a half, and there is one plough with 21 bordars and 2 mills untaxed. It is worth 40 shillings. These hides have not paid geld in the Rape."

In the time of Henry III. the proprietors of Hollington Manor appear to have been individuals of the name of Hastings and Penhurst.

This prebend is not enumerated in the Inquisition an. 2 Edw. I; nor again in the Extent 8 Edw. I. In the Extent an. 15. of the same King, it is mentioned as the eighth prebend on the list.

In Pope Nicholas's Taxation of 1291 the endowment is valued at £4 6s. 8d.

During this (Edward I) and the succeeding reigns the names of Belknap Botiller, Mille, and Ulnedale appear as proprietors of the lordship of Hollington.

In 1296 a Subsidy was granted to Edward. The following is an extract from the Roll :—

LAY SUBSIDIES SUSSEX 1296

Undecima de Comitatu Sussex anno regni Regis Edwardi, xxiiiij^{to} (1296).

*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
m. 3	VILLATA DE WYLTUNG.								
De Baldewyne de Stouwe							VII ^a	IIIJ ^d	Ob
De Nicholas atte Grove							IIJ	VIIJ ^d	Ob
De Phillippo ater Herste							IJ	VIJ ^d	Ob
De Gregorio de Wylting							XV ^d	9 ^a	
De Willelmo de Filesham							VJ	VIJ ^d	
De Galfrido ater Herst							XIIIJ ^d	Ob	
De Ricardo atte Wynde							IJ ^a	Ob	
De Roberto atte Wynde							IJ ^a	IIJ	Ob 9 ^a
De Roberto de Baldeslouwe							XIJ		
De Henrico de Wyltyng							IIJ ^a		
De Roberto Coco							IJ ^a	VJ ^d	Ob
De Henrico Clerico							IJ	IX ^d	Ob 9 ^a
De Pupelota ater Dune							XIX ^d	Ob	9 ^a
De Willelmo Averey							XIJ ^d		
De Henrico ater Bregg							IIIJ ^a	XJ ^d	
De Roberto Eldreth							XX ^d	Ob	9 ^a
De Nicholas atte Stone							XIJ ^d		
De Andrea de Ilesbern							IJ ^a	VJ ^d	Ob
De Gunna Bach							XIX	Ob	9 ^a
De Roberto Robyn							XIJ	Ob	
Summa							LIJ		

The Manors of Wilting and Hollington

Anno 5 Edw. II. By inquisition taken after the death of Matthew de Hastings, the deceased was found to hold at his death "100 solidat. terrae in Holyngton" of John de Britanny, at the rent of 5*d.*, payable twice a year at the house (camera) of the said John.

Another subsidy was granted in 1327, namely :—

LAY SUBSIDIES SUSSEX 1327

Taxatio xx^{mo} Domini Regis Edwardi tertii a Conquestu (1327) concessa facta per Willelmum de Portho et Johannem atte See ad dictam XX^{am} in comitatu Sussex, taxandum et colligendum assignatos anno ejusdem Domini Regis primo finiente incipiente secundo.

m. 28d.	* * * * *	VILLATA DE WYLTING	* * * * *	
De Baldewino de Stowe . . . . .	.	.	VIIJ ^a
De Willelmo de Chillonde . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Gilberto atte Grove . . . . .	.	.	IIJ ^a
De Roberto atte Wynde . . . . .	.	.	IIJ ^a
De Roberto Serjaunt . . . . .	.	.	XVIIJ ^a
De Alicia Clerk . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Roberto le Nede . . . . .	.	.	IIJ ^a
De Willelmo de Wyke . . . . .	.	.	IIJ ^a
De Roberto de Genesinge . . . . .	.	.	V ^a
De Johanne Cok . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Rogero atte Hurst . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Henrico Fraunkelain . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Petro atte Stone . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Roberto de Baldeslowe . . . . .	.	.	IJ ^a
De Petro de Wylting . . . . .	.	.	IIJ ^a
De Waltero de Fylesham . . . . .	.	.	XIJ ^a
Summa istius villate . . . . .	.	.	XLVJ ^a
			XJ probatu	
Taxatores {	Ricardus de Southinne	XIJ ^a	} Summa taxatorum IIJ ^a probatur
	Johannes de Twynem . . . . .	.	XIJ ^a
	Willelmus Averai . . . . .	.	XIJ

In 1389 Sir Edward Dalyngruge received from the King a grant of the manors of Wilting and Hollington, then lately the property of Sir Robert Belknap who had been attainted of treason (Rot. Pat. 12 Ric. II).

In the Subsidy Roll of 13 Henry IV. (1411-12) the following item appears: John Dalyngregge hath manors, lands, etc., worth yearly beyond reprises £100, namely: the manors of Bodyham, £15; Wilting, £2 13*s.* 4*d.*; Hollington, £2; and others.

Anno 10 Edw. IV. Richard Dalyngringe was, on inquisition, found to have died seized of the manors of Hollington and Wiltinge; and to have held them of Sir William Hastings, Knight, as of his Castle and Honour of Hastings by fealty and 2*s.* Castle guard-rent: and that those manors formerly had belonged to Baldwin de Stowe.

One of the Commissioners for the Subsidy dated Feb. 20, 1514 (5 Henry VIII.) was John Livett, of the Grove, Hollington, who died Anno 25 Henry VIII. and settled his lands in Hollington, the Blessed Mary in the Castle of Hastings, and Saint Leonards, in tail male on his son John, and in default of heirs on his brother Richard. At the time of the dissolution of the Free Chapels etc., the Prebend of Hollington was endowed, among other grants, with the advowsons of Hollington, Ewhurst, and Bodiam.

Miscellaneous References to Hollington

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and in the Grant to Sir Anthony Browne, 29 and 38 of Henry VIII., it is described as follows :—

Val. Ecc.—"Prebend de Hollington. Thomas Fenys, clerk, prebendary of the same value clear per annum, with all profits and returns (and demised to Giles Fynes Esq., by indenture for a term of years) rendering therefore 40s. Tenths therefrom 6s. 11d.

Grant, etc.—"All that the late prebend of Hollington, with its rights, members, reversions, and appurtenances, etc., and all that annual pension of 20s. annually issuing from the vicarage of Hollington ; also 40s. issuing from the vicarage of Ewherst : also the advowsons of the vicarages and churches of Hollington, Ewherst, and Bodiham."

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and the Grant to Sir Anthony Browne, from which we have just quoted, the prebend is ranked otherwise than in Count Henry's Charter, being in the former mentioned as the first prebend and in the latter as the second prebend on the list.

Anno 38 Hen. VIII.—"*Prebenda de Holtington tent. p. Ant. Browne, mil. in capite. Hem. Vic. advoc. eccliae tent ut sup.*"

The Priory at Hastings, at the time of Henry VIII's valuation, had rents in Hollington amounting to £2 os. 6d.

Anno 2 Edw. VI. The rectory and late free chapel in the parish of Hollington with its rights, members, and appurtenances, held by John and Richard Keyne, Gents, and the heirs of John, in socage.

N.B.—It is reported that the farmer of Duncombe had writings of land in Hollington, the situation of which was 2 miles beyond the present shore (Burrell MS.).

In the Parsons' Armour Roll of 1612 the following is quoted :—

"Hollington : Mr. Thomas Large (double benefice). A musquet furnished."

In 1648 the property in the parish of Hollington, probably including St. Margaret's and St. Leonard's, Hastings, was valued at £461 15s.

The manor of Hollington afterwards passed into the hands of the Pounce family, and ultimately to the Pelhams, in whom it is now vested.

Anno 15 Geo. III. Hollington manor vested in John Pelham Esq., at whose death on April 7th, 1786, it passed to his only brother and heir Henry Pelham Esq. It was described as follows—

1789.—In the church is a vicarage dedicated to Saint Leonard—situate in the Deanery of Hastings—appropriated to Hastings College—value in the King's books at £8 os. 2½d.—patron, Sir Charles Eversfeld, Bart. This living is discharged. Charles Eversfeld, Esq., patron in 1734.

Horsfield states the value of the Vicarage at £8 9s. 2½d., and he adds that there is a cottage, and about an acre and a half of glebe, but no residence for the clergyman. However, the living of Hollington was gazetted a rectory on July 12th, 1867, and a Rectory-house was built on the glebe, during the incumbency of the Rev. F. Whistler.

Horsfield's account of the church states the building to be small, and calculated to accommodate about 150 persons. It consists of a chancel, nave, and tower, the latter of which is low, having only one bell. This bears the Inscription, †*SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM*, and between the words appears a *fleur de lis*. The church is picturesquely situated in the heart of a romantic wood, having

Architecture of Hollington Church

had, according to Horsfield (in 1835) no hut or house of any kind within a quarter of a mile. Its humble churchyard is overshadowed by the surrounding foliage.

Mr. Hayley describes it in his letter to Sir William Burrell in 1777, as being situated "in the middle of a wood, and having then no memorial of the interment of any person therein.

HOLLINGTON CHURCH.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES, 1902.

The Church of St. Rumbold,¹ of Hollington, is of small dimensions, and consists of a short nave and chancel, with a short wooden bell-turret rising above the nave at its west-end. There is a modern vestry on the north side of the Chancel.

In former times, its situation in a dense wood, far away from any habitation, with its quaint dilapidated form and humble graveyard, was most romantic and picturesque. Of late years the wood has been much thinned, the Church has been greatly restored, and its enlarged graveyard is now thronged with the monuments of the rich, but it still retains something of the beauty of its sequestered situation.

The general style of the Church, as it appears from old prints and drawings, seems to have been Early English, with Perpendicular and later insertions.

In 1865 the Church was in a ruinous state. The eastern end of the church was pulled down and rebuilt in 1861. (*Hand Book to Hastings and St. Leonard's*, M. M. Howard, 1893, p. 86.)²

The whole church now appears to have been refaced with stone, and a new porch built, so that scarcely anything in the way of ancient work remains.

Formerly the south aisle had two large windows of a late nondescript character, one on either side, of a gabled porch, which itself was of late construction and mean design; there were three short, heavy, rudely designed buttresses against the southern wall, one at each end of the nave, and one on the east side of the porch.

The southern wall of the chancel formerly had a priest's door, pointed-headed, with a hood-mould, with its ends either terminated by bosses or returned. Above the door on either side were two lancet-lights, the westernmost one having a pointed hood according to the drawing by Lambert, Junr. (Burrell MSS.). Early in the nineteenth century the easternmost of these two lights was replaced by a square casement.

The eastern wall of the chancel was gabled and built in two stages, the first ending a few feet above the ground. This detail still remains. There was formerly a pair of pointed lights enclosed within a square head. A string-course was carried across the wall, which, rising above the square head of the window, formed a sort of hood-mould with returned ends.³

This window has now been replaced by a large, modern, pointed-headed window of three lights, with Geometrical tracery.

It is said that, on pulling down the old walls of the chancel, they were found to have been composed of an earlier building (probably Early English), a monk's head in stone was found built into the wall, also a finial, much chipped, but capable of affording a pattern for that which is now placed on the gable-end of the chancel; pieces of mullions and window-tracery were also found.

¹ Erroneously called St. Leonard's. The invocation of this church has been much disputed, and it has always appeared improbable that the parish church should invoke the same saint as the Chapel of St. Leonard in the same parish. Mr. Hamilton Hall, F.S.A. (see *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, XII. 246, 416, 490; 9th S., II. 196), points out that a certain Giles Wetherys, in his will, dated the 10th of March, 1562, for 1561-62, proved 9th August, 1562 (*Lewes*, Book A5, fo. 75) mentions the church of Hollington under the dedication of St. Rumbold. Mr. Hall also points out that, in a list of fairs in *The Young Man's Best Companion*, July 11th is mentioned as the fair-day for Hollington, so that the fair was held on old St. Rumbold's eve. The festival of this saint was kept in olden days on the 24th of June, or more recently on the 1st of July. When the parishioners of St. Leonard's Chapel were driven to Hollington Church, they seem to have carried the invocation to St. Leonard with them.

² Mr. William Harmer, in his *Souvenir of Hollington Old Church*, page 10, states that in 1865 "a new roof was put on the chancel and the south wall pulled down and rebuilt."

³ In one of Lambert's drawings in the Burrell MSS. (5676) this string-course is shown carried straight across above the window, but this does not agree with other old drawings.

The Free Chapel of St. Leonard in Hollington

The only ancient feature on the western side of the church is the easternmost window in the north wall of the nave. The window is of Perpendicular date, square-headed, of two cinque-foiled lights. The upper part of this window was accidentally discovered on the south side of the chancel in 1851, in the ditch which formerly surrounded the churchyard. It was restored by Mr. Whistler, the patron of the living, and placed in its present position; other modern windows of this church have been copied from the window.

The most remarkable feature of the church was its western wall and bell-turret. Viewed from the west, when free of its overhanging ivy, the wall appeared to be broader than the rest of the church, owing to the buttresses on either side being carried out flush with the western wall. In the centre of this wall was a large buttress, which has been further strengthened with brickwork.

The wooden bell-turret¹ has a pyramidal head. The western face of this head was originally carried down far below the eaves of the other sides, ending in a kind of lean-to above the buttress at the west end of the nave. This curious feature was adopted at the neighbouring church of Whatlington. There is but one old bell, but there were probably more, for in a commission to inquire into the state of church-bells in 1686 occurs the following entry, "Hollington, one of the bells is cracked." The bell is inscribed in old English letters, *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum V.M.* (between the words is a *fleur-de-lis*).

The church is entered, as in olden days, by a door on the south, enclosed by a modern porch. The interior, formerly of extreme simplicity, has been embellished of late years by many modern additions, and nothing remains except a few old details. An old octagonal stoop or font is built against the north wall, and is probably a Perpendicular insertion. There appears to have been a pointed-headed northern doorway, now blocked. The roof is modern, but the tie-beam in the middle of the nave is ancient. The chancel and pulpit are modern, as also the stone-balustrade dividing the nave from the chancel.

There is a plain, low, pointed piscina with chamfered edge in the north wall by the chancel-arch. There was formerly a gallery used by musicians beneath the belfry at the west end of the church, and, according to Charles Lambe (in 1823), a pulpit.

The Chapel of St. Leonard was formerly in the patronage of the Abbey of Saint Katherine of Rouen, from which monastery it was forfeited by Edward III. during the wars with France, and the King then presented the incumbent. It probably then obtained the name of "the Royal Free Chapel of St. Leonards, in the parish of Hollington, in Hastynge." It was restored to the Abbey, and again forfeited by the Crown at the Dissolution of the free chapels, etc., in the time of Henry VIII. It was described in the Augmentation-Office records as "The Rectory and Free Chapel of St. Leonards, in the parish of Hollington, in Sussex," and with other benefices it was sold for £1,154 15s. to John Keyme and Richard Keyme, the yearly value being £17 1s. 11d.

From an entry in the Augmentation-Office *Miscellaneous Book*, vol. 67, f. 530, made about 1548, and other previous documents, we learn that there was a Rectory or Free Chapel of Saint Leonard within the parish of Hollington, and it is so called upon a presentation to the Church of St. Leonard in the same year.

In the seventeenth century claim was made by the Vicar of Hollington to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the parish of St. Leonard's, or rather "St. Leonard's in Hollington."

The Church of St. Leonard's was situate on the hill immediately north of the St. Leonard's Archway (lately pulled down); its site is now occupied by a Dissenting chapel, in the Norman Road, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, and after the Dissolution the parishioners seem to have attended the Hollington Church. This probably gave rise to the Vicar's claim, which was never settled or forgotten until the Act of Parliament in 1868 was obtained, dealing with the districts of St. Leonard's and St. Mary Magdalen, Hastings. This Act gave power to annex a

¹ The sides of the turret were formerly boarded, and the head shingled.

Rectors of St. Leonard's and Prebendaries of Hollington

portion of the reputed parish of St. Leonard's to the parish of Hollington, for ecclesiastical purposes.

From the Patent Rolls and other sources we have been able to compile the following list of rectors to St. Leonard's:—

1275, William de Hastings. 1278, Robert de Storteford. 1321, John ———. 1334, Thomas de Hampton. 1344, Robert de Fenny Compton. 1346, Robert de Preston de Derby. 1349, Stephen de Bolton. 1351, Thomas Maunsel. 1351, William de Lyneford. 1373, William de Dalton. 1374, John Elysaundre. 1392, Walter Dunwell. 1392, Robert Lincoln. 1400, John Crudshale (died). 1400, John Bauk (or Boke), A.M. 1407, John Love, LL.B. 1415, William Fryth. 1444, Thomas Histyl (died). 1444, Thomas Chalke, LL.B. 1481–2, Richard Terenden. 1481–2, Thomas Cornwall, A.M. 1502, John Peers, LL.B.

PREBENDARIES OF HOLLINGTON.

Temp. Reg. Henry I. Ralph Tayard, Prebendary of Hollington.

26, Edward I. Thomas Logor, D.C.L., presented by the King to the prebend of Ewhurst and Bodyham (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls* $\frac{A}{34}$).

1314, Mar. 26. Richard de Alesbury (or Aylesbury) to Hollington, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 7 Ed. II. p. 2. m. 19 and 23).

1319, Oct. 22. Roger de Ligwy, cl. (or Lyswy, or Lisbury), to Hollington, Bodiam, and Ewhurst, presented by Edward II. (*Pat.* 13 Ed. II. p. 2. m. 29). Resigned 1328.

1328, Oct. 18. John de Carynges, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 2 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 26).

1330, April 25. Richard Townlay (Toneley, see page 169) (Counmley, see page 173), presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 4 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 19 and 11). Exchanged 1339.¹

1336, Dec. 6. John de Salesbury (or Salberis) to Hollington, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 10 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 10). Revoked 1346/7, Mar. 17 (*Pat.* 11 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 31).

1339, Sept. 10. John de Ellerker (or Ellerton), preb. of Toleshurst, militis, in St. Martin's le Grand, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 13 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 20 and 22). Exchanged 1346.²

1340. Peter de Berkele, presented to Hollington, Bodiam, and Ewhurst (*Pat.* 14 Edward III.), but this does not seem to have taken effect.

1346, Dec. 15. John Wade, formerly prebendary of Wertlying, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 20 Ed. III. p. 3. m. 5). Resigned 1371/2.

1371/2, Jan. 24. Henry de Codyngton, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 45 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 3). Exchanged 1372/3.

1372/3, Feb. 21. Thomas Mount de Wykham (of Wykham), prebendary of Ayton and Crophill in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Southwell, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 47 Ed. p. 1. m. 25).

1375, Aug. 7. Henry de Medbourne (or Medburn) to Hollington, Bodiam, and Ewhurst, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 49 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 3 and p. 2. m. 22). Resigned 1393.

1393, Nov. 12. John Lincolnia (or Lincoln), cl., presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 17 Rd. II. p. 1. m. 15). Resigned 1394.

1394, Aug. 8. John Notyngham, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 18 Rd. II. p. 1. m. 20). Resigned 1398.

1398, July 3. Thomas Hilton, presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 18 Rd. II. p. 1. m. 20). Exchanged 1399.

1399, Nov. 6. William Ilkytsale, presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 1 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 19).³

1412/3, Feb. 3. Richard Bolton, cl., to Hollington, presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 14 Hen. IV. m. 8).⁴

¹ An. 1335. Richard de Toneley appeared before the King's commissioners in the conventional church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, by Walter de Grenestede, his proxy.

² 19 Edward III. John Ellerker (probably the same prebendary) is mentioned to have appeared before the same commissioners in the Visitation held this year at the College, personally.

³ 1399, Nov. 9. (Rede's Register, fo. 74) Wm. Elkytsale, on the resignation of F. Hybertson by exchange to preb. of Holyton, "in cap. reg. de Hastyns."

⁴ 1412, Feb. 12. (Rede's Register, 153b), ap. London Rd., Baton cap. to prebend. of Hollyngton in the Royal Chapel, Hastyns, presented by the King.

Prebendaries and Incumbents of Hollington

- Nicholas Sturgeon. Resigned 1433.
 1433, July 26. Robert Galeon, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 11 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 15).
 Died 1435.
 1435, Nov. 4. Robert Chirbury, cap., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 14 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 22).
 Resigned 1437.
 1437, June 10. Richard Vincent, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 15 Hen. VI. m. 12).
 1438, Feb. 10. (Praty's Register) John Wraby, on the resignation of Richard Vyncent to
 prebend of Holyngton, in ye Free Chapel of Hastyngs. Patron the King.
 —— William Witham, (?) Doctor of Laws, leg. dr. Resigned 1454.
 1454, July 18. John Ruding, leg. Bac., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 32 Hen. VI. m. 6)
 Resigned 1457.
 1457, Aug. 29. Robert Bonoure, presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 35 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 7).
 —— Baldewimas Hyde, cl. Exchanged 1468/9.
 1468/9, Mar. 17. Robert Wodmanston, cl., presented by Edward IV. (*Pat.* 9 Ed. IV. p. 1.
 m. 14).
 1501, April 28. (Story's Register) John Clement, prebendary of Holyton, appears as the
 patron of the Vicarage of Holyngton.
 1528, April 20. (Shyrborn's Register) Thomas Fynes, clerk, ditto ditto.
 an. 1538. Thomas Fenys, clerk, prebendary of Hollington.

INCUMBENTS.

<i>Date of Admission.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1344	John de Leveryngton	} Exchange	
1344	Robert Brok		
1387	Adam de Cokermouth		
1386	Nicholas Chamberleyn	res. Adam de Cokermouth	

N.B.—The above are extracts of the notes made from the muniments of Saint Mary Magdalene
 College, Oxford, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, edited by the Rev. W. D
 Macray, M.A., F.S.A., rector of Duckington, Oxon.

REDE'S REGISTER.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1397, Jun. 17	Richard Cook	(<i>Misc. Chanc. Rolls</i> $\frac{2}{4}$)	Sir Henry Medbourne, Preby. of Holyngton
1397, July 19	William Smyth	res. Richard Cook	John Notyngham, Canon and Prebendary of Hollyngton
1403, Jun. 21	William Clerk (or Clerke)	res. William Smyth	William Ilkettesale, Preb. of Hollyngton

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1429	John Scales		
PRATY'S REGISTER.			
1439	Andrew Valentyne	resigned	John Wraby, " <i>Prebenda Prebende de Holyngton infra liberam Capellam Beate Marie Virginis infra castrum de Hastyngs.</i> "
439, May 9	Richard Carpenter	And. Valentyne	
1445, July 19 (Qy. June)	Robert Frewyn cap.	res. Rich. Carpenter	The same
1478	Thomas Michelson		

Note.—"Dominus Clemens cap. Procto de Holyngton exhibuit suas litera s sub sigillo ignoto."

STORY'S REGISTER (Pars. 2nd).

1499	Thomas Meke	Died	
1499, Dec. 1	Ralph Dorham (or Derham)	d. Thomas Meke	Preb. of Hollington
1501/2, Apl. 28	Humphrey Vawtard, M.A. (or Vautard)	d. Ralph Dorham	John Clement, Preb. Holyton

Incumbents of Hollington

RICARDUS FITZJAMES'S REGISTER.

1505/6, Jan. 29 William Rosell (or res. Humphr. Vawtard The same
Russell), cap.

SHYRBORN'S REGISTER.

1528, Apl. 20 Thomas Wright, cap. res. William Rosell John Fynes, Cler. Pre-
bendary

Note.—In exchange for Wiggenholt-cum-Gretam.

1569 William Grant Died
1569 Thomas Manser On death of above
1595 Edmund Greenfelde
1601, May 11 Thomas Page (or d. Ed. Greenfelde Sir Geo. Browne
Large, A.B.)

Note.—By Grant from Margt., Viscountess Montague, widow of Anthony Browne, Visct. Montague, *pro hac vice*.

1619, July 8 John Abbot, S.T.B. res. Thomas Large Elizth. Redhead, of How-
den, in the Co. of York
(*pro hac vice tantum*)

1644 Thomas Carr
1667, Oct. 11 Richard Russell, A.M.
1679 (?) Richard Russell, M.A.
1679, Aug. 19 Bernard Chatfield
1687/8, July 14 William Shepard, A.B. d. Bernard Chatfield Anty. Eversfield, Esq.
1705, Dec. 21 William King, A.B. d. Willian Shepard Charles Eversfield
1707, May 12 Thomas Denham, A.B. cess. Wm. King
1710/11, Mar. 3 William Harvey, A.M. res. Thos. Denham Charles Eversfield
1712, June 11 Thomas Denham, A.B. res. Wm. Harvey The same
1734/5, Jan. 29 Owen Jones d. Thos. Denham The same
1784, Mar. 30 Thomas Hutchinson, B.D. d. Owen Jones Sir Chas. Eversfield, of
Denpark Place, Co.
Sussex, Bart.
1812, Nov. 25 John Henry Howlett, A.M. d. Thos. Hutchinson William Eversfield, of
Catsfield, Co. Sussex, Esq.
1834, June 17 Henry John Rush, A.M. cess. J. H. Howlett Sir Godfrey Thomas and
others
1854, Dec. 26 Rose F. Whistler, M.A. d. H. J. Rush Edward Webster Whistler,
Esq., for this turn

RECTORS.

1867, Oct. 23 Samuel Arnott, M.A. res. R. F. Whistler Chas. Gilbert Eversfield,
of Denne Park, Horsham,
Esq.
1870 Olive Hollingworth, M.A.
1875 Thomas William Adam, M.A.

Ewhurst in Hollington Prebend

EWHURST.

The Church and the tithe was in the gift of the prebendary of Hollington. In the Confirmation-Charter of the foundation by Henry, Count of Eu, see *ante* p. 23, they formed part of the gift to the prebend of Ralph Tayardy, later known as the prebend of Hollington.

It is noticed in several documents, namely, in the Extent an. 8 Edw. I., where it is ranked as the third prebend in the list, and next to Brightling, and is thus mentioned and valued—" *Prebenda de Ywherst, val p. an. XXV marc.*" And in Pat. 9 Edw. I., entitled "*De Prebenda de Yowherst.*"

According to a Grant in fee made by the King to Simon de Shoreham (Shoreham in Ewhurst) in 1480, or thereabouts, the prebend of Ewhurst appears to have been then suppressed.

Coming to the time of the Dissolution of the monasteries, we note that the Church of Ewhurst seems to have been omitted from the valuation of Henry VIII., although it is included in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne, but it was probably included in the valuation of Hollington Prebend.

In another valuation of Henry VIII's reign, the priory of Holy Trinity at Hastings had rents in Ewhurst of 4*s.* 1*d.*

Of the manor and church the following particulars are extant (1747) from the Burrell MS. :—

"The church is a rectory, dedicated to St. James, and situated in the deanery of Dallington. It consists of a nave, chancel, and two aisles; ceiled, paved with tiles, well pewed, and in good order in the inside, except the dampness of the walls for want of casements to introduce the external air. The centre part of the chancel-roof is very much out of repair. The roof of the nave and the shingles of the steeple are very defective. There are five bells in the tower. The living is valued in the King's Books at £12 2*s.* 6*d.* Patron in 1784, Sir Whistler Webster."

Nicholas Tufton, of Tufton in Northiam, Esq., by his will dated June 2nd, anno 29 Hen. VIII., bequeathed to the high altar of Ewhurst for his tithes forgotten, 3*s.* 4*d.* The living is thus noticed in Pope Nicholas's Taxation: "Vic. de Yweherst XX mrs."

Horsfield states that the living is in the gift of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, and there are 30 acres of glebe. His description of the Church in 1835 is as follows :—

"The church consists of a nave, chancel, and two side-aisles, chiefly in the Early English style (*sic*) of architecture. The tower, which has five bells, is square, and is surmounted by a tall shingled spire bulging out towards the top. The east window of the chancel is formed by a pointed arch, divided by mullions into three lights having tracery of the Decorated style, ornamented with stained glass representing four portraits in as many compartments. One has in his hand a book, and the other a pastoral staff. By cleaning the window lately a very beautiful crucifix has been brought to view at the top, in stained glass. A lofty Gothic arch opens the nave, on each side of which are three similar arches resting on the north side on octagonal columns, and on the south on circular (*sic*) square, or rectangular. The windows in the north chancel are also in the Decorated style.

Architecture of Ewhurst Church

EWHURST CHURCH.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION, 1903.

The Church of St. James of Ewhurst consists of a nave, with a south aisle and chancel having a modern vestry on its northside. At the western end of the church is a square tower surmounted by a Sussex timber broached spire. The general style of the Church is Early English and Decorated.

The south aisle is pierced by two modern windows, each of two lights with trefoil-heads surmounted by a quatrefoil. Between them is a pointed-headed doorway with square and hollow mouldings. According to an old engraving, dated 1782,¹ there were formerly three windows, two of which were between the south door and the western end of the aisle. These windows had two lights each, with trefoil-heads, but their tops are depicted so shaded by the eaves of the roof that any other details are not to be seen. The same engraving shows a skilling roof over the nave and south aisle. If this was so, the two ogee-headed trefoil lights on the clerestory-level were obscured. There is no window at the eastern-end of the aisle. The chancel is pierced by two modern windows, of two lights, surmounted by Decorated tracery. The last window (transition between Decorated and Perpendicular) is of three lights with ogee and cinquefoil heads, the pointed-arched head filled with partly vertical and partly flowing bar-tracery, the heads of the principal lights being cinquefoiled. The mullions and jambs are elegantly moulded within and without. The head is surmounted by a hood-mould with returned ends.

The north aisle has a gable distinct from the nave. Its east window is large, of three principal lights with trefoil-heads surmounted by three quatrefoils enclosed within circles. This is a modern window, replacing three old lancet-windows, the centre one of which was the higher.

The north aisle is pierced by two old windows, larger than, but of the same general form as, the modern windows of the south aisle. These two windows are unequally placed as regards height from the ground-level. They have pointed hood-moulds with returned ends. The north door (still in use) is between these two windows. It has a pointed-arched head, and is enriched with Decorated square hollow and round mouldings. It has been much restored. There is a lancet-window at the western end of this aisle, with simply moulded head and jambs.

The tower is a square structure placed against the northern half of the nave-wall. This want of symmetry is compensated for, on the exterior, by a boldly-projecting octagonal stairway on the south-western corner. There are two large buttresses in three stages, placed against the north-western corner, in the Early English style.

The tower is Early English, with Decorated and Perpendicular insertions. It is built in two stages, and the parapet is square-edged and has a simple moulding running along the top and bottom. This enrichment is carried upwards, forming a hood-mould over the door leading to the roof, and around the head of the stair-turret. The shingled broached spire is short, and has a somewhat truncated and crippled appearance. Its vane bears the date 1792.² On the north and south wall, high up, is a small light, with cinquefoil head, filled with louvre-boards. It is surmounted by a semicircular moulded hood, enriched with bosses or carved heads as terminals, which are much weathered.

The stairway is pierced by three small ogee-headed openings one above the other, lighting the stairs within.

The western wall has two windows, the upper one of which is square-headed with a hood-mould with returned ends, and has two cinquefoiled lights. The lower one consists of two ogee-headed lights with trefoiled heads, but without hood or other mouldings.

Beneath is the principal doorway of the Church, which is of Early English form, early in the style. It has a slightly pointed arched head, being almost semicircular, in fact the doorway itself actually is so. The arch is recessed, and consists of three courses, the inner one forming a sort of tympanum between the round and pointed heads, without moulding or enrichment of any

¹ Published London, August 1st, 1782, by I. Walker, carver, etc., Printseller, No. 148, Strand, near Somerset House (sepia-tint).

² According to Lambert, junr. (sketch in the Burrell MS.), the lower end of this spire projected beyond the parapet in the usual manner, and was not as now contained within the parapet. However, the before-mentioned print of 1782 shows it in the condition in which it now appears, except that the spire was symmetrical. It was probably mutilated about 1791-92.

Architecture of Ewhurst Church

kind. The middle course is heavily moulded, and the outer forms a sort of weather hood-mould and has one large deep moulding running around it. The courses spring from simply moulded imposts, the first and third resting on square jambs, and the centre course rests upon the capital of one small shaft on either side, which stand in the angles formed by the inner and the outer jamb. The capitals of these shafts are enriched by rudely carved floral decoration, the abaci being formed by the mouldings of the imposts which are carried across. The shafts are round, with a moulded fillet in the centre, and they have circular moulded feet standing upon square chamfered bases.¹

THE INTERIOR

The nave has two arcades, each of three bays, but of different periods. The arches on the south are round with plain soffits, and rest upon two large square-built piers with square imposts on the east and west walls. The capitals of these piers are square, each of the abaci have a very small grooved moulding, and a sort of small bird's-beak moulding projecting over a half hollow. The angles of the piers are chamfered, and have slightly moulded stops. The bases are square with a simple chamfer. The capitals of the imposts are not moulded. This arcade, despite its early appearance, is probably not older than Early English, at the commencement of the style.

Before the Decorated period there was in all probability a similar arcade on the north, since a portion of a square respond remains against the west wall of the chancel, similar to that on the south. During the Decorated period great additions were made to the Church.

The northern arcade consists of three bays. The arches are pointed, recessed, and chamfered. They are supported upon two octagonal piers with moulded Decorated capitals and bases. At the western wall the outer order of the arch dies away into the wall, while the inner order rests upon a grotesque corbel. The easternmost arch of the arcade rests on the square respond above mentioned, which has been cut back to correspond with the sweep of the newer arch. The clerestory windows are deeply splayed within. The inner arch of the south door is recessed with nearly a square top. The inner arch of the north door is also recessed with a high pointed chamfered head and jambs. The roof is waggon-headed, with modern partitioned match-boarding. The moulded wall-plate is old, also the three moulded tie-beams with king-posts. Over the south aisle is a lean-to modern roof, and on the north the roof is modern waggon-headed with tie-beams and roof-plate, all modern. There is an ogee-headed piscina at the south-eastern end of the south wall.

The chancel-arch is of the same general form as the arches of the northern arcade, but is somewhat wider and flatter, and the orders of the arch die into the wall on either side without capitals or corbels.

Beneath the arch a modern oak Decorated screen separates the nave from the chancel.

The windows in the south wall of the chancel are both modern, that nearest the altar having a sedilia of two seats beneath it. There is a restored ogee piscina in the south wall near the altar. A boldly moulded string-course is carried upon the walls around the altar, and rises above the piscina forming a sort of hood-mould. The east window is deeply recessed, and the inner arched head is pointed and moulded.

A modern pointed door with hollow chamfers leads into the modern vestry, through the north wall of the chancel.

The nave opens into the tower by a high and rather narrow arched opening, which is placed to the north side of the centre of the western wall of the nave.

The chamfered arched head, like the chancel-arch orders, dies into the wall on either side.

The western door or lower door is recessed on the interior, has a segmental head, and is chamfered all round. The windows are deeply splayed. A pointed headed doorway in the south-western angle leads to the belfry.

There are five bells, inscribed as follows (their weights being cut in):—

1. Mr. John Richardson, Curate. Lester and Pack, of London, *fecit*, 1760. 5 cwt. 2 qrs. 10 lbs. diameter, 29½ inches).
2. Lester and Pack, of London, *fecit*, 1760. 6 cwt. 1 qr. 7 lbs. (diameter, 32 inches).
3. Lester and Pack, of London, *fecit*, 1760. 6 cwt. 3 qrs. 21 lbs. (diameter, 33 inches).
4. Edwd. Cox and Ino. Bartlett, Ch. Wardens, 1760. Lester and Pack, London, *fecit* 7 cwt. 2 qrs. 24 lbs. (diameter, 34½ inches).

¹ In the print above mentioned this doorway is shown enclosed within a small gabled porch. This may account for its good state of preservation.

Incumbents and Rectors of Ewhurst

5. The Rev. Thos. Nairne, Rector, 1760. Lester and Pack, of London, *fecit*, 10 cwt. 0 qrs. 12 lbs. (diameter, 38 inches. Tenor).

EARLY INCUMBENTS OF EWHURST.

1202.	Robert of Gloucester		
1291.	Stephen is rector		
1293.	William de Mortuo-		
	mari is rector		
1362.	(Exchanged) Thomas		
	Branktree		
1366	John de Corby		
1371.	John Dodford is rector		
1393.	Ralph Blake, late		
	rector		
1397.	Richard Blake is		
	rector		
1402-3. Jan. 20.	Richard Bale cap. d. Jno. Wardeyn	Presented by the Pre-	Rede's Regi-
	(Nicholas?)	boundary of Holyng-	ster.
		ton	
1406. May 8.	Hamo ¹ Offynton	res. Nich. Bale	Presented by the Preby. Ihwhurst.
		(Qy. Rich. Bale	of Holyngton in the
		or Ball)	royal chapel, Hast-
			yngs.
1421.	Robert Barton (Par-	Ex. Hamo Offynton	Patent Rolls, 9 Henry
	son, of Brede)		V.
1438.	John Loscow	Ex. John Seman.	
1441. June 22.	Thomas Wylys	res. Jno. Seman	Presented by Jno. Praty's Regi-
			Wraby, Canon of the ster.
			free r. chap. of Has-
			tyngs <i>infra castrum</i> .
1450.	Thomas Bayen		
1458.	John Dene		
1464.	John Henton		
1491. July 1.	John Idell cap. (or res. Thomas Payn	Presented by Goddard Story's Regi-	
	Pell)	Oxenbrige, Gent. ster.	
	For this turn (<i>hac vice</i>) by grant from Jno. Clement, Canon of Hastyngs and Preby. of		
	Holyngtonye. Patron by reason of his prebend.		
1513. July 8.	Simon Fowler	d. Rob, Barry	Presented by Thomas Shyrborn's
			Fenys, Preb. of Hol- Register.
			ynghon.

RECTORS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION.

1542, John Forman; 1554, Robert Wilson; 1558, Thomas Brown; 1559, June 7, Roger Gravel (or Edward Tirrell), the Crown; 1571, Stephen Batherst; 1604-5, Edward Muddle, M.A.; 1647, John Bucke, M.A.; 1667, John Wood, *S.T.P.*; 1668, Nathaniel Ashe; 1690-1, Jonathan Pleydell; 1727, William Simmonds; 1730, Thomas Broadway, M.A.; 1740, Richard Nairn, M.A.; 1760, Thomas Nairn, B.A.; 1776, Robert Russell, M.A.; 1803, Godfrey Gilbert Cooper, B.A.; 1825, John Sturt Hewett, D.D.; 1835, Edward Craven Hawtrey, D.D.; 1854, Robert William Bacon, M.A.; 1863, George John Boudier, M.A.; 1900-04, Walter Marshall, M.A., Alfred Johnson Tuck, M.A.

The Manor is described in the Domesday Book as follows:—

IN STAPLE HUNDRED.

“The Count himself holdeth Werste in demesne. Ælfer held it of King Edward. Then it vouched for 6 hides, now for 4 hides and 3 rods; and 5 rods are in arrear, because 1 hide is in the Rape of the Count of Mortain. There is land for 20 ploughs. In demesne are 4 ploughs and 12 villeins and 10 bordars with 6 ploughs. There are 4 serfs and 12 acres of meadow, and wood for 10 hogs.”

¹ A Hamo of Offynton was inducted Abbot of Battle, 1364, died before 1404.

The Manor of Ewhurst

Ed. II. The owner of the manor was Stephen Burgehurst or Burwash.

9 Ed. II. Inquisition taken at Burghershe. The jurors say that Henry de Sharnden and Richard de Codyng held (31 and 34 Ed. I.) one knight's fee in Ewhurst and Northiam, and half a fee in Oxenbridge¹ whence Richard de Echingham holds 60 acr. (Pelham Deeds No. 21).

1411. In the Subsidy Roll of Henry IV. it appears that John Kirkeley and others hold lands, lately Thomas West's, in the manor of Ewhurst, valued at £6; probably as Trustees for the West family, in whose Inq. p. m. this manor afterwards is given.

Joan Assheburnhame is also given as the possessor of lands in the manor worth £20.

1427. The heirs of Gilbert Malvyle and John Coding were seized of the manor.

1433. Richard Aylard granted to Sir John Pelham, Senr., and Sir John Pelham, Junr., all his right in this manor.

9 Edward IV. Richard Lord Dacre held this manor and also Northiam, and it is described as lately John Brenchley's and John Ashburnham's, and formerly Henry Sharnden's and Richard Coding's, by the service of one knight's fee and a half.

December 30th. Henry VIII. Nicholas Tufton before mentioned was found by inquisition to have died seized of this manor.² It lies in the parishes of Ewhurst, Northiam, Beckley, Pease-marsh, Iden and Playden. The following are noticed in the Grant of Henry VIII. as the then remaining prebendal estates here:—

“All that annual rent of 5s. issuing from the lands and tenements called Chittlebridge, *alias* Chittleberthe, late of John Tufton, in the parish of Northiam: ³ all that annual rent of 12*d.* issuing from the lands and tenements called Herne, late of John Tufton in the said parish of Northiam.”

The lands called Chittlebridge, etc., have been mentioned as bestowed on the College by John Wymark, in the reign of Edward I., under the designation of “lands in Chittleburgh: (see p. 113). They appear from the above statement to have been parted with, and a mere rent-charge reserved from them at the time of the Suppression.

35 Henry VIII. 9th September. An Extent was taken on the death of Thomas Fienes Lord Dacre, and the manor of Ewhurst was valued at £31 12*s.* 1*d.* per annum.

Temp. Elizabeth. George Fynnes, Lord Dacre was the owner.

1624, January 22. Upon an inquisition held at East Grinstead the jurors found that John Bromfield, of Ewhurst, Esqr., died on 27th Nov. 1623, seized of *inter alia* the manor of Ewhurst, worth 33*s.* 4*d.* per annum, holden of Sir Thomas Pelham Knight as of his honour of Hastings, by knight's service (*Coles Coll.* vol. III., p. 136. *Harl. MSS.* 156-160).

1648. The property in the parish of Ewhurst was valued in this year at £1438 10*s.*

In later years the Manor came into the family of the Websters, and in 1822 was sold by Sir G. V. Webster to Thomas Pix, Esq.

¹ Oxenbridge Farm at Beckley.

² Tufton's house is in Northiam.

³ Chittlebirch Farm at Cripp's Common, Ewhurst and Saddlescomb.

Bodiam in Hollington Prebend

BODIAM CHURCH.

Bodiam Church or Chapel was appropriated to the Prebend of Hollington and is mentioned in the Confirmation Grant by Henry, Count of Eu.

In the Burrell MSS. of 1777 it is described as a small ancient edifice, delightfully situated, and consisting of a nave, two aisles, and a chancel. The roof of the nave is curved; of the other parts flat, and made of oak. The pavement is brick; pews very antique, and some years since much out of repair. The steeple, which is of the tower kind and embattled at the top, has in it a handsome Gothic doorway or entrance, and windows; and is surmounted by a small spire, on the N.W. side crowned with a vane or weather-cock, containing five bells. Founders Lester and Pack, Lond., 1761, recast by C. and G. Mears, Whitechale Bell Foundry.

"The church stands in the Deanery of Dallington, is valued in the King's Books at £6 18s. 6½d., and pays a pension to the rector of Ewehurst of 2s. 4d. Patron (in 1777) Sir Whistler Webster."

Mr. Hussey, in his "Sussex Churches," p. 201, gives the following description of the Church:—

"The church of Bodiam consists of a western tower, nave with north and south aisles, and chancel. The body of the church is Decorated, the chancel Early English, with a Perpendicular window of three lights inserted in the east end. This church is remarkable, on account of the original arrangement, namely, the nave-roof extending over the aisles remaining undisturbed, consequently the walls of the aisles are very low."

The Glossary of Architecture, vol. i. p. 381, instances the tower of this Church as one which though rectangular, yet is not square, being considerably wider from north to south than from east to west.

Anno 21, Edward I. The vicarage of Bodiam was valued at 6 marks. The church of Ywehurst and Bodiam 7 marks.

BODIAM CHURCH

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES, 1902.

The Church of St. Giles of Bodiam is small but consists of a nave, two aisles and western tower, which latter is remarkable for its rectangular plan from north to south, being the width of the nave.

The tower has buttresses and an embattled parapet, with small octagonal turret forming an exit to the roof. The upper part contains on the west two-light openings with trefoiled heads, its upper part pierced by a quatrefoil forming a characteristic plate-tracery opening. On the south side is a two-light window with square head and hood-mould, the heads of the lights being pointed and trefoiled. A large portion of the west side is occupied by projecting masonry for the turret-stairway. The lower portion of the west side is pierced by a three-light pointed window, the upper part filled with geometrical tracery.

The windows of the south aisle consist of two-light square-headed windows of modern design. In the west end of the south aisle a small trefoiled single-light window is inserted. The east end of the south aisle has a two-light window, with low pointed arch filled with Geometrical tracery with Decorated ogee-heads to the lights.

Architecture of Bodiam Church

The south side of the chancel is pierced by three lancet-headed single-light windows, similar in size but inserted at different levels. A priests' door with segmental head, now blocked up, occupies the usual position in the wall.

In the gable-end of the east wall of the chancel are inserted three single-light lancet windows, the central being carried up to a greater height than the outer two.

The modern vestry is entered by a doorway with shouldered arch, and is lighted on the east by a small lancet-window. On the north is a simple lancet-window carried up in the masonry above the eaves-level, forming a small dormer in the roof.

The north doorway has splayed jambs enriched with mouldings, and has a pointed arch with mouldings of greater richness.

The porch is modern. The north aisle has an old restored window of two lights and similar to those on the south side.

THE INTERIOR.

The nave-arcading consists of two bays, of pointed arches with hollow chamfered angles supported by lofty octagonal piers with Decorated moulded capitals and bases, the chancel-arch being larger but similar in detail. The same remark applies to the lofty arch leading to the tower, the bases of which are chamfered only.

The roof is of timber, match-boarded to the underside, with three curved principals resting upon moulded and carved corbels.

The aisles are roofed with timbers, match-boarded to the underside of the rafters with principals and purlins below. These are continuous with the roof of the nave, thus forming on the outside the skilling tiled roof.

The chancel has a panelled, pentagonal, timbered roof.

A richly-decorated opening now occupied by the organ is on the north side, the moulded pointed arch being supported by shafts with carved capitals and bases, the sub-arch by octagonal shafts as corbels.

A narrow pointed-headed door with label leads to the vestry on the north side. A lancet-window also opens into the vestry from the chancel.

Sedilia, of two compartments of different proportions, with a pointed arch with simple mouldings and label are in the south wall of the chancel, adjoining which is a piscina having a pointed arch with splayed angles.

At the back of the pulpit, on a projecting portion of the nave-wall, is an arched recess, the arch of which extended above the level of the adjoining pier-capitals. In its original state it probably formed an entrance to the rood-loft.

At the east end of the north aisle is a two-light window now partly blocked by the organ. It has an ogee head with tracery filling a pointed arch.

The font is octagonal, is of Perpendicular design with tracery-panels, and has an elaborate modern oak canopy in the Decorated style.

There are five bells. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 bear the inscription "Lester and Pack" *fecit*, 1761.

No. 3 is inscribed "Mears, Founders, London, 1854."

The tenor bell weighs 7 cwt. 0 qrs. 23 lbs.

The commission for examination of church-bells in 1686 reported that the Bodiam bells were in good repair.

EARLY INCUMBENTS OF BODIAM.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbents.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1370	William Wardien		
1382	William Pykard	} Exchanged	
1382	John Gerveys		
1386	Walter Taylor	} Exchanged	
1386	Alan Schodyngton		
1409	John Devorre	} Exchanged	
1409	John Alen		

Incumbents of Bodiam

REDE'S REGISTER.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Incumbent.</i>	<i>How Vacant.</i>	<i>Patrons.</i>
1410 July 26	John Risby	res. John Allen	Wm. Ilkettyslak, Preb. of Holynton in the Royal Chapel Hastyngs Rd. Bolton Preby. &c.
1412 (no date)	John Steyle		
1413-14	John Goutron		
1413-14	William Lyndon	Exchanged with Jno. Gawtron	Prebend of Holyng- ton <i>in cap. regia</i> <i>B.V. Mrie infra</i> <i>castrum de Has-</i> <i>tynges.</i>
1414	John Stoke		
1415	John Pulter		
1430	William Lysle		

PRATY'S REGISTER.

1438-39	William Sudburgh		Jno. Wraby, Preby. of Holyngton.
1513-14	William Wyderden (died)		

SHYRBORN'S REGISTER.

1513-14 March 6	John Alpart (or Alport)	d. Wm. Wyderden	Thos. Fenes, Preb. of Holyngton.
1522	John Legar		
1541-42	William Senden		

INCUMBENTS SINCE THE DISSOLUTION.

1549, William Ryland ; 1554, Thomas Buckland ; 1557, Lawrence Smith ; 1560, Richard Simonds ; 1586-87, John Illendon, A.B. ; 1623-24, Thomas Mannington ; 1654, Job Mandser ; 1671, William Bird ; 1713, Owen Munn, B.A. ; 1736, Thomas Jenkins, B.A. ; 1762, William Williams, B.A. ; 1770, Robert Russel, M.A. ; 1803, Godfrey Gilbert Cooper, B.A. ; 1809, John Godfrey Thomas, A.M., Bart. ; 1841, Charles Alex. Vignoles, B.A. ; 1842, John Image, M.A. ; 1851, Charles Parker, M.A. ; 1885, Brymer Belcher, M.A. ; 1895, Theodore Johnson.

THE MANOR.

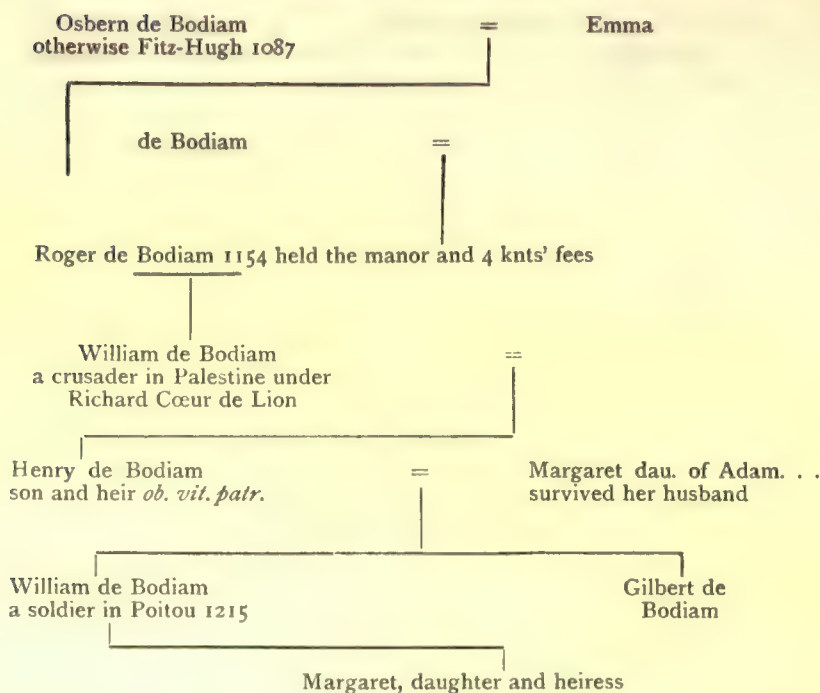
The following is the description in the Domesday Book :

"Of the land of this manor. Osbern holdeth one hide and three rods in Bodeham, and it always lay in Werste (Ewhurst), and there was the hall. Roger half a hide. Ralph 2 rods. In demesne 1 plough and a half, and 7 villeins and 10 bordars with 4 ploughs and a half. The whole manor in the time of King Edward was worth £10 and afterwards £6. Now £9."

Anno 1176. In the reign of Henry II., Roger de Bodiam held four knights' fees or 2,560 acres of land in cultivation, as feudal tenant of the Count of Eu (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*: Rogerius de Bodiam IIII Marks). The manor probably extended then, as now, into the adjoining parishes of Ewhurst, Wartling, Penhurst, Brightling, Salehurst, Battle and Beckley.

Mr. Mark Anthony Lower, M.A., F.S.A., in an article on Bodiam in the *Sussex Archaeological Coll.* vol. ix., gives the following genealogy of the Bodiam family.

The Castle and Manor of Bodiam



Mr. William Ellis Smith suggests that the ancestor of the de Bodiams was Ralph de Dene, and that the second generation (in blank in the foregoing table) was perhaps a daughter who married the next lord of Bodiam after Osborn.

We next find the manor held by a family named Wardeaux (1278), whose name it has been suggested originated from Ward d'Ou, but the most ancient documents give the name as de Wardedieu, so that there does not seem much authority for the above supposition.

In 9 Edward II. and 16 Edward III. we have it recorded that a Richard Wardeux and John Wardeux were holders of this manor respectively (Burr. MSS.). In 1343 Elizabeth, the sole heiress, married Sir Edward Dalyngrudge, and the manor accordingly passed to him. In 1386 he obtained letters patent authorizing the building of Bodiam Castle, the picturesque ruins of which, with the moat formed by the River Rother, are still of considerable interest. In the Subsidy Roll of Henry IV. (1411) the manor is stated to be worth yearly £15, and to be held by Joan Dalyngridge. Bodiam next passed into the family of the Lewknors, and subsequently to the Levets of Salehurst, the Tuftons, and the Powells, and then to Sir Thomas Webster, whose descendant in 1828 sold it to the late John Fuller.¹

The property in Bodiam was valued in 1648 at £518.

NOTE.—The Manor.—“9 Edward 4.” *Ricus Dalyngrigge, arm. tenet de Castro de Hastings Man' de Bodyham.* (Ex Pelham Evidences.)

¹ The castle is about 600 yards south of the church, and about 30 feet above the river Rother. It is a typical castle of the end of the fourteenth century, of the early Perpendicular style. The castle-buildings were restored by Mr. G. Cubitt, M.P., the owner.

CHAPTER X

BRIGHTLING PREBEND



THE Manor of Brightling was held by Robert, Count of Eu, in the reign of William the Conqueror: see Domesday Book as follows:—

“ In Hailesaltede Hundred ” (corresponding to Netherfield Hundred).

“ The Count of Eu holdeth Brislinga. In the time of King Edward two brothers held it of the King. It vouched then, and now, for one hide. In demesne is one plough, and a church and a wood of five shillings. Of this hide Robert holdeth four rods of the Count and hath there ten villeins and two cottars having seven ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth 100 shillings and afterwards 10 shillings. Now 42 shillings.”

The western part of Brightling, with the church, lies in the hundred of Netherfield; the eastern part in that of Henhurst.

The Count of Eu's forest of Brightling (says Mr. Hayley, in his letter to Sir William Burrell) “ has, it seems, changed its name for that of the neighbouring parish of Dallington, and in the said Earl's Charter, confirming his grandfather's grant to the Church of St. Mary of Hastings, it has no additional name. It is there only *de forhesta decimam* (the tithe of the forest), etc.” He continues:—

“ The rectory of Brightling, in the deanery of Hastings, was a prebend in the Free Chapel in the Castle of Hastings, founded by Robert, Earl of Eu.”

The following are the particulars of the endowment of this prebend, according to Count Henry's Charter. “ In the prebend of Roger Danyel a half hide of Becsaelia (Beccaleay or Bokeleasy) and at Gerchestellam, (Gerchestolla, Gerteselham or Certesella) three rods of land and at Smalefeld half a rod, and at Burgersam (Burghersham or Bargeham) one rod, and the church of Brithlinges (Briceling or Breseling) and tithe and land to the same church appertaining, and one rod which Tornus (Tomus, Turnus or Corin) holds, and the Monastery Bochehude (Bochorda, Rocherd or Bothedd) and the land of the Mill as much as appertained to the treasurer of the Church out of the same tithe belonging to the Church of Saint Andrew—”

Roger Danyel is the only vassal of the Count of Eu mentioned in the Domesday Survey as having two Christian names.

The prebend of Brightling is mentioned the 10th or last in order, in the above-quoted Charter. The prebendary is not mentioned as having any prebendal residence either in, or near the Castle. The right of presentation to the prebend was vested in the old Counts of Eu, till Henry the 3rd's time, when their estate in England came into the King's hands by forfeiture, and was soon afterwards given away (see *ante* p. 91).

In the Inquisition 2 Edw. I. the prebend of Brightling is valued at 20 marks per annum. *Anno* 6 Edw. I. The King's charter was obtained for liberties in the prebend of Brightling. In an Extent of the Manor of Burghursh, Bivelham &c. 8 Edward I. it is thus estimated—“ *Prebenda de Briceling val. p. ann. XXIV. marc.*” According to Pope Nicholas's Taxation in 1291, the prebend was valued at £13 6s. 8d.

The Prebendaries of Brightling

In the Visitation 19 Edw. III. (see *ante*) the prebendary of Brightling is omitted among the names of those mentioned to have appeared, either personally or by proxy, before the King's commissioners: possibly because the prebend was then vacant.

PREBENDARIES.

Of the names of the ancient prebendaries and rectors, the Rev. Mr. Hayley above quoted (who was minister of Brightling in 1775) wrote to Sir William Burrell that he could furnish him only with a very short catalogue; this is given below, with other names collected by the present writer from the Patent Rolls, the Bishop's Registers, and other sources.

PREBENDARIES AND RECTORS.

The confirmatory charter of Count Henry of Eu gives the name of Roger Danyel as the first prebendary.

William le Chamberleyne res.—1272-3.

1272-3 Mar. 13 Itherus Bocard, presented by Edward I. (see *Pat.* 1 Edward I. m. 118).

1 Edward I. Oberius (or Icherias de) Bochard (MS. Harl. 6958, fo. 25 prebendary of Hastings, fo. 25 b.).

6 Edward I.—Johēs Rocard (? Bochard)—prebendary Hastings—Brightlings, lib. warr. (Burrell MSS.).

1288, John de Anguleme.

1292, Aug. 15, John de Engolisma presented by Edward I. (See *Pat.* 20 Edward I. m. 5). He died in the same year.

1307-8, Edmund de London.

1313-14, John de Snodland.

20 Edward I. 1322, Edmund of London presented to "Bralyng" (? Brightling) (*Misc. Chanc. Rolls*, 4/24).

22 Edward I. Willus Echyngham—Brightlinge, lib. warr. (confirmed 16 H. 6).

8 Edward 2. Alanus de Bexhull—Brightlinge—*Pat. Roll*, 8 Edward 2. m. 16.

10 Edward 2. Edmus Passelee—Brightlinge—*Pat. Roll*, 10 Edward 2. m. 23. Burrell's MSS.

Hayley's catalogue, 1329. (Qy. 1322, July 20, see *Pat.* 15, Edward II. p.m. 30). Edmund de London was ratified in the prebend of Brightling in the Royal Chapel of Hastings on March 20th, 1329, and died (Qy.) before December 21st, 1332, for then—

6 Edward 3.—Walter de London had the King's donation to the said prebend, void by the death of the said Edmund (Newcourt's Rep. 2. 598). See also *Pat. Rolls* of 6 Edward III. p. 3, m. 5). He resigned in 1335-6.

1335/6, Jan. 4, Nicholas de London, presented by Edward III. (see *Pat.* 9 Edward III. p. 1, m. 32 and m. 23).

(Hayley's catalogue) 10 Edward III.—John de Sancto Paulo (St. Paul) the King's chaplain. had this prebend given to him by the King, Sept. 23rd, 1336. (*Pat.* 10 Edward III. p. 1, m. 28.)

1337, John de Wodeford.

1338, John de Flete.

1340, Nov. 26. Peter de Berkele, cl., presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 14 Edward III. p. 3, m. 16). He died in 1342.

1342, April 28. William de Dalton, presented by the King. (See *Pat.* 15 or 16 Edward III. p. 1, m. 12.)

1352, May 14. William de Wytleseye or Wytterseye, presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 25-26 Edward II. p. 1, m. 7.) In 1354 he made an exchange.

Note.—The Rev. W. Hayley, formerly rector of Brightling, and other writers erroneously supposed that William of Wykeham held the Prebend of Brightling in 1362, but the true account appears from the *Patent Rolls* to be this:

William de Wykeham had the King's licence to exchange with William de Burghbrugg for the prebend of Crowhurst, Feb. 15, 1361-2 (*Pat.* 36 Edward III. p. 1, m. 27, also Harleian MSS. BM. 6964 f. 95): but the exchange was for some reason not effected, for later on William de Burghbrugg exchanged his prebend of Crowhurst with Adam Robelyn, May 6, 1363 (*Pat.* 37

The Prebendaries of Brightling

Edward III. p. 1, m. 22). However, when Adam de Hertynghdon in 1362/3 vacated his portion of the prebend of Wartling, Ninfield and Hoo, William de Wykeham was presented (Feb. 17, 1362-3) (*Pat.* 37 Edward III. p. 1, m. 35), but after one month the latter exchanged (Mar. 17 1362/3, with Andrew de Stratford for the Prebend of Langtoft in Yorks (Harl. MSS. 6969 f. 51), and thus it does not appear that William de Wykeham ever held the prebend of Brightling. And the error was probably by confusion with William Wykewyk, see list 1482 *post* (see *Pat.* 37 Edward III., given in the *Chronicle ante*, page 207) and see Wortling list of prebends.

1354, May 18. Richard de Badewe.

1364, John (? Thomas) de Bishopeston (or Besshopeston) resigned, and on Nov. 23, Thomas Thebaud de Sudberia, cl. (of Sudbury) was presented by Edward III. (*Pat.* 38 Edward III. p. 2, m. 14). In 1380 he also resigned.

1380, Sept. 7. John de Sudbury, cl., was presented by Richard II. (*Pat.* 4 Richard II. p. 1, m. 21, and p. 2, m. 33), died 1393.

1389, July 4. William Norton, cl., presented by the King (*Pat.* 13 Richard II. p. 1, m. 30).

1393, April 2. Nicholas Slake, cl., presented by the King (*Pat.* 16 Richard II. p. 3, m. 17). In 1394 he made an exchange.

1394, August 9. William Spigornell (or Spigurnell), cl., presented by the King (*Pat.* 18 Richard II. p. 1, m. 20). He exchanged in 1396.

1396, July 20. Walter Ammeny (or Awmeny), parson of Normanton, Yorks, presented by the King (*Pat.* 20 Richard II. p. 1, m. 26).

1400-1, Mar. 14. Thomas Butiller, cl., presented by Henry IV. (*Pat.* 1 Henry IV. p. 2, m. 11).

1401, Mar. 10. Bishop Rede's Register, under this date, gives the appointment of Thomas Butiller by the Crown to the "Prebend of Bryghtlyng in the libera capella regia de Hastyngs."

1402, July 30. Edmund Lasy (or Lacy), cl., presented by the King (*Pat.* 3 Henry IV. p. 2, m. 3). He resigned in 1413-14.¹

John Cook vacated in 1419.

1419, July 25. Thomas Gyles, cl., presented by Henry V. (*Pat.* 7 Henry V. p. 1, m. 29). He died in 1425.²

1482, Sir William Wykewyk, prebendary, is mentioned as having held his first court. (This name Wykewyk may have given rise to the legend of the supposed appointment of William de Wykeham at an earlier date?)

1425 (? 1419), June 9. Druco Mansurus, M.A., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 3 Henry VI. p. 2, m. 17). He resigned in 1437-38.

¹ 1402, Aug. (Bishop Rede's Register) appointment of Edmund Lacy by the Crown.

1413-14, Mar. 24. The *Patent Rolls* (2 Henry V. p. 1, m. 37), and also Rede's Register (1413, April 6), give the resignation of Edmund Lacy, and the appointment of David Pryce by the King. The latter resigned in 1417.

(Hayley's catalogue) 1417, Oct. 15. John Cook, cap., was admitted (on Pryce's resignation, at the presentation of the King (*Pat.* 5 Henry V. p. 1, m. 15), by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, the see of Chichester being then void, and he had thereof canonical investiture, by the delivery of the Archbishop's biretta to him. The Archbishop's letter to the King on this occasion, is given by Rymer in his *Fœdera*, v. ix. p. 505, and is to the following effect:—

"To the most excellent Prince in Christ and our Lord, the Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland. Henry, by Divine permission, archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic see (to which belongeth all, and all manner of jurisdiction spiritual and ecclesiastical appertaining to the Bishops of Chichester, both when the said see is filled and vacant, &c.), greeting in Him by Whom kings reign and princes govern. Be it known to your Royal Excellency by these presents, that we have admitted to the Prebend of Brightling in your free Chapel of Hastings, in the diocese of Chichester, vacant by the free resignation of David Pryce, the late prebendary of the same; our beloved son in Christ, John Cook, to which through you, Most Excellent Prince, the real patron of the Prebend, by your letters patent the presentation has fallen to us. And in accordance with the canonical form of your said presentation, we have instituted him to the same, and have invested him by the delivery of the biretta to all its rights and appurtenances. Dated at our manor of Lambeth, Oct. 21st, A.D. 1417, and of our translation the 4th."

² The remaining Court Rolls of the Manor begin *Anno* 1 Henry VI. (1422), but no name of any Lord or Prebendary occurs, in the titles of Courts holden, until Jan. 22 Edward IV,

Incumbents of Brightling

1437-8, February 18. Wm. Gosberkirk, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 16 Henry VI. p. 2, m. 36). He died in 1441.

1441, June 25. John Bury, cl., presented by Henry VI. (*Pat.* 19 Henry VI. p. 2, m. 28).

1482, Thomas Spycer (resigned).

1482, Nov. 15. (Story's Register) William Wilkwyke presented to the canonry and prebend of Brightlyng, on the resignation of Thomas Spycer, by William Hasting, Lord of Hasting, "*ad quam per nobilem et per potentem virum Willmum Hasting militem dominum de Hasting Camerarium Dni regis verum dicte Canonatus et Prebende Patronem Dno. Cic. Epo. extitit presentatus.*"

1502, Nov. 18. (Story's Register), John Hesybrigg or Hasylbrigge (*Chr. in Ord. Diaconatus*) presented to the Prebend of Brytlyng "*in Ecclia Collegiat, sive libera Capella regia infra Castrum de Hastyngs,*" by Sir Edward Hastyngs, Lord of Hastyngs and Hungreford. He resigned in 1507.

1507, May 31. Roland Philipps, cl., presented by Henry VII. (*Pat.* 22 Henry VII. p. 2, m. 5 (29).

1532, Oct. 26. (Shyrborn's Reg.) Simon Hynde (or Bynd), on the resignation of Roland Philipps, presented by Thomas, Earl of Wiltes and Ormond.

1533 (25 H. 8.) Symon Bynd, who, under the designation of clerk and prebendary, held his first court at this date. He was succeeded by:—

1537, Thomas Taylor, clerk and prebendary, who held his first court Oct. 17th, 29 Henry VIII. and who was the last prebendary of the above ancient religious foundation. Hayley's List.

INCUMBENTS.

1549, John Farmer (or Fenner).

1557, William Darrell, M.A.

1565-66, Anthony Russhe.

1569, May 23. Thomas Cheney, presented on the resignation of Anthony Rushe (Harl. MSS. B.M. 7,048, f. 481 and comp. Books, P. R. O.).

1579, Thomas Franckwell; 1585, Tobias Farrell, A.M.; 1588, Christopher Mynshull, A.M.; 1590-91, Thomas Pye, S.T.P.; 1609-10, William Covell, S.T.P.; 1612, John Little, A.M.; 1642, Thomas Howsegoe; 1658, Joseph Bennett; 1662-63, John Lord; 1681, William Burrell, M.A.; 1708, William Burrell, M.A.; 1737, William Burrell, B.A.; 1746, John Burrell, B.A.; 1752, William Hayley, M.A.; 1789, William Burrell Hayley, M.A.; 1797, William Morgan; 1805, John Burrell Hayley; 1850, John Burrell Hayley, M.A.; 1878, Thomas Hayley, M.A.; 1898, Edward David Cree, M.A.; 1900, Charles Ambrose Sturges Jones.

At the Dissolution of the monasteries particulars of the Prebend of Brightling are given. It appears to have had a prebendal manor attached to it and called by the same name, for William Wykewyke, the Canon who held the prebend in 1482 was termed "lord of the manor of Brightling." This prebend was also charged with the payment of 23*s.* 4*d.* to the Dean of the College Church and 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Steward of the Manor.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* it is thus mentioned:—

"Prebend of Brightling—Symond Bynd, Clerk, prebendary, the same valued clear per annum, with all profits and commodities, exclusively of 24*s.* and 4*d.* payable annually to the Dean of Hastings for his annual pension, 18*d.* annually payable to the Bishop for synodals, 6*s.* 8*d.* annually to the Archdeacon for procuracy, 6*s.* 8*d.* annually payable to Thomas Foster, steward of the court of the lands pertaining to the said prebend,—£11 *os.* 10*d.* From which was deducted 22*s.* 1*d.* for tithes."

In 1574 Sir John Pelham had an iron forge in Brightling, and others were worked by the Fuller family. There is still a public-house in the parish with the sign of the "Fuller's Arms." Mr. Fuller, of Rose Hill, Brightling, presented the Hayley MSS. to the British Museum.

By the Armour Roll of the Clergy, of 1612, Mr. John Lyttell appears as Parson, and the armour quoted is "a corselet furnished."

Old Descriptions of Brightling Church

In 1648 the parish of Brightling was valued at £1,054.

It is mentioned in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne.

The following further particulars relative to Brightling Prebend and Church are contained in the Rev. Mr. Hayley's letter to Sir William Burrell, which is preserved among the Burrell Collections at the British Museum, page 367.

"A considerable portion of the manor of the prebend of Brightling lies in the parish of Burwash, and there are lands in it held of Robertsbridge. The tenants of the manor are all copyhold but one, and only three of them are in Brightling, the rest being divided between the parishes of Burwash and Beckley. The Manor House is said to be the corner house a little below the church, which you turn round to go to Robertsbridge.

"The Church, built of stone of the country, consists of a square tower at the west end. The body, and a north aisle, the upper part of which is separated from the tower, seem designed for a small chapel, the rector's chancel, and the north chancel. The upper part of the chancel east window is filled with painted glass, three compartments of which appear to have enclosed as many personages. Of these and the other figures, etc., in this window, the following is an account :—

"The figure in the upper compartment is seated on a golden throne, fashioned like the seat of an elbow-chair, with a footstep, having his right hand lifted up, as if in the action of blessing. That on the dexter lower is broken, and that in the other has a golden wing expanded. At the top of the centre light of the west window is B. a canton, and 1, 3, and 1, lions rampant I think. A. 1 each side of the chancel door; without is a stone shield. The dexter chancel door has 2 A between 3 roundles, as they now appear, but were probably three roses, the coat of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester 1367, 41 Edward III. to 6 Henry IV. 1404. The sinister is plain, but might have been intended to have been the arms of the College of Hastings. If so, it may be concluded that Wickham was a contributor towards the building, or rebuilding of the chancel, and that this took place after he was bishop, as his shield precedes that of the College aforesaid.¹

"This church is dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket, and the wake or feast of its dedication is kept on the Monday after July 7th (the festival of its patron saint) by the name of the 'Fair,' when the landlady of the public-house bakes cakes in the forenoon, and puddings in the evening, for sale, which is all the extraordinary traffic there is on the day.

"1632. The rectory and prebend passed from the family of Browne Viscount Montague to William Relf, and by several mesne conveyances through the Relf's, English's, and Lord's, in 1673, to the Burrells, of whom the only surviving heir in 1775 was Ann, the wife of the Rev. William Hayley, the then rector of Brightling.

"The parochial right of tithes was not generally settled until about the year 1200, when in 'Registro de Bello' there is a certificate of Robert de Hastings, that the rector of Brightling has no right to tithes in his lordship of Nedderfield, which he had and held in 1 John A.D. 1200."

The following particulars relating further to the church, etc., are given by Sir William Burrell :—

"Brightling Church, dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket,—patron—(1748) Lawrence Noakes, gent., situated in the Deanery of Hastings—appropriation 'Pensio Senescallo Hastings, LXVIIIs. ditto decano ijs. iiij*d.*—First Fruits. IX. li. Tenths I. li. ijs. Church a rectory.—Acquittance v*d.* Bishop's procuration ijs. iiij*d.*—Synodals 1s. v*d.* Acquittance iiij*d.* Archdeacon's procurations vjs. viij*d.* acquittance v*d.*' There is no dwelling-house on the glebe (which is very considerable), and it is supposed there never was any. The present rector and several of his predecessors, have lived in a cottage built on the waste, under a lease, from the Pelhams, Lords of the Rape of Hastings."—N.B. The rector's prebendaries of Brightling (for the time being) are Lords of this Manor.

Anno 11 Eliz. By indenture dated the 18th of April this year, made between Elizabeth

¹ Mr. T. Cole, in his *Antiquities of Hastings*, quoting Mr. Hayley, states that the Arms of William of Wykeham and the Collegiate Church actually are there, whereas we know that William of Wykeham had nothing to do with this prebend (see *ante*, p. 207). Moreover both shields are carved alike, and not merely one, as mentioned by Hayley.

Brightling Church

Sharpe of Bermondsey, Surrey, widow, of the one part, and John Cowper of Brightling, Sussex, yeoman, and Thomas Glynde of Burwash, yeoman, of the other part :—

It is witnessed—that whereas Anthony Busshe, clerk, parson, and prebendary of Brightling aforesaid, by indenture of lease, dated 31st May, 1566 (8 Eliz.) hath demised, etc., to Thomas Sharpe, of St. Mary Bermondsey, Surrey, yeoman, all that parsonage, parish church, and prebendary (prebend) of Brightlinge aforesaid, with all buildings, barns, etc., thereto belonging ; together with all manner of woods, underwoods, tithes, colombaries, orchards, gardens, glebelands, commons, etc., rents, casualties, customary lands, view of frank pledge, courts leet, courts baron, fines, heriots, reliefs, etc., to the said parish church, parsonage, and prebendary, or to the said Anthony Busshe, or to his successors, parsons there, by reason thereof in any wise appertaining or belonging, for the term of 21 years, and a reserved yearly rent. Whereby the said Thomas Sharpe entered into said demised premises, and was possessed of same ; that said Elizabeth as administratrix of said Thomas Sharpe was lawfully possessed of the premises ; this indenture further witnessed, that said Elizabeth Sharpe, widow, did demise said premises to said John Cowper and Thomas Glynde, except the woods and underwoods, the great trees and timber appertaining to said parish church and parsonage. To hold said demised premises (except as excepted) to the said John Cowper for 6 years, if the said Anthony Busshe should so long live paying to said Elizabeth Sharpe, her executors, etc., the clear yearly rent of £16 3s. 4d.

Upon a brass erected in this Church to the memory of John Batys in 1476, the following inscription appears :—

“ Hic jacet Johannes Batys, gentylman, q : dedit ad istam ecclesiam de Brightling, ornamenta, parvimenta, et omnia sedilia ecclesiae predictae et etiam dedit ecclesiae terrā illā. quae vocatur Levettys in p̄p̄m [in perpetuum] jacens in parochia predicta et obiit viii^o die mensis Septembris, anno Dni mo ccccxxvii^o. Cujus animae p̄p̄icietur Deus. Amen.”

According to Mr. Hayley, who gathered the story from tradition, this brass was taken away and the land by this means lost to the parish, until after some years the brass was found at the bottom of a deep well on the South Downs, and the property was restored through the intervention of Chancery to parochial uses. The following inscription has since been added :—

“ Whoe ever thou art who readeest the superinscription, knowe, that the good intention of Master John Batys was by some ill minde diverted, and the land called Levett's converted to private use from this Church for many yeares, and the saide inscription, devised by the saide Master Batys for this tombstone, was then by unjust hands broken and purloined, and the memory and benevolence of the saide Master Batys endeavoured totally to be concealed until God, who put it into the hearts and mindes of the well affected of the parish to desire the recovery of the saide lands, to be disposed of to the uses by the saide Master Batys intended ; who, procuring a commission upon the Statute of the xliij (Qy. 43rd) of the reigne of the late Queene Elizabeth, for charitable uses, directed to Sir Thomas Sackville, Knyghte of the Bath, and others, the saide landes were by the saide Commissioners decreed to be employed to the former use, and after the said decree beinge returned into the High Court of Chancery, and excepted unto by such as witheld the saide landes, the same was by the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and the saide High Court of Chancery, on the first day of February, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of our Sovereign Lord King Charles, Anno Domini 1635, ratyfyed and confirmed in all points.”

Horsfield states that there is also in the north chancel a gravestone, upon which are two small “ portraits ” of a man and woman with their heads elevated and conjoined on their breasts, each having a beadroll or string of beads inlaid in brass. The plate at their feet, whereon was an inscription, is lost, as also two small pieces which were lower down on the stone, supposed to be their escutcheons.

Hayley thought that this stone covered some ancient lord of the manor of Socknersh and his wife, but Horsfield's theory was that it might have been the tomb of the above-mentioned John Batys, who directed his body to be, and was, buried in that chancel, at the foot of the preceding stone.

Architecture of Brightling Church

BRIGHTLING CHURCH.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

The general style of the Church of St. Thomas a Becket, of Brightling, is Early English. Its plan consists of nave, chancel, and north aisle, which is continued eastwards, forming a chapel opening into the chancel.

A plain but massive square tower is at the western end flanked by large Early English buttresses with gabled terminations, embattled parapet (of more recent date) and surmounted by a tiled low pyramidal roof. The entrance to the tower is through an Early English pointed doorway with chamfered imposts, but without label-mouldings. There is a two-light square-headed Perpendicular window immediately above, and the bell-chamber has four two-light Early English openings with chamfered angles, but without enrichments.

The entrance to the church is through a porch on the south side, dated 1749, and built of a Renaissance design with pointed arched opening in imitation of Perpendicular work. The porch has an embattled parapet, classic windows, and rustic quoins.

The windows of the nave on the south side are Perpendicular insertions of two lights with square heads, the lights having cinquefoiled heads with ogee tops. Additional light is secured by two small, round quatrefoil openings immediately above these windows.

The chancel on the south is lighted by two square-headed two-light windows with labels, the upper spaces being filled with Decorated tracery.

Access to the choir is obtained through a priests' door with a four-centred pointed arch, without enrichments, the spandrels in the arch-stone being occupied by two pointed shields both worked with a chevron and three roundels.¹

In the south wall of the chancel traces remain of a more ancient window. There were probably two lancet-windows with a door.

The buttresses form a conspicuous feature of the exterior.

The chancel-window is of the Decorated style, of three lights with pointed arched head filled with laced tracery with quatrefoil-cusps, the whole surmounted by a hood-mould with ornamental terminations. The difficulties in the design have apparently not been successfully coped with by the mason, as it is not wrought with geometrical accuracy. Apparently this window replaced a more ancient light—probably of three lancet-windows.

The eastern end of the Sockenersh chapel is similar in proportion to that of the chancel, with a similar window, but with lace-tracery of a different pattern and very indifferently restored. A moulded coping gable, string-course, and plinth add to the completeness of this portion of the church. The kneeler is enriched with a quaint carved head on the north angle.

The northern wall of the chapel is pierced by a two-light square-headed window similar to those on the south side of the nave, and a small Early English lancet-window.

The north aisle is lighted by two-light square-headed windows of dissimilar design, with trefoil and cinquefoil cusplings, and one small lancet-light.

There was a north door with pointed arch, the lower part being now blocked up and the upper part now filled with a leaded light.

In the western wall of the aisle is a small window with trefoil head, worked in stone in the form of a four-centred arch.

THE INTERIOR.

The interior of this very interesting church is well lighted. The nave is divided from the north aisle by an arcade of three arches, supported by octagonal and semi-octagonal piers with octagonal moulded bases and well-shaped capitals. The arches are pointed with chamfered angles.

The roof is ceiled with curved ribs supported by a modern coved classic mould-cornice. A plain horizontal timber is used as the tie-beam.

The chancel arch is pointed, with piers corresponding in form to those of the nave-arcade: their bases cannot now be seen, even if indeed they ever existed.

The chancel opens into the Sockenersh chapel by two pointed arches supported upon a

¹ Mr. Hayley (Hayley MS. Brit. Mus.), who thought that Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, was a prebendary of Brightling, suggested that these three roundels were intended to be carved into roses like those on the coat of William de Wykeham, but they were certainly never intended to be, nor was Wykeham ever a prebendary of Brightling (see *ante*). Mr. Cole in his *Antiquities of Hastings*, follows Hayley, but adds to and increases the error.

Architecture of Brightling Church

circular pier in the centre with moulded octagonal cap and base, and by a semi-circular pier at the eastern end, the lower order of the arch at the western end being supported by an octagonal corbel moulded and carved with foliage of rude character.

The aisle is divided into two equal portions by a wall of masonry, with an opening with flat pointed arched head. This construction necessitates a wide pier joining the two semi-octagonal piers of the nave before mentioned.

The eastern arch is supported on the main wall by a moulded and enriched corbel immediately over the wide low-pointed arched opening leading to the Sockenersh chapel.

Some interesting fragments of stained glass may be noticed in the windows (see *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. xlv. p. 180).

The roof of the chancel corresponds with that of the nave, but is of smaller proportions. That over the chapel and side-aisle is open-timbered, framed with an Early English roof, simple ties and braces. Early alterations have been made to this portion of the church the purport of which is not clear.

There is an old oak gallery spanning the church at its western end, with a front of oak paneling with pilasters and supported by fluted columns. Here also is the barrel-organ. The arched opening leading to the tower is partly concealed by this structure. The piers, capitals, and bases correspond in every way to those in the nave.

The walls of the tower on the basement-level have square arched recesses.

The font which is octagonal, is of Purbeck marble, supported by an octagonal stone shaft with moulded capital and base of Perpendicular work.

There is a peal of eight bells in Brightling Church, six of which bear the names of Talavera, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Orthez, and Toulouse respectively. The tenor also has this inscription: "The five bells recast, and a new treble added at the expense of John Fuller, Esq., late member for this County, Anno Domini 1815. In honour of the illustrious Duke of Wellington, his last six victories are here recorded." It measures $42\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and weighs 13 cwt. 2 qrs. 11 lbs. In 1818 two more trebles were added, each inscribed, "Waterloo," and the second one was further engraved with "This peal of bells was completed Anno Domini 1818, at the expense of John Fuller, Esquire." All the bells were cast by Mr. T. Mears, London.

The Church of St. Andrew, Sub-Castro

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, SUB-CASTRO,

was held in common by the Canons of the Collegiate Church according to Count Henry's Charter (see p. 24 *ante*).

This very ancient church was situated immediately below the Castle hill, and thence derived its addition of "Sub-Castro." The Church itself is not mentioned in the grant to Sir Anthony Browne; on which account, and because also its name is omitted from among the Hastings Churches enumerated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, we may presume that it had ceased to exist before the reign of Henry VIII.; and that its site, as part of the College possessions, was included in the pieces of land granted away in the "Fields of Hastings" or St. Mary in the Castle parish, the parishioners of which are described in that grant (see p. 317). The spot is now occupied by a modern built house; in digging the foundations for this building, a considerable quantity of human bones were dug up, as also a St. Andrew's Cross of stone, probably part of the ornaments of the church when standing. It is now, by way of identifying the site, fixed up in the front of the house.

In Pope Nicholas' valuation, it is thus mentioned.

"*Ecclia S̄ci Andree Sub-Castro- iijl. xiijs. iijd.*"

A charter of Queen Elizabeth dated February 14th, 1588/9 granted to the Corporation of Hastings—*inter alia*—

"the Advowson, donation, free disposition, and right of presentation of the rectory and Church of the Blessed Mary in the Castle of Hastings aforesaid, commonly called or known as the Castle parish and Saint Andrew, or by the name of one of them, with all their rights and appurtenances."

A communication, printed in Horsfield's work, from the Rev. G. G. Stonestreet says that

"The definition of St. Andrew in the new Borough map is equally remote from authority. The ruins of the Church of St. Andrew stood within 15 yards a few yards from the north side of Wellington Square, and the site was sold and desecrated to building purposes in violation of the dead and of the patronage of the Rectory, although invested in the Corporation by Royal grant and confirmed by Act of Parliament. Yet the allocation assumed does not even include the parish Church by a considerable distance. On the other extremity of that parish it is even more confined, according to the same modern authority. The hundred rolls recite that part of the parish extended into Baldslow hundred. The map however screws it down to a distance of even half a mile from the limit of that hundred."


In 1206 the King presented Simon de Waltham to the Church of Saint Andrew, and in Bishop Praty's Register, fo. 43, A.D. 1440, it is stated that the parish of Saint Andrew with others had been destroyed by the sea or depopulated.

Part V

THE CASTLE AND CHAPEL: ARCHITECTURAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH AND COLLEGE BEFORE AND AT THE DISSOLUTION

IR ANTHONY BROWNE does not appear to have possessed himself of the College site, or taken any steps for so doing, until the first or second year of Edward VI., nine or ten years later than his grant. This circumstance is probably to be accounted for, in part, from the College having fallen into such a state of decay as to have rendered the buildings of little or no value; and this must have been accelerated by the church having been stripped of its lead, bells, etc., by the King, agreeably to the terms of the royal grant; which reserved them, together with the bell-metal, jewels, ornaments, and other moveables of the church, to the King's use.

About the time mentioned, namely, in the year 1548 or 1549, Sir Anthony is stated to have sent his agents to view the premises, and to take possession. These on their arrival, having no knowledge of what actually appertained to the College (of which there does not appear to have been any survey), were obliged to have recourse to the memory of some of the old inhabitants of Hastings, who had known the College before the Suppression,¹ four of whom spoke as to their recollection of the Dean having used and occupied certain part of the Castle Yard with the College, but whether belonging to it as a matter of right, they could not tell. One of these, Edmond Jacklyn,² is said to have rented the land "withoutside" the same of the Earl of Huntingdon; and on this occasion took of Sir Anthony's agents most of the ground "withinside," notwithstanding their consequent inability to identify what belonged to the College, which he afterwards ploughed up, and in so doing probably annihilated many remains of the College, as well as Castle-buildings. These particulars, with much other interesting information relative to them at that

¹ These are extracted from Mr. Wm. Herbert's MS. The depositions were formerly among the Pelham documents, now called the "Newcastle documents in the British Museum" (see *ante*, p. 320). Among Mr. Herbert's notes occurs an entry that he enquired for the Bill and Answer in Chancery in a cause of Henry Earl of Huntingdon *versus* Antony Viscount Montague, respecting a dissolved College of St. Mary within Hasting Castle, Sussex. He enters against this "Not found." The Depositions seem to have formed part of these proceedings, and were made four years before the sale of the Castle. The author has been unable to trace the matter further.

² This name (alias Bocher) occurs as Bailiff of Hastings. *an.* 1522, 1532, 1536, 1539, 1544, 1554 (died).

Depositions Relating to the Site of the Castle

time, are found in the Depositions in Chancery reg. Eliz., circa 1587 or 1588, of which the following is part :—

“ George Porter of Hastings, Jurate, aged 70 yeares, sayeth—that he knoweth the seyte of the late Deanerye or Colledge of Hastings ; and he did know the same both before and at the suppression thereof ; and sayeth that he thinketh yt almost fortye yeres since it was suppressed : and one Richard Brokeslye was Deane at the time of the said suppression :

“ That the Colledge or Deanerye house, stood within the walles, at the south-west side of the church there : but what circuit of grounde the same, and the stables, vaults, and houses of easement to the said Colledge perteninge did conteyne, of his owne knowledge he knoweth not : but this he sayeth—that within the gate upon a hill, there was a garden, which by reporte belonged to the Deanerye, and which one Sir Richard, a priest there did occupye ; and that the late Dean, did by reporte of good men, use the vaults on the easte side of the walles for stables, but whether as of right belonging to the Colledge or noe, he knoweth not. But this he knoweth, that he beinge present there at such tyme as the officers of Sir Antonie Browne came to take possession and view thereof, which was aboute the first or second year of king Edward the sixt, four aged men, that is to saye, Edmonde Jacklyn, *als* Butcher, Edmond Holman, Thomas Williams, and John Oliver, declared unto the officers of the said Anthonye Browne, that the Deane enjoyed the use of all the grounde within the walls, reservinge the royaltie of a grounde for the cattell of the Forren¹ within Hastings Rape, and keepinge of Courts for the Earle of Huntingdon : and that the said Jacklyn, being fermor of the grounde withoute the walles to the Earle of Huntingdon, did at that tyme take all the grounde within the said walles, payinge therefore two shillings a yere, which he occupied accordinglie during all the time of his lief, and ev' sithens this deponente and his sonne have occupied the same : and further sayeth,—that the said Edmond Jacklyn did once sowe with hemp, in the tyme of king Edward the Sixt, all suche of the grounde within the walles as he could convenientlye care (share ?) with a plough ; and that this deponente, aboute twentye yeres paste, did likewise sowe once with wheat soe muche of the grounde within the said walles as he could care with a plough convenientlye, etc.”

“ Edmond Saunders, fysherman, aged 72 yeres,” another witness in the same proceedings, likewise deposes as to the same points—

“ That he knows the place of the late Deanerye or Colledge in the Interrogatorye mentioned and hath knowne the same both before and since the suppression thereof : and he wente to schole with one Sir Richard, a priest there, and harde saye there was a deane, but knew him not ²—that the said Deanerye stode within the walles, close adjoininge to the weste walle : that he knew one garden on the north-easte syde of the gate, within the walle upon a banke there, which Sir Richard the prieste there of the Deanerye occupied : and he also knewe one other garden on the south-weste syde of the said gate : that one Brickett, dwellinge in the house on the south syde of the Deanerye, did before the Suppression thereof, occupye suche parte of the grounde in question” (i.e., within the Castle) “as was not inclosed, nor parte of the church-yarde nor used as a garden with suche cattell as had,” etc. “ Sayth also,—that there were twoe chambers over the gate, or chiefe entrance, wherein the said Sir Richard the priest did lodge.”

Thomas Respisse, another witness, deposes to having gone to school

“ In the Castell Church, with Sir Thomas Scott, prieste,” before the suppression of the Deanery.

¹ Strangers, persons and tenants of the Rape.

² It seems curious that this witness should have gone to school with Brokesley, the last Dean of the College, and should not have known him under that character, but only as “ the prieste there of the Deanerye,” as he describes him ; although the former witness, Porter, identifies him as “ Richard Brokeslye, deane at the tyme of the said Suppression.” Thomas Respisse, also the witness next mentioned, speaks of not having “ knowne of anye deanerye or College that was there.” The ignorance of both deponents as to these circumstances, strongly supports the opinion before given, as to the decay of the Colledge before it was dissolved, and the poverty into which it had fallen. The facts mentioned also, of Brickett occupying the deanery-house, and pasturing his cattle in the unenclosed parts of the Castle yard, while the Dean had only two chambers over the gateway, and was obliged to eke out his income by keeping school (unless the Colledge Grammar-School be meant) are further proof.

Ancient References to the Castle Buildings

To this valuable information respecting the College at and near the time of its dissolution, the before-mentioned excavation of the Castle has now enabled us to add a description of its present remains, the whole of which were probably buried soon after this mention, and had remained concealed by heaps of rubbish, and totally unknown up to the present time. Previously to doing this, however, we shall endeavour to convey some idea, from hints afforded in the different documents which have been given in this account, of the nature of the College and its buildings in their perfect state.

The buildings and places mentioned as forming parts of the College when entire, are, the Collegiate Church of St. Mary; the Chapter-House; Cloisters, a Solar, a room for reception of pilgrims; the Deanery-House; prebendal residences; habitations for the vicar and chaplains; a grammar-school; singing school; the bell-tower mentioned; and the cemetery or churchyard; besides a garden on the Castle-hill or mount; a second garden on the south side of the gate, and certain vaults on the east side of the same, occupied as stables ("the vaults, stables, and suche like houses of easement perteyninge to the said Colledge"). The whole of these buildings stood as described "within the walles at the south-weste syde of the church there," or at the entrance of the outer courtyard, next the Castle-gate; and appear to have been separated from the military buildings there, as well as from the inner yard, by the churchyard and garden, probably by some kind of wall or fence. "The circuit of grounde the same did conteyne" or occupy, and of which inquiry is made in the "Interrogatories," the deponents profess not to have known. The above were all situated within the Castle.

"The gardens, closes, and other things thereunto perteyninge," of the extent and nature of which the same witnesses confess a like ignorance, and which were without the walls in St. Mary's parish, are described in Earl Henry's confirmation-charter, and consisted of,—One house in the ward, at the bridge belonging to Wartling Prebend; one dwelling under the ward, belonging to Bulverhide Prebend; two houses in the ward, belonging to the prebend of Geoffridus and Blanchi; one meadow beyond the Mill under the Castle, belonging to Maurepast Prebend; the tithe under the Castle, belonging to Maurepast Prebend; one orchard without the ward, belonging to Hollington Prebend; one garden at Boseham, belonging also to Bulverhide Prebend; and the church of St. Andrew sub Castro, belonging to the Canons in common.

Some of the houses and grounds stood under the ward, or beyond the base of the Castle-hill, and are described in the preceding grant of Henry VIII. as containing altogether in St. Mary-the-Castle parish, nine acres, exclusively of a croft, the admeasurement of which is not given, namely—

"All that croft of land to the same site (that is, of the College) adjacent in Hastings; to the said late Deanery or College belonging and appertaining; and also all those our lands called Stoneland, containing 6 acres of land, lying in the parish of St. Mary de Castro in Hastings; and all that field called Marleparc lying next Hastings, in the said parish of the Blessed Mary de Castro in Hastings."

Of these the croft mentioned is alone stated to have lain adjacent to the College, or immediately below the north side of the Castle-hill; the other pieces stood at a distance, or in what is called "The fields of Hastings."

Hastings Castle

CHAPTER II

RUIN BY INUNDATIONS



AMONG the occurrences of which we know in connexion with the history of Hastings Castle are those respecting its early defacement and subsequent ruin by the inroads of the sea.

Of the species of accident to which we allude, there are three distinct instances on record, each happening at different periods, though at dates not precisely known, and they were more than usually destructive to this once extensive, and still highly-impressive fortress.

The first of these calamities seems to have taken place in little more than a century after the foundation or re-erection of the Castle by William the Conqueror. Like those which followed at later dates, it is to be accounted for partly from the situation of the Castle, on the extreme edge of the sea-shore, and partly from the soft texture of the rock on which it is built, which is merely a loose kind of sandstone.

It is noticed in the register of the neighbouring Abbey of Battle,¹ the monks of which, from its vicinity to Hastings, should have been correctly informed upon the subject. The passage in this record mentions the "great Council held here by William Rufus in 1094," of which we have before spoken, and adds: "The Castle then stood below the cliff, on ground since overflowed by the sea"—not meaning that there was then *no* Castle on the cliff above, for there still exist in its ruins the most decisive evidences to the contrary, but that the principal part of the military buildings or fortifications then stood there, as being most exposed to invasion; of these, and that they were probably the additions made to the Castle by the Conqueror, notice has already been taken.

It is probable that the Hastings coast suffered much from the great storms in the thirteenth century. In 1236 Old Winchelsea was inundated. On October 1st, 1250, the town was almost destroyed, and again on January 14th, 1252. It was finally destroyed by the great storm of February 4th, 1287.

The second-recorded accident of this kind which befell Hastings Castle occurred some time before, or immediately at the commencement of the reign of Edward III., and, like its predecessor, is stated to have done very considerable mischief to the buildings. We derive the knowledge of this circumstance, as well as a further notice of the inundation above-mentioned, from a petition of the Dean and Chapter of Hastings College to the King, and the proceedings which thereupon took place. In this petition, which is dated 4 Edward III., they request to have

¹ Burrell MS. It is not clear which of the registers or copy registers is referred to. The author regrets that the Battle Abbey Documents are not now accessible, so that the date or value of the statement in the text cannot be duly estimated.

The Castle partly destroyed by the Sea

the custody of the Castle during peace, or until the appointment of a warden, together with the produce of the precinct or ward around it, for the purpose of repairing and maintaining the enclosure or walls of the Castle, then described to be in a state of ruin from the above-mentioned accident. This enclosure, they add, "was on its forfeiture by the Count of Eu, in the Norman times, in great part destroyed, and was then much more so by the daily encroachments of the sea: insomuch that the ancestors of our Lord the King had in consequence long neglected the Castle, and left it without gates, and it had so continued without amendment up to that time." In 1413 the canons of the Holy Trinity Priory at Hastings (which was situated on an arm or creek of the old harbour) were obliged to abandon the site and remove to Warbleton, owing to the overflowings and encroachment of the sea.

The third and last calamity of the same nature of which any account is extant appears to have happened in or near the reign of Henry VIII., and is mentioned in the depositions in Chancery, in a cause respecting the Castle and adjoining land in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In these depositions two witnesses swear to their remembrance of the Castle and College before the Suppression, and both speak to the fact of much of the former having been about that time again destroyed by inundation. George Porter, jurat of Hastings, aged seventy—one of them—gives his evidence on this point in the following words: "That parte of the Castle ys, as he hath hearde, fallen downe by the frettinge and raginge of the sea." And Edmond Saunders, fisherman of the same place—a man still more aged—"That yn his tyme the mayne sea did breake upon the cliffe, *wherby parte of the Castell was fallen and decayed.*"

How great the damage that must have been done to the Castle by these repeated inundations, and how vastly they must have abridged its dimensions on the sea side, may be conjectured by the smallness of the present remains, and the want in them of almost all those buildings and defences which we know to have constituted essential parts of every similar fortress. This will further appear in considering their effects, as stated in the preceding and other authorities.

Further, Jeakes, in his annotations on the Cinque Ports Charters, speaking of the neighbouring spot called Bulverhide, sets forth that it was not only the original haven of Hastings, but as such the then supposed place where William the Conqueror landed, observing, "The greatest part of Bulverhithe is now eaten up by the sea."

That the destruction here mentioned happened at the same time with, and included, the first ruin of the Castle, though there afterwards occurred other inundations equally injurious to it (as will be noticed) is evident from what we are told in the record: "That it had in consequence been neglected by the King's ancestors, and left without gates, etc.," as being through this calamity rendered so far incapable of defence, that it was partly thought useless to Government.

Ruinous, however, as this first accident undoubtedly must have been to the Castle, there is still reason to suppose that many, if not most of its buildings remained. Several circumstances seem to warrant that it was at that period still considered a place of some importance, and the condition upon which Henry III. is said in the Count of Eu's petition to have been put in possession of it—to hold until a peace should be established between France and England (who were then at war) and the Castle in consequence held fit only to be trusted, in the absence

Hastings Priory destroyed by the Sea

of its owner, to the King. It is also to be observed, in further confirmation of this opinion, that up to that time and long after, if not garrisoned, it had at least a constable, or keeper. ✓

How much more then must it have suffered by the inundation about the time of Edward III., upon which we shall next make a few remarks, may be conjectured from a hint in the before-mentioned petition to him, namely, that the Castle had then ceased in consequence thereof to have any resident presiding officer or head appointed by the Crown. This is evident from the Dean, etc., soliciting to have the custody of the same during peace, or until such time as there should be a warden placed over it; and also from what is further therein asserted—that from the ruined state of the walls, the Castle Chapel was daily and nightly broken into and robbed, its ministers beaten, wounded, and ill-treated, and the place on these accounts altogether looked upon as derelict or abandoned.

And that there was again about this time some great inundation more than usually destructive to this part of the coast, we have, as in the former case, other concurring testimonies.

The destruction of the priory of the Holy Trinity immediately adjoining the Castle may be reckoned as one of the strongest of these. This religious house is supposed to have been founded by Walter Bricet¹ as early as the reign of Richard I., but from having been entirely overwhelmed by the sea near the time of which we are speaking, and being afterwards rebuilt at Warbleton, thence took the denomination of the "New Priory." To this rebuilding Sir John Pelham contributed so largely, that he was held to be its second founder. The letters patent granted to him on this occasion bear date *anno* 14 Henry IV. (the same year as that in which, as we have seen, he had the Castle granted to him), and afford a vivid idea how disastrous and extensive the inundation alluded to must have been. They recite to this effect—

"Whereas the church of the Holy Trinity of Hastyngs, and the dwelling of our beloved in Christ the Prior and Convent of the aforesaid church of Hastyngs, have been inundated and laid waste by the sea, so that they could no longer dwell there, as the said prior and Convent have given us to understand.—For which reason our beloved and faithful knight Sir John Pelham, by our licence hath given and granted to the same prior and convent certain lands (at Warbleton, Susex), etc., on which lands a new church and dwelling hath been begun, as it is said, etc."

And if on the Priory the effect of this calamity was so great as to destroy and render it uninhabitable, we can easily conceive how much it must have injured the Castle, which stood in a line with it on the shore.²

An additional proof also is to be found near the same time, from the circumstance which we find recorded, of the said John Pelham being put in commission with Robert Lord Poynings a few years before, namely, in *anno* 9 of the same

¹ Dugdale, *Hist. Mon.* They were Black Canons Regular, of the Order of St. Augustine.

² Contiguous to a farmyard now occupying the site of this Priory, is a pond, in which on draining it late in the eighteenth century, a large hole was discovered nearly 30 feet deep, with the remains of a sluice, deep gates, and timber of very large dimensions. From the Priory having stood here, and its exposure to the inundations of the sea, these might probably have been relics of works constructed by the canons, to protect their habitation from its ravages. Indeed, the term used in the survey of this Priory at the Dissolution, of "Terr' Submers," which occurs in speaking of their demesne lands in the neighbourhood, is a sufficient evidence, were there no other, of the destructive nature of these inroads of the sea.

Causes leading to the Ruin of the Castle

monarch, "for the view and repair of the banks on the sea-coast betwixt Hastings and Bosele(Bexhill)," as also of a subsequent appointment, made 6 Henry VI., for Sir John Pelham (the son), Sir Roger Fenys, knight, and others, "to view and rectify the new banks, which were said to obstruct the course of the fresh waters which used to run between Hastings and Bosele, whereby much land was drowned."

Such are the particulars that we have been enabled to collect relative to the two inundations by which the Castle suffered previously to the reign of Edward III., and which, it will be seen, by destroying its military consequence, sufficiently account for our finding little mention of it in military history. What was the precise nature of the injury afterwards done to it from the like cause in the reign of Henry VIII., as stated in the Chancery proceedings above quoted, we are not told, nor whether it was owing to any particular violent storm at the time, or the gradual "fretting and raging of the sea" within the period of the deponents' remembrance; but the consequences, judging from the manner in which they are described, could have been little less destructive than those of the inundations of which we have been speaking, namely, that thereby "great part of the Castle had fallen and was decayed."

Of the other events of a public nature connected with the history of the Castle, the only one on record is the successful assault, followed by pillage, in the reign of Edward III., in the year 1342, nine years after the grant made to the Dean and Chapter. This is mentioned in a mandate of the King, directed to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and sheriff of that county and Sussex, and commanding him to summon a jury, to inquire, amongst other things, what tenants held under the Castle by the service of keeping Castle Guard, what was the nature of their particular service, and what sums they were liable to pay on such account, in order, it is said, "to provide for the more safe and secure keeping of the said Castle." For that "It had been given the King to understand that his foreign enemies, with ships and galleys, had lately landed at the port of Hastings, and his Castle of the same had hostilely invaded, and had thence carried away divers goods, as well as committed other depredations." And further commanding him in consequence to enforce, for the purpose mentioned, such tenants' arrears of Castle Guard rent, which many persons were said to have neglected to pay up, "to the King's great contempt and damage, and to the manifest endangering of the said Castle and its appurtenances."

The next mention made of the Castle is in the report of a visitation of Hastings College, which took place by command of the same King Edward, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and the particulars of this will be found in the account of that foundation. From the jurors' return on this occasion we learn that the Castle walls, which the Dean and Chapter were bound, by the grant made to them of the Castle herbage, etc., to have re-edified and kept in repair, still remained in a state of ruin, the Dean preceding the one then at the head of the College having for ten years past appropriated the rent which he received for such herbage (amounting to ten shillings a year) to his own use, and totally neglected the above and other works, for which such rent ought to have been expended.

In the reign of Henry IV., if the decline of the Castle corresponds with that of the College (which it probably did) it must have been in a still greater degree

The Castle Ruins in 1538

decayed and ruined ; for it was returned by the jurors on a like visitation of the latter, made in the eleventh year of the reign of that monarch—

“That the Chapel, which had anciently been accustomed to be served in divine offices by a worthy number of ecclesiastical ministers, was then so reduced in its income, that it was barely sufficient to keep it in repair, and to find lights and other necessaries, and was totally inadequate to pay the stipends of the clergy belonging to it ; that several of the prebendaries had become non-resident (most likely in consequence), and it was therefore commanded by the King that a regulation made at such visitation should be strictly enforced, namely, that each non-resident prebendary should contribute a proportion of the proceeds of his prebend towards the better support of the said establishment and its resident ministers thence forward.”

From this period the decay of the Castle appears to have been rapid ; so much so, that at the suppression of the College, which took place in little more than a century afterwards, the buildings and whole site had completely changed their character, and it was found that the Dean, by the neglect of the Earls of Huntingdon, who owned the Castle, had been suffered to usurp the possession, and to occupy such parts of it as he pleased.

As a further proof of the Castle being at this time totally ruined, and that the buildings which composed it were either gone or not then to be identified, we find it spoken of in the middle of the sixteenth century as merely existing in its walls and the ground within them, as is evident from the following mention made of them, and of the site generally, in the depositions in Chancery before quoted from, namely—

Deposition of George Porter—

“Knew the grounds then in question, with the walks, banks, and ditches about the same” (that is to say, the whole site of the Castle and its outworks), “and had known the same about forty years, or since the year 1538, and thought all the ground within the walls contained an acre and a half.” (Herbert MS. The measurement is not previously given.)

Another witness deposes as to there having been two chambers over the gate and that there was a garden on the north-east side of the gate, within the wall upon a bank (or as the former witness more accurately describes it) “upon a hill,” meaning thereby the Castle Mount. And a third witness—

“That he knew the walls then standing to be parcel of the Castle of Hastings, and had so known them fifty years, as also the land within the walls. This witness also thought that there had been two *portcullises* in the walls of the said Castle.”

From the whole tenor of the above evidence, but particularly the terms made use of, we learn the total dilapidation and ruin of the Castle at this time. Not only is it mentioned as consisting of bare walls, but that such walls really constituted parcel of it seems to have been doubtful, a proof that very few if any of the Castle-buildings then remained by which to identify it. And this fact is further confirmed by the interior being described under the appellation of “The Ground” and “The land within the walls,” without any allusion to erections, the whole of which it seems were then comprised in the *Castle great gate* and the *chambers* over it, and certain *vaults* on the east side of the walls, used by the Dean for stables (the towers within the walls, and perhaps some few fragments excepted).

The Site of the Castle Ploughed over

The final completion of its ruin, by the extinction of any remains or foundations that might have existed at the Suppression, is recorded in the same depositions as having taken place a few years afterwards, namely, at the commencement of the reign of Edward VI., at which period we are told the whole interior was, as before mentioned, subsequently twice ploughed up.

From the above period the interior of the Castle seems again to have reverted to a state of pasturage, and so to have continued until the present day. The last time the area was so let out was late in the eighteenth century, when Lord Pelham granted a lease thereof for twenty-one years to Edward Milward, Esq., at a rent of forty shillings per annum.

Hastings Castle

CHAPTER III

ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE CASTLE-HILL BETWEEN THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CEN- TURY, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



THE out-fortifications at Hastings Castle, as in most large fortresses, extended to a considerable distance, and are still plainly to be traced covering the Castle-hill. They stood in what was called the ward or bailiwick, a precinct of ground which appears always to have belonged to the Castle, and was returned by inquisition in the reign of Edward III., to have contained no less than eleven acres of the surrounding land. Of these fortifications, and the hill itself as they formerly appeared, it will be proper, in order to afford an adequate idea of the site of this interesting pile of ruins, to give some account, before describing the interior of the Castle and its various remains.

Of the former appearance of the Castle-hill and ruins, there are several drawings among the Burrell Collections at the British Museum, which represent them from different points of view, as they existed about the year 1784. The annexed sketches are copied from part of them:—

The first, entitled—

“A View of the Rocks at Hastings, with part of the Castle, etc.,” presents us with the venerable and sea-worn front of the Castle cliff, together with the line of rock and hill attached to it: reaching from the end of the Gun Garden as it was called ¹ on the left or west, as far as the battery on the right, together with the old bathing-house, and the few other buildings which then stood on the beach. The second, described as—

“Hastings Castle and Rocks, taken from the Bathing House,” shows a portion of the same frontage, with that building on a larger scale, in the foreground. From both these, compared with the plan of the Castle, we may perceive how far the same cliff and rocks formerly projected towards the sea, and how deeply they have been cut into, to form the present road and dwellings;

¹ See general plan. This name was given to a spot of ground situated on the summit of the Castle-hill, next adjoining the western end of the moat. It does not appear how it came by this appellation, but it certainly seems to indicate that it had some connexion with the military establishment at the Castle in former times: and as such might have constituted a part of the “Appurtenances” mentioned in the mandate 13 Edw. III., before noticed, as being with the Castle endangered from the neglect of not keeping proper guard at that time, when the King’s enemies had so recently landed and plundered the Castle. See p. 183. It is now, with the whole portion of hill on which it stood, cut down for building purposes.

HASTINGS CASTLE.

FIG. 1.



VIEW FROM S.E. OF CASTLE CLIFF, 1784 (S. H. Grimm). Showing original slope towards the sea, the western projection called the "Gun Garden," and old "Bathing-house."

FIG. 3.



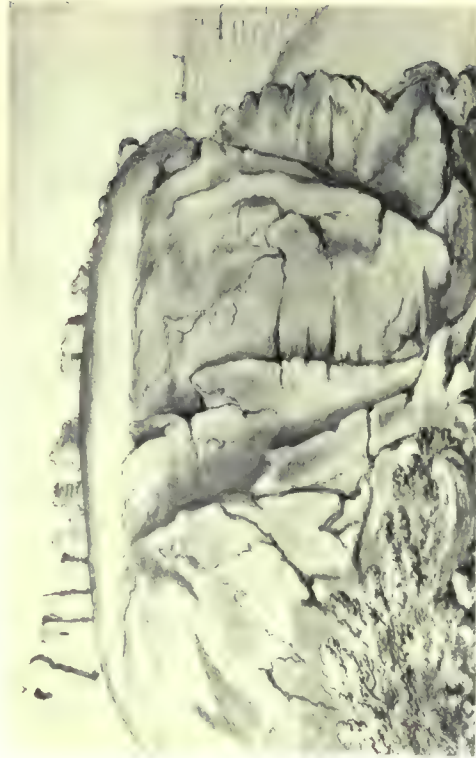
VIEW FROM S.W. OF INNER-WARD OF CASTLE, 1781 (S. H. Grimm) before excavation of the ruins of the chapel, etc.

FIG. 2.



VIEW FROM N.W. OF CASTLE 1750. Showing Chapter-House door, and Sally-port (S. H. Grimm).

FIG. 4.



VIEW FROM S.W. OF INNER WARD OF CASTLE, 1781 (J. Lambert, Junr.) from a western projection called the "Gun Garden," now destroyed.

Eighteenth Century Views of the Castle

the whole site of which, there is no doubt from what has been said, as well as much of the beach itself, once supported the principal part of the Castle and its fortifications.

The succeeding series of drawings, marked 3, 4, 5, and 6, contain different views of the Castle and its hill, on their south-western, northern, and north-eastern sides:—

Of these, No. 3, entitled—

“Hastings Castle and Rocks from the West Side of the Priory Ruins,”
and its companion, No. 4, entitled—

“Hastings Castle and Beach in 1814,”

represent in nearly the same point of view, distant prospects of the Castle and Castle-hill on the south-west, and Nos. 5 and 6 near views of the same objects.

The same mutilation as in front, will be seen from these drawings, to have taken place on the northern side and north-eastern end of the Castle-hill: the bold projection of the rock has not only been cut away, but nearly the whole base of the hill itself. This has been done to afford room for a newly-erected square, called Wellington Square, the Castle Cottages, and other modern buildings which now occupy the site. In the near views, No. 5 and No. 6:—

The one entitled—

“Hastings Castle, N.W.”

and the other—

“Hastings Castle, from a projecting point of the Cliff, 1781,”

the above-mentioned curtailment is rendered more apparent by the same parts of the hill being drawn in detail. These views also present us with enlarged representations of the long line of Castle-wall above, extending from the north-western angle, to the rounding of the Castle-mount, or entrance to the inner moat. In them, the sally-port in the northern wall, and descent from it; the square Norman tower of the College Church; the circular tower at the intersection of the nave and transept; the principal entrance-gateway, and the semicircular portion of Norman wall extending from it round the summit of the Castle-mount, are among the more prominent parts of the ruins seen.

Of the eastern side of the Castle-hill, or rather acclivity (for it leads by a gentle ascent from the town), it is immaterial, from its remaining in nearly its original state, to give representations.

As the last event connected with the history of the Castle, may be mentioned the excavation of it, which took place by order of the Earl of Chichester (1824).

This operation, by which the entire remains both of the Castle and College have been laid open to public view, was begun, in consequence of an accidental discovery made by some workmen digging on the spot, of a well-staircase and steps, situated at the foot of the circular tower in the northern wall. The particulars were thus announced in one of the newspapers of the day:—

“Twenty-six regular stone steps, underneath a circular tower, winding round a strong and perfect stone column, have lately been discovered on the western (it should be northern) side of the ancient Castle of Hastings. Several men are now employed in excavating the ruins. They have already descended to a door-frame and have orders to persevere until the termination of the passage is ascertained.”

“The termination of the passage here mentioned was in a short time explored, and a further discovery subsequently made of two stone coffins of a very antique shape near the same spot continuing westward, some portions of inner wall were next uncovered, together with an arched

Discoveries at the Castle in 1824

recess containing the remains of an altar-table. This latter was painted with rude representations of the celestial bodies, intermixed with other ornaments, and was a specimen of the early state of the arts, which it would have been very desirable to have preserved; but the whole, owing to the rough usage of the numbers who came to see it, was soon obliterated."

"Enough being now found to encourage further research, by the directions of his lordship, about the middle of the month of September 1824, a regular excavation of the whole Castle was commenced.

"The first thing to be done, was to make some sort of temporary enclosure to the ruins, in order to prevent the indiscriminate admission of visitors, who would have impeded the workmen. This was effected by partially restoring the walls, and fixing up a temporary pair of iron gates on the site of the principal entrance. The excavation was then begun on the outside of the eastern wall, at a spot where some remains of a gateway appeared to exist, to which it was suggested there might be attached a considerable portion of wall, hidden by the earth. The result of a little digging here was the discovery of the foundations of the fine eastern gateway: the lower part of which was found perfect, and was soon cleared from the accumulated rubbish by which it had been enveloped. On continuing the digging southwards, the perfect line of wall conjectured to remain was discovered, sunk to a depth of 10 or 12 feet in the ground. The following account was given of these discoveries in the *Morning Herald* newspaper a few days afterwards:—

"The excavations carrying on at Hastings Castle (respecting the circumstances of which several erroneous statements have appeared in the papers) are now assuming a degree of activity, which promises in a short time to produce the most important discoveries on the site of this very ancient and interesting fortress.

"On Wednesday Lord Chichester, the noble proprietor, came himself to view the progress of the workmen, with which he appeared much satisfied, and remained with his company a considerable time giving directions.

"Immediately on his lordship's departure, the workmen were employed on a part of the wall where it was conjectured there must be some important remains of buildings, and, after digging for a day or two, the lower part of a large gate was discovered, bearing a great resemblance to what has been called the Keep Gate, which in most old castles divided the courtyards, or as they were termed, outer and inner balliums. This fine remain, which is now in great part cleared out, consists of a central gateway, between 8 and 9 feet wide, and 19 feet deep, flanked by two semi-circular towers, 16 feet in diameter. The lower parts of these towers are hollow, and they are choked up with rubbish. This, however, will be removed in a few days. The rooms above, of which the floorings remain, appear to have communicated with passages in the walls, of which one has been found very perfect.

"In the present instance, the apartments which extended over the gateway and towers are entirely gone, though those on the ground-floor, as just noticed, remain; there are, however, still existing the groove for the portcullis, and the hooks on which the hinges of the gate turned. Some remains likewise of chain for fastening the gate itself, have been found near the spot. By digging on the outside of the wall to discover this gate, and the line of wall which extends beyond it on each side (the whole of which was hidden by earth and the large masses of rubbish that had fallen) a broad flat walk has been obtained, which, when continued all along this side of the Castle, will form a most beautiful promenade, affording an extensive view of the sea, and part of the town of Hastings, besides much of the adjacent country.

"Of the other discoveries here, it may be observed, that, in addition to the two coffins and skeletons found some weeks since, there has been recently two other coffins opened nearly adjoining them. One of these contains the skeleton of a child (supposed to be a female) measuring nearly five feet in length. The other coffin is of a singular shape, and contains the skeleton of a man, with two skulls and some bones placed at his feet. This coffin is 8 ft. 5 in. long, and one foot and a half broad at the widest part. The skeletons are in a tolerable state of preservation considering the great length of time they must have been buried, and in the skull of each the teeth were found regular and sound. Both coffins are of stone, composed of several pieces, and of the rudest form. They lay, as do the other coffins discovered, about two feet below what was the flooring of the chapel, and were covered with plain slabs of stone. A considerable portion of the one side of the chapel itself has likewise been laid open, in the wall of which are ranges of arches that seem to have served as the backs of seats. This side communicates, by a doorway, with a flight of stone steps and circular stone tower discovered on first beginning the works here.

"What were the dimensions of this chapel, or its exact form, are at present unknown, the

Record of the Discoveries in 1824

excavations not being yet completed. That it was a structure of some magnitude, however, is not to be doubted, as it was the chapel or church of a College established in the Castle, to which was attached a Dean and several prebendaries. The grant of it to Sir Anthony Browne by Henry VIII., reserved to the King's use all the lead and *bells*, and the metal of the bells, besides the jewels and ornaments, a proof that it must have had a steeple, and if so probably the other architectural appendages of a religious edifice of the larger class.

"Remains or foundations of other buildings, covering a considerable surface of ground, it is supposed lie concealed under the different large masses of rubbish within the Castle, all of which it is intended to explore. To prevent interruption to the workmen, occasioned by the resort of visitors of all descriptions, a pair of temporary iron gates have been judiciously put up at the entrance, and the breaches in the wall so far repaired, that in future no persons will be able to gain admittance but at the times set apart for that purpose. This will tend greatly to facilitate the operations."—*Morning Herald*, Hastings, September 14th, 1824.

"From the east, the operations were next removed to the north side of the Castle, where discoveries first commenced, and a regular research began for the College Church and buildings.

"Besides the coffins mentioned, which would obviously point out that spot as the site of the religious establishment alluded to, a further clue was afforded as to its precise situation, from the Chancery depositions before quoted. These were found to contain a description of the several places and buildings attached to it, not only sufficiently particular for purposes of identification but in some instances for pointing out the appropriation of the several parts."

After mentioning the discovery of the foundations of the Great Gateway on the North (see North Gateway), Mr. Herbert observed:—

"On continuing the digging a little further westward, through what appeared a natural acclivity, but which was merely an accumulation of earth and rubbish, the east end of the College Church began to exhibit itself, and soon after the foundations of what proved to be the chapter-house. These together with the east end of the parish church of St. Mary de Castro, where the coffins and altar-recess were first discovered,¹ adjoined each other, and were soon partially cleared out.

"A clue being now obtained for proceeding regularly with the excavation of the rest of the College-buildings, a number of labourers were employed in digging and removing the rubbish from the different parts. The principal of them were set to work where the deanery-house or residences of the canons were described to have stood and the situation of which was pointed out in the depositions alluded to.

"On digging here, the foundations of the buildings sought for were soon discovered, consisting of the ground-floors of three distinct habitations, which as stated immediately adjoined the southern end, and part of the south-western side of the church. In the largest of them the capacious fire-place was found quite perfect, and even the ashes and cinders lying on the hearth.

"The clearing out the western entrance and nave of the church was next proceeded with, as well as the body of the parish-church of St. Mary, which lay on its side, and the remains of both were in a few weeks exposed to view. Of these the walls at first were found very low, but rose in height with the ascension of the acclivity, until they were found at the end next the choir to stand six and eight feet high, and in one or two places considerably higher. In each church the remains of the doorways were tolerably entire, but the walls were too low to exhibit any traces of windows. The arched recesses for the stalls of the canons were visible on the northern side of the nave of the College Church, as were also some of the steps of the font. In the body of the parish-church (? the cloister) also was found a fourth stone coffin containing a very perfect skeleton.¹ The excavation of the choir and other parts followed, and finally the entire remains of the whole College buildings."²

¹ At the west end of the cloister, is a *dos d'âne* coffin lid.

² Mr. Wm. Herbert (Librarian of the Guildhall Library, see *Dictionary of National Biography*), who conducted these researches in 1824 on behalf of Lord Chichester, had recently been engaged in writing the well-known work called *Moss's History of Hastings*. Mr. Moss furnished the engravings to that work. His connexion with the antiquities of Hastings no doubt brought him to the notice of Lord Chichester. His journal kept during the earlier part of the exploration of the Castle is extremely interesting, and while furnishing a few additional details and particulars as to the methods of the explorations, is given here at the risk of some repetition.

Excavations at Hastings Castle, 1824

The following is a journal kept by Mr. Herbert during his superintendence of the excavations—

MR. WILLIAM HERBERT'S JOURNAL OF EXCAVATIONS AT HASTINGS CASTLE.

"Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1824. Set off at 10 o'clock in the morning from London, and arrived at Hastings about 7 o'clock in the evening. Informed Mr. M. (Moss)¹ was gone to Mr. S.'s (Shadwell)² to dine with Lord C(hichester) and a party. Set up for him until about 11 o'clock when he returned and informed me we were to see Lord C. the next morning at 10 o'clock.

Thursday 9th. Went according to appointment and saw Lord C. this morning. Conversated over the business to be done. After which accompanied his Lordship to the Castle, who occupied upwards of an hour in inspecting the progress which had been made, which he was so well satisfied with, that it was settled the work should proceed under the direction of Mr. M. (Moss) and self. Commenced accordingly on his lordship's departure by getting some men to dig on the outside of the east wall, by which means we suggested a considerable height of wall might be obtained all along for the purpose of enclosing the Castle yard, without building a new temporary wall as was proposed on what seemed the old foundation. Dug down a depth of 8 or 9 ft., to which we found the wall continued smooth and perfect, and continuing southwards, found at a small distance the commencement of a semicircular projection, which proved to be the lower part of a large tower.

Friday, 10th. Continued the digging southward with additional men, and in the course of the day cleared a second corresponding tower with a gateway entrance into which we excavated sufficiently for to find the groove for the portcullis, and the two iron hooks on which the hinges of the gate turned. Two small coins found in digging near the spot. Gave the men Mr. M. and self each 2s. 6d. on discovering the second semicircular tower.

Saturday, 11th. Proceeded with clearing out the gateway, and the outside of the line of wall running south from the second tower of the gateway, in both which so great a progress was made that the complete form of all that remained of this fine entrance was disclosed and its dimensions measured (refer for description of it), prepared an account of this discovery for the *Morning Herald* (before given), which I read over to Mr. Shadwell, who called at our lodgings on the Sunday, with which he was very well pleased and ordered the paper when printed to be bought and sent him.

Sunday, 12th. Dined in company of Mr. M. at Mr. Shorter's at Guestling. Read my account for paper to him, with which he expressed himself much pleased and likewise requested it when printed to be bought and sent to him. Nice dinner, apple pudding with cream, delicious!

Monday, 13th. The order which it was found necessary to make to prevent hindrance to the workmen, of refusing admission to company within the walls, except Sundays, was acted on to-day and numbers went away disappointed (upon the whole pretty civilly). Proceeded with the outside of the wall and gateway entrance between the towers, the latter of which was entirely cleared out, and began to clear the gateway tower and wall on the inside of the Castle yard. Mr. Shorter, Mr. Milward and other gentlemen called this day and expressed themselves much pleased and surprised with the discovery made. N.B.—A handsome shaped metal pitcher found this day in the Castle well, and consigned to the keeping of Mr. Shadwell.

Thursday, 14th. Began to clear out the southernmost tower of the gateway, which we found formed a pretty apartment measuring . . . feet by . . . feet floored with a hard substance resembling *terras*. The walls of this room were so far destroyed as to be in few places more than breast high, and extremely rugged and uneven at the top, but the remains of the plaster on its sides notwithstanding the length of time they had been buried was plainly perceptible, the remains of one of the windows by which it was enlightened on the south side existed, and was of that species usual in similar buildings, viz. broad inside, and narrowing outwards, so as to give the appearance externally of little more than a lancet-shaped loophole. A passage from this room between the Castle wall on its south side . . . feet long and . . . feet wide, led on mounting a stone step to a doorway or look-out through the wall, the prospect from which as well as from the apartment communicating with it is delightful.

¹ Mr. Moss: *vide* his *History of Hastings*

² Grandfather of Lucas Shadwell, lately M.P. for Hastings.—C.D.

Journal of the Antiquary

Continued during the remainder of this day clearing the outside of the Castle wall southwards, as well as inside next the base of the tower mentioned.

N.B.—Men began this day to build me a room next the entrance to the Castle, to be in case of rain, or to write, make memorandums, etc. Order that everything was to be delivered to me to give into Mr. Shadwell's custody.

Wednesday, 15th. The men occupied the greater part of this day in lowering, breaking to pieces and tumbling down into the ditch large fragments of wall which had fallen, and which prevented digging alongside of, and continuing the clearing of the east wall. They worked exceedingly well, breaking, prising and rolling down the side of the Castle ditch, astonishingly large masses, not without considerable danger: so much so that one of the labourers (a young Irishman) slipped all the way down the steep, almost perpendicular, but he contrived with admirable address to light on his feet, and climbed up again unhurt with the nimbleness of a cat! So well pleased with the men (sixteen of whom were employed, with extras, in this perilous business), that I gave them two gallons of beer to drink.

Mr. M. (Moss) set off by the mail for London this night at 8 o'clock.

Thursday, 16th. Finished cutting a passage from the newly discovered gateway through the acclivity of earth and rubbish next it, into the Castle yard, and removed by some way a great quantity of stones thrown on the terrace walk before the east wall, by clearing the tower above mentioned, etc. Breaking and removing the large masses of wall that had fallen, continued as on the day before.

Mem. A delightful fine day.

Friday, 17th. Began this day to clear away from the back front of the westernmost semicircular tower of gateway, and went on with clearing the outside of the line of wall facing terrace—when discovered at 50 feet distance the lower part of another projecting semicircular tower. Continued getting down, and throwing into the ditch various large fragments of wall, that had fallen down, and impeded the work, one of these (the half of which had been broken off and thrown down the preceding day) measured when whole 25 feet in length, 3 feet in height, and was nearly 7 feet broad, the weight of which could not have been less than 20 tons. Very fine day. Gave the men 1s. for beer.

Saturday, 18th. (Here the Journal ends.)

Hastings Castle

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY SITE AND ARCHITECTURE



IF we look at a good shaded map of Hastings and its neighbourhood, it will be noticed that the land gradually rises, from the sea, forming a long ridge or anticlinal range which runs from the north-west to the north-east, or from Battle on the one hand to Fairlight Hill on the other. From this backbone, as it were, there appear to branch certain ribs or spurs, projecting toward the sea on the south. The fact is that, long before the days of history, the land hereabouts was elevated from south to north, forming a great arch or elongated dome, the apex of which is the ridge referred to. The southern, so-called, spurs are not the result of any independent elevation or thrust, but have been brought to this form by the carving out of the valleys that lie on either side of them, by the agency of the small rivers or streams which were lately to be seen running along their bottoms,¹ operating in conjunction with a now well-understood physical law known as subaërial denudation. The spur, at the extremity of which are the ruins of Hastings Castle, differs considerably from others in the neighbourhood in being reduced to a narrow peninsula by the deep valleys on either side.

The rock by which this peninsula is capped belongs to one of the highest divisions of the Ashdown Sands (Hastings Beds, Wealden). The particular variety of the sand-rock, however, is of a somewhat local occurrence, greatly fissured, and frequently "runs out" very abruptly. It is normally of a buff colour, but, when exposed, weathers to a light grey, and acquires considerable hardness. It is overlain in places by beds of clay and sandy clay, which have a great tendency to slip from off the sandstone beneath whenever there is a slope.

Some of these characteristics have no doubt led to the fact that the sand-rock upon which Hastings Castle is built, has been better able to resist the effects of denudation than much of the surrounding ground, which gives it a prominence in the most exposed situation. The present appearance of the top of the Castle-hill is liable at first sight to convey an erroneous impression that it naturally consists of two plateau-like hills or mounds; whereas there was originally but one large plateau or platform which has been cut into two by the operations of mediæval engineers.

We may, therefore, in the first place view the peninsula as having been capped by one large natural and irregular plateau, unscarped and untrenched by human hands. From ancient written records and old views that have been preserved to

¹ These streams on either side of the Castle-hill, namely, on the west the Old Roar Stream and on the east the Bourne, have within recent years been arched over by order of the Corporation of Hastings.

The Ancient Military Site

us, as well as by careful examination of the rocks below upon the shore, visible at low tide, we know that the cliff or scarp that we now see on the south side of the peninsula is, comparatively speaking, a modern alteration of its original form. The higher part of the plateau still remains, but the southern edge sloped away by a far more gradual descent towards the sea. From an examination of the rocks covered by the tide, which are to this day known as "the Castle Rocks," it would seem probable that the peninsula once had a slight inclination to the westward. The effect of this inclination, coupled with the operation of the law of the Eastward Drift (which has been fully dealt with in the introduction to this work) would be favourable to the collection of a large mass of beach-gravel against the western side of the promontory. In those days the Old Roar river which scoured the haven of Hastings would thus have gained a more westerly outlet to the sea than it did in later days, by running along the direction of St. Michael's or the Priory Cliffs,¹ and flowing out into the entrance of the haven formerly sheltered from the south-west by the projection of the "Old White Rock."²

¹ Behind "Claremont," on the west side of Robertson Street, Hastings. These cliffs, near the eastern edge of which stood the old Norman Church of St. Michael, sloped somewhat rapidly until near the site of the Old Priory and the railway-station, the cliff had become mere banks washed by the sea at high tide. The roads called Cambridge Road and Havelock Road have been raised much above the natural levels, which latter may be still traced on either side of them, though the district is now covered with modern buildings.

No. 19, Cambridge Gardens is about the site of the Old Priory, which we may read in ancient records had become undermined by the sea about the year 1410.

The Rev. G. G., Stonestreet, writing to William Horsfield about the year 1830 says:—"It is clear that the sea has, at various times, both encroached on and receded from this line of coast, either by large or small degrees or both." The Priory, as we have already seen, was removed to Warbleton on account of these encroachments. The modern built portion of Hastings, lying near the sea, from George Street, formerly called the suburbs, to the Priory, is all on a beach-foundation. At the Priory we find below the stone's foot, when a particular tide shifts the sands, strong indication of a wood; embedded in a black-looking deposit, probably formed by the decayed boughs and foliage, is timber, some of which is of considerable size; also numerous hazel-nuts, the shells of which are in a perfect state of preservation, owing to their protection from the air. A few persons now living have known the road from the Priory to St. Leonard's, when it ran more seaward, and under instead of over the White Rock cliff; and probably thence westward. That part of Bulverhythe Level called the "Salts" is evidently land derelict, and, as well as the land nearer St. Leonard's town, lies now below the level of the sea, which in spring-tides, flows through the beach and partly floods the land, and would again cover it, but for the vast accumulation of beach, which the sea appears to have thrown up on shifting its territory.

² White Rock, Hastings. Dr. Fitton says, in his *Geological Sketch of the Vicinity of Hastings*, 1833, "The characters of the calciferous stone which forms one of the principal features of the Hastings cliffs and appear to be distributed throughout the sands, were some years since very well displayed at the White Rock, whence Mr. Webster's drawings have been taken; but the recent destruction of the fallen masses at that place by the sea, has unfortunately defaced some of the most interesting appearances. The blocks of grit have the usual mammillated or kidney-shaped figure of concretions; and Mr. Webster has well distinguished the depressions on their surfaces, arising from this structure, from the cavities worn by the friction of pebbles in the blocks which have been long exposed to the sea. The stone consists of sand agglutinated by carbonate of lime, and in many cases has the lustre and fracture of calcareous spar. But when the blocks have been acted upon by long exposure in their original place within the sand—as in the face of the cliff on which the town of Rye is built—the effect of decomposition renders the original structure more apparent, and the courses in the stony masses are seen to be continuous with those of the sand immediately adjoining them. It is not indeed impossible, that a new arrangement of the carbonate of lime, derived from the shells within the sand, may have given origin to these nodules; for in some parts of the sand-rock vacant moulds of the shells alone are found; whilst

The Ancient Military Site

As long as the mouth of the river lay in a westerly direction, so long did the prosperity of the haven exist ; but when the sea wore away the Old White Rock, the beach poured round, filling up its western mouth, and causing the river to find a more easterly outlet. Then the prosperity of the ancient Cinque Port began to decay, and the importance of its Castle and its defences to dwindle gradually to nothing. If, therefore, we attempt to picture what might have been the appearance of this inlet in early days, we should see the site of a haven lying between the White Rock and the Castle-hill, which would, in its prime, have been sufficient to harbour the whole of the ancient fleet of the Cinque Ports in perfect security (see page 4, *ante*).

The great plateau surmounting the hill forming its eastern arm must have seemed, in early days, marked out as the natural site for a stronghold to guard the haven, and we know, indeed, that from prehistoric times it has been one of the chief places of military strength in the eastern portion of the Weald.

in the blocks of calciferous stone, the place of the shell is occupied by carbonate of lime—as if the calcareous matter had been transferred from one portion of the sand in which the shells were originally diffused, so as by its abundance to agglutinate the particles in other places.”

White Rock.—Dr. Mantell gives the following list of the beds at this place, which he supposed to belong to the same group with those of Tilgate Forest :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Loam and vegetable mould. | 3 to 5 feet. |
| 2. Sand and friable sandstone | 2 „ |
| 3. Tilgate-stone with casts of bivalves | 15 „ |
| 4. White and fawn-coloured sand | 1½ foot. |
| 5. Tilgate-stone with bivalves | 2 to 6 inches. |
| 6. Thin layers of a coarse friable aggregate, with remains of fishes,
vegetables and shells (<i>Paludina</i>) | (The specimens of <i>Endogenites erosa</i> , frequently thrown on shore
by the waves, are from this bed.) |
| 7. Ferruginous sandstone, with layers of blue clay and shale, and
numerous traces of carbonized plants | 3 to 4 feet. |

N.B.—There is a considerable “fault” at White Rock which the author has traced to Bohemia Road due north, where, in a recent building-operation it was well shown.



HASTINGS CASTLE.

PLAN DRAWN BY WILLIAM HERBERT 1824.

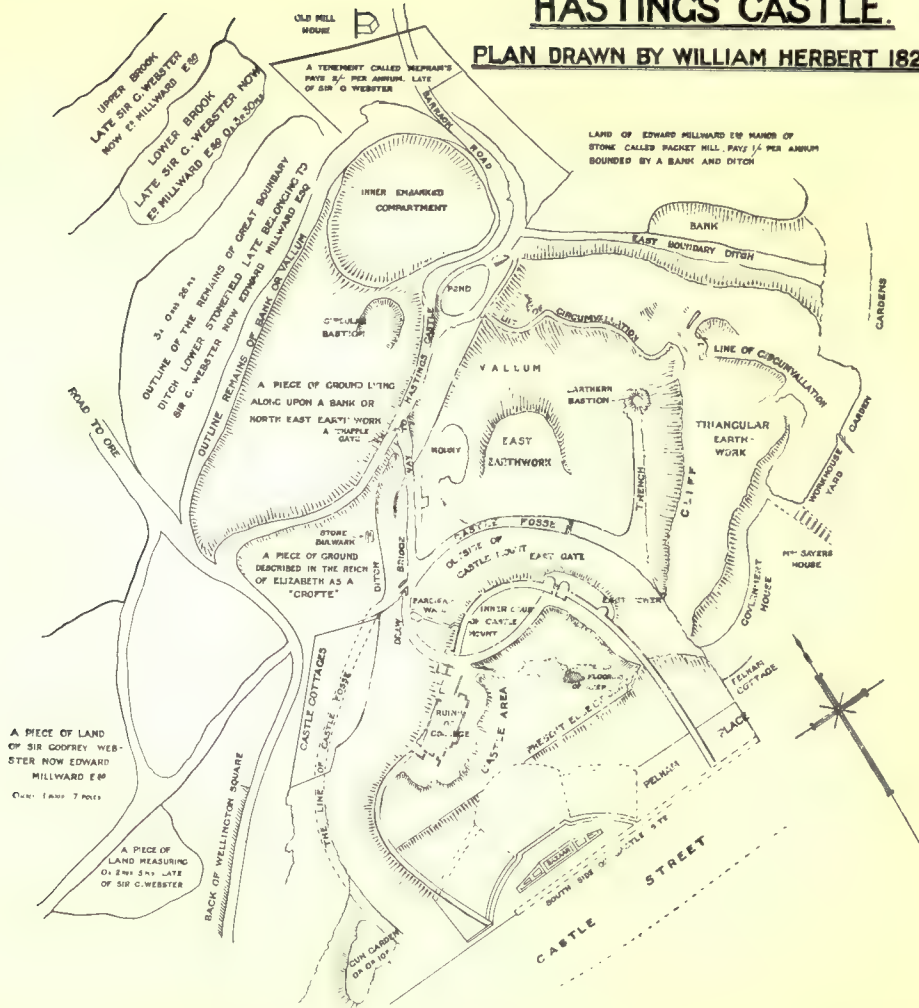


Plate II. Vol. II. To face p. 513.

Hastings Castle

THE EARLY EARTHWORKS.

The first earthworks¹ raised upon the hill probably consisted of a pre-Roman irregular rounded entrenchment, with a bank following the contour of the ground around the edge of the plateau.

In all probability the bounds of this fortification are the banks which are still to be traced along the northern and eastern side of the plateau.

Those on the northern and eastern sides of the eastern portion of the plateau² appear as mounds of considerable height, being in part natural and part artificially raised, and the land below excavated and hollowed out. The earthworks guarding the southern edge above the naturally-weathered scarp of grey sandstone cannot now be traced, partly on account of the weathering of the rocks, but probably chiefly by reason of the gradual destruction wrought by the immense number of people who in late years almost daily over-run the spot for the sake of the fine air and the view. It is, however, recorded in the description by Mr. Herbert in 1824, that there was formerly an embankment along this edge, but smaller than those on the north-east. These earthworks were perhaps formed by the hollowing out and levelling of the centre of this portion of the plateau. The entrenchments bounding the northern and western slopes of the present inner ward (which originally formed the western portion of the plateau, afterwards divided by the inner trench) are perhaps now occupied by the ruined curtain-walls of the inner ward of the Castle. So great have been the changes wrought upon the hill since the development of the town of Hastings from a fishing-village at the commencement of the nineteenth century, that it will be useful to give *in extenso* the account of the general earthworks of the Castle as they appeared between the middle of the eighteenth century and the commencement of the nineteenth century, which is taken from the Herbert MS.

“The great inner Moat.—Of this only a small part at present exists. It measured from its commencement to its close (allowing for circuitous winding) more than 2,000 feet in length, was 100 feet broad at the top, and of great depth. This ditch appears to have begun its course opposite the southern end of the eastern wall, at a distance of about 30 feet on that side, from the Castle : it ran northwards till it passed a bridge attached to the eastern gateway ; and thence narrowing by degrees to the second drawbridge, whose foundations are stated (1824) to be still standing next the principal entrance. Beneath this second bridge, it descended the steep or slope of the hill next the Castle-mount, to a distance of about 100 feet ; then wound along beneath the northern wall, rounded its north-western point, and finally made its exit at a division of the rock beneath the western side of the Castle, and the portion of the hill which stood there called the “Gun Garden.” The situation of the moat with respect to the Castle, and the different objects here mentioned connected with it, will be understood by the following plan of the walls, moat, etc., of the Castle :—

“The earthworks without the moat (inner trench) consisted on the east side of an embanked piece of ground (the outer ward) measuring 2 acres, 3 roods, and 16 perches, of equal elevation with the Castle-hill, and, as just noticed, before the cutting of the moat on that side, evidently a part of it.

¹ See page 7 *ante*.

² Referred to in the map as the outward ward—but in early days undivided by the inner trench.

Earthworks and Subterranean Passages

This piece of ground (which from its situation we shall denominate the eastern earthwork) communicated with the Castle by means of a drawbridge crossing the moat on that side, through a large towered gateway, which will be presently described. The marks of fortification consist of a *vallum*, extending along the north-eastern and north-western sides; this is about 100 feet broad at its base, and about a fourth of that breadth at its summit. At the north-western angle of this bank, next the road or principal way to the Castle great gate, beneath the slope of the hill, the ascent to it is fortified by a bulwark formed out of the rock, and serving as a guard to that pass. The *vallum* itself rises above, partly of a semicircular shape, with an elevation or mount near its commencement, and continues in the direction described to the opposite extremity, where it terminates in a circular bastion, being defended all the way at its base or lower part, by a line of circumvallation adapted to that side of the hill; the southern or sea-side has only a smaller and more narrow embankment, being rendered in a great measure inaccessible by a ridge of high rock or cliff which terminates it in that direction."

"The ground below this earthwork, which is also fortified, extends nearly round three parts of the base of the hill, and formed the outer defence to it and the Castle from the town and sea sides. It consists, on the south, of a triangular strip of land, guarded towards the sea by a lofty ascent upwards of 100 feet high, on the east by another line of circumvallation—and at its north-eastern angle by another bulwark cut out of the rock. On the eastern side of the above is a second long strip, terminating northwards with a pond. This last piece of ground is bounded by a wide ditch and embankments."

"Proceeding northwards, across a road called the "Barrack Road" (now Castle Hill Road) another long strip of fortified ground is perceptible, running thence in a south-westerly direction, and this appears to have constituted the north-western portion of the Castle earthworks.

"Like the former, the exterior side of this piece of land is bounded by a ditch—but, on account of its lying at a greater distance from the Castle, and having other interposing guards between itself and that fortress, it appears to have had only a single vallum: its southern end however, as more exposed to the town (and, in cases of invasion, to the sea) and defending as it does the principal approach to the Castle from both, is fortified by an inner embanked compartment of a somewhat oval form, which has the remains, though very slightly shewn, of a circular earthen redoubt or bastion on its off side. These, occupying a considerable part of that end as well as its two angles, must not only have formed an important safeguard that way, but if we add (as the boundary-ditch evidently continued round its extremity) the probability that the latter could be crossed only by a drawbridge, few barriers could, so situated, have been better contrived or more effectual.

"Of the nature of the earthworks on the north-west we can only form an imperfect idea, as almost the whole of the hill on that side, as has been shewn, had been recently cut away for new buildings; but it is probable that they bore a general resemblance to those described. The following plan of this site, compared with the preceding views Nos. 5 and 6, representing the Castle-hill on this side when entire, will show the mutilations which have taken place.

"In addition to the various valla, ditches, etc., it should also be observed that several strong bulwarks are to be reckoned among the marks of fortifications covering the Castle-hill; these may be termed *demi-bastions*, hewn out of the solid rock, and they stand in different situations on the side, or next the entrance of the various ways or passes to the Castle. They have the appearance of small chambers, open on one side and at the top.¹ The most remarkable of these stands on this side a little below the drawbridge, on the descent of the hill. It is of considerable dimensions, and forms from its size and regularity of construction, so convenient a kind of compartment, that it was in the year 1797 converted into a temporary hospital for the use of the Worcestershire militia, part of whom were then quartered at Hastings. There are to be perceived besides on this spot, the traces of a long subterranean passage or covered way apparently communicating with the Castle above, but which has not been hitherto explored. Its course is overgrown with weeds and bushes, but from large chinks in parts, it may plainly be discerned to be hewn for the greater part out of the solid. What seems to have been an entrance to it is at present masoned up."²

¹"*Demi-bastions*" open *within*, that they might afford *no* protection to an enemy who had got inside.—Fosbroke, *Archaeol. Dict.*

²The author has been unable to identify this subterranean passage. It was not the rock passage of the so-called "Dungeon," as that part does not ever seem to have been overgrown with bushes—nor indeed are there any such chinks in it as those to which Mr. Herbert refers. The most likely spot seems to be along the western slope bounding the present carriage-drive to the

Eighteenth Century Plans of the Earthworks

Mr. Herbert continues :—

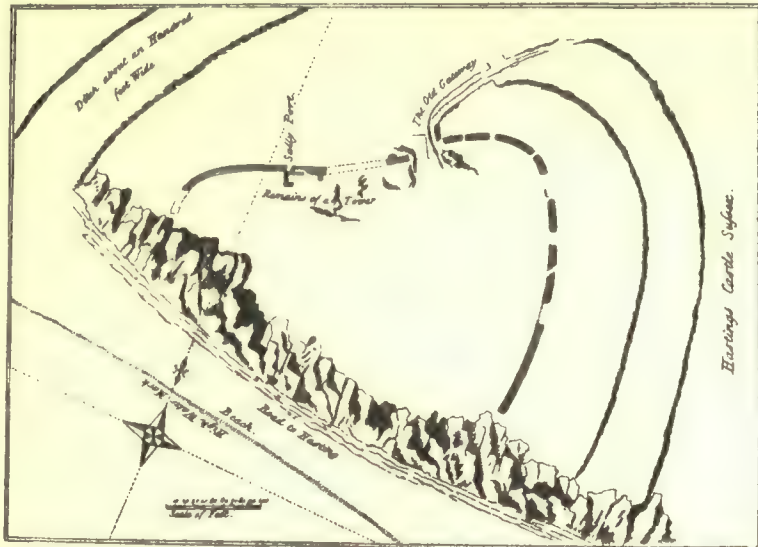
“The above are such of the Castle-outworks as remain, though there were no doubt many others which time has obliterated. The whole were enclosed by the great boundary-ditch which has been mentioned, which extended round three sides of the base of the Castle-hill, and comprised the space we have before noticed of eleven acres, which was called the Castle-ward or Bailiwick. Only the east side of this ditch is now visible, and has been described as adjoining the east and north-east earthworks.”

It is thus mentioned, together with the Castle, in one of Pennant's tours, written about 116 years ago :—¹

“Hastings Castle stands on a steep cliff above the sea : no part is entire : all that remains is disjointed walls, and vast fragments scattered over various parts of the base. It is divided from the mainland by a vast foss of 100 feet broad—and there are two others on the eastern side. Over the beach hangs a projection separated from the Castle by another foss.”

The north part of this boundary-ditch is (as appears from the plan given) now totally gone, but is noticed by Grose, as in being, when he published his *Antiquities*. He describes it as having stood at a distance of 180 feet from the north wall of the Castle, though the part of Castle-hill now left on that side is scarcely 80 feet

HASTINGS CASTLE.



GROSE'S PLAN, 1769.

wide ; a proof how great the encroachments have been here for building. His words are :—

“Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who from long research has been enabled to make a complete classification of them, tells us—‘Boundary-ditches are known by having only one vallum, and were originally thrown up for the double purpose of defence and communication. Those for defence had a high vallum on one side only, and a ditch on the other ; and in tracing them particular attention must be had to the respective situation of the bank and the ditch.’

“At the distance of about 100 feet from the east side of the Castle there ran a ditch encompassing it as far as the gate ; the breadth of this ditch was 100 feet. Both the ditch and the interval between it and the wall seem to have narrowed by degrees as they approached the gate, and to have terminated under it.

“On the north-west side there was a ditch of the same breadth, commencing at the cliff opposite the westernmost angle, and bearing away almost due north, leaving a plain space between it and the wall, which opposite the sally-port was 180 feet broad. This ditch loses itself in the country.”

Grose states that, from a plan purposely drawn by an ingenious friend, the following dimensions are taken :—

“The artificial parts of this fortress are in shape nearest two sides of an oblique spherical

Castle, after quitting the public highway. Among Mr. Herbert's notes I find one which says, “this must be further enquired into and explored,” but there is no further entry.

Pennant's Journey from London to the Isle of Wight. 4to. Lond. 1.

Origin of the Earliest Earthworks

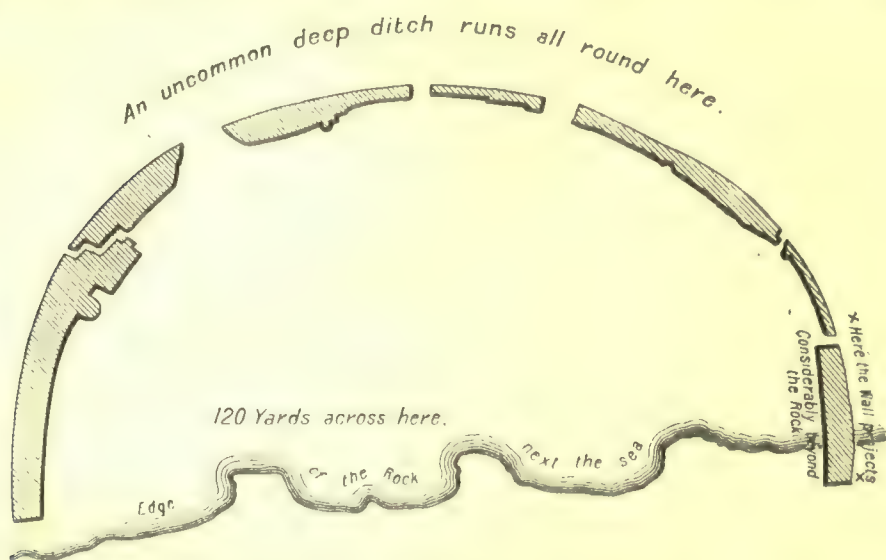
triangle, having the point of the angle rounded off. The base or south side completing the triangle is formed by a perpendicular craggy cliff, in length measuring about 400 feet, which seems to have had no wall or other fortification: indeed such would have been entirely unnecessary, Nature having made it sufficiently inaccessible on that side which is opposite the sea.

"Its east side is made by a plain wall, without tower or other defence. This wall measures nearly 300 feet.

"The adjoining side, which faces the north-west, is about the same length as the rock, namely, 400 feet; a perpendicular let fall upon the south side or rock, from the angle formed by the junction of the walls, measures about 250 feet; consequently, the area included is nearly one acre and a fifth. It is to be observed that this calculation is not given as exact, the curvature of the figure being very irregular.

"The walls, which are nowhere entire, are about 8 feet thick. The gateway was on the north side, near the northernmost angle. It is now demolished. Near it, to the westward, is the remains of a small tower, enclosing a circular flight of stairs; and on the same side, farther on to the west, is a sally-port, and ruins of another tower."

Respecting the earliest occupants of this fortified site something has already been said in the Introduction to this work. It was probably occupied at the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar by those tribes of Belgic origin who he states,



Eye Draught Plan of Hastings Castle. 1781.

had taken forcible possession of the coast from the Celts and had then settled there, cultivating the lands and carrying on a maritime intercourse with the neighbouring coast of Gaul.¹

It is probable that these fortifications nearest the sea coast, where almost instant danger might at any time be apprehended, were of a much more permanent character than many of those situate in the interior of the island.

The great circumscribing ditch mentioned by Grose and Herbert, portions of which are still to be traced—about 250 feet from the outer ward of the Castle, and at the extreme edge of the cliff on the western side of the Castle-wall—is probably a defence coeval with the early entrenchments above mentioned.

The section of this ditch can just be seen, and is best viewed from the sea. This

¹ Cæsar, *Gall. War*, B. V. c. xii.

The Burh of Hastings

ditch isolated from the rest of the plateau that portion formerly called the "Gun Garden." It has now been entirely removed, to make room for buildings.

We have already quoted in the Introduction several references in the Saxon Chronicle to the "Burh" of Hastings under the name of "Haestings Ceastre." And we must not omit to add an earlier record of its name than above mentioned, namely, in the edict of Greatley (Hunts.) of the year 928.¹ The writer does not think that the term Ceastre need be regarded as evidence of a Roman origin, or even of an earlier fortified site. If it be true, with regard to some other burhs, that they formed the residence of the Anglo-Saxon thane, or English lord, and a place of refuge in time of war for the tenantry of a private estate, with their flocks and herds, as some writers have asserted, it may, on the other hand, be considered extremely improbable that Haestings Ceastre ever answered such a purpose. That it was a fortified place of national importance under the Anglo-Saxon kings, and called Haestinga Ceastre, is extremely probable from its admirable defensive position with regard to Hastings port, but we have no record of any local Anglo-Saxon or Jutish thane or chieftain in residence there. Probably the men of Haestinga Ceastre at no time owned any other lord than the King or the Earl of Kent.

The rude earthworks which probably crowned the Castle-hill, and had passed from one tribe to another from prehistoric days downward, needed little alteration at the hands of the English settler, and any additions most probably took the form of palisading on the top of the already-existing earthworks; but we have very little to guide us, as to how an Anglo-Saxon burh or Ceaster was fortified.² The somewhat scanty drawings of fortified places of the time show stone or timber palisaded enclosures, rather profusely garnished with mural towers, in a fashion resembling the Oriental or Edwardian type of fortification. Within these large fortified enclosures there are sometimes represented houses standing on hillocks, which mounds have a more natural than an artificial form.

Unfortunately, these drawings are usually intended to depict some allegorical or religious subject, and their value for the purpose of deciding anything about an Anglo-Saxon fortified town is greatly discounted. Moreover, the origin of these designs is usually to be traced to a foreign source. At Hastings, therefore, it is uncertain at what date the ditch which intersects the Castle plateau, dividing it into two courts or baileys, was dug. For a like reason, it is uncertain at what date the mound was raised at the north-eastern corner of the western court. That the raising of such mounds was a common Norman system of defence is well established; on the other hand, the supposition that they were raised by the Anglo-Saxons at any period rests upon no known facts. The Bayeux Tapestry does not set all doubts at rest respecting the date of the mound at Hastings. What we there see is something taking place at Hastings Ceastra. Assuming that Hastings Ceastra is identical with the site of Hastings Castle (which is a reasonable presumption), the question remains as to whether there was not already a mound and castle there before the date of the invasion, which latter may have been dismantled on Harold's departure for the North in the autumn of 1066.

The Latin words annexed to the view on the tapestry are somewhat unusual

¹ See chapter on the Hastings Mint *post-Haestingaceastre*.

² The reader is referred to Mr. Horace Round's paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. 58, p. 313.

The Castle as the Norman Base, 1066

if not exceptional. Does the word *foderetur* mean that the digging was with the intention of *entrenching* an already-existing mound and *Castellum* at Hastings Ceastra, or does it mean that it was done for the purpose of raising the mound upon which the *Castellum* was to be erected?

There are figures in the foreground digging, but no figures are shown in perspective building the *Castellum*. The *Castellum* is shown already there while the digging is going on, and might equally well represent a castle that had been dismantled as one in course of erection. The words in the *Carmen de Hastingæ Prælio*, one of the oldest authorities referring to the landing of William, says: "You rebuild the castles that were lately destroyed (*diruta*), and place custodians in them to guard them." It is difficult to adapt these words to the erection of the ready-made forts which William is said to have brought over with him.¹ The general plan of one Norman fort and another is so similar in the tapestry, and as we know them in Norman writings, that we must not necessarily infer that the mound and castellum shown in the tapestry is the same as what we now see at Hastings Castle. The reader may perhaps be able to satisfy himself from the contemporary writers on this subject. The writer is disposed to think that the mound at Hastings Castle is the original site of the *Castellum* shown in the tapestry, and that the whole (including the intersecting ditch) was the work of the Norman invaders, an addition to the old Anglo-Saxon Ceaster, but that the matter is not free from doubt, is clear from the argument above-mentioned.

THE CASTLE AS THE NORMAN BASE BEFORE THE BATTLE: ITS STRATEGICAL POSITION.

We are told in one of the Chronicles relating to the Battle of Hastings that "right in front of the port" where William's fleet "landed stood a Castle handsome and strong," and that William allowed knights to enter therein and garrison it for two years (*Benoît de St. Maur*). According to Wace, a strong wooden fort was erected upon a suitable site. There was probably no more suitable site than within the walls of the Castle of Pevensey, and perhaps upon the mound which may still be seen piled against the Roman wall to the north-east. The defence, on the other hand, may have been entirely independent of the Roman Castle of Pevensey.

It is impossible to discover in what direction William's first reconnaissance was made. "Rough bye-paths" are mentioned by William of Poitiers. This allusion seems to refer to an inland reconnaissance. He may have explored the high ground of Hooe and Standard Hill, between Boreham Bridge, Ninfield, and Telham, or, on the other side, have followed the top of the cliff in the direction of Hastings.

One thing evidently struck Duke William, namely, that although Pevensey was too valuable to abandon altogether, it was not a suitable base for a campaign by an invader, being too isolated amid the marshes, and too much encircled by higher ground. In Roman and even in Saxon times Pevensey Castle doubtless formed a strong place for a garrison to control the entry to the Ashbourne River, then the main artery of commerce of the district lying between the Ouse on the one hand, and the Rother on the other. Hastings, therefore, was selected by

¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, "Hi . . . worhton castel æt Hæstinga Port."

Duke William's Fortifications at Hastings, 1066

William as his chief base, Pevensey being retained as a subsidiary base, or as the extreme eastern outpost of the base.

How far any earthworks may have been extended beyond the great outer ditch of the Castle can only be conjectured ; but it seems probable that the harbour was fordable at low tide, and a ford probably existed (near the site of the present Albert Memorial Clock Tower), where in after times a small bridge was erected. If this was so, it is probable that defences of some kind would have been placed on the eastern and western sides of the river. When William took possession of the fortification at Hastings on St. Michael's Day, 1066, the ditch dividing the plateau was probably cut.

The earth excavated in forming this trench was probably heaped up on the western side of it, forming a vallum, and enclosing the western portion of the now divided plateau. A part of the area of this western enclosure seems to have been lowered and levelled, the débris taken out being used to form its eastern embankment and the large truncated cone of earth or mound.

This mound was piled against the weakest and most exposed corner of the enclosure (or inner ward) on the north-east. Upon the mound was perhaps built a wooden fort or *Castellum*. At the crown and foot of the mound—around it, separating it from the rest of the ward, was probably a ditch (now covered over), with a palisade upon its outer edge, this ditch being crossed by a wooden bridge and gateway. This arrangement would have resulted in the formation of a "base-court" to the south and south-west of the mound, and a "haia" or "clausura" forming an outer court on the east of the trench. Both these courts were probably palisaded.

In the Bayeux Tapestry there appear two tower-like structures flanking the sides of the wooden fortress upon the mound. Other such keeps in Normandy and Brittany are depicted in the tapestry, and are useful in giving us comparative ideas as to the form of this early keep at Hastings.

Dr. Bruce informs us that "some extensive entrenchments" were "still to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the railway-station at Hastings," and that they were "probably the remains of the Duke's encampment."

These earthworks in the Priory meadows near the railway-station must now have been obliterated by the modern buildings which cover this area (which is indistinctly remembered by the author), and no traces are indicated on the available Ordnance maps plotted out before the erection of the buildings. Such traces of earthworks in the existing meadows behind White Rock are extremely indistinct and of doubtful origin, although in this case the land apparently has been left undisturbed for a great number of years.

There are slight traces of embankments or earthworks in the meadows belonging to the mansion of "Bohemia," lying between the house and Cuckoo Hill, but the author has not been able to discover any definite system of entrenchment.

The eastern side of the ford was probably protected, though chiefly perhaps from incursions of the sea, and indications of this seem to be suggested in some of the old drawings of this spot.

It was probably in this haven at Hastings that William was inspecting his ships when Harold's messenger first spoke with him.

Respecting the disposition of William's troops on the day of the Battle of

The Castle and Place of Battle, 1066

Hastings, and for the fifteen days before the battle, with a view to prevent the dreaded surprise, we can but offer conjectures upon the very meagre evidences that are now to be had. There can be little doubt that the monks of Fécamp from their local knowledge and influence at and around Hastings, aided William both as spies and as ambassadors. The reputed tactics of Harold of rapid levies and forced marches were obviously well known to William, as the two adversaries had been intimate companions in arms in former days. Whatever scheme Harold may have planned on this subject, it seems pretty clear that on reaching the neighbourhood of Telham Hill he found himself in touch with a strong Norman outpost.

Much has been said about Harold barring the way of William along the main road between Hastings and London. It may be at once stated that there are no evidences of any such thing as a main road to London from Hastings at this early period, or indeed for many years afterwards.

So far as the author has been able to discover, the rivers of Eastern Sussex formed the great natural highways of the Weald (the chief industries of which lay in the manufacture of iron and in agriculture). The artificial highways lay along the crests of the hill-ranges which formed the watersheds of these rivers. From these highways branched a network of tracks leading to the seats of the Wealden industries. In medieval days one of the principal of these tracks, in the neighbourhood of Hastings, ran along the crest of the range between Fairlight and Battle, and it will be frequently noticed in ancient itineraries that Hastings was seldom visited in passing from Kent into Sussex, the route usually lying between Winchelsea and Battle along the Fairlight ridge, or between Rye and Robertsbridge, along a ridge running somewhat parallel to, and north of the former ridge.

An army such as Harold's, proceeding from London to Hastings, would have probably found its way through the then known tracks of the Andredeswald, crossing some ford or bridge over the Rother in the neighbourhood of Robertsbridge, and marching thence to a point where the ascent to the Fairlight ridge is least steep and laborious; that is to say, in the neighbourhood of Battle. The strategic purpose of Harold, failing a surprise of William's troops while pillaging or foraging, was probably to gain possession of the Fairlight and subsidiary ridges, which commanded and surrounded the port of Hastings and its Castle; and thus, being in possession of the ridges along which his troops might have been moved with facility, for concentration at any point, he might hem in William on all sides.

If William's army had not been sufficiently strong to show a firm resistance at the first outpost, the position was such that the Norman Duke would have been starved into surrender, or forced into a desperate retreat through the marshes of Pevensey or upon the sea, where indeed it is said Harold had sent ships to cut off his escape. When Harold approached with his troops, which do not seem to have been much more than a collection of undisciplined levies, case-hardened by the shields of the house-carls, he found himself confronted by a strong outpost at Telham Hill, barring his further passage along the ridge.

Telham was probably a place of great strategical importance to William forming the junction of two lines of outposts on the south-east and north-west encircling his base. The western line of outposts started between Boreham

Building of the First Norman Castle

Bridge and Hooe,¹ passing along the north-eastern ridge to Standard Hill and Catsfield Green, and so to Telham ; the eastern line extended along the range between Fairlight, Ore, Baldslow, and again to Telham. When Harold's position was defined by William's scouts falling back before the enemy, the guard upon Telham height was no doubt now strengthened from the base.

The various accounts of the behaviour of the hostile armies on the eve of the battle show that they, or their outposts, were in close proximity.

Harold, perhaps now for the first time, realized the full strength and disposition of the Norman host, and he did probably all that prudently could be done in selecting the site of Battle for a camp, but it must be doubted whether he then possessed any very definite plan.² He therefore rested on the best available spot and assumed the defensive, awaiting reinforcements, in the full knowledge that every day would improve his position, while on the other hand it would straiten that of the Normans. This strategy must have been readily recognized by the Duke ; no useful point could be gained, by subjecting his troops to the strain of waiting any further for a conflict that had become inevitable. It would seem that the main body of the Normans found their way from Hastings to Telham at an early hour, and perhaps a detachment came from Pevensey on the morning of the battle. In what manner William protected his base on the day of battle, there is nothing to show ; his dispositions were probably not elaborate, but it is unlikely that he left his base without some guard, though a really efficient rearguard would have necessitated the employment of a considerable body of troops ; indeed Orderic Vitalis records that the defences of Pevensey and Hastings " were entrusted to a chosen body of soldiers, to cover a retreat and guard the fleet."

THE NORMAN CASTLE.

We are told that on William's return to Hastings after the battle, he rested there five days before proceeding towards Dover. Humphrey of Tilleul, " who had received the custody of the Castle from the day it was built " (Ord. Vit.), was left at the head of the garrison.

It is possible that the Conqueror may have added additional strength to the Castle-works at Hastings, although the fifteen days of occupation by his troops should have allowed ample time for the execution of all such defensive works as were absolutely indispensable. The main difficulty of executing much work in masonry would have consisted in the inability to obtain sufficient lime at so unsettled a period.

¹ Some distance from the Ashbourne, south of Boreham Bridge, and between it and Hooe, is a large circular earthwork known locally as " Castle Banks " and " Rats' Castle." It is about 300 ft. long from north to south, and 210 ft. from east to west. It forms a sort of artificial plateau, being flat at the top, and is raised above the river-plain about 10 ft. It is numbered on the 25-inch Ordnance map (corrected L. G. B., 1886) as No. 142. This field, together with the one near it, No. 145, is arable, and when ploughed appears to be full of tiles, bricks and other building material. An ancient road leads from the direction of this plateau to the high road, going towards Standard Hill. The earthwork appears to have been constructed as a sort of landing-place in olden times, when the marsh was covered by the sea at high tide.

² Harold probably knew the ground, as his Manor of Crowhurst almost included the site, and the plateau of Battle commands the only pass which severs the Fairlight ridge from the Ashburnham ridge, along which runs the North Trade Road.

Norman Architecture of the Castle

DESCRIPTION OF THE CURTAIN-WALL.

The rudest and apparently the oldest, masonry now to be seen at Hastings is in the internal portion of the curtain-walls, along the north-western and north-eastern front—but the stones forming the casing of ashlar are squared with some care, and their joints are not so open as much of the earliest Norman work to be seen in England. The mortar was probably made from chalk brought from Beachy Head in boats, and burnt on the spot at Hastings, and the lime was used fresh, before crystallization had set in. It is extremely hard and tenacious, and contains beach-rubble, wood-ash, and large pieces of pure uncalcined chalk. In many places the mortar has weathered less than the matrix. The work probably dates from a period subsequent to the Conquest of England, and, perhaps, shortly after the time when the Castelany, or Castlery, was given to Robert, Count of Eu.

This curtain-wall is of irregular thickness, as will be seen from the plan, varying from 8 ft. down to 5 ft. 6 in.

The first section of the present remains extends from a few feet from the western edge of the cliff, as far as the western wall of the Chapel, with which it forms an angle. The square tower-like structure built against it near the Chapel, is of slightly later Norman date (see account of Chapel, *post*). The western wall of this tower which is built against, though not bonded with the curtain-wall, obscures a loop or window which seems to have been formerly designed, before the building of the tower, to light a passage within the curtain-wall leading to a sally-port.

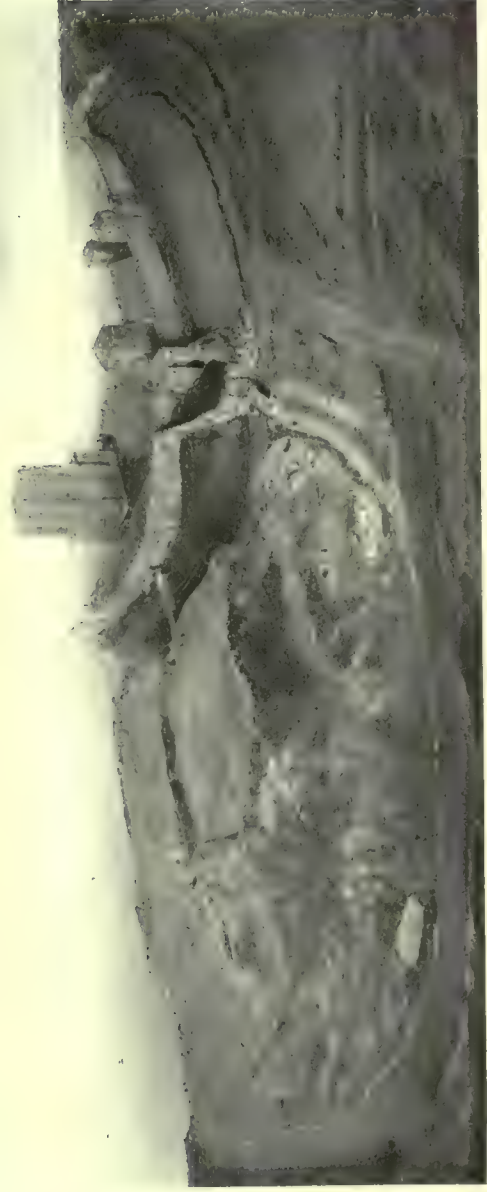
The curtain has been thickened on its outer surface, to compensate for the reduction of the strength of the wall by the penetration of this passage. The roof is composed of flat slabs, laid squarely across the top of the passage. The width of the passage is 2 ft. 6 in., and its height 11 ft. The doorway, which must have opened out into the basement of the tower, is 3 ft. wide. At a distance of 12 ft. from the entrance, the passage turns at right angles outwards to the right to a doorway (now blocked). A flight of two or three stone steps led from the doorway to a path, which wound its way down the north-western slope of the hill.¹

This section of the curtain had formerly a rampart-walk upon it, the remains of which can be seen passing from the western wall of the tower (behind the wooden shelter) for the distance of a few feet. The parapet-walls or battlements were 2 ft. in breadth and at least 3 ft. high. The pathway was 3 ft. 6 in. broad.

The entrance to this rampart, after the building of the tower, was gained through a doorway in the first floor of the tower (see Square Tower, Description of Chapel, *post*).

Near the western extremity of the wall occur numerous holes penetrating the masonry, similar to "putlog holes," used for timbering for the repairs of the walls. They are, however, of unusual depth, penetrating the wall, which is 5 ft. 9 in. thick.

¹ The following is quoted from the Herbert MS., 1824: "Between the square tower and the west end of the church, is a sally-port (the entrance to which is also shown in the plan). The descent was through a door in the wall now blocked partly up, from which a path led down the Castle-hill. This door lay at the extremity of a passage formed in the wall, where there is an ascent to it of two or three steps: the passage itself was enlightened by a small square window, at present hid by the square tower just mentioned, but which anciently looked into the court-yard. The whole extent of the north wall, from the extremity of the Castle-mount to the Gun Garden, is 400 ft. It bears evident marks of having been erected at different periods,



RESTORED VIEW OF HASTINGS CASTLE (*circa* 1216) FROM THE NORTH, showing the Norman Collegiate Church, and the Keep before its destruction by King John. The drawbridge and barbican are later buildings.

Plate III Vol. II. To face p. 523.

The Keep of Hastings Castle

Continuing along the line of the curtain-wall in the direction of the northern gate, it is seen that the present outer wall of the Chapel is partly of modern construction, being at the top only eighteen inches thick. Upon examination we have found that it is built upon the foundation of the old curtain-wall, which may be seen projecting beyond the base of the new wall on the outside of the Castle. The course of the original curtain-wall between this and the gateway can now be conjectured, until it is again found beyond the modern lodge at the northern gate. The curtain at this point is 8 feet thick, and traverses the outer edge of the Castle-mount, whence it is continued along the eastern front to the edge of the cliff. (See *Herbert MS.*, p. 276.) This latter section of the wall has been remodelled, the towers being insertions dating from the reign of Henry III. (see *post*).¹

THE KEEP.

It is well known that, in building a keep, the Normans adopted two distinct forms—namely that of the circular or shell-keep (as at Arundel) or else a keep of rectangular form (as in London, Rochester, Newcastle, etc.).

The circular keep consisted in enclosing the top of a mound, either natural or artificially raised, with a thick *shell* of masonry. In the larger keeps of this pattern there was usually a courtyard in the centre, the domestic buildings of the lord and garrison being built against the inner surface of the shell.

This form of keep was probably designed, because the circular walls were better suited to stand on the "made-earth" of the mound than the rectangular form. Hence it is that in England these *shell-keeps* are frequently found to be built upon the former sites of the earlier wooden castles. They are in the form of a truncated cone—the building of masonry virtually taking the place of the wooden castle and its palisades.

The rectangular form of keep was usually adopted by the Normans, in England after the Conquest, where they built on level or undisturbed earth, either in establishing a new fortress, or by way of adding additional defences to those already existing and where they did not adopt the earlier mounds as a building-site.

In England it is not infrequent to find a rectangular Norman keep standing in the same court with an artificially-raised mount, which was generally either the site of a wooden castle or keep (as at Bramber).

varying considerably both in the nature of the stone made use of and in the style of the masonry. From the sally-port to its west end, which is a distance of about 120 ft., the whole is constructed of courses of thin flat pieces of stone of different dimensions, some of them very large, imbedded in mortar of the hardest texture, and seemingly from the rudeness of the workmanship, of a very remote antiquity. Beyond the sally-port and square tower, eastward, the inside as represented in the drawing, is formed of courses of large square stone, and from its more modern appearance seems as if it had been new coated or lined at that part, on the erection of the college-church by the Earl of Eu. The north-west angle on the mount is similarly built and was probably erected at the same date. It is a curious circumstance that the wall of the square tower here described is built up against this window. Now, as the square tower is undoubtedly of Norman architecture and as old as the church, this part of the wall must in consequence have been of an anterior date."

¹ "The part of the Castle-wall crossing the summit of this mount, measures eight feet in thickness. It is faced on the inside with regular courses of squared stone, and appears to have risen, when perfect, to a height exceeding twenty feet. On tracing the foundations of it from the gateway, we notice that they rise and fall with the shape of the mount, and rest on a broad table of large flat stones about two feet below its surface, till they nearly join the eastern gate." (*Herbert MS.*)

The Keep at Hastings Castle

At Hastings, as before mentioned, two-thirds of the top of the mound is encircled by a great curtain-wall.¹ The mound was carefully trenched, in 1824, by Mr. Herbert, but no trace of walls or buildings of any kind were then discovered, nor indeed are there any traces of walls springing from the semicircular curtain-wall, which might have formed the outline of a shell-keep. We may therefore be fairly confident that Hastings possessed no shell-keep.²

The next question is whether there was a rectangular or other form of keep within the inner ward—or whether, as at Exeter, the whole of the inner ward formed the keep of the Norman fortress.

If we refer to the Pipe-Rolls of Henry II. (see p. 57 *ante*) it will be seen that the King, who was a great builder of additions to many existing castles, then added much to the defences at Hastings. In these "Pipe-Rolls" the work done at the Castle is described as being "in fortification of the Castle at Hastings" (*vide* Pipe-Roll, *rot.* 3, *m.* 2, 13 Henry II.). Again in 17 Henry (*rot.* 8, *m.* 1 *in dorso*) an account is made for "lime and stone for the work at Hastings." Again in 18 Henry II. (*rot.* 9, *m.* 1, *dorso*), we read of "drawing of stone and lime to make the 'tur' or 'turrin' (tower) of Hastings" (see *rot.* 11, *m.* 1 20 Henry II.). Judging from the French usage, "Tour" is and was used in an emphatic sense of the *keep* of a medieval castle.

It is quite possible that even at this early period some of the earlier fortifications on the seaward side of the Castle may have been ruined by encroachments of the sea, rendering further fortifications necessary. There is the entry in the Battle-Abbey Register (quoted by Sir William Burrell), which states, while relating the meeting of Rufus and Anselm at Hastings in 1094, that in those days the Castle stood on lower ground below the cliff, since overflowed by the sea. It must be presumed that the Chronicler does not speak of the whole of the Castle, but of some considerable portion of the military buildings which had been washed away to the south of the present remains. There is ample ground for belief that the chief of the military buildings of the Castle of Norman age have disappeared by the destruction of the ground to the south,³ and it is therefore quite possible that

¹ This mound rises about 30 feet above the lower end of the inner ward. It is about 65 feet across at the apex or plateau and 32 feet wide.

² The Castle-mound adjoins the gateway, forming the north-eastern angle of the base-court or area: and is situated partly within and partly without the Castle. It rises on the outside next the ditch to a vast height, supporting a large portion of the wall, which forms a semicircular sweep on its summit. On the inside (where it is again seen after passing the gate), its altitude, from the gradual elevation of the ground, is considerably less. The whole of its base, measuring it within and without, occupies upwards of half an acre.

This eminence is evidently in great part artificial, and raised from the soil dug from the ditch, in which respect as well as its form, it bears all the characteristics of the site of the circular Norman keep; but on investigating it, it seems never to have had any other buildings on it than the walls (see note, *Herbert MS. post*). On the desertion of Hastings Castle by its garrison, the inner part of the mound is stated to have been converted by the later deans of the College (who after that event usurped the use of the ground within the walls) into a *garden*. "Within the gate on the east side of the said gate, upon a hill there was a garden, whiche one Sir Rycharde a priest there did occupye," or as it is otherwise mentioned, "He (the deponent) knewe one garden on the north-easte side of the gate, within the wall, uppon the bancke there, etc., whiche Sir Rycharde the priest there of the deanery occupied." (Chancery Depositions, temp. Eliz. *Herbert MS.*)

³ When entire, the Castle ward must, there is good reason to believe, have occupied considerably more than 2 acres of ground. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, after the three destructive

A Rectangular Form of Keep

the work of Henry II. consisted of repairs and additions to an earlier stone Castle, the sole remains of which are now represented by the curtain-wall, and portion of the northern gateway and mound, and other earthworks.

If the work carried out by order of Henry II. included the building of a keep, it was probably of rectangular form.

The following extract taken from the Herbert MS. may of course refer to the foundation of a keep, but this conclusion is obviously doubtful.

“ Though no part of the superstructure of the keep remains, its situation from the piece of bed of mortar was perhaps discovered, and may with tolerable certainty be fixed on that site. This spot is at very little distance from the present edge of the cliff. Why so inconsiderable a fragment of the floor is now to be found only is easily to be accounted for, from the present curtailed state of the site, which is too small to contain much of the foundations of a building of such magnitude.

“ To ascertain whether there had ever been a keep-tower on the Castle-mount, trenches were cut transversely entirely through it, but no remains of mortar, rubbish, or foundations of any kind were discovered. The same want of success attended the researches made after the vaults, said in the deposition to have stood on the east side of the Castle, and to have been used by the last dean, Brokesley, for stables. The only remains were a hard bed of mortar, mixed with sea-shells and pebbles, above mentioned, which lay buried several feet below the ground above the middle of the yard or area, together with part of the stone-coping of the wall. These fragments, from their situation and other circumstances, apparently determine this to have been the site of the keep, which here did not stand on a mount, but on the level ground, dividing the two courtyards. Whatever building besides these there might anciently have been, forming parts of the Castle, must have either gone down in the different inundations mentioned, or their foundations have been cut away with the cliff, in making room for the new buildings in front of the Castle.”

THE CASTLE WELL.

Respecting the whereabouts of the Castle-well, which might have guided us in an attempt to fix the site of the keep, we are at present in ignorance. We have, however, some interesting references to this well, made in 1824, which are set forth both in Mr. Herbert's journal of the excavation (1824) before given, and also in a newspaper, called *The Mirror*, of April 2nd, 1824, as follows:—

“ The workmen discovered a well ; at the bottom of which some human bones were found.”

Mr. Hardwick Braye, late of 35, Wellington Square, Hastings, who told the author that he remembered the excavations in 1824, pointed to the western side of the lawn, between the Chapel and the sea, as the probable site of the well, but he expressed no clear recollection. If the well was filled up shortly after 1824, and a stone put over the mouth, and then covered with earth, the site will now be very difficult to discover. Before water was laid on from the town-supply, it was fetched from a spring on the north side of the outer ward. The well was probably a shallow one, as in excavating within the cloister during unusually dry summers the author finds the soil full of water before reaching the sand-rock, within the inner ward, namely at the distance of about 5 feet.

inundations mentioned, it was estimated at an acre and a half. The encroachments of the sea had so far lessened this estimate within two centuries afterwards, that Grose, describing a plan of the Castle made one hundred and forty years ago, and inserted in his “ Antiquities,” says : “ A perpendicular let fall upon the south side or rock, from the angle formed by the junction of the walls, measures above two hundred and sixty feet ; consequently the area included is nearly one acre and a fifth.” Its present extent, from the improvements just noticed, is probably not more than an acre.

The Northern Gateway of the Castle

THE NORTHERN GATE.

In view of the description of the foundation of this gate given in Mr. Herbert's MS., it would appear that this was the site of the principal gateway or entrance to the Castle. It was situate in the curtain-wall, adjoining the north-western side of the Castle-mount, and consisted of a square gateway (perhaps towered). Mr. Herbert's description is as follows :—

"The foundations of the principal gateway, situated on this side, were first explored with a view to ascertain the precise spot of entrance. They were found to consist merely of low fragments of wall, sufficiently distinct to afford the admeasurements of the passage, and to point out the situation and dimensions of the lodge and guard-room on the side of it, but exhibited no traces whatever of superstructure."

He afterwards says :—

"The interior of the Castle, after passing the drawbridge and moat, was entered by a large square-towered gateway, the arched entrance beneath which was 11 ft. wide, and 30 ft. long. On the right hand of this passage were two rooms, the first measuring 11 ft. by 9 ft., and the latter nearly the same."

The upper part of the gateway is described as having had "a lodginge chamber, and other room over the same," etc., and to have been defended by a portcullis.

Deposition of George Porter sayeth : "That there was a lodginge chamber and other rome over the gate goinge in to the said grounde, which the Deane occupied and used, and that there was noe other waye goinge into the grounde in question (the Castle yard) to his knowledge." And—Deposition of Edmonde Saunders—sayeth : "That at the time of the said suppression (*i.e.* of the Colledge) there weare twoe chambers over the gate in the interrogatorye mentioned, wherein the said Sir Rychard Brokesley, the priest, did lodge." (*Chanc. Proc.*)

"The gateway appears to have had a division within the entrance for a second pair of gates, separating the two rooms on the side, the first of which was probably the lodge, and the second the apartment for those who here kept Castle guard. The chambers above are mentioned to have been occupied before the suppression of the Colledge by its last Dean, Richard Brokesley. He gives a note of the following dimensions and details of the gate. First inner division, 12 ft. long. The abutments, plinth, etc., seen at extremity of its east side, for a second gate, with a piece of the wall running from it, inwards next the mount, and fragment of corresponding abutment, etc., opposite; marks of next division of mount side (part of which was formed by end of Castle-wall) gone, or not visible from the base of the mount projecting over it; opposite side of passage formed by wall of guard-room. Beyond this latter division inwards a third division seems to have extended, one side of which must have been formed by the east end of the chancel of the Colledge Church. The boundary of the reverse side is marked by a piece of the end wall, which projects from the end of the mount. This division fills up the remainder of the passage. Hence, either buildings or a covered way wound round by the ends of both churches, the side of which still bears the remains of plaster, and on the side of the chancel of the Colledge Church there are remains of recesses and seats."

Among Mr. Herbert's notes is also found one which says : "In the guard-room (*viz.* the second gate-chamber) are two recesses in its walls, at the end of the chapter room," and these are probably the recesses to which he refers above.

THE DUNGEONS.

One of the most curious portions of the Castle is situate below the eastern wing of the gate, to which the following extract to the Assize Roll of 1288 may relate :—

Assize Roll 924. 16° Edward Placita Corone.

HALF-HUNDRED OF NETHERFELD.

Daniel de Beleme, taken for robbery, was brought to the nearest lock-up outside the gate of the Castle of Hasting, and in the presence of Robert Passelegh, sen., John of Brittany

VIEWS OF THE CASTLE DUNGEON.



View from below of N.E. flight of rock-hewn steps—much worn. (Height of Arch, 6 ft. 2 in.)



The Vestibule from the West. (Height of Ceiling, 7 ft. 10 in.)



Curved Passage leading from Vestibule to Main Gallery. (Height of Arch, 7 ft.)



Chamber with Pillaster and rock-hewn fireplace. (Height of Chamber, 7 ft. 1 in.)

Hastings Castle Dungeons

was adjudged to be hanged, and whereas he himself had come and confessed to a chaplain, before he was hanged, then came Robert le Bule chaplain T. de Lewes being then chaplain of the Castle of Hastings, J. de Dover then clerk of the same Castle, Philip chaplain of Tycheshurst, and others, and they rescued, by force of arms, Daniel, and caused him to flee for refuge to a church in the Castle in which he remained eight days, and after that came the same persons and led him out of the church and caused him cross over the Strait in a small boat (see *ante*, p. 108).

The following is a revision of a paper on the subject, published by the author and Mr. John Lewis, F.S.A., in the *Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*, volume xl., 1894 :—

At a late Norman period it became usual to build in the place of the shell or of the rectangular keeps, certain cylindrical towers called "donjons" or "juliets," which were originally built to form the keep itself, but later were frequently used as mural towers of the enceinte. The basements of these towers contained storehouses and vaults. In times of siege space was far too valuable to allow of the storehouses and vaults of the keep being used as prisons. It is doubtful whether any of them were originally designed for such a purpose, but that some of them have been used, secondarily, as such there can be no question.

The popular idea that English castles usually contained subterranean prisons,¹ such as sometimes occur in those of the Continent, is quite erroneous. Most of the chambers within a Norman keep would hold a prisoner quite securely, and would be perfectly dry for storage purposes, and therefore there could be no necessity to endanger the foundations by making damp subterranean excavations. For some reason, the term dungeon, which is synonymous with "donjon," has come to be popularly applied to the cell in the basement of the keep or "donjon."

The use of such cellars in the basements as *prisons*, in the absence of record or tradition, must be determined entirely on the merits of the evidence found to exist within their walls. What evidence there is with respect to the supposed dungeon-cell at Hastings shall be set before you, as soon as we have described the details of its form and its position in the Castle.

On the left-hand side of the northern gate, opposite the modern lodge, there is a considerable mass of ancient masonry still standing and projecting beyond the line of the great curtain-wall of the inner ward.² This perhaps, or the eastern wing of the gateway, formed part of the base of a tower. To examine it, it is necessary to obtain access to the wooden door on the east side of the modern iron-gate.

It will be noticed that on the left-hand side of the door on entering stands the original masonry, while on the right side there is a rough wall of masonry, built to our knowledge by a late custodian, masking the ancient masonry within.

Following the original masonry (the roof here is modern), it will be found that the sides of the wall assume an angular appearance in the form of half an octagon. We have excavated the ground outside in search of more masonry, but found that the solid sand-rock is met with at a very short distance. Doubtless any masonry, if it had existed in a lateral direction, would have been moved to make way for the modern carriage-road.

Within two of the four sides of the supposed octagon bastion referred to are doorways, one (height, 6 ft. 2 in.) leading in a north-easterly, the other (height, 6 ft. 6 in.) in a south-easterly direction, beneath the outer ramp above mentioned, adjoining the Castle-mount (see No. 5 diagram). Two flights of descending steps form the approaches to the dungeons which are the subject of the present paper.

The door-jambs of both doorways have cavities, in which, at one time, blocks of wood were imbedded to hold the rides upon which the doors swung. Besides these there are the remains of iron fittings, apparently to sustain a rope, chain, or hand-rail.

Entering the dark north-eastern doorway (artificial light becomes here necessary), is a flight of eight steps hewn out of the sandstone rock, which are worn to such an extent that they can be descended only with great difficulty (see photo. No. 1).

A wooden skeleton staircase has been constructed by us, covering the old worn steps, but leaving them still to be seen from below between the new wooden treads. A masonry roof to this staircase terminates above the lower end of the steps, and here are traces of a movable door having been fixed.

¹ The Hastings dungeon-cells, although contained within the ramp against the north-eastern Castle-wall, are far above the ground adjoining, in the fosse and roadway.

² This appears in Grose's View and Map, 1759 A.D.

The Dungeons of Hastings Castle

At the foot of these stone steps a short passage suddenly turns to the south-east, terminating in an arch, slightly grooved at the sides. Through this arch is an irregular chamber or vestibule (height, 7 ft. 10 in.), in the wall of which is a circular-headed niche, about 3 ft. high, cut in the rock (*vide D* on plan and photo. No. 2). On the side of the chamber to the right is cut the outline (7 ft. high) of a round-headed arched passage or doorway (*vide E* on plan), apparently designed to connect these galleries with the south-eastern series, which it now appears were never completed. In the wall opposite to the one on which is traced the outline above described there is an arch entering another passage (see photo. No. 3). This passage is formed in a singular and skilful manner; the arched roof is on the curve; the left side wall is concave; the right convex, giving the whole a semicircular trend. The floor at this point inclines sharply upward for some distance. The walls of the passage are smooth, the original pick-marks being obliterated.

At the termination of this passage there is on the right side an arched recess stepped above the main floor, evidently the commencement of another gallery, with a fillet above and below, chased on the wall as if to take a door (*vide C* on plan). The roofs or ceilings of this arched recess, the curved passage, and main gallery merge into one another in a graceful manner, forming a kind of groined arch. A view photographed by us with the magnesium-light (photo. No. 3) shows this most clearly.

From this recess eastward we have what we have called the main gallery, 17 ft. long, nearly 4 ft. wide, and about 9 ft. high, having in the ceiling near the centre a hole as if for the suspension of a light. At the end (*vide B* on plan), on the southern wall, is the tracing of another doorway, apparently designed to communicate, like the other, with another series of galleries.

The outlined doorway at B on the plan is filled up with rough pick-marks, as if to make it more conspicuous. There is also in this traced doorway a hole cut in the rock, in which might have been driven a wooden plug to hold a staple; the lower edge of this hole is abraded, as if an iron ring or other hard substance had at some time hung from it. To the westward are two similar holes (marked 3. 3. on plan), the wall near the centre one being rubbed quite smooth, and of a dark colour. There are also here numerous other small holes or pittings, which need no specific mention. At the end of the main gallery, high above in the roof, is a large hole running forward to the east. We have tested the hole for about 15 ft., but cannot find the outlet; we believe that it was for the purpose of ventilation; it is now blocked. A former custodian had a square-shaped opening cut through the rock at the north side, forming a window there, intended for a ventilator. This window has, however, been closed, for besides being a disfigurement it was open to intruders.

Opposite B on the plan the passage runs nearly due northward for about 9 ft., ending abruptly. Where this last passage joins what we have termed the main gallery there is a slight attempt to groin the ceilings. On the left hand or western side of the last-described passage is a peculiarly-domed chamber, 7 ft. 1 in. in height, separated from the main gallery by only a slight thickness of rock (see photo. No. 4). It has a rough-hewn pilaster opposite the door, evidently left for the purpose of strengthening the roof, and there are two small recesses, like fireplaces, side by side, south of the pilaster, having bowl-shaped hearths, with stone fenders above the ground-level. Another recess of an exactly similar character is formed in the north jamb of the doorway leading to this chamber. None of them have flues or chimneys.

Opposite, to the north of the doorway, are holes arranged in such a manner that the detention of a prisoner is immediately suggested to the mind (*vide A* on plan). There is no chimney to this chamber, and though there is a quantity of black ash and charcoal on the floor (and we are informed by the late custodian that some inches of it covered the floor at one time), yet the walls are but slightly blackened, leaving us to suppose that the fuel employed was charcoal. There are several notches cut in the walls and in the pilaster, but their use is not apparent.

Returning again to the starting-point at the top of the worn stairs first described, and taking the flight of steps leading in a south-easterly direction, it will be noticed that the roof is constructed in masonry in a manner similar to the other staircase. The stairs, six only in number and rock-hewn, wind around a pillar or newel of rock, formed in the left side of the doorway. The steps here were in a very different condition from those of the other staircase, and appear to have been used but little, if at all. When first descended by us they were blocked with débris, which had come in through the broken roof of masonry near the foot of these stairs. On clearing away the débris the latter continued to run in as fast as we could move it, so that we were compelled to sink a kind of coffer-dam through the loose earth, between the wooden paling on the Castle-mount and the curtain-wall. The first attempt proved unsuccessful, for when the excavations were nearly completed, bad weather came, and the dam collapsed, the workmen narrowly

Speculations as to the Dungeons

escaping with their lives. However, a second attempt proved successful, and we were enabled to repair the roof with the old masonry, and discovered that the six stairs led into a small rounded chamber. To the left of this chamber we found another arched recess (6 ft. 4 in. in height), entered by two steps; in it is a small round-headed niche (12 in. by 9 in.), as if intended for a light. The passage here suddenly terminates with the tracery of an arch (6 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.) cut in the wall, as if uncompleted.

Among the débris were discovered a number of human and animal bones, and a small fragment of carved white marble, a portion of the head of a statuette. This probably came from the chapel, and had fallen in with the débris from the surface.

There appears to be only one medieval castle in England having excavations underneath it which bear any resemblance to the Hastings-Castle subterranean passage and chambers, namely, that of Pontefract, in Yorkshire. The description given of them by Mr. Clarke reads almost like a description of those at Hastings.¹ But at Pontefract (where Mr. Clarke considers them to be Norman or Early English) occur pointed arches, which appear to denote more recent workmanship than is evidenced by the arches and roofs at Hastings, which are exclusively of a rounded pattern. Throughout the caverns the buff-coloured rock is picturesquely marked and striated with natural stains of brown iron-oxide.

Portions of the foundations of the curtain-wall of the Castle were exposed when we were digging out the débris from the southern cell. These were composed of waterworn stones, apparently from the shore, the limpet-shells still clinging to them after perhaps the lapse of eight centuries.

Having described the situation and form of these dungeons, we will now discuss their probable origin and uses. We must first mention that those in the northern branch are said to have been discovered and opened out by a former custodian of the Castle about the year 1872, in which year he showed them to the Author.

The Rev. E. Marshall, of St. Leonards-on-Sea, writing to *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, vol. vii. (Feb. 17th, 1877), after giving a short description of the dungeons (on the north-east side), so far as they were then visible, says: "The steps are worn away on the left side, apparently by a chain dragging from the leg of a prisoner as he descended, and have evidently been much used. At a short distance there is a set-off in the wall, as if for a door to shut against it, and a small circular chamber is reached, where there is a niche in the side, which is supposed to have been the receptacle of a lamp, when the prisoners were pinioned or fettered here. But it may have served the purpose of a guard-room. A little further on the right hand there are holes in the rock, which may have been for staples, to which it is supposed the prisoners were fastened close up to the side, and the soft sandstone is worn smooth by the rubbing of the back, and is discoloured by the exudation from the bodies, and assumes a dim appearance of the human form, the legs in this instance having been fastened close together. Further in on the same side are the marks of similar holes, as for staples. Here there is also the same wearing away of the stone and discoloration, and the sinking and rolling of the head from side to side may be traced. But in one respect it differs from the other, as the arms and legs seem to have been stretched out as far as possible; the marks of the heels are plain. Just to the left of this there is another

¹ Speaking of Pontefract Castle, Mr. Clarke says: "Mention must be made of a very curious and early excavation in the main ward. . . . Descending, thirty-three steps lead steeply down a gallery, 4 ft. broad, with a hanging roof; a little way down on the right are traces of a cylindrical staircase, no doubt the original way in, but now destroyed, with the tower, in the base of which it no doubt was contained. At the foot of the stairs is a plain round-headed doorcase, apparently of late Norman date. Beyond this the stairs recommence, and ten steps lower the descent ceases and the passage forks, a short branch running north, and another, a trifle longer, east. Before the fork, part of the passage is vaulted in fine jointed ashlar, with two plain round-headed ribs. In the wall, on the right, is a round-headed recess for a lamp, and the commencement of another passage, also round-headed, but left as a mere recess. . . . At the fork the salient is occupied by two small oblong cells, with pointed roofs. They communicate with each other and the passages by narrow lancet-doorways. The excavation is now called the magazine, and no doubt was so used at the siege; but it is of Norman or Early English date and probably was intended for a cellar. The arrangements of the cells are scarcely suitable for a prison. The present entrance is clearly an addition, opened when the well-staircase was disused."—*Medieval Military Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 386.

The supposed Lethal Chamber

chamber, which has a small recess at the entrance, near the ground, where there is a channel, as if for the ascent of smoke, by which it seems to be marked. This is said to have been for a charcoal-stove. There are also two similar recesses at the further end, but they show no traces of ever having been used. The room is divided by a set-off in the rock, in which there are holes, and is supposed to have had a grating across, to confine the prisoners while they were being suffocated by the charcoal-fire. The additional recesses would have been used for fires also if needed. It is also observed that the draught of air from the doorway and the aperture would tend to draw the fumes of the charcoal towards, and into, this room.

"On this explanation the theory is that this was a dungeon, into which whosoever entered would never see the light of day again, and that there were three modes of execution—the affixing to the side in a straight position, the affixing with the arms and legs stretched out, and the suffocation by means of a fire of charcoal. No bones nor any other remains were found which might throw light upon the subject."

We are glad to be able to give the above extract, because it relieves us from a certain amount of diffidence in representing the popular story with regard to these excavations when first examined by the public. Shortly after the year 1877 the door of this excavation was strictly closed upon the public, the custodian becoming tired of taking people over; the atmosphere was bad, and the steps then dangerous. More than that, we have been flatly told at the gates that no such excavations existed. However, as the Society knows, by the courtesy of Lord Chichester, we were given the necessary permission to enter and describe the dungeon-cells.

We will now proceed to examine the details in the light of what Mr. Marshall has written, and see what evidence we can find and what we cannot find in support of these suggestions.

At the outset we can but regard the suggestion of the steps having been worn away by a chain attached to the leg of a prisoner as highly fanciful, for all we could discover was that the steps had apparently been very much worn by ordinary and constant use. The remark as to the prisoner being fettered in the first small chamber or vestibule, of course, is obviously conjectural, as also the question of its use as a guard-room. With regard to the holes in the walls, said to be used for staples, we have carefully examined them, and have come to the conclusion that only one or two out of the many could possibly have held staples strong enough for holding a prisoner; for the most part they are the merest cavities. The few which may have held staples are made in a slanting direction into the sandstone-rock. These, if well plugged with wood, we think, could have held a staple effectually. The slanting of the hole would cause the pressure on the plug of wood to fall laterally, so that it could not be pulled out by direct force without breaking away part of the solid rock. There was a small amount of decayed wood found in one of these holes. There is no evidence of weathering on the wall which would account for the shallow appearance of the other holes, and the most delicate pick-marks are still visible in all parts of the excavation. The wall for some yards is certainly more smooth at this point than in some other places, but we are unable to trace the marks of the heels which Mr. Marshall says are plain. The most extraordinary statement is that which refers to the discoloration of the rock, which, he says, was caused by the exudation from the bodies. This discoloration, however caused, was certainly plainly visible when Mr. Dawson first saw the cavern, in 1872, especially when a light was held in a particular position near the wall. The marks resembled two shadows of human bodies on the wall, falling side by side between the so-called staple holes. The effect was most striking and unmistakable (see photo. No. 6). Strange to say, in our many recent visits to the dungeons we have never yet again observed this phenomenon, and it now appears entirely lost. We have suspicions that it might easily be simulated by applying oily substances to the wall. It is difficult to believe that such marks, if caused as suggested in Mr. Marshall's note, after having existed from medieval times up to twenty years ago, should by now have utterly disappeared.

With regard to the suggested "lethal chamber," we must again remark that although the suggested holes for staples exist, and are arranged in a more or less suitable manner for the detention of a prisoner, yet, having regard to the friable nature of the sandstone, only one or two of the holes could possibly have been used with any success. The same remark applies to the fixing of iron bars referred to by Mr. Marshall. Some of the broad incisions in the walls appeared more likely to have been suitable for carrying planks for shelves, but following this theory we could make out no satisfactory arrangement. The floor is still covered with traces of black ash, charcoal, and decayed wood. It is upon the peculiar situation of this cell, the finding of this black ash and charcoal, the three peculiar little fireplaces, and the so-called staple-holes in the wall, that the suggestion of its having been a "lethal chamber" has been made. The fireplaces

The Edwardian Castle

may, of course, have been used in drying the cell merely, though it is not more damp here than in the other chamber referred to.

The extraordinary shape of the cavern, as a whole, is more easily accounted for, and it may as well be given here, since it might be unduly urged that the form of its excavation is more suitable for that of a prison than a storehouse, whereas the form was chiefly determined by the peculiar structure of the rock out of which it is cut. This rock is a hard mass of sandstone, belonging, geologically speaking, to the top of the Ashdown Sand of the Hastings Beds. Its texture is not at all homogeneous, being much harder and compact in one place than another; the rock is also much divided by large fissures filled with loose sand. It has obviously been the object of the craftsman, who cut the excavations at Hastings Castle, to keep within the compact but narrow belt of rock, and to avoid penetrating either forward or laterally into the extremely soft and loose dangerous rock contiguous to it. At the same time the craftsman would have had to be careful not to penetrate to the exterior of the mound, and some of the holes we have discovered may have been made for the purpose of ascertaining the compactness of the rock. Where, therefore, there was enough sound rock to form a chamber it was excavated to the utmost extent, and where the hard rock was narrow a passage only was formed. It is due to this reason that at one point the passage rises and curves in the marvellous manner above described (see photo. No. 3).

If anyone will examine the rock-wall at the back of the round-headed niche, or in the passage commenced on the right, above the rise in the floor, he will at once realize the difficulties with which the engineer was confronted. The presence of the doorway tracings on the walls clearly indicates that the designer would have extended his operations had it been possible to do so. Indeed, the mistake in breaking through the crown of the rock undoubtedly ruined the whole design of the excavation, to which it was intended that the southern flight of stairs should lead.

Our hopes, therefore, that we might be put into communication with further excavations beneath the Castle-mound or keep (which may possibly exist) were abruptly dispelled. When, after much labour and the advantage of modern skill, we had cleared out all the débris, we found only the commencement of a work, the aim of which we shall never be able to decide with certainty. However, the discovery is one of extreme singularity, and is an unique addition to an already most interesting Castle.

In conclusion, we may say that probably the whole design of the cave is more suitable for that of a prison than of a storehouse; but we must, nevertheless, bear in mind the difficulties caused by the peculiar structure of the rock above mentioned. Almost certainly the place was excavated for one of these two objects; it *may* have been used for both, or even as a cell for religious devotions, though there is no evidence leaning directly towards any of these theories upon which we have any right to pin our faith.² With regard to the date of the main excavation, the purity and severity of the style of its design, the correctness of the workmanship, and the absence of all vulgarity in treatment or ornamental detail, indicates much in favour of the genuineness of the excavation as an antiquity.³ The entire use of rounded roofs, arches, and niches would seem to point to an early Norman date.⁴ The masonry at the entrance we should imagine to be of a later date, probably Henry III. or Edwardian; but there is very little here to go by, and obviously there has been a considerable amount of re-pointing and other repairs done by one of the late custodians in our own time.

THE EDWARDIAN CASTLE.

We have now to deal with the remaining military fortifications which are of later than Norman date.

¹ The walls are always very damp, although water does not stand or stream upon them, owing to their porosity. There is a peculiar white feathery mould or fungus, which lodges in the cavities in the wall, giving to some of the old pick-marks the appearance, at first sight, of having been recently cut.

² The details of its form are evidence against its being an uncompleted "postern."

³ There are at present no inscriptions on the rock, or ornamental work of any description. It is earnestly hoped that visitors will allow it to remain so.

⁴ There are no known traces of a Roman occupation in or about the immediate site of this Castle.

Destruction of the Norman Castle by King John

The destruction of the Norman Castle by King John in 1216, which is barely recorded in the contemporary Annals of Dunstable Priory, probably consisted in undermining and breaking down portion of the walls to the east, and burning the floors and other woodwork of the keep (if any) and the other buildings. It will be seen from the history of the Castle that shortly after the record of its destruction and the death of King John, his son, Henry III., came to an agreement with the widowed Countess Alice of Eu for the delivery of the Castle to the King. The terms of the agreement (see pat. 9 Henry III., P. 11, l. d.) mainly show that a considerable outlay was contemplated in the strengthening of the Castle, and the subsequent orders to Alexander Bassingham and Robert de Auberville, 9 and 10 Henry III. (1224-6), and again in 34 Henry III. (1242) addressed to Peter of Savoy, show that the works were put in hand.

The work thus carried out of this period, which is now visible, consisted in the re-modelling or rebuilding of the eastern wall, and the insertion of the towered gateway and portcullis, together with the mural passages. Other work, of what is rather misleadingly called the Edwardian style,¹ has been destroyed, probably by the further destruction of the cliff. A considerable portion of the ecclesiastical buildings of the Castle owes its origin to this period. (See account of the ecclesiastical buildings, *post.*) Some portion of the main northern gateway and sally-port, together with the barbican-wall and the drawbridge without, probably also belong to this period.

THE EASTERN GATEWAY.

Respecting this eastern gateway, it will be observed that it is flanked by the basements of two semicircular towers, the passage between them being 10 ft. long by 10 ft. wide at its western end, and 8 ft. at its eastern. It inclines slightly to the south. Within the wall on either side of the passage may still be seen a square groove for a portcullis, behind which are the rebates for a door, and deep square holes for the insertion of cross-beams to secure the same.

The roof of the passage was probably vaulted, and above it rose one or two stories, in one apartment being the windlass used in raising and lowering the portcullis.

"So important an accompaniment was the portcullis considered of these defensive gateways or entrances that the term was sometimes used to signify the gateway itself. It is used in this sense by a witness in the Chancery depositions, who, alluding to there being this second gate belonging to the Castle (which was probably then decayed), says: 'Among other things he thinks that there were *two portcullises* in the said walls of the said Castell.' N.B. Portcullises were known to the ancients. They occur at Pompeii." (*Herbert MS.*)

The mural passage (2 ft. 6 in. wide and 50 ft. long), which connects the tower (right-hand tower) with the single mural tower on the south, greatly reduces the

¹ Edwardian style—such as it was called—is architecturally typical of the style which prevailed throughout the reigns of the Edwards. Although it seems to have been first adopted early in the reign of Henry III., it was chiefly developed in the reign of Edward I. The design consisted in building concentric walls one within the other. The chief characteristics are the utilization of mural towers, usually either round or polygonal, and the towered gateway and barbican gateway, and the absence of central keep-towers, as in the earlier Castles.

Excavation of the Eastern Walls, 1824

thickness of the outer wall, but the chance of assault from this side was necessarily limited, and the wall is commanded by its towers.¹

Shortly after the publication of the account in the *Morning Herald*, Mr. Herbert remarks that :—

“At a distance of about 50 ft. from the gateway described, the remains of a third semicircular tower were discovered, as well as the whole line of east wall, inside and out. The third semicircular tower is about the same size with the towers by which the latter is flanked. It appears from a fragment of the upper part of it which remains, to have originally had a strong ceiling of stone; probably for the purpose of supporting the catapults, balistas, and other heavy war engines anciently in use, and which were usually stored up in these parts of the fortress. The original height of this tower, like the gate, is uncertain. In the accompanying plan (it will be seen by the references) is an indication in this same line of wall of an opening to a fourth tower, more to the south: and which, if such was the case, has been cut away with that part of the wall.

“The terrace walk is now nearly 100 ft. long, by 30 ft. broad, and affords from it a prospect so truly delightful, as fully to justify the highest encomium. In these operations the fragments of wall which had fallen, it was necessary to remove in order to clear the way, constituted no small share of the labour of the workmen. Such was their immense size and weight, that one piece which had to be lifted measured upwards of 20 ft. in length by 7 ft. in breadth, and was nearly 3 ft. high, being estimated at little less than 20 tons weight. The extreme difficulty of breaking this and other heavy masses into minute parts, occasioned them for the most part to be divided into only two or three pieces, and tumbled down into the Castle moat in that state, a work not only of considerable difficulty but danger, and which the persons employed effected with surprising dexterity and perseverance.

“These remains of wall were uniformly found to be composed of the sandstone of the country, and only worked at the angles and more ornamental parts; and were cemented with a mortar of the hardest texture, mixed with sea-shells and pebbles.

“*East Wall.*—This side of the Castle-wall is described by Grose sixty years ago (1764) to have measured nearly 300 ft. in length. At this period the accumulation of earth and rubbish which had formed on each side of it rendered the small part of it which was visible to appearance quite plain, or according to Grose's words before quoted, ‘it appeared never to have had any tower or other means of defence.’ And in this manner it continued to be represented and described in all subsequent accounts. How contrary this conjecture was to truth, has been already described in the account of the excavation of it. There is a singular variation in the depth of the foundations of this east wall (which is entirely composed of rubble-stone). At the gateway they are scarcely laid two feet in the ground; thence to the tower mentioned they increase in depth. After passing this southwards they again rise to a level with the present surface of the terrace nearly, and in some places above it, and are laid on broad tables of large rudely-shaped, flat stones. On continuing only a few feet further south the foundations again become suddenly deep, and continue deepening to the edge of the cliff, being in some places laid seven or eight feet below the surface of the terrace, and are formed of regularly squared stone. The foundations of the east tower are also laid deep in the earth. Qy.—May not the inequality here described have arisen from the Dean and Chapter having rebuilt part of this wall in the reign of Edward II.? The portions where the foundations are lightly laid for instance?”

The great inner ditch cut across the plateau, which separated the inner ward from the outer ward, was formerly much deeper and more precipitate than it now appears, the scarp having been reduced by natural denudation, and the bottom of the ditch being full of sandy rubble and huge masses of masonry which have fallen over from the curtain and towers.

¹ “The towers, since the account of the excavations above mentioned, have been ascertained to have had no chambers on their ground-floors: what were then supposed to have been chambers being found to have been merely cavities filled with rubbish. Above, the remains of rooms are distinctly visible, but only the lower parts now exist, lighted by loop-hole windows, and having walls of great thickness. What was the original height of these rooms, or of the gate itself, it is impossible now to determine.” (*Herbert MS.*)

The Castle Drawbridge

No foundations of masonry appear, or are known to have existed on either side, which may have formed abutments or the piers of a bridge; and therefore access to the outer ward was probably by a wooden bridge, which might have been readily dismantled.

THE DRAWBRIDGE (leading to the North Gate).

The remains of the drawbridge which in the time of Grose¹ and Herbert were to be plainly seen, are thus described in the "Herbert MS":—

"The foundations of one of the drawbridges crossing the inner moat, and which is situate about 90 feet from the entrance of the Castle, a cross wall running down the outside of the Castle-mount, at a like distance, and appearing to have been connected with an outer gateway or barbican, situated on that spot to defend the approach, and small forts formed from masses of solid rock as guards to different passes, comprise the out-fortifications of the Castle which remain in the shape of buildings. The remains of the drawbridge only consist of the sides or piers, which, as far as at present discovered, are about 20 feet asunder. The cross or barbican-wall mentioned, runs up the Castle-mount at a small distance, and seems to have been connected with an outer gateway, situated between this drawbridge and the principal (or north) entrance, the foundations of which were laid in a fragment of rock adjoining, whose base is cut into steps to prevent the foundations of the gateway and wall from slipping. This drawbridge is thus noticed in the depositions in Chancery before mentioned:—

"Thomas Respisse (a witness who remembered the Castle in the College times) knewe a forren waye (a way out of the liberty) which did leade out of a lane that cometh from Woore (Ore) by a whapple-gate, into and through a parcell of gronde now a crofte: and from thence directly to a bridge to carry and re-carry over the Castle ditch, and soe to the Castle gate: and hathe knowne the said waye used threescore years agone' (*i.e.*, since 1518)."

No portion of this drawbridge is now to be traced above ground, but in some drainage-operations, lately carried out by the Hastings Corporation, a wall was discovered beneath the present carriage-way, near the site of the drawbridge; this would seem to have been a retaining-wall built against the northern bank of the inner moat, and upon it the distal end of the drawbridge rested.

¹ See his plan.



RESTORED VIEW OF HASTINGS CASTLE (*circa* 1300) FROM THE SOUTH. Showing the remains of the Keep, the Eastern Gateway, the Royal Free Chapel, Dean's and Canons' lodgings and ruined cliff in foreground.

Plate IV. Vol. II. To face p. 535.

The Collegiate Church within the Castle

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

Although no evidences of Anglo-Saxon masonry are to be traced among the ruins of the ecclesiastical buildings within the Castle of Hastings, it seems probable that in the latter half of the eleventh century, or perhaps earlier, there stood within the English fortress a small church, built either of timber or of stone. Of a Norman church we have clear evidences. Henry, Count of Eu, the grandson of Robert Count of Eu,¹ refers to his grandfather as "the founder and builder of the church of St. Mary." Again, in the reign of William II. (Rufus), Archbishop Anselm's secretary, Eadmer, refers to "the church of St. Mary, the Holy Mother of God, which is in the Castle itself" (1094 A.D.). Centuries afterwards, when in 25 Henry VI. the King made a grant of jurisdiction over the church to the Bishop of Chichester (Bishop Adam Moleynes, 1446), the deed of grant recites that "a certain church of the Blessed Mary, within the Castle of Hastings, in the county of Sussex, since erected and established into a collegiate church by a former Count of Eu," . . . "as well before the said erection and establishment was always under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chichester" (or Selsey?). This was always, of course, the Bishop's contention, but one cannot regard this deed as being of any great authority in deciding the archaeological question, as to whether there existed a church in the Castle previous to that founded by Robert, Count of Eu. It is unlikely that the Bishops had records to prove such a statement as that mentioned in the recital of the deed, for indeed if they had been in possession of such evidence they would have produced it, in earlier days, before the King's Council. This, we find, they did not do, although hard pressed for evidence; and we are therefore disposed to look upon such recitals as a form of legal drafting designed to strengthen the grant, and to create a legal estoppel, in case of attempted further disputation, as between the grantor and the grantee, or their successors.

The main structures of the ecclesiastical buildings of the Castle belong to two architectural styles, namely, Norman and Early English: the latter is of an early type, belonging to what is called the "Transitional" period between the two styles. These remarks apply only to the main building, but there are certain fragments of moulded stone which point to further embellishments and decorative detail belonging to later work, down to an early period of the "Perpendicular" style.

It seems highly probable that the ecclesiastical buildings suffered in the general destruction of the Castle by King John, in the year 1216 (see p. 81 *ante*), and the nave and possibly an apse of the Norman church were perhaps then destroyed.

On excavating the foundations at the western end of the nave, Mr. J. Lewis and the author discovered a large quantity of ash and charred wood, together with numerous much corroded fragments of bronze or bell-metal

¹ The first grantee of the Castelany, or Castlery, after the Conquest, who died about the year 1090.

The Ecclesiastical Buildings

which had been fused, and had run together in irregular globular masses. These traces of fire may perhaps be assigned to a conflagration which necessitated the re-building in Early English style, in the early part of the reign of Henry III. The Norman work, now to be traced, consists of two square western towers and a narthex, portion of the main walls of the nave,¹ a side chapel, forming a sort of southern transept, a chapel on the north side of the chancel, and a kind of cloister on the south side of the nave. The Early English work consists of a portion of the transept and its arches, and the chancel. The greater part of the work is built of rubble, but the dressings and ashlar are of Caen stone of good quality. The rubble-work has been freely covered with white mortar, traces of which can be found all over the buildings. Ornamentation in coloured distemper and mural paintings (of which traces remained in the side chapel in 1824) no doubt embellished the walls of the church.²

¹ As mentioned hereafter, it is possible that the major part of the nave of the collegiate church was used as the choir. The western portion was divided from the eastern by the two square buttresses, one on either side, and the portion of the nave which contained the font, may have been devoted to the laymen, or the members of the college not included in the choir.

² It will be useful here, in view of the succeeding descriptions from the Herbert MS. (1824), to give Mr. Herbert's identification of the ecclesiastical buildings as a whole:—

“The progress of excavating the college remains has been before noticed in the account of the Castle, in which also some little was said of them. The following are additional particulars:

“The foundations now standing, both of the college and parish churches, do not rise in the highest parts more than eight or nine feet from the ground; though they afford a perfect outline of their general form as well as several divisions: nor do they, with some few exceptions, consist of much more than bare walls. The same may be said of the chapter-house, and such parts of the deanery and prebendal houses as remain. The only portions of the college ruins which derive dignity from their height are the two appendages to the collegiate church, already in part described in speaking of the Castle walls, under the denominations of the circular tower and square tower.

“The college church immediately adjoined the north wall of the Castle (and which latter indeed formed one of its sides) and ran in a direction due east and west, the length of 110 ft.; being bounded eastward by the Castle-gate, and westward by the square tower mentioned. It appears to have consisted of a body, choir, and chancel: traversed towards the east end by a cross-aisle or transept, from the intersection of which probably sprang a central tower and steeple or spire. (1) The principal entrance was through a door at the west end. This led into the nave or vestibule (for it was of no great length), on the left hand side of which, at a few paces distant, stood the font, elevated on a flight of circular stone steps. The choir commenced a little further eastward, and contained the stalls of the dean and prebends. From the choir an ascent of three semicircular steps led through a magnificent arch to the transept; on crossing which one again ascended by stone steps under a second arch into the chancel or after-chapel. Here at the east end, elevated on a platform, or *haut-pas*, ascended to by another flight of steps, stood the high altar, dedicated to the patroness St. Mary. The sides contained the *sedilia* or stone seats for the officiating priests, and an elegant doorway opposite leading into the chapter house.

“The parish-church of St. Mary (called in the text ‘the cloister’) lay on the south side of the collegiate church, to which it appears to have formed a sort of aisle, having a communication with the former by means of two handsome doorways near its extremities, the one of which led into the nave, and the other into the choir. It was better than 80 ft. long and nearly 13 ft. broad; divided about the midway by an enclosed part or sort of chapel, through which a doorway led to the chancel (called in the text the ‘side-chapel’), which contained at its east end the altar, raised on steps, and standing within a deep arched recess. The chancel, which was part of the transept mentioned of the college church, was separated from the latter by a wall and arched entrance.”

Among Mr. Herbert's rough notes I find the following dimensions:—

“THE CHAPEL.—Length, west door to the back of the altar, 110 ft.; nave and ascent, 30 ft.

The Western End of the Church

THE WESTERN SQUARE TOWER.

The rectangular tower-like structure erected against the north-western curtain-wall appears to be the northern one of two towers, which formerly stood on either side of the entrance-porch, or narthex, at the western end of the College-church. The angle, at which the towers and the narthex are placed with regard to the rest of the buildings would almost lead one to infer that they might have formed part of an earlier scheme of buildings, till one observes that other portions of the Norman buildings, (which appear to be at least as old), follow lines parallel with the later work. The explanation of the irregularity of the ground-plan would seem to originate in the excentricity of the curtain-wall, against which the northern sides of the buildings were erected.

Above the surface of the ground there now appear only the remains of this one square tower. The tower, as formerly observed (see chapter on the "Military Architecture"), probably enclosed the inner entrance to the sally-port on its ground-floor. There appear traces of two floorings in the body of the tower. The first floor-line is situate about 17 ft. above the present ground-level; the second floor-line (or perhaps roof) about 8 ft. 6 in. higher than the first floor. The rest of the tower above is too much ruined to enable us to estimate its entire height, but it was probably not much higher. The ground-floor apartment, or basement, was not lighted by any windows or loops that can now be traced. The entrance to the sally-port was probably contained in the angle of the north-eastern corner of the ground-floor, and a wooden flight of steps led to the first floor.

The western wall of the tower appears not to be bonded into the curtain-wall. The walls are built chiefly of local "blue stone," and are 3 ft. 6 in. thick. The first floor was laid with its northern side resting upon the curtain-wall, so that the northern wall of the apartment must have been slighter than the curtain-wall, and the apartment larger from north to south than the basement. On the north-western angle of this first floor were formerly to be seen a stone door-case and fastenings for a door leading to the battlements or rampart-walk, on the top of the curtain-wall, west of the tower.¹

length of nave and choir, from west door to foot of ascent, 47 ft.; length of ascent to back of altar, 42 ft.; depth of division-arch, 5 ft.; depth of ascent, 18 ft.; width of division-arch, 10 ft.; length of transept, 36 ft.

"ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH (at side of Castle chapel—called by the author 'the cloister').—Extreme length, 81½ ft.; length of vestibule where coffins were, 10½ ft.; length of chancel (side chapel), 13 ft.; breadth of nave, 12½ ft.; depth of doorway, 3 ft. 7 in.; thickness of division-wall by coffins, 2 ft.

¹ This was noticed by Mr. Herbert in 1824, and it appears in some of the earlier prints and drawings. The return angle of this western wall is depicted in one of the drawings, by Lambert, junr. in the British Museum, *Burrell MS.* This has since been ruined. A rough buttress of rubble-stone work now supports the mass of the western wall overhanging the site of the doorway. This support was added early in the last century to prevent a fall of the masonry upon the houses beneath.

Mr. Herbert observes, respecting this tower that, "it is situated near the western entrance of the church, at a distance of about 80 ft. from the stair-turret, and is of a square, or rather oblong form, exhibiting withinside traces of different floorings.

"The present structure contains a handsome round-arched window in the first story, and also remains of a doorway on its side, communicating with the ramparts of the wall, both evidently of Norman construction, as is the tower itself. Its appearance, together with part of the northern

Two Western Towers Originally

In the centre of the western wall of the first floor is a round-headed loop-window, deeply splayed within, 3 ft. in height by 18 in. broad. The bottom of the splay is 4 ft. from the floor-line. In the southern wall of this floor are the dressings of a large window, 6 ft. 6 in. in height by 4 ft. 6 in. in breadth. Only about half of the casement remains, the eastern half being ruined with the wall. This window, as being less exposed to the predominant south-westerly winds, reaches nearly from the floor to the ceiling.

The apartment may have been very large from west to east, extending back as far as the western wall of the church, and may have formed one of the school-rooms of the college.¹ The curtain-wall and the western wall of the church are, however, ruined too low down to show any floor-line. This tower-like structure was probably not much higher than we now see it.

The sister tower, 19 ft. to the south, the foundations of which are mentioned as having been traced by Mr. Herbert in 1824, were again unearthed and planned by Mr. Lewis and the author. What can be seen of the ground-plan of this tower shows a tower of similar proportion, but its southern wall lay so near the present edge of the cliff, or probably had fallen over, that we were obliged to abandon the search for it.

THE PORCH OR NARTHEX.

The foundations of buildings which lie hidden, or partly hidden, between these two towers and the western end of the chapel are very extensive. They appear to have been much disturbed, and foundations of walls of a later period, containing fragments of older dressed stones intermingled with rubble, appear to be hopelessly mixed together with the foundations of the earlier structure.

There is, however, tolerably clear evidence of the former existence of a main doorway leading into a sort of lobby or narthex approached by a flight of steps.² The additional foundations seem to have been laid down by individuals who occupied the site after the decay of the chapel.

The angle between the outside of the western wall and the curtain-wall appears to have been roughly formed into a flue for a chimney.

THE NAVE OF THE CHURCH.

The western end of the church was entered by a large doorway, 6 ft. wide, the quoins of which we unearthed.³ Between them lay a stone step, measuring wall on each side, and a fragment of the return of the western wall (the latter piece is now entirely destroyed) is shown in the annexed drawing, which represents this part of the Castle as it appeared in the year 1781.

"A passage from the square tower appears to have communicated with the part of the college destroyed, and to have led along the upper part of the Castle-wall or ramparts. Part of the door to it, with its fastenings, is still to be seen on the side of the tower alluded to."

¹ But this seems doubtful, as the southern wall of the tower inclines inward, so that the room would have been very narrow at its eastern end.

² In the visitation (*Chanc. Misc. R. 4/23, circa 1322*) are mentioned chambers situate within the chapel "where two sacrists from old time received pilgrims flocking thither by day and by night in honour of the B. V. and the Holy Cross." One of these chambers was near the entrance, low for eating, and a solar on the west side of the chapel for their beds.

³ If the later college-seal is to be relied upon, either this door or the outer door of the porch or narthex, would appear to have been tall, with a round head.

The Nave of the Collegiate Church

6 ft. by 2¹ formed by a large flat monolith of local "blue stone," evidently brought from the shore, being seaworn; as it was of the required shape, it had been little dressed.

Above this doorway was probably placed the western window of the church, situate above the narthex.

The western end of the nave of the church is 110 ft. distant from the back of the altar, this measurement giving the extreme length of the church. From the western door to the foot of the steps leading to the transept we measured 47 ft. (*Herbert MS.*), and the length of the ascent to the arch was 18 ft., giving a total of 65 ft. as the length of the nave, which was 30 ft. broad.

There are no traces of side-aisles, but there is a division marked by two rectangular piers (projecting from the wall 12 inches and 3 ft. wide on the face) on either side of the nave. They are situated 20 ft. from the western wall.²

On the west side of the wall-pier in the southern wall is a four-foot doorway leading into the cloister. Between the wall-pier in the northern wall and the north-eastern corner of the aisle (45 ft. in length) ran a blind-arcading of eight semicircular-headed arches. These are supposed to have formed the backs of sedilia belonging to the original eight prebendaries or canons of the chapel, a supposition which is, of course, doubtful.³

The arch nearest the north-eastern angle is larger than the rest (4 ft. by 10 in.). We find on taking the second arch (3 ft. by 8 in.) as a basis of measurement, that there is just room enough for the insertion of six other arches of similar proportions, making eight in all.

Mr. Herbert refers to these eight as actually existing in 1824. There has

¹ This stone was 2 ft. broad at one end and 1 ft. 6 in. at the other, giving a somewhat coffin-shaped appearance.

² The space between the wall-pier and the western doorway of the church contained the font, elevated on a platform of steps.

There is some confusion about the font. Mr. Herbert refers to its discovery, but mentions that "it had an octagonal shaft and a basin." An octagonal shaft is shown in some of the old drawings raised upon the steps, but no basin. A shaft of this sort slightly hollowed, with a small hole in the hollow, is now placed against the northern wall-pier referred to. It has the appearance of a piscina or holy-water stoup; but there is little doubt that this is not its original position, nor is it mentioned by Mr. Herbert, unless it be the shaft of the font referred to. If so, it (the font) was probably a Perpendicular insertion, after the date of the resumption of the Bishop's jurisdiction in Henry VI.'s time (1446). The cylindrical shaft now placed near the font does not appear to belong to it at all, but is a portion of a pillar-shaft recovered from the ruins.

"On entering the ruins of the college-church at the western door the walls at first rise little above the ground, the remains at that part when hidden by earth having appeared like the commencement of a gentle acclivity covered with fine turf; on proceeding, they gradually get higher, in the same degree as the hill before seemed to do, till they reach at the east end the height mentioned. (1) One of the first discoveries made on clearing out this part was the font, which was deemed particularly interesting from its confirming the hints elsewhere given of this not having been merely a chapel, as it was afterwards called, but a fully consecrated church. The foundations only of this font were at first found, consisting of a circular basement of stone (apparently the lower part of a series of steps, and of which some of the stones lay scattered near it). By these lay parts of the octagon column which supported the basin and at a small distance the basin itself. The whole was unornamented and evidently of an early age." (? Perpendicular—*vide supra*).

³ If this section of the nave was so used it would have formed a kind of choir, the scholars of the college sitting on the stone bench opposite. The section of the aisle in which stood the font may have been devoted to laymen, or to inmates of the college not entitled to sit in the choir.

The Stalls of the Canons

been a great deal of modern addition to this part of the wall, which has been raised considerably since its excavation in 1824, and only two blind mural arches are now to be seen. Before the excavation referred to, old drawings scarcely show anything beyond a fragment on either side, east and west of the nave, so that the ruins of the wall must have lain very low.

These arches were probably ornamented with a series of mouldings having "dog-tooth" and other enrichments, and supported by slender shafts with bases resting upon the stone bench, and surmounted by carved capitals. On the opposite or southern wall of the nave, according to Mr. Herbert, are no traces of decoration. It had simply a stone bench running between the wall-pier and a four-foot doorway near the eastern end of the nave leading into the eastern end of the cloister. The two doors in the southern wall of the nave, according to the same authority, were ornamented with pillars and mouldings.¹

In the eastern wall dividing the nave from the transept was a handsome pointed arch, and on either side a plain square-headed doorway; the northern one led to the turret-staircase, and the one on the south led into the side-chapel.

¹ "The division of the choir (? nave) was marked by two large projecting bases, or abutments, facing each other in the north and south walls. Its appropriation was easily identified by the recesses for the stalls of the canons, which were found in a very tolerable state of preservation. They consist of a line of arches, eight in number, let into the wall at the upper end, immediately adjoining the ascent to the transept, or separation of the church and chancel: the whole are semicircular and of the Norman era, and though now plain, appear when perfect to have been divided from each other by slender pillars, and the arches to have been enriched with moulding. They run in a sloping direction, the top of each recess rising above the other, as do the seats in them beneath, similar to the sedilia by the sides of altars.

"In the choir we are told, besides attending in service-time, it was customary for the Dean and Canons, together with the other officers of the church, to assemble on particular occasions of business, and seated in their respective stalls and places, there to deliberate, notwithstanding there was a chapter-house. Thus in the proceedings at the Visitation 19 Edward III., it is said (after recapitulating the names of the dean, prebendaries, proctors, priests, vicars-choral, and jury summoned on the occasion) that the King's mandate and commission were opened, and having been read, etc., that the dean had certified to the commissioners by his letters patent, under the common seal of the said dean and chapter, and 'signed by all and singular the *canons in their stalls* as the manner was' (*omes et singlos canonicos in stallis suis mor' est*), his having duly received the citation of the said commissioners, etc., and that in consequence he had peremptorily summoned a meeting of 'all and singular the canons of the said chapel in their stalls in the choir, as was the custom' (*omes et singlos canonicos doe capelle in eor stallis in choro ut moris est*) to appear by themselves, or their sufficient proctors, before such commissioners on the business of the said commission, etc.

"The side of the choir (? nave) opposite to the stalls mentioned was found to contain nothing in the way of ornament, except the lower part of a recess or window towards the east end. The recess noticed stood on the outside of the eastern doorway, and had probably been ornamented with pilasters and mouldings, but was too much dilapidated to form an accurate judgment.

"The doors forming a communication with the aisle, or parish-church (? cloister), remained to a certain height, and appeared from fragments left to have been handsomely decorated with pilasters and mouldings. A stone seat ran along the lower part of the side between these.

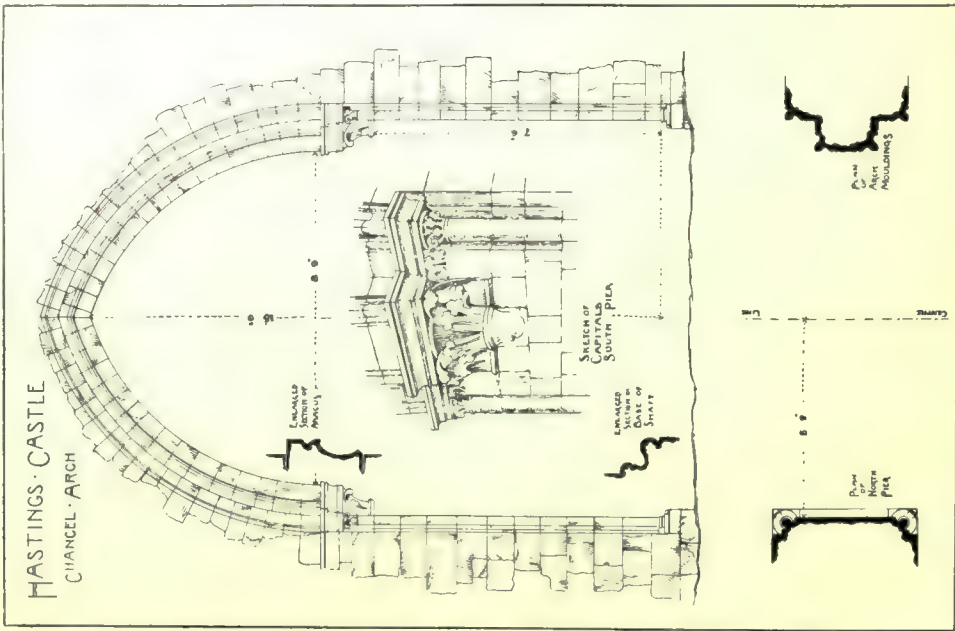
"The extreme lowness of the wall on this side prevented, with the exception mentioned, any traces of windows being discoverable if there ever were such.

"No marks of pavement were found in the parts of the church described, nor any appearance of there having been either interments or gravestones in it.

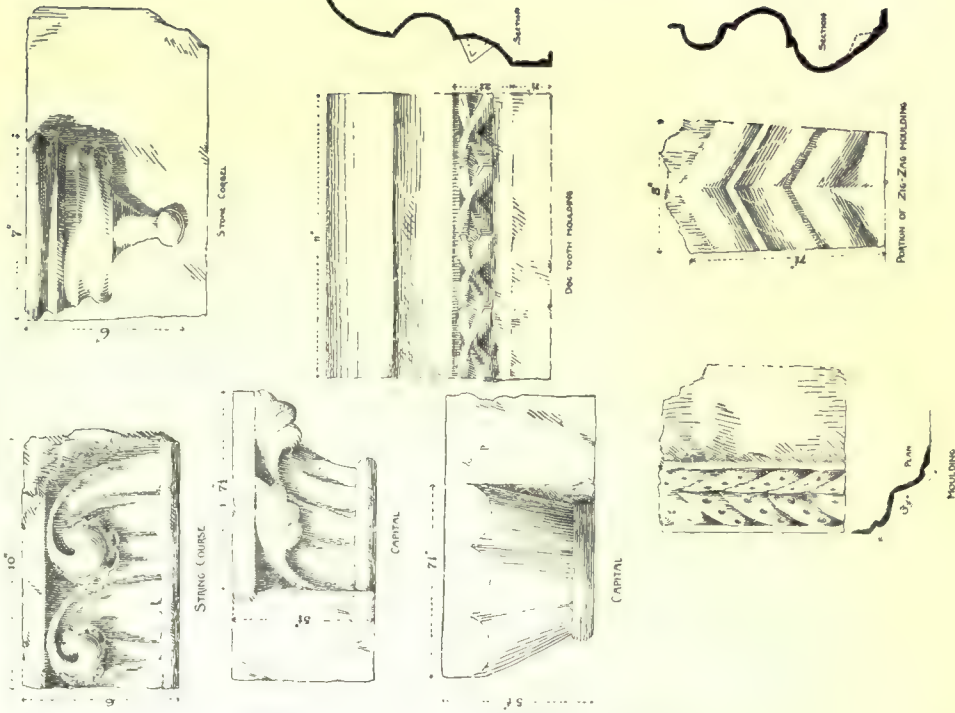
"The roof we know to have been leaded, from the reservation of that material in Henry VIII.'s grant (? unless these words were merely general).

"Some part, however, of the roof here, or over the transept and chancel, must have been slated, as numerous pieces of slate were found scattered about in different places. They were

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, HASTINGS CASTLE.



W. M. ALDERTON, delt.



ARCHITECTURAL MOULDINGS, ETC., FOUND AMONG THE RUINS.

The Transept Arches

THE TRANSEPT OR CHOIR.

The transept is approached by a segmental platform raised upon three stone steps, and is in its broadest radius about 12 ft. The present arrangement of two steps does not bear any signs of being original, but it may be so.

The pointed arch leading from the nave to the transept is a handsome structure of the Transitional period, between the Norman and Early English styles. It is 15 ft. 6 in. high, and the piers are 10 ft. apart. They are rectangular in form, but the angles are replaced by delicate shafts one quarter engaged.¹

There was a second arch stepped above and beyond the first, leading from the transept into the chancel. The piers of this second arch are of the same size as the first, but their foundations alone remain. The arch was probably similar in design to the preceding one. The ground-plan of the transept, composed of the two arches and the side-walls, was almost exactly square (14 ft. 6 in. long by 15 ft. across). The Ordnance Survey map, and all those based on it hitherto, are in error in making the southern wall of the transept as in line with the southern wall of the chancel which leans to the south.

Mr. Herbert mentions evident traces of the former existence of a quadruple arch in the transept. Nothing of the sort can now be seen on the north side of the transept, and it is difficult to conceive how such traces could have existed

in general about half an inch thick. Whether the church was ceiled with stone or timber could not be told, as no fragments whatever of either were dug up in any part of the site.

"What were the other architectural decorations of the choir (? nave), can at this time be only matter of conjecture. That it was in some manner divided by columns and arches seems probable from the numbers of large bases and capitals of the former found hereabouts, but it is doubtful whether it was ever separated into aisles, and that for two or three reasons. In the first place, the width of the church in this part (only 30 ft.) would scarcely have allowed of such division without rendering the aisles almost inconveniently narrow. In the second place, no marks whatever of foundations of such a division appeared on laying open the present floor, nor were the fragments found in sufficient quantity to justify such a supposition. And, lastly, the stalls of the canons, which were partly inserted in the north outward wall, would, in such case, have been thrown at the back instead of the middle of the choir, where they are usually placed: they would by this means also have been partly excluded from the light. For there doubtless were never any windows on that side of the church, which, forming at the same time both church and castle wall, would have been inconsistent with the purpose of safety. Indeed, as to this subject of windows, it is evident, in whatever way the church was lighted, that it could never have had any windows on the north side unless of the clerestory kind or within an upper story; and this, from the height of the parish-church (? cloister) on the south side also preventing windows there, was probably the case on that side too. That there was a large west window is by no means unlikely; and from that sufficient light would be received to remedy this defect as to the collegiate church. The south side of the parish-church (? cloister) we know to have had windows." (?)—*Herbert MS.* 1824.

¹ "The grand arch separating the choir from the transept was the most ornamental part of the college-church, and particularly rich in its form and mouldings. This had fallen down together with a large portion of wall attached to it, and was found in a mutilated state resting against the lower part of one of the piers which had supported it. Its great beauty, and the picturesque effect it would give the ruins, rendering it desirable to raise or re-erect it, an attempt was first made to lift it up entire as it stood. This, however, being found impracticable, it was taken to pieces (the stones composing it being previously marked and a proper working drawing made) and the whole, with the piers, was rebuilt in strict conformity to its original style and as it now stands. The appearance of this fine object may be judged of from the accompanying drawings."—*Herbert MS.*, 1824. (These drawings do not seem to have been executed.)

The Central Tower of the Church

without now appearing. It is clear that a lateral northern arch would have been unnecessary with the existing walls, which are original.

In some old drawings a blind round-headed arch is shown on the northern wall of the transept, but it cannot now be even imagined in face of the existing appearance.

On the south side of the transept was evidently a wide opening, surmounted by an arch springing from a higher level than that of the existing arch on the west. The original plain square piers of the openings can be seen on either side, but the opening has been much reduced by the modern wall or buttress strengthening the abutment of the present choir arch.

THE CENTRAL TOWER AND STAIR-TURRET.

The stair-turret—entered, as before mentioned, by a square-headed doorway (6 ft. high by 2 ft. 4 in. wide) was one of the first buildings explored in the summer of 1824. The workmen, it appears, entered from above and descended a staircase which they imagined would lead to a vault. The door of the entrance with its fastenings were then discovered, but its connexion with a chapel was not suspected until the general excavations carried out in the autumn of 1824. Although Mr. Herbert suggested¹ that a central tower and spire rose at the transept, as shown in the College-seal, he never seems to have suspected that this stair-turret formed a side-addition to the tower, a fact which now seems perfectly clear. The turret has always proved a puzzle to persons who have described the Castle. The exterior of its base is rectangular on the western and southern sides, but its outer (or northern) and eastern sides are round, and the whole becomes round higher up, except where it abutted on the central tower. The interior is circular, containing a flight of stone steps (2 ft. 4 in. wide), winding round a stone-

¹ "The probability of a tower and spire having risen at the intersection of the transept, on this spot, is derived from two circumstances: the evident marks of there having been here a quadruple arch (?), of which the above was a part; and the representation of the church on the College-seal. This latter reason, though less to be depended upon than the former (such representations of churches on the seals of religious establishments being frequently fanciful), appears in this instance to have some authority; the seal in question having been made after St. Mary's came to be denominated the King's Chapel, and on that account, it being unlikely that such a distinction as a *steeple* should have been introduced unless it had existed. There are also many examples of such representations on seals, which, from the structures still remaining or there being other drawings of, we know to be *actual portraits of their several churches*. In the present case if we could depend on the representation of St. Mary's church being such it would add much to our information as to that structure. We see on the seal the patroness St. Mary, with the lily sceptre and crown (the usual emblem of her as a Virgin and the Queen of Heaven) seated on a throne, and holding in her right hand the College church. The west end of it is here shown, flanked by two towers with pyramidal tops, the way in which the towers of the Sussex churches generally terminate, and with the doorway or entrance in the midst. This exactly corresponds with what seems to have been the fact, viz.: that St. Mary's church had two western towers, one of them the present square bell-tower, and the other a similar kind of tower terminating the south aisle appropriated to the parish. The steeple and spire are made to rise in the centre of the building as we have described; the latter very lofty and finishing in a cross *patonée*. The doorway of the church, it is remarkable, has the circular or Norman arch, though the arched panelling of the throne is pointed."—*Herbert MS.* 1824.

The Orientation of the Chancel

newel (19 in. in diameter),¹ which is ruined above the thirty-first step, but there are traces of its further continuance to the ruined top of the turret, the total height of which is about 40 feet.

The southern portion of the tower seems to have been destroyed by the removal of the central tower or lantern. There are traces of two square-headed splayed loops, inserted to light the staircase on the north-western side of the turret. One is situate low down near the thirty-first stair, and the other about 10 feet above it.

THE SIDE-CHAPEL.

The side-chapel or southern transept, which doubtless originally opened into the central transept by the large arched opening previously described, is a small apartment measuring 15 feet by 12. In the centre of the eastern wall is a deep recess having a semicircular arched top with a plain soffit, evidently of Norman workmanship. The original height of this recess was 8 ft. 2 in. by 5 ft. in width and 3 ft. 6 in. in depth. It was no doubt approached by two steps, but those now to be seen do not appear to be the original steps.

This recess, when first unearthed in 1824, contained remains of an altar-table of wood, and on either side of it in the wall are to be seen square openings, one of which may have served as a piscina, or a receptacle for the altar-vessels, and the other for the books.²

The back of the recess was faced with white mortar, which was painted with figures in coloured distemper.

The chapel was, perhaps, devoted to the Holy Cross. It is stated in the Chancery Rolls that "Sacristans from old time were deputies for the custody of the chapel and for receiving pilgrims flocking thither as well by day as by night, in honour of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross."

In the south-western corner of the Chapel is a large Norman doorway (4 ft. 10 in. wide) leading from the cloister. Another doorway, before mentioned, with a rude, flat, stone lintel-head led from the north-western corner of the Chapel into the College-church.

THE CHANCEL.

After passing the piers of the chancel-arch, the chancel leans markedly to the south, the line diverging 2 inches in 8 feet. The body of the chancel measures 41 feet 6 inches by 16 feet. The altar, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, stood at its eastern end, raised on a platform ascended by steps. The total height of the platform above the floor of the western door was 5 feet 4 inches.

Mr. Herbert mentions traces of a recess for piscina or altar-vessels as being visible near the altar in 1824. These cannot now be identified. There is, however, a large recess in the southern wall of the chancel, which probably contained two or three sedilia and perhaps a piscina.

All ornamentation is now stripped from it, except the base and part of the shaft of a slender pillar, at the bottom of the recess on its west side.

Above the altar was probably a large eastern window, but all traces are now

¹ This newel is broken off 11 feet above the lowest step.

² The northern recess measured 1 ft. high, 1 ft. 4 in. across, and 1 ft. 4 in. deep. That on the south was of similar dimensions, except that it was five inches deeper.

The Chapter-House of the Canons

gone, the wall being broken above. Mr. Herbert mentions the finding of a quantity of broken stained glass here, which probably fell from the window.

The southern and eastern walls of the church are from 3 to 4 feet thick. Outside, 5½ feet south of the north-eastern angle, are remains of the base of a buttress with projecting plinths on its sides. There was formerly a corresponding one north of the south-eastern angle, but the wall is here damaged. There were no doubt similar buttresses at the west side of the north-eastern angle, and the west side of the south-eastern angle.¹

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

In the northern wall of the chancel situated in the angle formed between it and the northern pier of the second (or chancel) arch, was formerly what Mr. Herbert terms an "elegant doorway." This has now gone, and is replaced by a modern wooden door and door-frame.

The old doorway is figured in some of the old prints and drawings, and appears to have been arched and of considerable height. It is probable that this doorway has been removed and rebuilt as the doorway to the modern lodge of the custodian. The chapter-house has been so much altered and built upon, like the principal gateway of the Castle, by the modern lodge and its buildings, that scarcely a trace of it remains. There are, however, slight traces. The southern wall, which is also the northern of the chancel and transept, is distinct, and measures 4 feet in thickness. In the angle formed by this wall and the square base of the stair-turret are to be seen portions of two arches, which meet at the angle, and formed part of the stone groined ceiling which was evidently of plain vaults, with round intersecting arches without ribs at the angles, as in the early Norman style.

The arches are not of equal diameter, that on the western wall being about 10 feet across, and that on the southern about 6 feet across, so that portion of the groined roof must have been supported by pillars—probably with round cushion, or scolloped capitals (as at Sherborne Castle), such as have been found among the débris of the buildings.

¹ "On the chancel or after-chapel, we may presume, as was usual in the like cases, the chief decoration was bestowed. Of this there was abundant proof in the variety of architectural and other ornaments found in that part of the church. They consisted of mouldings of different kinds, but chiefly the embattled and triangular fret; the nail-head, the billeted, and the diagonal or zig-zag mouldings (the latter extremely beautiful and in great variety) parts of the shafts, and the bases and capitals of different-sized columns; together with finials and fragments of exquisitely carved foliage, etc. That it had a painted window was evidenced by the quantity of broken stained glass scattered about the site of the high altar; nor is there a doubt but some part of the pavement, at least, was tesselated, from the number of tiles dug up near the same spot. Of the glass, many of the pieces were leaded together, being formed of small bits irregularly broken, very thick, and much corroded. The tiles were composed of a fine red earth, and were of various colours, as black, red, green, yellow, etc. They were nearly all plain, and of a square form.

"No part remained of the high altar of St. Mary, which stood at the east end of the chancel, but the steps. Part of the recess for placing the altar-utensils, was to be traced near it; and, at a little distance, the sedilia for the officiating priests. The latter consisted of a triple seat within an arched recess, entirely destitute of ornament, excepting the fragment of a small pillar on one of its sides; but when perfect, resembled in its general form the drawing underneath (no drawing is given). The walls here, and apparently throughout the church, appeared to have been covered with a fine white plaster, of which much remained in different places."—*Herbert MS.*, 1824.

The Chapter-House and Cloisters

We gather further details of this chapter-house from Mr. Herbert's description, on the discovery of its remains in 1824, as follows :—

"This building adjoined [the north-east end of the College-church, and was of an oblong shape, measuring 40 feet in length, by 20 feet in breadth. It had a strong arched roof of stone, rising about 20 feet from the floor. The east end had an elevation of two or three stone steps, and was semicircular, and along the north side ran a stone seat. The entrance, as has just been mentioned, was by a door leading out of the chancel of the church."

There would seem room for doubt as to these dimensions, although they are positively stated by Mr. Herbert. The height at all events could not have been 20 feet—half that being probably correct. There appears also to be some slight error in the length. Grose in his map gives a fragmentary outline of a building here—20 feet broad by about 33 feet long. These dimensions appear to be the more probable, but the semicircular end may have increased the length, and Grose's outline shows the centre of the eastern wall in a straight dotted line where Herbert says there was a semicircular end. The site is now too much obscured by recent buildings for any accurate judgment to be formed respecting the subject.

In the Visitation 19 Edward III. it is said that on

"July 26th, 1335, at a special convocation of all the canons, etc., belonging to the Free Chapel of our most illustrious Lord the King, held in the Chapter-House of the said Chapel, for the purpose of taking into consideration the defects of the same Chapel, it was ordained, etc."

In collegiate churches the clergy at the end of Prime went in procession to the chapter-house to hear the order of the services read over, the martyrology, lectures, obits, etc.

THE CLOISTERS.

What appear to be the remains of a cloister are to be seen on the outside of the southern wall of the nave of the church.

Mr. Herbert considered it to be "a side slip or aisle of the College Church," and to have formed the Parish Church of St. Mary, as distinguished from the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, the side chapel above described being its chancel. There does not appear to be any evidence to support this rather unlikely suggestion.¹

Mr. G. T. Clark (*Mediæval Military Architecture*, 1884) calls it "a sort of lean-to cloister," and the author agrees that the general position entitles the latter designation to the most respect. Its form, however, was a little peculiar; near its western end was a large west porch leading from it to the churchyard or the cloister-garth without. Opposite this porch (4 ft. 6 in. opening) was the door (4 ft.

¹ Mr. Herbert's argument in favour of the theory is as follows :—

"This custom of appropriating part of an aisle or other small portion of conventual and collegiate churches, to the use of the parishioners of the parish in which they were situated, was common in Catholic times. The parish church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was originally situated within the Abbey church, of which it occupied part of the north aisle; and so continued until the increase of the parish compelled the abbots to build the present church. The parish church of St. Margaret, Southwark (till very lately standing) was in like manner situated under the same roof with the ancient collegiate church of St. Mary, Overy. And Stowe, in his History of London, speaking of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, by Aldgate, informs us—that the parishioners of St. James's parish, in which it stood, had at first their parish-church within the Priory-church, in part of the south aisle, but the canons were disturbed in performing divine service by the singing of mass."

The Cloisters

6 in. opening) above mentioned, leading into the nave of the church. At the eastern end of the cloister was another outer door on the west (4 ft. 6 in. opening) which is so ruined that the merest trace of a bevelled-stone plinth at the sides of the jambs are to be seen. Opposite this door also opened another doorway (4 ft. opening) leading into the eastern end of the nave of the church. Mr. Herbert says that there was a division-wall in this cloister, situated only $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the doorway of the side-chapel, and this may, or may not, have had a door in it. Mr. Herbert also says, in discussing the question of light for the collegiate church, "The south side of the parish church (the cloister) we know to have had windows," but he never mentions this subject again in any place, and it seems probable that after all this was either mere conjecture, or that certain indications of opening in the southern wall of the cloister may have been regarded as windows. In the cloister, near the corner between the northern doorway of the College-church and the doorway of the side-chapel, are traces of a high (4 ft. across) Norman arch, perhaps the commencement of a kind of blind arcading which may have been continued along the outside of the southern wall of the church, as an ornament to the cloister. Some stone coffins, of which some account will be found in the Herbert MS., were discovered in the ground close to this angle in the wall, and are now to be seen lying there.¹

Another *dos d'âne* stone coffin and lid was found at the extreme western end of the cloister, and the lid may still be seen there.

The large porch of the cloister projecting to the south-west, mentioned by Mr. Herbert, was again unearthened by us and laid down on the plan. The details of the porch are as follows:—

Doorways 4 ft. 6 in.; stone steps 4 ft. 6 in.; east and west walls 10 feet long, 1 foot thick, with return ends on the outside of 2 feet. The breadth of the interior porch is 6 ft. 6 in., and the length 9 ft.

The stone step within the porch and before the door leading into the cloister was similar to the larger one leading into the western door of the College church.

Mr. Herbert (1824) makes the following remarks:—

"The Parish Church of St. Mary (called in the text 'the Cloister') contains little to describe. It merely forms, as has been mentioned, a side slip to the College church, and appears in fact to have been one of its aisles. The entrance to it was by doors in the side, situated at some distance from each other, and of which the one towards the west end had a projecting arch, the foundations whereof still remain.

"Part only of the aisle in question, together with the south end of the transept of the College church, appears to have been appropriated to the use of the parish. The former of these is not above the size of an ordinary room, and seems to have served the purpose of a vestibule or entrance and was walled up and separated from the rest of the aisle. This led through a strong doorway

¹ In excavating in the cloister the author discovered a grave or cist about one foot from the surface. At the sides it was composed of flat pieces of stone put together without mortar, in the form of a coffin. The headstone or rest was raised about 3 inches, and bedded in with mortar, and the foot was triangular. There were no stone slabs at the bottom, but flat slabs were laid across to form a roof or lid. It was over 18 inches deep, and 7 feet long. The head was in a line with the opening broken through the wall at the south-eastern end of the aisle, and 4 feet due south. Within it lay two male skeletons, regularly disposed with their feet towards the south. The earth had slipped in through the crevices, and contained wood-ash. The upper jaws and facial bones were broken away, and teeth and lower jaws were missing. No other relics were discovered buried with them, but from other cavities around this grave it seemed probable that the cloister was undermined with them.

The Deanery and Canons' Lodgings

to the chancel, which, as just observed, was part of the transept of the College church, but was in a similar manner walled up and separated from it. It contains the recess and foundations of the altar, being among the first discoveries made previously to the excavation. There were remains of paintings on the sides and upper part of this recess, but they were soon defaced, nor has it at present anything further remarkable. The vestibule was the place where the stone coffins were found, which have been also described."

THE CLOISTER-GARTH OR CHURCHYARD.

The *Churchyard* is particularly mentioned, as we have seen in the petition of the Dean and Chapter, 4 Edw. III., wherein it is said, owing to the defects in the Castle walls, to have been desecrated by the beasts of the common:—"La sépulture appartenant à la dite Chapelle ordement désolée par diverses bestes de toute la comune a ce est par défaute d'enclosure du dict Chastel." The deposition of Saunders mentions it to have been in use about the time of the Suppression:—"That one Brickett, dwelling in the house on the south side of the deanery did before the suppression thereof, occupye such part of the grounde in question, as was not enclosed, nor part of the churchyarde, nor used as a garden, with such cattell as he had, etc." "Part of it was cut away with the cliff, to make room for the site of 'Pelham Crescent,' on which occasion great numbers of human bones were discovered" (*Herbert MS.*, 1824).

DEANERY AND CANONS' LODGINGS AND OTHER BUILDINGS.

Deanery and Prebendal Houses.—The Deanery-House immediately adjoined the south-western end of the church, as described in the depositions previously quoted from. This is all we know of it, with the exception of what is there further said, namely, that it was, about the time of the Suppression, inhabited by one Brickett. The prebendal houses adjoined it westwards, and consisted, as we learn from Count Henry's Confirmation Charter, of the following five residences within the walls, namely:—

1. One mansion belonging to the prebend of Gwinnerdus or Wertling.
2. One dwelling belonging to the prebend of Hugh de Flec Walter.
3. One ditto belonging to the prebend of Saleherst;
4. One ditto belonging to the prebend of West Thurrock, and
5. One ditto belonging to Hollington prebend.

The petition of William, Lewis, and Walter de Tothylle, 7 Ed. I., mentions the said Walter's predecessor, Geoffrey de Winton, as having built a certain house for the use of himself and his successors, which the King had not given to the former with the prebend, and which he therein prays for, "as he had not where to lay his head," but its situation is not described.

Habitations of the Vicars, etc.—These are expressly mentioned in the mandate 11 Hen. IV. (p. 239), and are elsewhere hinted at. They are spoken of in the former as having been then newly rebuilt:—"The houses newly erected for the habitation of the vicars and chaplains within our Castle of Hastings, etc."

Grammar and Singing Schools.—It does not appear whether these schools were held in separate buildings, or kept, as was sometimes the case, in the church. They may have been held in the towers and narthex at the western end of the

The Grammar and Singing Schools

church, unless the school held over the principal (or north) gate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a survival. The only mention that we find of them is in Count Henry's Confirmation Charter, which merely informs us that, "to the prebend of Aucher (West Thurrock) belonged the Grammar School, and to the prebend of Ungi, the Singing School."

Other buildings mentioned to have belonged to, or been occupied with the College, exclusively of the above, are the vaults on the east side of the Castle-yard, said to have been used by the Dean as stables. These vaults could not be found in 1824, although the bank on the east side of the Castle was trenched for that purpose. It is possible that the sandstone-excavations near the Castle entrance mentioned as having been used as an hospital by the Militia (in the early part of the nineteenth century) may have been used for this purpose.

The remains of the Deanery or College consist only of the foundations of two houses, immediately adjoining the western end of the Church, and some indications of wall, etc., in the ground further on, but these from their nearness to the edge of the cliff, were not explored. The other houses and buildings mentioned to have adjoined the western wall, have long since gone down with the wall itself, and all that part of the College, etc., including the churchyard, garden, etc.

MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES WHILE EXCAVATING.

"In the course of the operations described, some few coins and other miscellaneous antiquities were found, but in less abundance than might have been expected; but the architectural fragments consisting of capitals of pillars, mouldings, and other ornaments were very considerable. Various pieces of stained glass, pottery, a crucifix, sacring-bell, metal urn, and other minor relics were also discovered." (*Herbert MS.*)

It is mentioned in Moss's History of Hastings (note p. 61) that, in 1822 a *penny* of Henry II. and a *shilling* of Elizabeth had been found in cutting away part of the Castle-cliff and that they were in the possession of J. G. Shorter, Esq., of Hastings. In the Museum of the Sussex Archæological Society, Lewes, there is a flat piece of ivory carving, being a writing tablet. The carving represents the Crowning of the Virgin, and is said to have been found in the ruins of Hastings Castle. It was given by Captain Grose to Sir William Burrell, who gave it to Lord Chichester in the year 1811. It is of fourteenth century workmanship.



TYPES OF THE SILVER ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN COINAGE OF THE HASTINGS MINT FROM ÆTHELRÆD II TO STEPHEN. (The numbers refer to the Catalogue, see page 556.)

The Anglo-Saxon Coinage of Hastings

THE HASTINGS MINT.

The coinage of the mint at Hastings ranges over a period of rather less than two centuries, and is of a very homogeneous character. The coinage of England from about A.D. 760 to the reign of Edward III. consisted of silver pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, with a few quite exceptional gold pieces. The period of the Hastings coinage commences, at the earliest, in 928, and closes with the reign of Stephen, thus falling well within the limits of the age of the silver penny. When the Hastings coinage commenced, the English penny had already passed through its first stage, and reached uniformity; while, again, when it came to an end those modifications which preceded the great changes introduced by Edward III. had not yet made their appearance.

The introduction into England of the silver penny was due to a similar innovation on the French side of the Channel. It is to Pepin the Short, about 755, that the introduction of the silver denier in France is ascribed. In England, the change was made by Offa, King of Mercia (757-796). One remarkable piece, which illustrates the transition of the penny series from the "sceats" which hitherto formed the main currency of the country, has been ascribed to one Beonna, possibly an East Anglian king, and dated about 760.¹

When Pepin introduced the denier, he fixed its weight at about 19 grains troy; but it rose rapidly to 23·6 grains. The corresponding English coin, beginning lower, rose to about the same weight; but it sometimes exceeds the normal "pennyweight" of 24 grains.

The coinage of Offa is remarkable for the variety of its types, and for the comparative excellence of its workmanship. It is even possible to recognize the character of portraiture in the head of the King, which frequently appears on the obverse. The head is usually diademed—a fashion which was doubtless primarily derived from the diademed head on Roman coins. The elaborate patterns which form the other types are derived, some from Roman coins (for Roman gold was still in circulation in the eighth century), some from French coins, some from English sceats, and some at least from the invention of Offa's die-engravers. The moneyer, or official appointed to see that the coin was of good metal and true weight, acknowledges his responsibility by placing his name on the reverse. The names of the mints also, in time, begin to make their appearance; and after the time of Ælfred the Great they are more frequently found than not.

The number of mints is largely increased under Æthelstan, although the types are if anything less varied. Æthelræd II. is responsible for an exceedingly large issue of coins, most of which, however, passed as tribute across the North Sea. On his coins we may notice that the bust occasionally wears a helmet combined with a crown; but the crowned bust does not become common until the time of Cnut, who borrowed the style from the German Emperors. Under Æthelræd II., also, the cross becomes a more prominent feature of the reverse design. It was the more convenient, as halfpennies and farthings, instead of being specially struck were often made by cutting the pennies into halves or quarters, the limbs of the cross serving as a guide.²

¹ *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. I. p. 23.

² See Andrew, *A Numismatic History of Henry I.* pp. 9 foll.

The Norman Coinage of Hastings

The chief innovation in Cnut's reign is the introduction of the letters P A C X on the reverse of some types. The word may possibly have some reference to the pacific arrangement of the affairs of England in 1017-1018. The use of the word on the coins of later rulers is, however, most probably devoid of historical significance.¹

Edward the Confessor introduced the "sovereign" type, in which the King is represented enthroned, holding the symbols of sovereignty, in one hand the sceptre, in the other the orb surmounted by a cross. The four martlets in the angles of the cross on some of Edward's reverses have been called his "arms"; but true heraldry was of course of later growth. The facing bust is another variety of type introduced by this King.²

Under William I. the facing bust becomes very common. The general style of the coinage deteriorates rapidly, reaching its *nadir* in the troublous reign of Stephen. Henry II. reformed the coinage, simplifying the number of types and appointing a single person to superintend and be responsible for the whole issue. The result was a very great diminution in the number of the mints, and among those which consequently became idle was the Mint of Hastings.

The legal conditions of the coinage in Saxon and early Norman times are still involved in a certain degree of obscurity. The fact lying at the bottom of the whole question is that the right of coinage was a royal prerogative,³ and that people other than the King only exercised the right in virtue of a royal grant.

As regards Norman times, an attempt has recently been made to discover the conditions under which the coinage was issued. Although the theory which Mr. Andrew has propounded⁴ cannot by any means be considered proven⁵ it is necessary to give a brief statement of it, without in any way committing ourselves to an acceptance of the views involved.

Mr. Andrew's theory may be thus summarized. A certain number of mints were under the control of officers directly responsible to the King; the rest were included in the charters by which the country was granted out to the lords spiritual and temporal in return for feudal service. These charters were only valid during the lifetime of the grantee; from which it followed that, between the expiration of the charter and its confirmation to the grantee's successor, none of the privileges, including that of striking coins, could be exercised. Further, the privilege of striking coins, it would seem, could only be exercised by the lord while resident in his territory, since the right was attached to the mint itself. The coinage was changed every two or three years; *i.e.*, dies bearing a new type were issued from the capital of the realm to the various *moneysers*, or persons responsible for the issue of the coins at the various mints.⁶ For these dies the moneysers paid

¹ But see Andrew, *Hen. I.* p. 51, where the PAX type of Henry, dating about 1104-6, is said to refer to the peace with Robert of Normandy in 1103.

² Although there are sporadic instances of an earlier date.

³ Laws of Æthelræd, III. 8 (Reinhold Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858, p. 216); Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1898-1903), p. 203. "No-one shall have a moneyer save the King."

⁴ "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. iv. vol. i.;

⁵ See *e.g.* *Num. Chr.* Ser. iv. vol. ii. pp. 372 f.; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1903, p. 305; also a pamphlet, *Notes on 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.'* by W. J. Andrew (1903).

⁶ Laws of Æthelræd, IV. 9 (Schmid, p. 221; Liebermann, p. 236): the moneyers shall be responsible for their workmen producing pure coin of true weight.

Hastings Mint first mentioned A.D. 928

the sum of 20 *solidi*.¹ It is clear that when new dies were received, the old ones would be no longer used, and the evidence of finds shows that, when a new type was issued, all but the most recently issued types preceding it were placed out of circulation. By studying the records of the movements of the grantees, their presence in or absence from their mints, in the light of these statements, it should be possible to establish the exact sequence of the various types, and the approximate dates at which they were issued.²

If the dates assigned to the various types of Henry I. are correct, it would follow that Henry, Count of Eu, who held the Honour of Hastings at the time, was absent abroad from about 1108 to 1121, and from 1125 to the end of the reign, since no coins of the types belonging to these periods are known to have been issued from Hastings. And, as a matter of fact, the somewhat scanty records of Henry, Count of Eu's movements do not conflict with this conclusion.³

The constant changes in the money during the Saxon period were a public evil, and, probably, soon after the Conquest, a compact was made by which the King agreed not to renew the coinage more than once in three years, in return for a tax (*monetarium*) of 12*d.* paid by every hearth once in the same period. This tax was abolished by Henry I.,⁴ who returned to the old custom of changing the coinage as often as he pleased. Consequently, the number of distinct issues in Henry's reign shows a great increase on previous reigns, and the coinage loses in character.⁵ The state of the country in Stephen's reign naturally made any recovery impossible, and it was left for Henry II. to abolish the iniquitous system once and for all.

Certain regulations regarding the number of moneyers are recorded. Most important for our purpose is the edict of Greatley (Hunts), of the year 928.⁶

Here, among other provisions, we find it ordained that there should be :

“ On Cantwarabyrig [Canterbury] VII myneteras : IIII ðaes cynges, 7 II (þaes) biscofes I ðaes abbodes ;

“ To Hrofeceastre [Rochester] (III), II cynges, 7 I (þaes) biscofes ;

“ To Lundenbyrig [London] VIII ;

“ To Wintaceastre [Winchester] VI ;

“ To Læwe [Lewes] II ;

“ To Haestingaceastre [Hastings] I ;

“ Oþer to Cisseceastre,” [Chichester] etc., etc.

¹ *Domesday*, I. 172 : *in civitate Wirecestre habebat rex Edwardus hanc consuetudinem : quando moneta vertebatur, quisque monetarius dabat xx. sol. ad Lundoniam pro cunei accipiendis.* Compare I. 26, 75, 179, 252.

² This has been attempted by Mr. Andrew for the reign of Henry I. The division between the types of William I. and William II. has always given much difficulty. Hawkins gives his types 233-237 to the Conqueror, 244-250 to Rufus, leaving the others uncertain. In the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Ser. iv. vol. ii. pp. 208 f.), Mr. Carlyon-Britton assigns 233-243 to the Conqueror, and 244-250 to Rufus. Mr. Spicer (*Num. Chr.* Ser. iv. vol. iv. pp. 144 f., 245 f.) gives 243-250 to Rufus.

³ See Andrew, *Hen. I.* pp. 207, 208, and *ante* p. 38-41.

⁴ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, i. pp. 140, 141 ; see *Leges Hen. I.* c. 1, par. 5, Schm. p. 433 ; Liebermann, p. 522.

⁵ “ It is little to be wondered at that the moneyers, who thus had so many extra fees to pay, should have endeavoured to recoup themselves from the public by debasing and lightening the coinage.” Andrew, *Hen. I.* p. 15.

⁶ *Concil. Greatanlagense, Æthelstan II.* 14 par. 2 (Schm. p. 140, Liebermann, pp. 158, 159).

Laws relating to Coinage

The more important places were to have more than one moneyer, each ordinary burgh only one ("elles to þam oþrum burgum I"). For some reason, special mention is made of Hastings and Chichester,¹ although these places were not to have more than one moneyer each. In the reign of Æthelstan there is, as we have already said, and as this edict would lead us to expect, a noticeable increase in the number of mints which are named on the coins. The number of moneyers was reduced by Æthelræd II., who enacted² that there should be in every most important town three moneyers, in every other only one. From this time onward we have no special record of the number of moneyers.

The moneyers, in order to prevent fraud, were bound to exercise their functions within the bounds of the burgh, in order that they might be under the control of the portreeve. The latter official, as we shall see, was in a position of great responsibility. The legal liabilities of moneyers and reeves may best be illustrated by a brief analysis of the passages from the laws and from the chronicles concerning them.

Under Æthelstan it was enacted that there should be one money throughout the King's dominions, and no one should strike money outside a town. This prohibition is in keeping with that against carrying on trade of any kind outside a town. As Ruding has suggested, it accounts for the mention of the mint-name on the coins. If a moneyer were found guilty, the offending hand was to be cut off and set up over the mint (money-smithy). If he wished to clear himself of the accusation, he was to undergo the ordeal of hot iron with the hand wherewith he was accused of committing the offence.³

This law of "one money" was renewed by Eadgar⁴; there was to be one money throughout the whole kingdom, and no one was to refuse it. The coinage had suffered much from clipping, and was restored by Eadgar.⁵

Æthelræd II. again enacted that one money should pass among all the people without forgery.⁶ Every moneyer accused of issuing false money was to undergo a threefold ordeal, and in case of guilt to suffer death. Apparently, however, an accused moneyer could "buy back the King's peace" (*i.e.* save himself from outlawry) by payment of a sum of money.⁷ Moneyers who worked in woods or other such places were liable to death, unless the King pardoned them.⁸ No distinction was made between coiners on the one hand, and, on the other, persons who by bribes induced coiners to utter for them impure and light coins, or who made dies in secret and sold them to coiners, or who cut the names of other inno-

¹ And perhaps also of Dorchester. *In Dorcheestre unus*, from the Quadripartitus, Liebermann, *loc. cit.* col. 4.

² IV. 9 (Schm. p. 221; Liebermann, p. 236).

³ *Conc. Great.*, Æthelstan II. 14. Schm. p. 138, Liebermann, pp. 158, 159.

⁴ III. 8, Schm. p. 192; Liebermann, pp. 204, 205.

⁵ Matth. Westmon. A.D. 975. St. Dunstan felt so strongly on the matter of false money, that he once refused to celebrate mass on Whitsunday, until three persons who had been caught with false money had suffered the loss of their right hands. See Eadmer's account in Ruding's *Annals*, I. p. 130.

⁶ VI. 32, par. 1, Schm. p. 232; Liebermann, pp. 254, 255.

⁷ III. 8, Schm. p. 216; Liebermann, p. 230. "And ælc mynetere, þe betihtlad sí, bicge him lán mid XII oran" (of xx pennies each). The payment of the fine, although it protected the moneyer from outlawry, did not prevent the criminal from suffering the other penalties of the law.

⁸ III. 16 and IV. 5 (Liebermann, pp. 232, 234).

Conditions of the Hastings Coinage

cent moneyers on already existing dies.¹ Accused persons must clear themselves by full ordeal. The moneyers were to be controlled by the portreeves,² who were responsible for the goodness of the coin. Portreeves who were consenting to any sort of fraud were liable to the same punishment as false moneyers.³

Cnut, like his predecessors, enacted that there should be one money, without forgery, "over all these peoples," and no one should refuse to accept it. Whosoever after this enactment forged money, should lose the hand wherewith he did it, nor be able to redeem it by silver or gold or by any other means. And if the moneyer should accuse the reeve, saying that by his permission he forged the coin, the reeve should clear himself by a triple ordeal, or, failing to do so, should suffer the same punishment as the forger.⁴

These laws appear to have remained in force for some time. Such, however, was the state of the coinage in the early years of the reign of Henry I. that to the loss of the hand were added the penalties of blinding and emasculation.⁵ In 1108 the false moneyers actually suffered these penalties, and it was at the same time decreed that no one should refuse to accept money which was of the right form (*integer*), that is, had not been broken or clipped.⁶ There are records, during the following years, of the infliction of the penalty on various individuals. In 1123, even the curse of the Church was invoked upon offenders. Nevertheless, two years later, the coinage was in such a bad state⁷ that the King took the severe measure of punishing all the moneyers in England, with the exception of three belonging to Winchester. By the King's command, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, summoned the moneyers (ninety-four in number) from all over England to come to Winchester at Christmas. On their arrival they were solemnly taken one by one and deprived of their right hands and emasculated.⁸ "All this was done within the twelve nights; and that was all with great justice, because they had foredone all the land with their great quantity of false money."⁹

The coins of Hastings, as is clear from the foregoing sketch, must have been struck within the walls of the burgh by responsible moneyers under the control of the portreeve. In spite of the special importance given to Hastings in the Greatley edict, it was not until the time of Æthelræd II. that the name of the town was

¹ This is how we understand IV. 5: *et incidunt alterius monetarii nomen in eo*. Herr Liebermann (p. 235), who has most courteously given us his opinion on this and other points, agrees to this sense. The object of the fraud would be to shift the responsibility from the real person.

² IV. 9. Schm. p. 221; Liebermann, p. 236: *ipsi qui portus custodiunt*.

³ IV. 7; Liebermann, *ibid.*

⁴ Cnut II. 8. See Liebermann, p. 315 and *Consil. Cnuti*, p. 11.

⁵ In 1103 probably; see the references in Ruding, i. p. 163. Cp. Liebermann, p. 523. Hemingford, A.D. 1103; *ut quicumque falsos den. facere deprehensus fuisset ambos oculos et infer. corporis partes amitteret*.

⁶ So Hoveden, A.D. 1108: "*ut nullus denarius . . . si integer esset, respueretur*." The words in italics are omitted by some other Chroniclers, whose account, as Ruding points out, consequently makes nonsense. But Ruding does not notice the variant in Hemingford A.D. 1103: "*ut nullus denarius . . . integer esset, si aliqua fractura in eis remaneret*."

⁷ As the *Saxon Chronicle* puts it (*an.* 1125), the man that had a pound could not buy for a penny in the market.

⁸ They seem, however, to have escaped the penalty of blinding.

⁹ *Saxon Chron.*, Flor. Wig., etc. for 1125. Compare also *Annal. Dorenses*, 1125 (Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* vol. 32, p. 523). Maitland & Pollock, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, ii. p. 350 (where "Henry II." should be "Henry I.").

List of Hastings Moneyers

placed upon any coins as yet known to us.¹ The catalogue of the coins of Hastings must therefore begin with the reign of that King.

One of the chief points of interest in these coins, in relation to the history of Hastings, must lie in the names of the moneyers. In the catalogue which follows notice is accordingly taken of the varied spelling of these names, as well as of the town-name (which, under Edward the Confessor, is sometimes written *HESTINPOR*, i.e. *Hastingport*, but as a rule simply *HAESTINGA*, more or less abbreviated or mutilated). It has seemed inadvisable to record in detail the variations of the spelling of the King's name and title, on account of the great irregularity in the actual inscriptions and the difficulty of procuring exact data in this respect. The types are fully described in each case.²

A few words of explanation may be necessary to those not familiar with the coins of the period. The commencement of the inscription on both sides of the coin is almost invariably indicated by a small cross. Some of the earlier coins (as those of Æthelræd II., nos. 4 to 10) read, between the names of the moneyer and the town, MO or MOO, signifying *mynetere* (or *monetarius*) *on*, i.e. "moneyer in."³ The later coins omit the official title, reading simply ON. As regards the forms of the letters, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that *w* is represented by a letter practically indistinguishable from P. The crossed D is used as a rule for both the voiced and unvoiced sound of *th*, although (P for the *thorn*) occasionally represents even the latter. The IE which often occurs in the town-name is merely a careless writing of the diphthong Æ.

¹ Of course some coins bearing no mint-names may have been struck there; and Hastings coins of Æthelstan or of his immediate successors may yet be discovered. Andrew (*Hen. I.* pp. 174, 206) suggests that Hastings, Dover, Romney, and Sandwich, which all began to coin under Æthelræd II., received their mints by charters from the King in return for supplying the King's fleet.

² For the period before the Norman Conquest, the classification adopted is that of the British Museum *Catalogue of English Coins*, vol. ii.; but references are also given to Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, and to Ruding's *Annals*. After the Conquest, we have followed Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd edn., and Andrew (*Hen. I.*). With regard to the provenance of the coins, references are given to certain notable finds, especially those at Alfriston (*Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*, i. p. 40), the City of London (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, p. 350), Chancton (*op. cit.* 1876, p. 98), Sedlescombe (*S.A.C.* xxxiii. p. 8), Beaworth (*Archæologia*, xxvi. p. 10). A number of sale catalogues have been laid under contribution, notably the parts I., II., and V. of the *Montagu Collection* (1896, 1897). It is naturally impossible to control the readings of these various authorities, where want of proper type, and sometimes careless reading, are apt to lead one far astray. We are much indebted to Messrs. W. J. Andrew and L. A. Lawrence for information which they have kindly placed at our disposal. We have also been permitted to examine part of a small hoard from Battle, in the possession of Mr. W. Allen; but, as the examination was made hastily, some of the descriptions may not be absolutely exact. The casts of the two Copenhagen coins we owe to the kindness of Dr. C. Jörgensen.

³ "In O.E. and O.S. and to some extent in O.Fris. the prep. *in* was displaced by the prep. *on*, so that in classical and late W. Saxon and to some extent in other O.E. dialects *on* was used both for *on* and *in*." The distinction between *in* and *on* was not restored until M.E. times. See Murray, *New Eng. Dict.* art. "in." On the other hand, the use of *on* for *of* is rare; and of the three proofs of this interpretation given by Mr. Andrew, the first is untenable. For *Derbi* in *Whichelinus Derbi* cannot be proved to be a Latin genitive, since the same form is used with *on*; and *Sasoti Stefaniū* is a blundered legend, on which no argument can be founded, even if either word represents a place-name.

List of Hastings Moneyers

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- Aeadnoð : Cnut, 25.
 Aegelsige : Cnut, 15. Cf. Aelsige.
 Aelfrd, Aelfred : Aethelraed, 4. Cnut, 26. Cf. Alfred.
 { Aelfward : Cnut, 27, 38.
 { Aelfweard : Cnut, 11, 28.
 { Aelfwer : Cnut, 29. Harold I., 46.
 { Aelfwerd : Cnut, 16-19, 30-32. Harold I., 41, 47, 48. Cf. Alfwerd, Elfwerd.
 Aelsige : Cnut, 20. Cf. Aegelsige.
 Alfrd : Harthacnut, 51. Cf. Aelfrd.
 Alfwerd : Aethelraed, 1. Cf. Aelfwerd.

 Barluit : Henry, 140.
 Boniface : Henry, 143.
 Brid, Bridd : Cnut, 33, 34, 36, 37. Harold I., 42, 49. Harthacnut, 52. Edward, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61-64, 69-73, 82, 83-88, 97-99 *bis*.
 Brihtnoð : Cnut, 12, 21.
 Brnd : Edward, 89, 90, 100.

 Cinewni : Harold I., 43.
 Cipincc (? Ciwincc) : William, 126, 127.
 Colswegen : Edward, 112. William, 123.

 Diodred : Edward, 109. Cf. Deodred.
 Dorman, Drman : William, 137. Henry, 139.
 Dninc : William 134 *bis*.
 { Duinnc, Duinnng : Edward, 74-76, 82 *bis*.
 { Dunic : William, 128-131, 134. Henry, 143.
 { Dunin : Edward 100 *bis*.
 { Duninc, Duning : Edward, 77, 78, 101, 102, 104-107, 113. William, 132. Henry, 142, 144.
 { Dunine : Edward, 103.
 { Duninnng : Edward, 91.
 { Dunnic, Dunning : William, 124, 125.
 { Dunninc, Dunning : Edward, 79, 92, 96 *bis*, 108, 114-117. Harold II., 121. William 125 *ter*.

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 { Eadsig, Eadsige : Aethelraed, 2, 3, 7.
 { Edsige : Aethelraed, 8, 9. Cf. Eisige, Etsige.
 Edwene : Harold I., 44.
 Eisige : Cnut, 35. Cf. Edsige.
 Elfwerd : Cnut, 13. Cf. Aelfwerd.
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 Etsige : Cnut, 22-24. Cf. Edsige.

 Geldewine : Edward, 80.
 Gir : Stephen, 147.
 Godric : William, 133 *bis*, 135, 136, 136 *bis*, 138, 138 *bis*. Henry, 141.
 Godsi ? : William, 133.

 Leofwine : Cnut, 39, 40. Edward, 55, 60, 65-67. Cf. Lifwine.
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 Lifinc : Harold I., 45, 50.
 Lifwine : Edward, 68. Cf. Leofwine.
 { Lyefea : Aethelraed, 10 *bis*. Cf. Leva.
 { Lyva : Aethelraed, 6.

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 Rodbert : Stephen, 146.

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 Sawine : Stephen, 148-151.
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 Wulfric : Edward, 81, 94-96, 110, 111.
 { Deodred : Edward, 119 *bis*, 120. Harold II. 122.
 { Diodred : William, 125 *bis*.
 { Deodred : Edward, 118, 119. Cf. Diodred., . . . il : Stephen, 152, 153.

The Hastings Coinage

CATALOGUE

OF COINS STRUCK AT HASTINGS.

ÆTHELRÆD II.

A.D. 979-1013. 1014-1016.

[The king's title on the obverse is usually **ÆDELRÆD** (**ÆDELRÆD** or **EDELRÆD**) **REX ANGLOR** (often variously abbreviated, sometimes blundered, as **AGLO**).]

TYPE.	REVERSE INSCRIPTION.	REFERENCE.
B.M. i. Hild. A. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed. <i>Rev.</i> Small cross pattée.	1. ALFPERD ON HÆST 2. EADSIGE ON ÆSTG 3. " " HÆSTI	Hild. p. 74, No. 1224. " " No. 1226. " " Nos. 1227, 1228. (var).
B.M. iii.A. Hild. Ca. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed; in front, sceptre pommé. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross, voided, pellet in centre; in angles CRV+	4. ÆLFRED M'O HÆST	Hild. p. 74, No. 1223.
B.M. iv.A. Hild. D. Rud. xxii. 2, 3. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l., dividing inscription. <i>Rev.</i> Long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents.	5. LEVA MOO HÆSTINC 6. LYVA MOO HÆSTING	Hild. p. 74, No. 1231. Montagu ii. 23. Hild. p. 74, No. 1233.
B.M. viii. Hild. E. Rud. xxii. 1. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. in armour and radiate helmet, dividing inscription. <i>Rev.</i> Square with three pellets at each corner; over it, bisecting the sides, long cross, voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; pellet in centre.	7. EADSIGE MO HÆSTG 8. EDSIGE M'O HÆSTIN 9. " " HÆSTING 10. LYEFEA MO ÆSTIC 10 bis. LYEFEA MO ÆSTIN	Hild. p. 74, No. 1225. " " No. 1229. Montagu ii. 30, Copenhagen. Hild. p. 74, No. 1230. " " No. 1232. Copenhagen.

CNUT.

A.D. 1016-1035.

[The King's title: usually **CNVT REX** (or **RECCX**), often followed by **ANGLORVM** (which is also often abbreviated). Blundered forms: **CNTIT**, **RECCX**, **ANILORVM**, etc.]

B.M. viii. Hild. E. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. crowned within quatrefoil. <i>Rev.</i> On quatrefoil, with pellet at apex of each cusp, long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; pellet in centre.	11. ÆLFPEARD MN HEZT 12. BRIHTNOÐ ON. ÆST 13. ELFPERD M HES 14. ELST M HES (pellet in each angle).	Hild. p. 235, No. 1091, 1092. " 236, " 1108. " " " 1110. " " " 1111.
B.M. xiv. Hild. G. Rud. xxiii. 19. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. wearing pointed helmet, dividing inscription; in front sceptre. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided, limbs united at base by two circles; in centre, pellet; in each angle, broken annulet enclosing pellet.	15. ÆGELSIGE ON HÆS 16. ÆLFPERD ON HÆS 17. " " HÆST 18. " " HÆSTI 19. " " HÆSTINI 20. ÆLSIGE ON HÆSTIN 21. BRIHTNOÐ ON HÆ 22. ETSIGE ON HÆSTIN 23. " " HÆSTINGA 24. ETZIGE ON HÆSTINGA	Hild. p. 235, No. 1087. Hild. p. 235, No. 1095. B.M. Cat. No. 235. Hild. p. 235, No. 1096. Moon Sale (1901) 24. Hild. p. 235, No. 1097. " " 1098. " " 1104. " 236 1109. " " 1112. " " 1113. Montagu ii. 39.

Cnut—Harthacnut

TYPE.	REVERSE INSCRIPTION.	REFERENCE.
B.M. xvi. Hild. H. Rud. xxii. 1, 4. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription; in front sceptre. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided; in the centre, circle enclosing pellet.	25. ÆADNOD ON HÆS	Hild. p. 235, No. 1086.
	26. ÆLFRD ON HÆSTII	" " 1088.
	27. ÆLFPARD ON HÆST	" " 1089.
	28. ÆLFPPEAR ON HÆS	" " 1093.
	29. ÆLPPER ON HÆS	Montagu i. 816.
	30. ÆLPPERD ON HÆ	Hild. p. 235, No. 1099, 1100.
	31. " " HÆS	" " 1101, 1102. Alfriston Find (S.A.C. i. 40).
	32. " " " (var.)	Hild. p. 235, No. 1103.
	33. BRID ON HÆSSTING	" " 1105.
	34. " " HÆSTIN :	B.M. Cat. 236. Pl. xviii. 5.
	35. EIÞIGE ON HÆSTIN	Mr. W. J. Andrew.
B.M. xvi. var. Hild. Ha. Similar to B.M. xvi., but the sceptre ends in a finial.	36. BRID ON HÆSTIN	Hild. p. 235, No. 1106.
	37. " " HÆSTING	" " 1107.
B.M. xvii. Hild. I. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, sceptre in l. hand. <i>Rev.</i> Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle and in the centre.	38. ÆLFPARD ON HÆSN	Hild. p. 235, No. 1090.
	39. LEOFFINE ON HÆST	" 236 1114.
	40. " ONN HÆSTI	" " 1115.

HAROLD I.

A.D. 1035-1039.

[King's title: **HAROLD REX**, sometimes followed by **A** or **AN**. Blunders: **HAROLLD**, etc.]

B.M. i. Hild. A. Rud. xxiv. 2. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription. <i>Rev.</i> Cross of four ovals, united at their bases by two circles enclosing pellet.	41. ÆLPPERD ON HÆST	Hild. p. 350, No. 269. B.M. Cat. 40, Pl. xx. 6.
	42. BRID ON HÆSTINE	Hild. p. 350, No. 272. Montagu v. 18.
	43. CINEPNI ON HÆSTNC	Hild. p. 350, No. 274.
	44. EDPENE ON HÆST	" " 275.
B.M. v. Hild. Ba. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, in armour, dividing inscription; in front, shield and sceptre. <i>Rev.</i> Long cross voided, limbs united at their bases by a circle, enclosing pellet; in each angle, trefoil of pellets.	45. LIFINE ON HÆS	Hild. p. 350, No. 277.
B.M. v. c. Hild. B. Similar to B.M. v., but on rev. in each angle, fleur-de-lis between two pellets.	46. ÆLPPER ON HÆ	Hild. p. 350, No. 268. Montagu ii. 70 (now in B.M., read ÆLPPERD in Sale Catalogue).
	47. ÆLPPERD ON HÆ	Hild. p. 350, No. 270.
	48. " " HÆS	" " 271.
	49. BRIDD O HÆSTIN	" " 273.
	50. LIFINE ON HÆS	" " 276.

HARTHACNUT.

A.D. 1039-1042.

[King's title: **HARÐACNVT** or **HARÐENVVT RE.**]

B.M. i.A. Hild. Aa. Rud. xxiv. 1. <i>Obv.</i> Bust r. diademed, dividing inscription. <i>Rev.</i> Cross of four ovals united at bases by two circles enclosing pellet.	51. ALFRED ON HÆS	Hild. p. 400, No. 60.
	52. BRIDD ON HÆS	Montagu ii. 102 (from Marsham Sale, 201, where it is read HÆST). Cp. Alfriston Find, S.A.C. i. 40.

Edward the Confessor

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A.D. 1042-1066.

[King's title: **EDPEARD** (**EDPAR**D, **EADWARDVS**, etc.) **REX** sometimes followed by **ANGLOR** variously abbreviated. Blunders: **EDPHR** (for **EDPAR**) etc.]

TYPE.	REVERSE INSCRIPTION.	REFERENCE.
B.M. i. or i.A. Hild. A. Rud. xxv. 33, 34. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. with radiate crown, dividing legend. <i>Rev.</i> Small cross pattée, sometimes annulet in field.	53. BRIDD ON HÆSTIN 54. " " HÆSTING 55. LEOFPINE ON ÆSTIC	Hild. p. 437, No. 208. Montagu i. 822. Alfriston Find, <i>S.A.C.</i> i. 40. Alfriston Find, <i>l.c.</i> Mr. W. J. Andrew (NC). Hild. p. 437, No. 209.
B.M. ii. Hild. B. Rud. xxvi. 36, 37. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided; pellet in the centre.	56. BRID ON HÆSTI 57. DVRINC ON E	B.M. Cat., No. 494. City Hoard, <i>Num. Chr.</i> 1876, p. 350 (? some other mint?).
B.M. iii. Hild. C. Rud. xxv. 22. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription: in front, sceptre pommé. <i>Rev.</i> Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with three pellets at each angle, and one in the centre.	58. BRID: ON HESTST: 59. BRIDD ONN HHST 60. LEOFPINE ON HÆSTI	B.M. Cat., No. 495. Hild. p. 437, No. 207. Mr. L. A. Lawrence.
B.M. iv.A. Hild. Da. Rud. xxiv. 12. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription; in front sceptre. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided; in centre, circle enclosing pellet, and in the angles P Λ C X .	61. BRIDD ON HÆSTIN	Montagu, i. 833.
B.M. v. Hild. E. Rud. xxiv. 4, 5. <i>Obv.</i> Bust l. diademed, dividing inscription; in front, sceptre pommé. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided, the limbs gradually expanding, and united at the base by two circles. Sometimes a pellet in one angle.	62. BRID ON HÆSTING 63. " " HESTINPO: 64. " " HESTINPOR (with pellet) 65. LEOFPINE ON HÆS 66. LEOFPINE ON HÆSTC 67. LEOFPINE ON HÆSTICE 68. LIFPINE ON HÆST;	City Hoard, <i>l.c.</i> B.M. Cat., No. 496. Chanceton Find, <i>Num. Chr.</i> 1867, p. 98. Cp. Sotheby Sale-Cat., Jan. 31, 1900. 179. B.M. Cat., No. 497. Chanceton Find, <i>l.c.</i> B.M. Cat., No. 498; Chanceton Find, <i>l.c.</i> B.M. Cat., No. 499; Chanceton Find, <i>l.c.</i> B.M. Cat., No. 500; Chanceton Find, <i>l.c.</i> B.M. Cat., No. 501; Chanceton Find, <i>l.c.</i>
B.M. vii. Hild. F. Rud. xxv. 18. <i>Obv.</i> Bust r. bearded, wearing pointed helmet and holding in r. hand sceptre, which terminates in cross (usually), fleur-de-lis, or three pellets. Inscription divided by bust. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; in centre, annulet, frequently enclosing pellet.	69. BRID ON HÆSTIE 70. BRID: O:N HÆSTIEN 71. BRID ON HÆSTING (Sceptre terminates in fleur-de-lis) 72. BRID ON HÆSTNG 73. " " HESTIEN 74. DVINNŪ ON HÆSTI	Sedlescombe Find, <i>S.A.C.</i> xxxiii. 8. B.M. Cat., Nos. 502, 503. Chanceton and Sedlescombe Finds. Cp. Montagu i. 839=Kesteven Sale (1899). 7. B.M. Cat., No. 504. Chanceton and Sedlescombe Finds (U); Alfriston Find, <i>S.A.C.</i> i. 41. B.M. Cat., No. 505; Chanceton and Sedlescombe Finds (U). City Hoard. Richardson Sale (1825), lot 57.

Edward the Confessor

TYPE.	REVERSE INSCRIPTION.	REFERENCE.
	75. DVINNE ON HÆOTIE	B. M. Cat., No. 506; Chanceton and Sedlescombe Finds (G); Montagu ii. 145. Mr. W. J. Andrew.
	76. DVINNE ON HÆSTIN	B. M. Cat., No. 507; Chanceton Find.
	77. DVNING ON HÆSTIE	Sedlescombe Find.
	78. DVNINE ON HÆOTIE	" "
	79. DVNNING ON HÆSTIE (Sceptre terminates in fleur-de-lis)	Alfriston Find.
	80. GELDEPINE ON HÆ	Sedlescombe Find.
	81. PVLFRIC ON HÆSTI	" "
B. M. vii. A. Hild. F. var. Rud. xxv. 20. As B. M. vii., but annulet in one angle of reverse.	82. BRID ON HÆSTIEN	Montagu i. 839, ii. 143.
	82 bis. DVINNE ON HÆOTIE	W. Allen (found at Battle).
B. M. ix. Hild. H. Rud. xxiv. 13. <i>Obv.</i> King seated towards r., on throne; generally bearded, wearing crown, surmounted by three balls; he holds in r. hand long sceptre, and in l. orb surmounted by cross. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided; annulet or pellet frequently in the centre; in each angle a martlet.	83. BRID ON ÆOTIEN	Sedlescombe Find.
	84. " " HÆ: SÐIN :	B. M. Cat., Nos. 508, 509. Chanceton Find.
	85. " " HESÐIN	City Hoard.
	86. " " HÆSTIEN	Montagu ii. 152. Cp. Allen Sale (1898), 264 (Hastien).
	87. " " HÆOTIEN	Sedlescombe Find; Mr. L. A. Lawrence.
	88. " " HÆSTIEN	Sedlescombe Find; Mr. H. W. Monckton (with S?).
	89. BRND ON HÆSTIEN :	B. M. Cat., No. 510, Chanceton Find; Mr. W. J. Andrew.
	90. BRND. ON. HESTAEN	Bobart Sale, 1894, lot 3.
	91. DVNINNG ONN HÆS	Sedlescombe Find.
	92. DVNNINE ONN HÆS	B. M. Cat. No. 511. Chanceton & Sedlescombe Finds (G); Montagu i. 847 (G). Cp. Allen Sale (1898) 264.
	93. OÐ POLD ON IEN	Sedlescombe Find (possibly some other mint). ¹
	94. PVLFRIC ON HÆSTI	Sedlescombe Find.
	95. PVLFRIC ON HÆSTING	" " Allen Sale (1898) 264.
	95 bis. PVLFRIC ON HSTÆ	Moon Sale (1901) 32.
B. M. ix. var. Rud. xxiv. 14. Similar to B. M. ix., but annulet placed on one limb of cross.	96. PVLFRIC ON HASTÆ	Richardson Sale, 1895, lot 57.
B. M. x. <i>Obv.</i> As no. ix. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided, each limb terminating in an incurved segment of a circle; in the centre, pellet.	96 bis. DVNINE ON HÆS.	W. Allen (found at Battle).
B. M. xi. Hild. G. Rud. xxiv. 9. <i>Obv.</i> Bust r. bearded, dividing inscription; wearing crown of two arches, surmounted by three balls; in front, sceptre. <i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided, each limb terminating in an incurved segment of a circle; in centre, pellet.	97. BRID. ON. HÆST.	Anon. Sale Cat. (Sotheby, 7 Mar. 1894), lot 65.
	98. BRID : ON HÆOTI	B. M. Cat. No. 512. Chanceton Find. W. Allen (found at Battle).
	99. BRID ON HÆSTI	Sedlescombe Find. Montagu ii. 149. Sotheby's Sale Cat. (Apr. 7, 1899) 261.
	99 bis. BRID ON HÆSTII	Lawrence Sale (1903) 25.
	100. BRND ON NEOSTIEN	B. M. Cat., No. 513. Pl. xxv. 5.
	100 bis. DVNIN ON HÆSTIN	Lowsley Sale (1899) 182.
	101. DVNINE ON ÆOTIN :	B. M. Cat., No. 514. Chanceton Find.

¹ The name occurs at Lewes in this reign, but the coin can hardly belong to that mint.

Edward the Confessor and Harold II.

TYPE.	REVERSE INSCRIPTION.	REFERENCE.
	102. DVNING ON ÆSTIN	Sedlescombe Find.
	103. DVNINE ON ÆSTIN	City Hoard.
	104. DVNING ON HÆS	Sedlescombe Find.
	105. DVNINE ON HÆST (pellet in field)	B.M. Cat., No. 515. Chanc- ton Find. W. Allen (found at Battle). W. J. Andrew (DVNING).
	106. DVNING ON HÆST (pellet in field)	Sedlescombe Find. Cp. Sotheby's Sale Cat. (Apr. 7, 1899) 262.
	107. DVNING ON HEST	City Hoard.
	108. DVNNING ON HÆS	B.M. Cat., No. 516. Chanc- ton Find.
	109. DIODRED ON HÆSTI	Sedlescombe Find. Cp. Lowsley Sale Cat. (1899) 182 (DIORED?).
	110. PVLFRIC ON HÆST	Sedlescombe Find.
	111. PVLFRIC ON HÆS TI	B.M. Cat., No. 517; City Hoard; W. Allen (found at Battle); L. A. Law- rence (HÆSTI, so too Sedlescombe Find and Sotheby's Sale Catal. Apr. 7, 1899, 261); cf. Bobart Sale, 1894, lot 4, H V L F R I C O N HÆSTE.
B.M. xiii. Hild. Ac. Rud. xxv. 31. <i>Obv.</i> Bust facing, bearded, wearing arched crown, often surmounted by cross, and usually dividing the inscription.	112. COLSPEGEN ON HÆS (four wedge-shaped pellets attached to inner circle)	B.M. Cat., No. 518. Allen Sale (1898) 264. Mon- tagu i. 826 (COLSPE- GEN). Cp. Sedlescombe Find (L..G).
<i>Rev.</i> Small cross pattée.	113. DVNING ON HEST	Sedlescombe Find.
	114. DVNNING ON HÆ	B.M. Cat., No. 519. Chanc- ton Find. Sedlescombe City Hoard.
	115. DVNNING ON HÆST	Find. Montagu ii. 128.
	116. DVNNING ON HESI	B.M. Cat., No. 520. Chanc- ton Find. Mr. W. J. An- drew. Cp. Sotheby's Sale Cat. (Apr. 7, 1899) 263.
	117. DVNNING ON HEST (billet in field)	
	118. DREODRED ON H (two pellets in field)	B.M. Cat., No. 522. Sedles- combe Find (DREO- DRED). Allen Sale (1898) 264. Lawrence Sale (1903) 24.
	119. DREODRED ON HÆS (two pellets in field)	B.M. Cat., No. 521. Mon- tagu i. 826 (DREO- DRED ON HÆS). Cp. Sedlescombe Find (DREODRED); Allen Sale (1898) 264.
	119 bis. DEODRED ON HES	Allen Sale (1898) 264.
B.M. xv. Hild. I. <i>Obv.</i> Bust r. wearing arched crown, from which depends a fillet, ter- minating in three pellets; in front, sceptre. Inscription divided by bust.	120. DEODRED ON HIE	Mr. L. A. Lawrence. (Pos- sibly not Hastings, but Hythe.)
<i>Rev.</i> Short cross voided; annulet or pellet often in centre; in each angle pyramid springing from in- ner circle and terminating in pellet.		

HAROLD II.

A.D. 1066.

[King's title: HAROLD REX ANG or ANGLØ.]

B.M. i. Hild. A. Rud. xxvi. 8. <i>Obv.</i> Head l. wearing arched crown from which depend two fillets; in front, sceptre pommé.	121. DVNNING ON HÆ	Montagu ii. 164.
<i>Rev.</i> P Λ X across field, between two lines.	122. DEODRED ON ÆST	B.M. Cat. No. 40. Mon- tagu ii. 165.

William I. and II.

WILLIAM I. and II.

[King's title: PILLELM REX, PILLEMVS REX, etc.]

WILLIAM I.

A.D. 1066-1087.

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|--|---|--|
| <p>i. Hks. 233.
<i>Obv.</i> Bust I. crowned, dividing inscription; in front, sceptre.
<i>Rev.</i> Cross fleury; in centre, annulet containing pellet.</p> | <p>123. COLSPEGEN ON ÆI
124. DVNNIC ON ÆI
125. DVNNIC ON ÆSTI

125 <i>bis.</i> ÐIÐDRED ON ÆS</p> | <p>B.M.; Montagu ii. 183 (Bieber Coll.).
B.M.
B.M.; Murdoch I 169= Montagu ii. 184 (York Moore and Addington Collections).
B.M. Allen Sale (1898) 310.</p> |
| <p>ii. Hks. 234.
<i>Obv.</i> Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription.
<i>Rev.</i> Voided cross, each limb ending in two crescents, annulet in the centre, pyramid surmounted by pellet in each angle.</p> | <p>125 <i>ter.</i> DVNNINE ON HIE2</p> | <p>Mr. Carlyon-Britton (Spink's <i>Circular</i> x. 5472).</p> |
| <p>ix. Hks. 241.
<i>Obv.</i> Bust facing, dividing legend; wears crown of two arches, and holds in r. hand sceptre terminating in cross. Three pellets on r. shoulder.
<i>Rev.</i> Short cross pattée; in angles P A X S, each letter in an annulet.</p> | <p>126. CIPINCE ON HAST
127. CIPINCE ON HIESTE
128. DVNIC ON HIEST
129. DVNIC ON HIESTI

130. DVNIC OON HIESTI
131. DVNIC ON HSTIINC

132. DVNINE ON HSTINC
133. GODSI. ON. HÆSTI</p> | <p>B.M. Beaworth Find (<i>Archæologia</i> xxvi. p. 10).
B.M. Beaworth Find. Cp. Deramore Sale (1899) 66.
B.M. Beaworth Find.
B.M. Beaworth Find. Cp. Tamworth Find, Montagu ii. 230 (DVNIC ON HÆSTI) and Durlacher Sale (1899) 9.
B.M. Beaworth Find.
B.M. Beaworth Find. Cp. Montagu ii. 229 (HS-TANĒ).
Mr. L. A. Lawrence.
Anon. Sale Cat. (Sotheby, 7 Mar. 1894), lot 71 (probably Godric).</p> |
| <p>x. Hks. 242.
Similar to ix., but with annulet on r. shoulder¹</p> | | |

WILLIAM II.

A.D. 1087-1100.

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|--|---|---|
| <p>xi. Hks. 244.
<i>Obv.</i> Bust r. crowned, dividing inscription; holds in r. hand sword.
<i>Rev.</i> Over cross fleury, placed saltire-wise, short cross pattée, pellet in centre.</p> | <p>133 <i>bis.</i> GODRIC ON HIESTI</p> | <p>Allen Sale (1898) 310.
Spink's <i>Circular</i> x. 5472.</p> |
| <p>xiv. Hks. 246.
<i>Obv.</i> Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription; in r. hand sword.
<i>Rev.</i> Short cross pattée, in quatrefoil, pellet at apex of each cusp; in centre, annulet.</p> | <p>134. DVNIC ON HSTING
134 <i>bis.</i> DNINE ON HIES
135. GODRIC ON HSTIINC
136. GODRIC ON HSTING
136 <i>bis.</i> GODRIC ON HIESTI
136 <i>ter.</i> SEFPIE ON HESTI</p> | <p>B.M. Tamworth Find (<i>Num. Chr.</i> 1877, p. 343).
Moon Sale (1901) 41.
B.M.
B.M.
Mr. Carlyon-Britton (Spink's <i>Circular</i> x. 5472).
<i>Ibid.</i></p> |

¹ Hawkins states that coins of this type were struck at Hastings, but I have failed to trace them. The coins from the Tamworth Find described (*Num. Chr.* 1877, p. 340 ff.) as being of this type are of the much commoner type ix.

Henry I.

- xv. Hks. 247.
Obv. Similar to xiv.
Rev. Over cross fleury placed saltire wise, short cross pattée.
- xvi. Hks. 248.
Obv. Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription; to l. sceptre ending in fleur-de-lis, to r. star.
Rev. Over cross of four ovals, each ending in pellet, cross fleury; in centre, annulet.
- xviii. Hks. 250.
Obv. Crowned bust facing; star at each side.
Rev. Cross pattée voided over cross with annulet at end of each arm; annulet in the centre.
137. [D?]ORMAN ON HSTI B.M.
138. GODRIC OON EISTI B.M.
- 138 *dis.* GODRIE(?) ON HIEST B.M.

HENRY I.

A.D. 1100-1135.

[King's title: HENRICVS REX, HENRI REX, etc.; No. 139 reads HNRIREXH (the last letter a blunder for A).]

- Andr. i. (A.D. 1100-1102). Hks. 251.
Obv. Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription; on each side of head, annulet.
Rev. Cross fleury, annulet in centre; in each angle, pyramid inwards terminating in three pellets.
139. DRMAN ON HIEST B.M. Cuff Sale (1854).
- Andr. ii. (A.D. 1102-1104). Hks. 254.
Obv. Crowned bust l., dividing inscription; in front, sceptre.
Rev. Cross fleury, pierced in centre.
140. BARLVIT ON ÆIS (or possibly ONÆIS) B.M. "The moneyer's name is probably a form of Bartleet (Bartelot). A branch of this family held Stopham, Sussex, temp. Richard II" (Andrew, *Hen. I.* p. 209).
- Andr. iii. (A.D. 1104-1106). Hks. 253.
Obv. Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription.
Rev. Across field, between two lines, PΛ +; two annulets above, two below.
141. GODRIC ON HSTIC B.M. (Perhaps from Tyssen Coll., 1802.)
- Andr. iv. (A.D. 1106-1108). Hks. 252.
Obv. Crowned bust facing, usually annulet on left shoulder, and one on each of the three points of the crown.
Rev. Tressure composed of four convex curves and four pyramids outwards surmounted by annulets; in the centre, an annulet usually encircling a pellet.
142. + DVNINC : ON : hA. . J. Verity. From Allen Sale, 1898, and probably Sir Henry Ellis's coin in 1869. (Andrew, *Hen. I.* p. 209.)
- Andr. xi. (A.D. 1121-1123). Hks. iv. Rud. S. ii. 2. 6.
Obv. Crowned bust facing; a quatrefoil over the right shoulder on the obverse.
Rev. Cross fleury, pierced in centre, pellet in each angle.
143. BONIFACE ON hAS Montagu ii. 281 (Marsham and Bergne Colls.). Ruding, S. II. Pl. ii. No. 6. For the moneyer, see Andrew, *Hen. I.* pp. 206-208.

Stephen

Andr. xii. (A.D. 1123-1125, Christmas). Hks. 258. Rud. S.

Obv. Crowned bust l. dividing legend above and below; in l. hand, sceptre.

Rev. Inscription in two concentric circles, outer inscription divided by four annulets enclosing quatrefoils; in centre, small cross.

144. + D VN I. CO in outer,
+ N hASTI in inner
circle

B.M. (Hks. 258.) (Six letters are wanted for the first name, which is presumably DVNINC).

STEPHEN.

A.D. 1135-1154.

[King's title: STIEFNE RE, etc.]

ii. Hks. 269.

Obv. Crowned bust facing, dividing legend; in r. hand, sceptre.

Rev. Cross pattée voided, annulet in centre, three pellets at end of each limb; in each angle star voided.

145. // ON // AES (cut half-penny)

146. ROBERT : ON : hAS

Montagu ii. 325 (Linton Find, *Num. Chr.* 1883, p. 113); now in B.M.
Mr. W. J. Andrew.

iii. Hks. 270.

Obv. Crowned bust r. dividing inscription, and holding sceptre in r. hand.

Rev. Cross moline pierced at each end, and with lis internally at each meeting of terminations.

147. GIR . . . ON : hAS

148. SA ON hAST

149. SAPINE : ON : hAST

150. SAPINE O // // AST

151. SAPINE : ON .AS

152. SAL . . . ON : hAS

153. . . . L : ON : hA :

154. . . . IL : ON : hA (half-penny)

155. PILLEM : ON : N // Æ //

N.C. 1883, 115. From Linton near Maidstone.

B.M. (Perhaps from Watford.)

N.C. 1850, p. 157. (Nine specimens found at Watford in 1818.)

B.M.

N.C. 1865, p. 59. (Found in Bute.)

Kennard Sale, 1892 (probably should read SAP . . .)

Mr. W. J. Andrew.

N.C. 1883, p. 115. (Linton Find.)

B.M. The attribution of this coin to Hastings seems improbable, and Mr. W. J. Andrew is of opinion that it belongs to some other mint.

xv. Hks. 276.

Obv. Crowned bust facing, dividing inscription.

Rev. Cross potent, pierced in centre, within a tressure, fleury internally.



The Battle of Hastings, 1066

Part VI

THE NORMAN INVASION



It is not necessary here to enter into the circumstances and causes which led to the Norman invasion in the year 1066. It is sufficient to state that early in that year it was fully understood that William purposed to assert his claim to the English Crown against Harold by invasion, and immediately both parties began to gird themselves for the coming fray. In England, both the "ship-fyrde," and the "land-fyrde" were assembled. Harold's brother Tostig appears to have made some attempt to induce William to join forces with him against Harold, to their mutual advantage. How far William entertained the idea of such a partnership is not quite clear, but he seems to have sanctioned an attack made by Tostig on the southern coast of England, in May 1066.

Tostig first attacked the Isle of Wight, where he received tribute in money and provisions, and subsequently ravaged the coast between the island and Sandwich wherever he could approach it. This onslaught had the effect of hastening Harold's preparations. He at once marched from London upon Sandwich, from which port Tostig sailed away on the approach of the army. Being unable to make for Normandy on account of the adverse winds, and being also vigorously beset by some English ships,¹ Tostig sailed away northwards, taking with him some of the Sandwich "butse-carls," some willing, others unwilling, and landed at Lindsey. Here his force suffered defeat at the hands of the Northern Earls, Eadwine and Morkere, and the butse-carls forsook him. He then set sail with twelve smacks, and spent the summer with his "sworn brother," Malcolm of Scotland, whom he eventually left to start on his mission to Sweyn. On the latter's refusal to assist him in the invasion of England, he succeeded in persuading Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, to join him.

Harold then appears to have taken measures for an elaborate defence of the southern shores. It is indeed said that never before was so large a naval and military force set on foot for the defence of the country² or so long maintained under arms.

Orderic Vitalis (500 A.) says that "Harold had quickly protected Hastings and Pevensey and the other seaports opposite Normandy . . . during that year with many ships and soldiers." William of Poitiers (123) says, "Harold in the meanwhile, prompt in determining on a battle, whether by land or sea, was specially waiting on the sea-shore with an immense army." Unfortunately for Harold, he

¹ Ord. Vit. 493 C.

² Anglo-Sax. Ch. M. lxvi. Petrib ch.

³ Sax. Chron.

The Norman Invasion, 1066

had no standing army excepting his household troops (or house-carls), who, although doubtless a fine body of men, equal perhaps (as was said in Norway), to two ordinary warriors of the age, were too small in number to serve the purposes of the plan of defence which he had undertaken. "Then came King Harold to Sandwich, and there awaited his fleet, because it was long before it could be gathered. And when his fleet was gathered, he went to the Isle of Wight, and there lay all the summer and autumn: and a land force was kept everywhere by the sea, though at the end it availed nought."¹

The land-fyrde were the militia of the country, which the King might at any time summon for the defence of the realm. These troops were billeted upon the various districts where they were stationed, and were probably an unpaid force except so far as their travelling money was concerned, this being provided by their own hundreds. Although a valuable force, as they often proved themselves in time of action when well led, they were for the most part unused to strict military discipline, and being naturally anxious about their own private concerns at home were therefore the very worst body of men to hold together during a long period of inaction. With extraordinary skill Harold succeeded in feeding, supplying, and keeping together this army of defence during the whole summer, a period of about four months. In the second week of September, about the Nativity of St Mary, September 8,² it was found impossible to hold the army together for a longer period, owing to the failure of supplies.

Harold himself rode up to London; and he may have had the bare comfort of thinking that the season had now so far advanced that William could not adventure on an invasion that year. The state of the weather also may have somewhat justified this step, since we read (*Abingdon Chron.*) "that some of the ships perished on their voyage to London, whither they were then driven." About this time also we read of shipwrecks on the Norman shore, on the removal of William's fleet from Dives to St. Valery. William of Poitiers, speaking of Duke William, says, "The leader whose courage neither delay, nor contrary winds, nor *terrible shipwrecks*, nor cowardly flight of many who had pledged their fidelity to him, were able to subdue."

From a remark in the *Carmen* of Wido, it appears probable that Harold, before the disbanding of his troops, took the precaution of dismantling or destroying some of the castles which had been garrisoned for defence during the summer. The remarkable absence of all record of any defence offered by the castles on the southern coast (the remark especially refers to Pevensey and Hastings) seems to point to this conclusion. Within a fortnight of Harold's return to London, he received the unexpected news of the landing of Tostig and Harald Hardrada. He at once hastened northward from London, to fight that short but brilliant campaign, which terminated with his victory at Stamford Bridge on Monday, September 25th.

No combination of circumstances could have better favoured William, who had been waiting weather-bound with his army on the coast of Normandy, since the middle of August. Harold's southern army and fleet had been dispersed, Harold himself was engaged with the Northern invaders in the Vale of York, and at length a fair southerly wind blew from the French shore. Duke William set sail with his

¹ *Sax. Chron.* 193.

² *Sax. Chron.*

Contemporary Historians of the Conquest

host from St. Valery-sur-Somme on Wednesday, September 27th, 1066, two days after the battle of Stamford Bridge.

AUTHORITIES.

The following is a list and short description of the authorities quoted in the appended summary of the various accounts of the Battle of Hastings. In each case, mention is made of the date of the oldest-known manuscript now extant. The original documents are written in Latin, with the exception of the Saxon Chronicle (English) and those of St. Maur, Gaimar, and Wace, which are written in Old French.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS.

Gesta Willelmi Ducis Normannorum.

Born about 1020 at Préaux, near Pont Audemer, in Normandy. Studied at Poitiers, and was a soldier for some years. He became a priest, and William I appointed him his chaplain. He was promoted to the Archdeaconry of Lisieux. His work is highly commended by Orderic Vitalis, who borrows extensively from it. The MS. was lent by Sir Robert Cotton to Du Chesne, who transcribed it (1619). It is now lost or unknown. The original MS. was said to be autograph.

GUY OF AMIENS.

"Widonis Ambianensis Carmen de Hastingensi prælio."

The poem is ascribed to Guy, Bishop of Amiens, who held that see from 1059 until his death in 1075. It was probably finished before 1068, and is dedicated to L. (Lanfranc?). MS. twelfth century.

BAUDRI, ABBÉ DE BOURGUEIL (1079-1107).

He was raised to the See of Dol in 1107.

"Poème adressé à Adèle, fille de Guillaume le Conquérant."

The poem dedicated to the Countess Adèle, mother of King Stephen, consists of 1368 lines, 360 of which are devoted to the description of a tapestry (not that of Bayeux) composed of silk, gold, silver, and gems, which adorned the walls of an alcove or recess containing the Countess's bed, and depicted the battle of Hastings. (Vatican MS.)

WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES (SURNAMED CALCULUS).

Born in Normandy at the beginning of the eleventh century. A monk in the Benedictine Monastery of Jumièges in Normandy. He wrote a history of the Dukes of Normandy, dedicated to William the Conqueror, probably about 1070 or 1071 (Hardy). Earliest-known manuscript 12th Century.

THE SAXON CHRONICLE.

Vell. med. folio, ninth century.

Known in various versions, the oldest extant copy being that preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Chronicle is written in Anglo-Saxon, and compiled and entered up by various hands. One copy carries on the Chronicle till 1154. The original compilation has been ascribed, with some probability, to Alfred the Great.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

Died in 1118.

MS. twelfth century. Monk of Worcester.

BREVIS RELATIO

(de Willelmo, nobilissimo Comite Normannorum).

MS. Bodl. Hyp. 93 (116) f.i. vell. early twelfth century.

Written anonymously, apparently in Henry the First's reign.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

MS. twelfth century.

He says that he was born of Norman and English parents. He entered the Benedictine Monastery of Malmesbury about the time of the anarchy caused by the Norman Conquest, and became librarian and precentor of the house. His history of the Kings was probably written some time before 1120—when the first part appears to have been ended. The work was brought down to 1128, and dedicated to Robert, Earl of Gloucester

Historians of the Norman Conquest

SIMEON OF DURHAM.

MS. twelfth century.
Monk and precentor of Durham, at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries.

Present at the exhumation of St. Cuthbert, 1104.

Died in 1129.

ORDERIC VITALIS.

Died about 1143.

MS. twelfth or thirteenth century.

Born February 16th, 1075, at Attingham (Atcham), a village in Shropshire.

His father was Odelerius of Orleans.

He went to Normandy in 1085, and became a monk in the Abbey of Ouche, receiving the name of Vitalis.

He wrote in the year 1123 to 1137.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON.

MS. late twelfth or early thirteenth century, dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln.

Born towards the close of the eleventh century. His father died in 1110. He was brought up in the family of Bishop Robert Bloet (Bishop 1093-1123), by whom he was appointed Archdeacon of Huntingdon.

Work completed in 1154. He wrote various works between 1130 and 1154.

BENOÎT DE SAINT MAUR, A.D. 1135.

MS. twelfth or thirteenth century. *Historie and Genealogie of the Dukes of Normandy.*

Patronized by Henry II. Contemporary of Wace.

GEOFFROY GAIMAR.

History of the English. Thirteenth century.

Poem composed probably between 1140 and 1147. Not exact, and compiled from earlier writers (French). Born about 1100 (?).

ROBERT WACE.

Twelfth century. Chronicle written between 1160 and 1183, MS. formerly at Battle Abbey. *Le Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie.* MS. twelfth century. The poem contains 16,547 lines.

Born in Jersey in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Educated at Caen.

Henry II gave him a prebend at Bayeux. He is said to have been extremely jealous when Henry encouraged his rival Benoît de Saint Maur, whom the King commissioned to write a history of the Normans (see Dr. Hugo Andressen's Edition).

DRACO NORMANNICUS.

MS. Vatican. Reg. Christ. 1267.

In verse, ascribed to St. Étienne de Rouen, who died about 1167. Consists of three books of 36, 22, and 16 chapters respectively. Chap. xxviii. relates to the appearance of the comet and the crossing of William's ships. Chap. xxix. gives the speech of William to his army. Chap. xxx. describes the battle of Hastings. This chapter is unfortunately incomplete, and the mention of Harold's burial is therefore wanting.

CHRONICLE OF BATTLE ABBEY

(From 1066 to 1176).

MS. twelfth century. Author, a monk of Battle Abbey.

DE INVENTIONE S. CRUCIS APUD WALTHAM HISTORIA

(From 1150-1177).

MS. twelfth century. Author (name unknown) born 1119.

Entered Waltham at five years of age, in 1124.

Associated for two years with Turkel the Sacristan, from whom he learnt the legendary stories of the founders.

He was brought up at the college-school, and was made a canon early in life, before 1144. At the age of 58, he, with other secular monks, was expelled from the Church (1177).



WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY STARTS TO

THE BAYE



“HERE DUKE WILLIAM CROSSED OVER THE

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

“Then the long-looked for breeze blowing, hands with voices are raised in joy to Heaven, and at the same time the noise of mutual encouragement : the land is left behind as rapidly as possible, as eagerly as possible the doubtful journey is entered upon. For they are impelled by their feelings to such a pitch of haste that while one is calling on his armour-bearer, another on his comrade, most of them, forgetting their retainers or comrades or necessary stores, only think of one thing, not to be left behind, and hasten on board. Yet the zealous impetuosity of the Duke urges and presses any of the ships which he notices are inclined to delay. But in order that they may not reach the coast, (for which they are making), before break of day, and so be exposed to danger in some perilous and unknown roadstead, he issued a proclamation, that when the vessels got out to sea, a little after nightfall, they should all rendezvous, riding at anchor not far from his, until they should see the beacon-light at the mast-head of his ship and immediately after, they would hear the sound of the trumpet, the signal for the voyage. Ancient Greece tells that Agamemnon, son of Atreus, went to avenge the outrage done to his brother's wife with a thousand ships : we bear witness that William sought a royal diadem with more. Greece relates that Xerxes joined by a bridge of boats two cities separated by the Euxine, Sestos and Abydos : we declare that William by the one helm of his authority linked together the whole extent of Norman and English soil. We believe that William who, never conquered by any one, adorned his country with splendid trophies, enriched it with most illustrious triumphs, should

GUY OF AMIENS

“Then a thousand trumpets resounding give forth their notes, and the pipes with reeds and the zittern with its strings : the drums fill the air with the roaring as of bulls : the clear-sounding cymbals interpose their tones : earth trembles, and heaven quakes, and the deep sea wonders : and the beasts of the field flee away, and fish and bird, for ten times ten, and ten times thousands five, with different voices strike the stars of heaven. But thou dost repair to the far-famed minster's lofty shrine, and having made thine offering there, hastenest to reach thy ship, and by the sound of the trumpet orderest thy men to leave the land and put out in safety to the high seas. The vessels till now moored, are set loose from the shore, and the well-ordered line puts to sea. The day was shortening now, the setting sun was now departing, when thy ship in the van first swept forth on its course. When dark night covers the sky with the shades of darkness, and the moon hides herself and refuses thee her service, thou fillest the waters with ruddy torches, even as the stars, when the sun sets, do fill the heavens : as many ships as there were, so many are the lights thou scatterest abroad. The lanterns, with their blazes of light fixed to the mast-head, direct the ships that sail along the sea. But fearing lest dark night should bring loss upon thy men, and the wind with adverse blast should disturb the waters, so thou orderest the barbed anchors to compel the barks to stop, and makest as it were a haven in the midst of the sea : then, waiting for the morning to come, thou biddest them furl their sails, that thy too wearied people may take rest. But when the reddening Aurora hath shone upon the earth

WILLIAM OF

ABB

“Considering that forces every day, he of a fleet of 3,000 b of sible speed, and w to be anchored at He assembled also mans, men of Flan and his vessels bei with good horses provided with ha *William of Jumièg*

Poem addressed William the Con

“The great Xerx so great a fleet, no great : and more sudden he getteth barks and filleth a army. Besides th of footmen have carrieth the knight The royal ship rose feared not the tumu stern of the captain ‘Let go the cables.’ sailor rusheth aboard ing of the sailors an wives, mothers, an weeping and wailing band and virgin gre and every maid fol lover, and prayeth a him, and neither m from tears. The c Troy, the capital o poems tell us, fell not, at the time whe fire at its capture, g

Observations.—The ships in the Tapestry are “clipper-built,” and are represented as being steered by an oarlocks for the oars. All the large ships carry horses, except William's and one other,—only half of the latter behind the larger ships are shewn smaller craft, in perspective, which carry no horses.

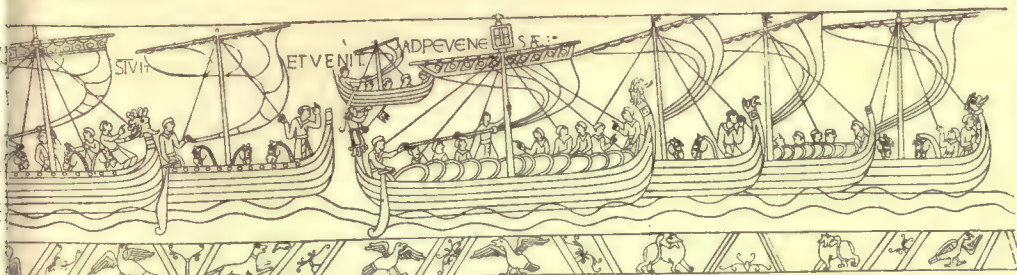
William's vessel, the *Mora*,¹ is distinctive. The gilt cross or vane at the top of the mast surmounts a large shield to in the accounts, is shown, not on the prow, but on the sternpost. It is represented as blowing a small horn, and is ornamented with a lion's head ; at the side of the ship hang the shields of the knights. The details as to the are shown with sails of a colour different from the others. The latter may represent the ships of William's brother.

Guy of Amiens's verse would almost lead its reader to infer that the comet was then visible in the heavens ; but

The landing took place on Thursday, September 28th, the Eve of St. Michael's day, 1066, about 9 a.m.

¹ We learn from the account of the battle of Hasting, that the Duke of Normandy's fleet consisted of 1,131 ships.

TAPESTRY.



...A IN A GREAT SHIP AND CAME TO PEVENSEY."

UMIEGES AND
AUDRI

...arold was gaining new
...manded the building
...at the greatest pos-
...are, and caused them
...Valery in Ponthieu.
...great army of Nor-
...Franks and Bretons,
...ready he filled them
...very vigorous men
...and helmets."—

Adèle, daughter of
...or.

...could not get together
...et together a navy so
...arvellous still, on a
...ether three thousand
...with a well equipped
...e vessels, the throng
...eir boats: one ship
...another their horses.
...th a gilded prow, and
...ous strait. From the
...essel cometh the cry
...e cables are cut: each
...There riseth the shout-
...turmoil intermingled:
...a helpless band, are
...Wife greeteth her hus-
...th her lover with vows,
...eth with her eyes her
...edy and safe return for
...nor woman refraineth
...of Asia, and Priam's
...his kingdom, which,
...ore the Greeks, could
...in mingled war and
...forth so loud an out-

WACE

"The Duke placed a lantern on the mast of his ship, that the other ships might see it and hold their course after it. At the summit was a vane of brass gilt. On the head of the ship, in the front which mariners call the prow, there was the figure of a child in brass, bearing an arrow with a bended bow. His face was turned towards England, and thither he looked, as though he was about to shoot: so that, whichever way the ship went, he seemed to aim onwards.

"Of so large a fleet, with so many people, only two ships were in any peril, and those perhaps from being overloaded. The Duke had a great chivalry and many ships in his fleet: many archers he had, and many sergeants, brave men and warriors, carpenters, and engineers, good handicraftsmen, and good smiths."

MISCELLANEOUS

(After relating the exposure of the Relics of St. Valery.)

"No delay now interposed, but the wished-for gale filled their sails. A joyful shout then arising summoned every one to the ships. The Duke (*Comes*) himself first launching from the continent into the deep, awaited the rest, at anchor, nearly in mid-channel. All then assembled round the crimson sail of the leader's ship, and, having first taken food, they arrived, after a favourable passage at Hastings."—*William of Malmesbury.*

Number of the ships comprising the fleet or William the Conqueror on his invasion of England.

"William, Duke of the Normans, coming into England for the purpose of acquiring the kingdom (*regnum*) due by right to him, had from William Dapifer, son of Osbern, 60 ships; from Hugh, afterwards Earl of Chester, the same; from Hugh de Montfort, 50 ships and 60 knights; from Romus or Rumus (*Remaius*), Almoner of Fécamp, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, one ship with 20 ships with 100 knights; from Robert, Count of Eu, 60 ships; from Fulk Claud, 40 ships; from Gerold Dapifer, the same; from William, Count of Evreux, 80 ships; from Roger de Montgomeri, 60 ships; from Roger de Beaumont, 60 ships; from Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 10 ships; from Robert de Mortain, 120; from Walter Giffard, 30 with 100 knights. Without these ships which, being counted, make up together 1,000 (*sic*) the Duke had, from certain of his men, according to the power of each one of them, many other ships. Mathilda (afterwards the Queen) wife of the said Duke, caused to be made,

...r oar-like rudder, placed at the side of the stern. Some of the ships (not the *Mora*) are represented with pierced
...g visible.

...ure object, which is doubtless the lantern referred to in Wace's account. The small image or figure-head, referred
...ed upwards, with the right hand, and holding a small pennon in the left, directed forwards. The prow of the ship
...our and marking of the sail differ in the several accounts. In the tapestry the *Mora* and the two ships near her
...bers and some of the ducal household.

...his we know was not the case. So also *Draco Normannicus*.

WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY STARTS TO IN

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued*

be placed for his bravery before Xerxes.

“So, when after rest for the night the ships set sail, the vessel bearing the Duke speedily left all the others behind, obeying in the resemblance of its speed the orders of the Duke, who was eagerly hastening to the victory. In the morning an oarsman was sent to the top of the mast to see whether he could sight any of the ships following, and reports that nothing occurred to his view but the sea and sky. Forthwith he cast anchor, and for fear that alarm and sorrow might confound his followers the valiant Duke took a plentiful breakfast not unaccompanied by honeyed wine with noteworthy cheerfulness, just as if he were in his own dining-hall: assuring them that all would be present anon, God, to whose keeping he entrusted them, leading them on. The Mantuan, the Prince of poets, would not think it unbecoming to insert among the praises of Trojan Æneas who, as the parent, was the glory of Ancient Rome, the lightheartedness and purpose of this meal. The lookout man was again called upon, and he exclaims that four ships were approaching, and on the third occasion he declared that there were so many, and the sail-bearing masts were so thick that they presented the appearance of a forest. How the expectations of the Duke were thereupon turned to joy, how from the bottom of his heart he glorified the Divine mercy, we leave any one to conjecture.”

(Note. —Hastings Castle as a base of Duke William's operations is specially considered in the description of the military architecture of the castle—*ante*, page 518.)

GUY OF AMIENS—*continua*

and Phœbus dispersed his rays throughout the world, thou dost bid them go on their way, thou commandest them to set sail, thou commandest them to commit canvas to the wind, so that the cast anchor may release the ship. The third hour of the day is now above the earth when leaving the sea behind, thou art safe on land. A comet, with wide-extending tail, gleaming from the heavens announces to the English their destined destruction. The land due to thee, laid bare by her frightened people, joyfully receives thee and thine in her peaceful bosom. For King Harold, the accursed, in a remote quarter of the land, is preparing his perfidious darts for the destruction of his brother: for that brother had obtained no small portion of the kingdom, and was giving over houses and people to fire and sword. Harold, in opposing arms, was rushing against the foe, and did not fear to give up his brother's limbs to death. Each waged on other a worse than civil war, but oh! the sorrow of it! Harold was the victor. That cursed Cain cut off his brother's head with a sword and buried thus the head and body in the ground. Verily, he who subdued the realm due to you took care that you should come to avenge a hateful crime.”

WILLIAM OF
ABBÉ BA

cry. By the orders
sands of senators a
succumbed by the
Then loss and grief
to shouting, and to
Then, great as it w
the din equalled
silent. Were the
were the machine
fail; were the sea
earth and all that
have raised a louder
a greater outcry am
“When the vess
and are making the
sea, the shouting
suddenly ariseth: a
winds and stars, ar
selves to their app
their sails athwart
the wind: at lengt
rowers, they gain th
(*velum*), if tapestr
upon it the ships
names of the chiefs.
gliding towards th
‘Hail!’ he exclaim
land, dost favour m
would fain tear th
guilty of perjury, de
Let it be granted
from the perjured d
off from him, who i
own. I would not,
thy fields: an enemy
but peace be unto
Baudri, Abbé de Be

(Note.—Baudri
mence at once on la

UMIEGES AND
RI—*continued*

WACE—*continued*

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

f the emperors thou-
lain at Rome : Rome
s she herself kindled.
ve innumerable, people
d protection in flight.
I cannot believe that
s, where no one is
rs of heaven to fall ;
of the universe to
o overwhelm all the
rein is, they could not
n, nor would there be
g the people.
had fled the harbour,
journey over the wide
th away and silence
now pilots mark the
at once they set them-
ted task. By turning
ey set their canvas to
without aid from the
shore. (That tapestry
indeed it were, bears
d the chiefs and the
hen the bold prince is
oasts of the English,
a, 'O land, if thou, O
The perjured despot
away from us, and,
th what to us is due.
us to tear thee away
ot ; and let me carry
guilty of perjury, mine
ny kingdom, lay waste
thy enemies will I be :
e, O my country.'"—
guil.

akes the battle com-
ing.)

for the honour of the Duke, a ship which was called *Mora*, in which the Duke was carried. In the prow of the said ship the said Mathilda caused to be made a little infant of gold, pointing to England, with its right forefinger and with the left hand holding an ivory horn to its mouth ; for which deed the Duke granted to the said Mathilda the County of Kent."—(*MS. in Hyp. Bodl.* 93 (166), f. 16. *Vell. XII. Centy.*)

"From entering and charging their ships fate did not dismay nor hinder, for the wind was so soft and mild here, that the sea was but slightly agitated. By nightfall all were within. As soon as the wind was in the right direction they unfurled the sails, signalled to the Duke and those in command, and joyously in fine calm weather, they arrived at Pevensey."—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

"How in those days a comet appeared. In the same year William, Duke of Normandy, invaded England with three thousand ships, to fight against Harold, King of the English.

"In his days that comet shone forth, by whose new fire renowned Neustria glistened. For, at the same time, making these things red, it turned its tail towards the English : the people wondered : all Gaul was amazed. For the brightness of such rays (beams, splendour) burneth for five days,—as I think this fifth king will shine on it."—*Draco Normannicus.*

"The Duke, therefore, setting sail with a prodigious army, and attended by the Divine favour, arrived safely near the castle called Pevensey."—*Chron. Battle Abbey.*

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMAN AND ARRIVAL AT HASTINGS

THE BAYEU



HERE THE HORSES GO OUT OF THE SHIPS

AND HERE THE KNIGHTS HASTEN TO HASTINGS TO SEIZE FOOD.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

"Having been carried to Pevensey by a prosperous wind he disembarked without opposition, meeting with no armed resistance. . . . The Normans, who were glad when they reached the shore, first of all fortified and occupied Pevensey, and then fortified and occupied Hastings: to serve as places of retreat for themselves and of safety for their ships. Marius or Pompey the Great both renowned men, deserved their triumphs on account of their skilfulness and activity: the former, for having brought Jugurtha to Rome in chains; the latter for having forced Mithridates to take poison;—those having gone into hostile territory, would be afraid, while leading a whole army, and be slow to put themselves in danger with a single legion apart from the whole host. It was their habit, and it is the custom of all leaders, to direct, not to go as scouts: more to preserve their own lives than to preserve their skill for the good of the army. But William quickly explored the places, and the inha-

GUY OF AMIENS

"Guarding the shore, and fearing to lose your ships, you protect them by walls, and pitch a camp there. You rebuild the castles that were lately destroyed, and place custodians in them to guard them. Your people, not getting much land, but obtaining peace, invade the country and devastate and burn it with fire: and no wonder, because the foolish people refused you as their king, they therefore perished justly and were annihilated. One of the English, lying secreted under a rock by the sea,—when he saw the innumerable multitudes pouring forth, and that fields were bright, being filled with flashing arms; when Vulcan was depopulating houses by his flames, and perjured people were falling by the raging sword; and also what tears the children were shedding at the slaughter of their fathers,—runs to mount his horse, and hastens to tell the king."—*Guy of Amiens*.

WILLIAM OF ABBÉ

"All things being with a favourable wind landed at Pevensey camp at once, surrounded with trenchments, the guard entrusted to brave knights came hastily to Hastings and other fortifications to . . . At the same time his guard against the enemy; and, as night ordered his army to the return of day."
Jumièges.

Observations.—The account given by William of Poitiers of the reconnaissance made by the Duke is very slight.

The passage narrating the message sent by Robert, the son of Guymara (Wimara), is puzzling. It seems clear that the messenger was Wymarc the Staller; but the evidence for this is not clear. The author finds that there was a family of the name of Wymarc in the Charters.²

The first lines of the paragraph of Guy of Amiens seem to imply that, as in Homeric times, a temporary fortification was formed by the Norsemen, strengthened by one of the wooden castles mentioned by Wace.

The admonition by Guy of Amiens to "rebuild the castles which were lately destroyed, and to place custodians in them to guard them" previous to his departure for London and the North, the Saxon defences along the southern coast, including those at Hastings, and perhaps also at Pevensey. The figure of the Castle of Hastings in the Tapestry has the appearance of the wooden castles mentioned by Wace.

It has occurred to some that the sea at that time washed the base of the hills near Hooe; but, although the sea was effected not far from the walls of Pevensey (see Benoît de St. Maur) to the south. See Henry of Huntingdon's account.

The story of William's stumbling on landing, and his exclamation, comes so near to the similar story of Caedmon, as related in the Chronicles.

The description, by Guy, of ravages, accords with the Anglo-Saxon, but not with the later Norman accounts of the destruction of Pevensey; which is not asserted by any other writer. It was probably a slip of the pen.

The story of the destruction of the ships is first hinted at in Wace, and asserted by the Battle-Abbey Chronicle. The state in which they appear on the shore, in the Tapestry—because if they had been destroyed they could not have been used at Hastings (see division "Messages"). Apparently, the first day was spent at Pevensey in erecting the wooden fortification.

The result of William's reconnaissance probably determined him to remove to Hastings. The Tapestry shows a horn of similar shape to the one borne by the image of the child on the sternpost of William's ship. At the table.

After the dinner a council of war is held (probably at Pevensey) by William and his two brothers. The names of the knights who were present at the council hardly justifies the conclusion that Robert gave the order for the digging of an entrenchment at Hastings. The names of the knights who were present at the council, as depicted, were no doubt incidents well known to the designers of the tapestry. One of the two figures who were in charge of the Castle from the first day it began to rise (see P. 17).

BY AT PEVENSEY (Thursday, September 28th, 1066), [SHEET 2.
 (Friday, September 29th, 1066).

TAPESTRY.



HERE IS WADARD.

HERE MEAT IS COOKED

AND HERE THE SERVANTS SERVE.

HERE THEY MAKE A FEAST AND HERE THE BISHOP BLESSES THE FOOD AND DRINK.

MIÈGES AND
 AUDRI

WACE

MISCELLANEOUS

prepared, he set sail
 crossed the sea, and
 ere he established a
 nded by strong en-
 ansment of which he
 ghts. Afterwards he
 gs, where he caused
 made without delay.
 ne the Duke was on
 urnal attacks of the
 was approaching, he
 ain under arms until
 ght." — *William of*

"The ships steered to one port: arrived and reached the shore together: together cast anchor, and ran on dry land: and together they unloaded. They arrived near Hastings, and there each ship ranged by the other's side. Then you might see the good sailors, good serjeants and good squires, sally forth and unload the ships: cast the anchors, haul the ropes, bear out shields and saddles, and draw on shore the warhorses and palfreys. The archers were the first to touch land: each with his bow bent, and his quiver full of arrows slung at his side. All were shaven and shorn, and all clad in short garments, ready to attack, or strike, to wheel about and skirmish. All stood well equipped, and of good courage for the fight: and they scoured the whole shore, but found not an armed man there. After the archers had gone forth, the knights landed next, all armed: with their hauberks on, their shields slung at their necks, and their helmets laced. Together they formed

"Then came William, Duke of Normandy, to Pevensey, on the eve of the mass of St. Michael (28th Sept.); and as soon as they had arrived they wrought a castle at Hastingsport."—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"So, when all the arrangements for the undertaking were completed, Duke William, setting sail with this fleet, upon the twenty-eighth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty-six, crossing in the highest spirits, landed in England, by the favour of God, near the Castle which is called Pevensey. But making no long stay there, he arrived with his whole army at another port not far distant from the first, which they call Hastings, and there he ordered all his force to rest."—*Brevis Relatio*.

"As he disembarked he slipped down but turned the accident to his advantage: a soldier, who stood near, calling out to him, 'You hold England, Duke (comes), hence-

resting. The caution of his tactics on landing gives way to humour when it is realized that the enemy is not in

that Robert *did not come himself*, but sent a message. Mr. E. A. Freeman attempted to identify this Robert with Wymark settled near Pevensea, owning land called "Byastovere," and that they are mentioned in the Battle-Abbey

ton was thrown up to protect the vessels on the shore. It probably may have been one of those semicircular earth-

in them, to guard them," is most interesting. It is very probable that on the disbanding of the army by Harold at Hastings and Pevensey, were dismantled, and that William occupied his time in repairing and further entrenching the appearance of a dismantled wooden castle of the 11th century. But this passage may relate to the reconstruction of

h was probably then far more extensively flooded than it is now, there is every reason to suppose that the landing description of Pevensey.

in Africa, where he exclaims, "*Teneo te Africa*," that it is open to considerable suspicion. It is, however, firmly

Wace has mistaken the place where William landed, and states that he landed near Hastings, and marched to

It will be noted that the earlier Chronicles do not mention it, but Wace's word "despecies" probably means dis- not have been drawn ashore and pierced.³ Furthermore, we find that the ships afterwards found their way to form a temporary base.

ne foraging being actively carried out, and the cooks at work. One of the waiters gives the signal for dinner on a shown the portrait (?) of a bearded person, who would seem to be English, but of whom we have no record.

each are placed over them in the Tapestry. We think that the insertion of the word "Robert" in the legend over- ra; but rather that the words "iste jussit" refer to William.⁴ The fight between the diggers, and the burning of es standing, with a pennon, directing the work, may be intended for Humphrey de Tilleul, who, we find, was in

THE LANDING OF WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMAN AND ARRIVAL AT HASTINGS (F)

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued*

bitants himself, accompanied by a band of not more than twenty-five soldiers. Returning from this on foot, on account of the roughness of the by-paths, performing a feat which has its comical side, yet gave opportunity for serious praise, although the reader perchance may laugh at it; carrying upon his shoulder the corslet of his attendant, fastened to his own, he then at the same time relieved of his iron burden William Fitz Osborn, a man as much renowned for his strength as for his courage.

"A certain rich inhabitant of those parts, a Norman by nation, Robert, the son of Guymara (Wimara), a woman of noble birth, sent a message to Hastings to the Duke, his lord and kinsman, in these words: 'King Harold having fought with his own brother and with the King of Norway (than whom it was thought no braver man lived under heaven), slew them both in one battle, and destroyed their immense army. Being animated by that success, he quickly returns to you, leading a very numerous and strong people, against which I consider that your soldiers are of no more good than just so many despicable dogs. You are thought to be a prudent man, and you have hitherto done everything prudently, both at home and in war. Now look to yourself; be cautious, and take care, lest by your rashness of judgment you run into some danger from which you cannot escape. I advise you remain within your fortifications, and at present do not come to a hand-to-hand fight.'

"In reply the Duke said to the messenger:—'I thank your master for that message in which he wishes me to be cautious, although it would have become him to advise me without his contumely; and give him this answer. I would not protect myself by a pallisade or behind walls; but I would fight with Harold as soon as possible, and doubt not that he and his will be crushed by the bravery of my men, if the Will of God does not prevent it, even had I only ten thousand of such good soldiers as are the sixty thousand I have brought with me.'—*William of Poitiers.*

WACE—*continued*

on the shore, each armed upon his war-horse. All had their swords girded on, and passed into the plain with their lances raised.

"The Barons had gonfanons, and the knights pennons. They occupied the advanced ground, next to where the archers had fixed themselves. The carpenters, who came after, had great axes in their hands, and planes and adzes hung at their sides.

"When they had reached the spot where the archers stood, and the knights were assembled, they consulted together and sought for a good spot, whereon to place a strong fort. Then they cast out of the ships the materials, and threw them to land, all shaped, framed and pierced to receive the pins which they had brought, cut and ready, in large barrels: so that before evening had well set in, they had finished a fort.

"Then you might see them make their kitchens, light their fires and cook their meat. The Duke sat down to eat, and the barons and knights had food in plenty: for he brought ample store. All ate and drank enough, and were right glad that they were ashore. Before the Duke left the Somme a clerk had come to him, who knew, he said, astronomy and necromancy, and held himself a good diviner, and predicted many things. So he divined for the Duke, and predicted that he should pass the sea safely, and succeed in his expedition, without fighting at all: for that Harold would make such promises, and come to such terms, that he would hold the land of the Duke, and become his liegeman, and so William would return in safety. As to the good passage, he predicted right enough: but as to not fighting, he lied.

"When the Duke had crossed and arrived safely, he remembered the prediction, and enquired for the diviner. But one of the sailors said he had miscarried, and was drowned at sea and in one of the lost ships. 'Little matters it,' said the Duke, 'no great deal could he have known. A poor diviner, indeed, must he be about me, who could predict nought about himself. If the things to come were known to him, he might well have foreseen his own death: foolish is he who trusts in a diviner who takes heed for others but forgets himself, who knows the end of other men's work, and cannot discern the term of his own life.' So ended the diviner, and to the shore were drawn the ships. When the Duke first landed, he fell by chance upon his two hands. Forthwith

WACE

all raised a loud cry, 'is h lustily, 'See seignors God! I have seized hands: without cha made: all is our own we shall see who w Then one of his men hand on a hut, and thatch, and turned heartily, 'Sire, I give ward and receive sei doubt the country is said, 'I accept it: r Then he ordered pr and commanded the should be dismantl and pierced, that t have the ships to flee or written at once; and forward to each have now to tell that after his arrival, mac selves. The first d to the seashore: an to a castle called Pe and foragers, and the booty, seized all the they could find, lest by the ships shoul English were to be s driving off their ca houses. All took s and even there they *How an English k who was fighting was sent by the D.*

"A knight of that and cry made by t when they saw the well knew that the and that they wishe posted himself behin should see him, and how the great flee archers come forth knights coming aft penters with their people and troops. the materials for th He saw them build and dig the fosse ar land the shields ar beheld all this, he w he girt his sword, a he would go strai and tell the news."—

Observations—*continued*

In the background perspective is seen the castle-mound surmounted by what has all the appearance of the con mound at Hastings, as viewed from the site of the northern ditch; but the shape of the castle depicted on its moun ordinary name of the place, as we have already seen (see above, P. 16).

¹ Harold's Constable.

² Owing to the inaccessibility of these documents we are unable to trace the matter further at prese

³ Harold in one of his messages offers to refit the ships—which may mean that they had been somehow rendered unfit for se

⁴ The Norman host arrived at Hastings on St. Michael's Day (29th September) probably marching along the coast. St. M dragon of the Saxon Standard—around the device appears the legend "Cruel dragon, thee the power of Michael shall conquer." xl. p. 261.)

continued

of distress. 'An evil
 ' But he cried out
 by the splendour of
 the land with my two
 ge no prize can be
 at is here and now
 be the bolder man.'
 a forward and put his
 ok a handful of the
 the Duke, saying
 ou seisin : come for-
 of this land : without
 rs.' And the Duke
 ' God be with us.'
 amation to be made,
 ailors that the ships
 and drawn ashore,
 cowardly might not
 All cannot be told
 t, passing backward
 matter in its turn, I
 e Duke, immediately
 ll his host arm them-
 they remained close
 in the morrow came
 esel. The squires
 who looked out for
 hing and provisions
 at had been brought
 ail them ; and the
 fleeing before them,
 and quitting their
 er in the cemeteries,
 e in grievous alarm."
 ht rode to Harold
 ti, and what message
 ntry heard the noise
 easants and villeins
 at fleet arrive. He
 r Normans were come,
 seize the land. He
 hillock so that none
 ried there, watching
 rived : he saw the
 the ships, and the
 He saw the car-
 ps, and the host of
 He saw the men throw
 rt out of the ships.
 nd enclose the fort,
 d it. He saw them
 rmour. And as he
 eavy at heart : and
 ook his lance, saying
 ay to King Harold,
 ace.

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

forth king.' He then restrained the whole army from plundering : warning them that they should now abstain from what must hereafter be their own : and for fifteen successive days he remained so perfectly quiet that he seemed to think of nothing less than war."—*William of Malmesbury.*

"The Norman expedition therefore crossed the sea on the night of the third of the calends of October which the Catholic Church observes as the feast of St. Michael the Archangel ; and, meeting with no resistance, and rejoicing, seized the shore of the sea, then occupied Pevensey and Hastings, the defence of which was entrusted to a chosen body of soldiers, to cover a retreat and guard the fleet."—*Orderic Vitalis, B.III. c. XIV.*

"There, just in front of the port, stood a castle (Pevensey), handsome and strong ; and the Duke let some of his good knights go within, to garrison it for two years."

"After, the story goes on to relate, he came to Hastings without delay ; and there, in a few hours, they set to work to fortify another castle. So many applied themselves to the work, that the wall became so high as in no part to offer an easy point of attack. There guards for security remained, and others were taken thither."—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

"Five days after, the French arrived with quite eleven thousand ships at Hastings upon sea, where they built a castle."—*Geoffroi Gaimar.*

"In this year, an army, bristling with weapons and supplied with ships, crossed the salt waves of the Strait. William, Duke of the Normans, who was brave and bold, was at the same time the originator and the leader of such a great fleet. He said that the kingdom of the English race would be his, and he sought to obtain this throne by arms for himself and his children."—*Draco Normannicus.*

. . . . "The soldiers leaped joyfully upon English ground at intervals along the shore, . . . It happened as the Duke landed from his ship, that he fell upon his face, making his nose somewhat bloody upon the beach, and grasping the earth with his outstretched hands. Many of the bystanders feared the

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

consequences of so unlucky a presage, and stood whispering together. But the Duke's *dabifer*, William Fitz-Osbert by name, a man of great merit and much ready wit, being at hand, boldly rallied the failing courage of the waverers with a word.

"'Cease, men,' said he, 'to interpret this as a misfortune, for by my troth, it is a token of prosperity ; for lo, he hath embraced England with both his hands, and sealed it to his posterity with his own blood ; and thus by the foreshowing of Divine Providence is he destined effectually to win it !'"

"Things thus turning out according to his wishes, the Duke did not long remain in that place, but went away with his men to a port not far distant, called Hastings ; and there having secured an appropriate place, and acting upon a prudent determination, he speedily built a castle of wood. And having burnt the greatest part of the ships (lest any of his followers, relying upon the hope of returning home, should be careless in the design that they had undertaken), the Duke—now shortly about to become a king— anxiously hastened to reduce the surrounding country."—*Chronicles of Battle Abbey.*

ment of a wooden castle, or of one that had been dismantled. Its appearance is similar to that of the Castle that characteristic of the period, both in England and Normandy. The name *Hastinga Cestra* was the

, or it may merely mean that they should be provisioned for a return voyage.
 is the patron saint of the town of Hastings and is depicted on its seal slaying the Dragon, which is of the same form as the
 the seal, which may be the successor of an earlier one, is of the early part of the 13th century. (See *Sussex Arch. Collns.*, vol.

MESSAGES BETWEEN THE DUKE OF NORMANDY AND

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



BISHOP ODO. WILLIAM. ROBERT. HE ORDERS A CASTLE TO BE DUG

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

"But one day, whilst the Duke was looking after the safety of the ships, and was walking about the harbour, he was told that a monk had come as a messenger from Harold. He at once met him, with this ingenious address:—'I am in the confidence,' he begins, 'of William, Duke of Normandy, and am his High Steward. You will not get permission to speak with him except through me, so tell me what message you bring. He will willingly hear it from me, for he likes none of his retainers better than me. Hereafter, at the proper season, thanks to me, as you wish you shall speak to him openly.' Having heard the message that the monk delivered, the duke, without hesitation, ordered the messenger to be received as a guest, and to be looked after with zealous kindness. Meanwhile he deliberated with himself and his councillors, what answer he should give.

"On the morrow, reclining in the midst of his nobles, he said to the cowled advocate:—'I am William, by the grace of God, Chief of the Normans. Repeat now, in the presence of these, what you said to me yesterday.' The messenger spake thus:—'King Harold sends you this message. You have invaded his country, although he does not know on what pretext you rely, nor why you should be so rash. He, indeed, remembers that King Edward formerly decreed that you should be heir of his English Kingdom, and that he gave you security in Normandy for that succession. He knows, however, that by right this very kingdom is his, as it was left to him as a gift by the same King, his lord, in his last moments. And from that period when Saint Augustine came to this country, it has been the common custom of this nation, that any donation made by any one on his death bed, is held to be unalterable. Wherefore he calls upon you justly to quit this country with your soldiers. Otherwise he will break his friendship and all treaties that he made with you in Normandy, forsaking altogether the bond between you and him.' Having heard Harold's mandate, the Duke asked the monk

GUY OF AMIENS

"The king (Harold) returned from the battle (Stamford Bridge), bringing with him rich spoils. The messenger hastens to meet him and delivers what he had to say, as follows: 'O King! I certainly bring you dire news. The Duke of Normandy has invaded the land with the French (Gauls) and the Bretons, and is devastating it and burning it with fire. If you ask how many thousands there are, nobody will be able to tell you: his horsemen are as numerous as the fish in the sea, and, just as you could not count the stars in the heavens, so also you will not be able to number his army. He is leading captive boys and girls, and widows as well, and at the same time all the cattle.'

"These tidings the countryman reported. The king in reply hisses at him, and although he really feared this, he pretended to wish it. He himself summoned his captains, his Earls, and the powerful men of his land, and is said to have addressed them as follows:—'You, who are the chief part of my troops, sprung from princes, whose only shame it is, not to conquer in war—we have conquered the enemy whom Nothica (Norway) sent us, by you; and by you we have overthrown him who bears my name (Harold of Norway), him whom the breasts of the same mother nourished with her own milk (Tostig). You are my protection, wall and help; you have heard that the Norman race has invaded our kingdom, and, by devastating, impoverishes and despoils it. William, who is trying to subdue you, has a great name, but a timorous heart. He is artful and avaricious and very haughty, and he neither knows how to keep the peace nor his word of honour. He attempts to take away our power, easily if he can! But Almighty God will not suffer this. How great would be the lamentation; how great the grief and the shame and the misfortune to the kingdom; how dark the day if he should obtain what he wants, should he gain possession of the sceptre of the kingdom! Let all seek to avoid this, who wish to live.' When he had said this, he sought an answer from his men. In silence they

THE ANGLO-SAXONS

"Forthwith he set late and rising early night and by day to He found him beyond town where he had

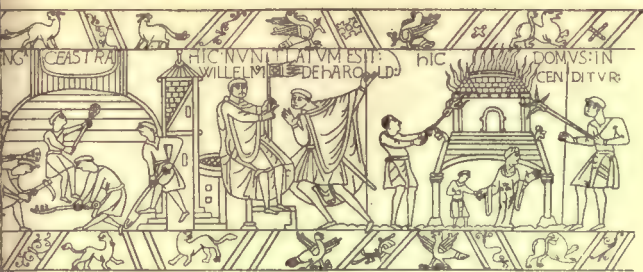
"Harold returned, bearing himself in, met him that put other for lo! the knight is Hastings. 'The Norman come! They have Thy land will they canst not defend it. fort round about with

"'Sorry am I,' said not there at their archance; I had better asked so that I had William reached the bidden his landing; so many into the so many to be done never have effected ought of ours; no missed death on land the danger of the pleased the Heavens be everywhere at once

"There was a baron know his name—well, and was in so and desired, so far harm should befall

"This baron sent he was too weak; too little force, to do what he that there were England, that it would conquer. So he came faith and in true love and go home to his should arrive; for he come to him, and he said, if any misfortune William. The Duke he felt no misgiving

TAPESTRY.



HASTINGA CEASTRA. HERE TIDINGS OF HAROLD ARE BROUGHT TO WILLIAM. HERE A HOUSE IS BURNT.

...E
...N MESSENGER
...STINGS.
...t on his way, resting
...so he journeyed by
...seek Harold his lord.
...the Humber, in a
...dined.....
...oicing and triumph-
...t proudly, when news
...oughts in his mind ;
...me who set out from
...ans,' he cried, 'are
...ended at Hastings !
...e from thee, if thou
...ey have enclosed a
...alisades and a fosse.
...Harold, 'that I was
...It is a sad mis-
...ive lost what Tosti
...n at the port when
...ore, and had for-
...might have driven
...and have caused
...d that they would
...nding, nor touched
...would they have
...f they had escaped
...But thus it hath
...ing ; and I could not
...f the land—I do not
...had loved the Duke
...council with him,
...he was able, that no
...to him privily, that
...he had come with
...seemed to him,
...undertaken ; for
...many men in
...be very hard to
...elled him, in good
...o leave the country
...land before Harold
...ed lest harm should
...uld grieve much, he
...should happen to
...swered briefly, that
...at he might rely

WACE—continued

upon it if he had but ten thousand of as noble knights as of whom he had sixty thousand or more ; he would still fight it out. Yea, he said, he would never go back till he had taken vengeance on Harold.

"Harold came full speed to London, commanding that from every part of England all should come forthwith, fully equipped, by a time that he would appoint them, without any excuse except infirmity. He would at once have challenged the Duke and fixed a day for the battle, but he waited till his great baronage should come together : and they came in haste on receiving the summons.

The Duke soon heard that Harold was assembling a great host, and that he was come to London from the North where he had killed his brother Tosti. Then he sent for Huon Margot, a tonsured monk of Fécamp ; and for that he was a learned man, well known and much valued, the Duke despatched him to Harold. And Margot set out on his way, and finding Harold at London spoke to him thus :— 'Harold !' said he, 'hearken to me ! I am a messenger, hear ye from whom ? The Duke tells thee by my mouth, that too soon thou hast forgotten the oath, which thou didst formerly swear to him in Normandy, and that thou hast forsworn thyself. Redress the wrong and render to him the crown and lordship which are not thine by ancestry ; thou art king neither by heritage, nor through any man of thy lineage. King Edward, in good health, of his own free will and power, gave his land and realm to his best kinsman William. He gave this gift as to the best man that he had, in full health before his death, as he had a right to do, and if he did wrong, thou didst not forbid it ; but thou didst assent, and warrant, and swear to maintain it. Deliver him his land ; do justice, lest greater damage befall thee No such host can assemble as thou and he must combat with, without great cost and heavy loss ; and thus there will be mischief to both sides.....Restore the kingdom that thou hast seized. Woe betide thee if thou shalt try to hold it !'

MISCELLANEOUS

"In the midst of these things, and when the King might have considered that all his enemies were wiped out, (after the defeat of the Danes at Stamford,) it was announced to him that William, Duke of the Normans, had arrived with a countless host of horsemen, slingers, archers, and foot-soldiers, having brought with him powerful auxiliaries from all parts of Gaul, and that he had landed at a place called Pefnesea. Thereupon the King at once, and in great haste, marched his army towards London."—*Florence of Worcester.*

"Meanwhile, Duke William being there, and invading England on that side, a messenger was hurriedly despatched by the English to Harold, who at that time had marched against his brother who had entered England on the other side with a great multitude of warriors, wishing to conquer England from his brother Harold, and to possess the conquered land. But Harold, fighting with his brother, slew him, and those who were with him. Wherefore Harold being no little elated at this victory, did not see what was destined soon to happen to him."—*Brevis Relatio.*

"(There was) a valiant man, rich and prosperous, who was born in Normandy, but who was living in this land where he obtained the means to support himself in affluence, through not missing the chance of any reward such as he had in the battle where Harold killed his brother. A number of messages were taken by him, and promptly transmitted to the Duke. Before all the people, he said who he was, and whence he came, and who had entrusted him with the messages. Then he related how his lord had sent him ; how Harold had fought and vanquished the men of Norway, and killed his brother, the king and those he brought with him, of whom he had more than 20,000 ; and how that from this battle he had returned strong and proud, with more than a thousand armed soldiers ; with such an army was he accompanied. 'To encounter

MESSAGES BETWEEN THE DUKE OF NORMANDY AND

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued*

whether he would bring his messenger to Harold in safety. He undertook to take care of his safety, as of his own. The Duke on the spot dictated these words to a monk of Fécamp, which he was to take to Harold immediately. 'I have not come to this country without good reason or justice, but advisedly and under the guidance of equity, as Harold himself confesses that my lord and relative, King Edward, made me heir thereof, on account of the very great honours and very many benefits that I and my nobles bestowed upon him and his brother and their followers: and because he thought me the most excellent of all those who were connected with his race, and could best assist him while he lived, and govern the kingdom after his death. Nor indeed did he do that without the consent of his nobles, and by the advice of the Archbishop Stigand, of Earl Godwin, of Earl Leofric, and of Earl Sigard, who had confirmed their oath between his hands, that after Edward's death they would receive me as their lord, and that they would in no way attempt, during his lifetime, to have the country occupied by any obstacle put in my way. He gave me Godwin's son and nephew as hostages, and at last he sent Harold himself to Normandy, that he, being present, might swear there, in my presence, what his father and the others, named above, had here sworn to me in my absence. Whilst he was coming to me he was in danger of being captured, from which I delivered him by my prudence and courage. He gave himself to me by his own hands, and with his own hand gave me my security for the kingdom of England. I am here present to have the cause against him tried by law, which he prefers, Norman law or English. If, according to true justice, the Normans or English determine that, by law, he ought to possess this kingdom, then let him possess it in peace. But if they agree that it ought rightfully to be restored to me as a just debt, let him give it over to me. But if he refuses this condition, I do not think it right that either my men or his ought to fall in battle, as they are not to blame for our quarrel. Behold, I am ready to assert, by my head against his head, that the kingdom of England belongs by right to me, rather than to him.'

"We wish that the real meaning of the Duke's words may be brought before the eyes of the multitude rather than our statement of them, because we wish him to be praised by the perpetual favour of the multitude. It will be easily inferred, from the real meaning of his words, that he was truly prudent, just, pious, and brave. For the number of his arguments, which it is quite clear, not even the eloquence of the greatest Roman author, Tullius (Cicero), could have weak-

GUY OF AMIENS—*continued*

ponder over what they would reply. Immediately a shout arose that strikes the stars, and they all with one voice said:—'We prefer war to being under the yoke of another king, and we would rather die.' The foolish king with great joy thanked his men, and then he added this further counsel:—'First of all we must send ambassadors to him who shall advise him to return [home] if he please. If he will make a treaty of peace with us, by your advice, I shall not reject it; but if not, he will not leave my shores at his own pleasure. Let him desist from his enterprise, and return to his own kingdom beyond the straits.'

"On the advice of young and old as well, an eloquent monk was chosen to explore the duke's camp, and carefully to bring back the message that was entrusted to him by the king's orders. He hastened on his journey on horseback, bearing the words that were to be feared under his black cassock. The duke was in the camp, which the monk entering, he spoke as follows:—

"It is my duty to ask that you should bid farewell to our country. The king and the princes, maintaining the rights of the country, order you to return as quickly as possible. Moreover they are astonished at what report says about you, that, apart from yourself, you are leading the kingdom to destruction. You must give up the prisoners and whatever you have taken by force: if you wish, he will forgive you the other injuries that you have done: he puts it down to your age: he ascribes it to the inconstancy of your principles, which [inconstancy] was formerly sparing in bestowing friendship. If you refuse this, or delay restoring to him what is his, he declares war on you: therefore it behoves you to have a care. He can scarcely restrain his army or people: it is a race that knows not how to bear any restraint. Now I call the Lord to witness that he has twelve hundred thousand fighting men who are thirsting for battle.' When these words were cast in his teeth the image of the lion was changed. An intrepid soldier, and full of valour, the duke not caring a straw for what the lying cowed one had said, proves to him that his threats are idle. 'The words of your king,' he said, 'are not those of a wise man. He will in no wise be able to hide himself from me, let him be sure of this. I have ceased to be a boy, nor did I lightly seek the kingdom that was due to me of right on the death of my ancestors. He has wrongly broken the treaty of our friendship, whilst he unjustly holds what should be mine by right. To tell me to return is madness, the height of insanity: for the time of year forbids it, and the voyage is difficult: and although he threatens to go to war unjustly, my soldiers who put their trust in the Lord, will not

WACE—

"Harold was exceedingly angry. He said that he had some reason. He was enraged at Margot had threatened that he would have his brother, sprang between them, and away. He went with choosing to stay let nor did anything matter about which to Duke William and had insulted him.

"Then Harold knew the language of to Duke William, ch words:—

"Say to the Duke remind me of my country if I ever foolishly made anything, I did it for to get my freedom; me; and I ought not I did nothing of strength was all or that unless I did his return, but have rem I have done him any recompense. If he I will give it accord refit all his ships, a duct; but if he refuses truth, that if he wait on Saturday seek he will do battle with hastened to the Duke King Harold, told he to his own land, a presence, he should the purpose; and i money, he should silver as should sup

"Duke William fair words! I am n with so many *escus esterlins*, but I am all his land, acco the gift of King Eo two youths of gen the one the son, t Godwin. I have t and keep them I v right done unto me

"Then the messe asked too much of lord: thou wouldst and fair name: rec his kingdom, as if All is yet safe, and there is no weakne He is not so presse should give up his it agreeable that, be should at once lea Harold will yield

HAROLD KING OF ENGLAND (October, 1066)—*continued.**continued*

ngly proud, and it is
nes fits of madness.
e words with which
aim ; and it is thought
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forth and stood
ent Huon Margot
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er, and neither said
ore concerning the
e came, but returned
old him how Harold

e a messenger who
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it and promised him
ny liberty. I swore,
greed to all he asked
to be reproached, for
ny free will. The
is side, and I feared
easure, I should never
ed there for ever. If
ong, I will make him
nt any of my wealth,
to my ability. I will
give them safe con-
his offer, tell him for
or me so long, I will
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or decay in his force.
the war, as that he
to thee : neither is
se it pleaseth thee, he
is kingdom to thee.
naught to thee nor

WACE—*continued*

canst thou take aught from him : but in good will, and as a matter of favour, and without fear of thy threats, he will give thee as much as thou desirest of gold and silver, money and fine garments : and thus thou mayst return to thy country before any affray happen between you. If thou wilt not accept this offer, know this, if thou abide his coming, he will be ready in the field on Saturday, and on Saturday will he fight.'

"The Duke accepted this appointment, and the messenger took his leave : but when he proposed to go, the Duke gave him a horse and garments : and when he came to Harold, attired thus in new clothes, he showed him all that the Duke had given him, and told him how he had been honoured, and all that had passed : and Harold repented much that he had done otherwise by Huon Margot."—*Wace.*

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

thee they have such desire that they do not think of the time to come. Beware, take counsel, do not be too confident, for perilous and hard is the undertaking. So much honour and glory hast thou had, beware lest now thou art overreached. Do not be in a hurry to fight, nor to put thy people in the field in an enterprise so foolish, in which they may be killed, or thyself disgraced or undone.'

"'Friend,' answered the Duke, 'many thanks ! Well did thy lord to send, and heartily is he to be thanked. But this I still maintain,—and may God be my witness,—who hath a just and right and holy cause, instead of having honour and glory, valour and power and victory must needs be his, if he have faith in Him. In this matter I trust not in myself alone, I have rights to claim, and my rights I demand. If I conquer, God will decide ; for against Him neither force nor resistance, valour nor defence can avail. Let all be according to His will.'"—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

"Harold, King of England, returned to York the same day, with great triumph. But while he was at dinner, a messenger arrived with the news that William, Duke of Normandy, had landed on the south coast, and had constructed a fort at Hastings."—*Henry of Huntingdon.*

MESSAGES AND INCIDENTS OF KING HAROLD'S

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued*

ened—destroyed Harold's arguments. Lastly, he was ready to accept the decision which the law of nations would give: he did not wish the English to die as his enemies, on account of his quarrel; and he wished to settle the matter by single combat between them, at the risk of his own life alone.

"When, therefore, that message was given by the monk to Harold as he drew near, he grew pale from amazement, and was speechless for a long time, as though he had lost his tongue. The messenger asked him for a reply to his message, not once but twice also. He replied to the first demand, 'We go immediately'; and to the second, 'We go for the prize.' The messenger insisted that there should be another answer, repeating:—'The Norman Duke does not desire the destruction of the armies, but single combat.' For that prompt and good man wished to take back, by way of reply, some just and genial message, and did not wish many to die: for he felt confident that Harold's head would fall off, as he had less strength, and no justice (on his side). Then Harold, lifting up his face towards heaven, said:—'May the Lord decide to-day, what is just between William and me.' For, being blinded by the desire of ruling, and at the same time forgetting his wrongs, through his fears, he wished for a just judge in spite of his own ruin."—*William of Poitiers.*

GUY OF AMIENS—*continued*

flee. Does he not know that he has secretly perjured himself to me, and does he not remember in his heart that he is in my power? If his perjured hand has not yet been punished, yet it is already condemned by the Divine judgment. If he seeks peace; if he wishes to confess his faults, I will overlook his offences and will be ready to spare him. I will restore to him the land which his father formerly held, if he will be my vassal now as he was formerly.' The monk hastened back, while the duke made ready his arms, for he knew Harold's mind, and his deceit. He exhorted, inflamed, and reassured the hearts of his soldiers:—'You warlike men, whom France, renowned for noble races, has produced; warriors without venom, famous chivalry whom God has chosen, and whom God himself favours; whose renown, as invincible in war, extends throughout the four quarters of the earth, you nation of the Bretons, whose glory in arms shines forth, for whom there is no such name as flight, unless the earth should itself fly; you illustrious men of Le Mans, whose glory is shown in war by the influence of your honesty; the Apulian, the Calabrian, and the Sicilian, whose lances bristle; Normans, who are prepared for renowned deeds! That false and infamous and perjured king and adulterer is putting forth his might against us, and is laying his snares. For his habit is not to conquer by force, but by deceit; and while plighting his faith with his lips, he is all the time concocting death. Therefore we must take care lest we should be deceived by him, lest we make ourselves the sport and the laughing-stock of his people: wherefore we command you to defend the camp, lest that wicked robber should break into it. But to-morrow, if it seems just and right to you, in answer to him whom he has sent with a vain message to me, let us send a messenger to him, ready to return him word for word—one who will fear him least. There is a monk here, who is second to none in persuasiveness, and who yields to none in rhetoric, and who would be a celebrated standard-bearer, if the sacred rules did not forbid it. If it please you, let him convey my message.' He spoke, and it was done, and the action suited the word. The monk

GUY OF AMIENS

was summoned, and on his journey. In king, the abode and skilled in the robber's to arm under the commands them to the duke, concealing him them. He thought watchful enemy by thought to deceive, rushed to his fall. stood on the watch messenger, was rival's skill. The through by-roads the king was lurking king, on the part of are forcing unjust course. Because this, (and he asserted of his people of his chiefs King decreed that he should and if you favour him given to him, are the which you know were You must therefore which you swore to obligations and with Therefore you must jury does not harm you be saved keep your

"Harold, turning to the messenger:—you fool: to-morrow it will appear to who belongs; the holy divide it justly.' He by-roads by which back these words (William), by whom The Duke, the ad peace and glory of his forces, and collected he compelled the less gathered together th [This message seems William's reconnaissance (see below)]. The f and its pallor, depre ness, showed that t 'Where is the king, far away,' the monk

Observations.—The messenger, who started to find Harold in the North of England, brought the news to York. Guy of Amiens's messenger, called "*rusticus*," a countryman, is probably the same person as the messenger who The story, told by William of Poitiers, of the messenger who arrives as William is looking over his ships, is piec The chronology of the messages is very confused. That mentioned by Benoît de St. Maur evidently refers to t The last of the messages related by Guy of Amiens seems to have been given on the night before William's reco from the rapidity of the former's movements.

The monk doubtless delivered Harold's answer to William's message on Friday, when he was making the messenger.

Huon Margot, the monk of Fécamp, may have been a resident at Hastings, as the Abbot of Fécamp owned R

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essenger, travelling
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GUY OF AMIENS—*continued*

pered to him:—"You can see the standards; I am the bearer of many words, which I do not think I ought to repeat, but I will say those that it might be harmful to keep back. He thinks that he may be able to take you unawares, and he is preparing a great battle by sea and by land. He is said to have sent fifty ships to sea, so as to hinder our return. Wherever he goes, you would think there were woods on the plains, and he dries up all the rivers that he crosses. Perhaps you fear the numbers? But the greatest number, without strength, often retreats, defeated by a smaller number. He has soldiers who have combed and anointed hair; effeminate young men, slothful in the art of war, and as many as they are, they must be compared as being equal to the same number of sheep, or as wolves frightened at the noise of the thunder. Remember your noble ancestors, great Duke, and do what your grandfather and your father did. Your great-grandfather overcame the Normans, and your grandfather the Bretons; your father brought the necks of the English under the yoke. And what will you do, unless, by preparing for greater things, you succeed them by the magnificence of your uprightness?' He was silent for a while, making as though he would tarry."—*Guy of Amiens.*

WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES

"Therefore Harold, learning that fiercer adversaries were rising against him on another side, prepared himself vigorously for fresh combats; for he was extremely brave and audacious, very handsome in all his person, agreeable by his manner of expressing himself, and affable with everybody. As his mother and her other faithful friends tried to dissuade him from going to fight, the Count Gurth, his brother, said to him: 'Brother and well beloved lord, thou must allow thy valour to be moderated by prudent councils. Thou hast just returned fatigued by fighting the Norwegians, and thou wishest again to go in haste to measure thyself against the Normans. Rest, I prythee, and reflect with wisdom on what thou hast promised on oath to the Prince of Normandy. Beware of committing a perjury, lest after so great a crime thou should'st be crushed together with the strength of our nation, branding thereby our race with eternal dishonour. I, who am free from all vows, owe nothing to Count William, am quite ready to march bravely against him to defend our native land. But thou, my brother, rest in peace where thou wilt and await the events of war, so that the fine liberty of the English doth not perish by thy hand.'

"Hearing these words, Harold became very indignant. He disdained these counsels which his friends thought salutary, heaped abuse upon his brother who offered him this advice through fidelity, and spurned back with his foot his mother, who was making efforts to detain him."—*William of Jumièges.*

but October 1st.

Wace calls "*Chevalier.*"

and interesting, as showing that the ships were not destroyed.

messages of Robert, mentioned by William of Poitiers.

reconnaissance on Friday, October 13th. The idea that Harold was attempting to surprise the Duke probably arose

reconnaissance—and the incident is perhaps the last narrated by Wace—where Gurth is said to meet

Manlie (or Brede Manor, as it was called, at the time of the Conquest and afterwards).

INCIDENTS OF KING HAROLD'S PREPARATIONS

MISCELLANEOUS

(On receiving news of William's landing.)

"This was then made known to King Harold and he gathered a great force, and came to meet him at the Hoar Apple Tree."—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"Thereupon the King at once, and in great haste, marched his army towards London, and though he well knew that some of the bravest Englishmen had fallen in his two (former) battles, and that a considerable portion of his army had not yet arrived, he did not hesitate to advance with all speed against his enemies into South Saxony."—*Florence of Worcester*, 1066.

"Accordingly when he heard that Duke William with his army of Normans had crossed over into England, as quickly as he could, he came to London and there held conference with the Danes and the English he had with him, contemning and holding as nothing all that he had sworn to Duke William in Normandy.

"He ordered all his men to prepare themselves with all speed, that he might come upon the Normans, with their leader William, before they could flee from England: for, in his madness, he thought that the Normans would not dare to await him, nor come out to fight against him. But it happened otherwise: and he not only did come upon the Normans but, fighting against them, found that the Normans had not crossed over into England with the intention of fleeing from it. So Harold, leaving London with all his army, came to a place which is now called Battle. Before, however, he came to this battle, he is said to have remarked that he was never so pleased with anything in his life as coming to this battle: for blinded by his infatuation he could not see how truly the Scripture says, 'Pride goeth before a fall.' For before a fall went the pride of the mad. Harold, who was so foolish and vain that he could not foresee nor clearly understand that the Justice of Almighty God doth always put down and bring to nought the proud and the vain, unless they turn them from their wickedness."—*Brevis Relatio*.

"When the news of the Normans' arrival reached him, reeking as he was from battle, he proceeded to Hastings, though accompanied by very few forces. No doubt the fates were urging him on, as he neither summoned his troops, nor, had he been willing to do so, would he have found many to obey his call, so hostile were all to him, as I have

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

before observed, from his having appropriated the northern spoils to himself. He sent out some persons, however, to reconnoitre the number and strength of the enemy: these being taken within the camp, William ordered to be led from tent to tent, and after feasting them plentifully, to be sent back uninjured to their lord. On their return, Harold inquired what news they brought: when, after relating at full the noble confidence of the general, they gravely added, that almost all his army had the appearance of priests; as they had the whole face with both lips shaven. For the English leave the upper lip unshorn, suffering the hair continually to grow there, which Julius Cæsar, in his treatise on the Gallic war (Lib. v. 14), affirms to have been a national custom with the ancient inhabitants of Britain.

"The king smiled at the simplicity of the narrators, observing, with a pleasant laugh, that they were not priests, but soldiers strong in arms and invincible in spirit. His brother Gurth, a youth on the verge of manhood, and of great knowledge and manner surpassing his years, caught up his words:—'Since,' said he, 'you extol so much the valour of the Norman, I think it ill-advised for you, who are his inferior in strength and desert, to contend with him. Nor can you deny that you are bound to him by oath, either willingly or by compulsion: wherefore you will act wisely, if, yourself withdrawing from this pressing emergency, you allow us to try the issue of a battle; we, who are free from all obligation, shall justly draw the sword in defence of our country. It is to be feared, if you engage, that you will be either subjected to flight or to death: whereas if we only fight, your cause will sail safely into port: for you will be able both to rally the fugitives and to avenge the dead.' His unbridled rashness yielded no placid ear to the words of his adviser, thinking it base, and a reproach to his past life to turn his back on danger of any kind: and with similar impudence or, to speak with more freedom, imprudence, he drove a monk away, the messenger of William, not deigning him even a complacent look; praying only that God would decide between him and William.

"He was the bearer of three propositions: either that he (Harold) would relinquish the kingdom, according to his agreement; or hold it of him (William) or decide the matter between themselves with the sword in the sight of both armies. For William claimed the kingdom on the ground

MISCELLANEOUS

that King Eadward Stigand, the Archbishop of the earls Godwin and Harold, gave it to him; and had sworn to give the crown of Godwin to Normandy, if he would grant. If Harold would abide by judgment, he would abide by judgment in battle: on all which the king's messenger, being frustrated, I have related, returned to his party fresh spirit."—*William of Malmesbury*.

"For six days Harold's messengers came to call the Normans to quarters, and, having gathered numbers of the English, he marched against them, with the design to take them by surprise: but they were warned of them at once by a messenger, and by a sudden onset, they did not escape by sea, but were destroyed, seventy ships, full of men, on the coast."—*Orderic Vitalis*.

"After (as I have related) he had killed his brother Godwin, and his victory over the Danes, and killed their people, and with his army, so proud and never did he think to oppose him.

"On that account, a messenger very important upon the occasion came, and in which was a bold, noble and courageous engagement.

"To go into the valley, he (Harold) had no doubt might be possible, he had an encounter, and the excitement of battle, and, without suffering, he spread, he wanted to the Norman Host.

"Harold was noble and courageous, and a better knight than his brother, heaven! Handsome, prudent, generous also. His mother counselled him to be mortal and bitter, but he could, and according to his brother, who was with him gently in the best friends: 'Sire,' said a man to be brave, enterprising on every side. Normans have come to the kingdom and to take

Observations.—Harold was probably in London about Thursday, October 5th, and left London to go to the plain on Friday. Friday seems to have been occupied in reconnaissances, preparations for the fight, and final messages. William of

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MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

"It is fitting and to the purpose that you show sense and judgement, so that you may have a fair chance.

"One's evil deeds are soon brought to light in all their vileness and shamefulness. Weary art thou of fighting, and weary are many of thy people from the two contests which have just ended. They pine for a little repose. If thou command otherwise, many will remember what permission thou gavest, and know that thou didst promise the crown and the kingdom, when in Normandy, to King William. Hast thou forgotten that thou art sworn to him? Beware, lest thou expose thyself to perjury, and, by thy misfortune and by thy great fault, defeat happen to our lines and to our people who have been much exhausted; and so will they perish, even as thou hast counsel which is loyal, straightforward, and sincere. And thou, who art very rich and brave, will be for ever reproached, and by all cursed: because through thee was our end, and through thee we came to nought. Send me: neither for defiance, nor oath, nor covenant to the Duke am I accountable: nothing do I owe him, neither have I done to him, the thing for which now thou art accused."

"Sire! If thou dost command it, I will go with thy great company to the battle: it is but right that you should stay here. As soon as they see the need of action, with helmet laced, and sword in hand, they will go with me to contest the land, and to defend that which they have held. This much I say; and, moreover, that to my wrong-doing you will not be able to attribute defeat if we fall: and if we conquer, all trouble will cease, and your kingdom will be at peace. If upon the field we meet disaster, my king at least will not be taken, nor all the nobility perish, nor the power be lost that the English have had in this kingdom. Now take care that thou be not deceived."

(On account) "of this speech and remonstrances, made to Harold all in the presence of his friends, he was furiously angry; he would not listen to counsel, but despised and insulted his brother, whom he considered a fool for having thus meddled. He was (also) very angry with his mother, who dearly wished the two to remain, that she might retain both her sons; and, whilst she was making a long prayer to this effect, Harold struck out his boot behind, so that he struck her in the belly. Hastily, in less than six days, the brave people of the whole country were gathered together, and they marched towards the field."—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

"Five days it took him to assemble his troops: for so many people had been killed when the Norwegians were made an example of God's justice, that few could he gather together.

"Right into Sussex Harold went, bringing with him such as he could muster, and leading them. His two brothers—one was Gerard (Gurth), and the other Leswine (Leofric)—assembled men and went with him to the battle against the people from beyond the seas."—*Geoffroi Gaimar.*

"As Harold knew that the Normans were near, he gathered together, as troops, all who were capable of bearing arms. Thus, together with its King, English valour raged and was inflamed, and refused to submit its neck to the Norman yoke. He called the gods to witness, that he would send William to the lower regions, so that, whilst he was seeking to obtain the kingdom, he might cut the Duke in two with his sword."—*Draco Normannicus.*

"Harold, the usurper of the kingdom, hearing of his arrival, quickly collected his army, resolved upon driving him out, or rather upon utterly destroying him and all his, marched forward, with great boldness and expedition, to the place which is now called Battel, where the Duke, surrounded by his squadrons of cavalry, boldly went to meet him."

(Here a leaf is apparently missing from the MS., and the sense being consequently broken, the exact meaning of the words at the beginning of the next leaf cannot be ascertained).

—*Battle Abbey Chronicle.*

WACE

"Whilst by messengers, by clerks and by knights, Harold and William spake with one another, the English assembled at London. When from London they were about to set out, I have heard tell that Gurth, one of Harold's brothers, reasoned thus with him :

"Fair brother, remain here, but give me your troops ; I will take the adventure upon me and fight William. I have no covenant with him, by oath or pledge ; nor do I owe any faith nor any fealty, nor did I make any oath to him. It may chance that there will be no need to come to blows ; but I fear that if you fight, you will pay the penalty of perjury, seeing you must forswear yourself ; and he who has the right will win. But if I am conquered and taken prisoner, you, if God please, being alive, may still assemble your troops, and fight or come to such a parley with the Duke, that you may hold your kingdom in peace. Whilst I go and fight the Normans, do you scour the country, burn the houses, destroy the villages, and carry off all chattels and provisions, swine, sheep, and cattle ; that the Normans may find no food, nor anything whatever whereby they can live. Thus you may alarm them and drive them back ; the Duke himself must go away when provisions shall fail him."

"But Harold said that they would not do that, neither should Gurth go against the Duke or fight without him ; and that he would not burn houses and villages, neither would he plunder his people. 'How,' said he, 'can I injure the people that I should govern ? I cannot destroy or harass those who ought to prosper under me.' However, all agreed that Gurth's advice was good, and wished the King to follow it ; but Harold, to show his great courage, swore that they should not go to the field, nor fight, without him. Men he said, would hold him a coward, and many would blame him for sending his best friends whither he dared not go himself. So he would not be detained, but set out from London, leading his men forward armed for the fight, till he erected his standard and fixed his gonfanon right where the Abbey of the Battle is now built. There, he said, he would defend himself against whoever should seek him ; and Harold had the place well examined, and surrounded it by a good fosse, leaving an entrance on each of three sides, which were ordered to be all well guarded.

"The Normans kept watch, and remained throughout that night in arms and on their guard ; for they were told that the English meant to advance and attack them that night. The English also feared that the Normans might attack them in the dark ; so each kept guard all night, the one watching the other. In the morning, at daybreak, Harold rose, and Gurth with him. Noble chiefs were they both. Two war-horses were brought for them, and they issued forth from

WACE—continued

their entrenchment. They took with them no knight, varlet on foot, nor squire ; and neither of them bore other arms than shield, lance, and sword ; they wished to survey the Normans and to know the place where they were posted. They rode on, viewing and examining the ground, till from a hill where they stood they could see those of the Norman host who were near. They saw a great many huts made of branches of trees, tents well equipped, pavilions and gonfanons, and they heard horses neighing, and beheld the glittering of armour. They stood a long while without speaking ; nor do I know what they did, nor what they said, nor what counsel they held together there ; but on their way back to their tent, Harold spoke first.

"Brother," said he, "yonder are many people, and the Normans are right good knights, and well used to bear arms. What say you ? What do you advise ? With so great a host against us, I dare not do otherwise than fall back on London ; I will return thither and assemble a larger army."

"Harold!" said Gurth, "thou base coward! This counsel has come too late ; it is of no use now to flinch, we must ride onward. Base coward ! When I advised you, and got the barons also to beseech you, to remain at London and let me fight, you would not listen to us, and now you must take the consequence. Of what I said you took no heed ; you believed not me nor any one else ; now you are willing, but I will not. You have lost your pride too soon ; quickly indeed has what you have seen abated your courage. If you should turn back now, every one would say that you ran away. If men see you flee who is to keep your people together ? And if they once disperse they will never be brought together again ?"

"Thus Harold and Gurth strove in words till their speech grew angry, and Gurth would have struck Harold, had he not spurred his horse on, so that the blow missed and struck the horse behind the saddle, glancing along Harold's shield. Had it gone aright it would have felled him to the ground. Gurth thus vented his ill-humour, charging his brother with cowardice ; but they galloped on to the tents and showed no sign of their dispute, nor did they let any ill-will appear between them when they saw their people coming. Leswine, Harold's next brother after Gurth, had also risen early and entered Harold's tent ; and when he found not his two brothers where he left them them overnight, he thought that he should see them no more. 'By treason,' cried he, 'they are taken and delivered to their enemies' ; for he thought that they must either have been killed or betrayed to the Normans ; and he ran forth like a madman, shouting and crying as if he had lost his senses. But

WACE

when he learned what they had gone out for, he and his comrades, he and his comrades, and barons, mounted their horses and set out to behold ! they met the barons took it ill that they suddenly and without a word returned back to the tents and pavilions. When they came in sight alarmed them, and sent forth two spies to view the site troops, and see what men the duke had with him when they came near to him, and, being taken by surprise, he was afraid. But when he was seeking, and that that strength, he had the tents and showed them. Then he used them abundantly to them go without. When they returned much to the honour of them, who had been shaven and clothed, he had seen priests, all were so closely shaven beard on the face. Harold that the Duke had him than knights or soldiers. Harold replied, 'The bold and brave warriors beards nor hair on their heads.'

What further parley between King and Duke William.

"Then the Duke, monk learned and well experienced, and serene. He gave him his choice would of three things ; resign England to him ; to wife ; or submit to the Apostle and his singly and fight body that he who killed the conquer and take him England in peace, without hurt. Harold said that these things ; he would covenant, nor put the would he meet him."

"Before the day of become certain, the courage, told his barons self speak with Harold with his own mouth which he had defrauded he would answer ; that of perjury, and sum of faith ; and if he would and agree forthwith, and defy and fight him on

continued

they were, and that reconnoitre the Normans, and the earls quickly upon their tents, when the brothers. And the they went so impruguard; but all turned prepared for the battle. of the enemy the evously; and Harold reconnoitre the opposite barons and armed fight with him. As army they were seen, William, were sore new what they were came to estimate his taken through all the whole host to them. exceeding well, gave and drink, and let try or molestation. their lord they spoke the Duke; and one that the Normans dropped, thought that d mass-sayers; for n that they had not er lip; and he told ad more priests with er people. . . . But are valiant knights, though they have no per lip as we have."

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ose a messenger, a well instructed and im to King Harold. ce, to take which he Either he should and take his daughter the good judgment of ople; or meet him body, on the terms other, or could con- sponer, should have other person being he would do none of neither perform his ter in judgment, nor fight body to body. ble, which was now uke, of his great hat he would him- and summon him render up that of him, and see what e would appeal him him on his pledged ot make reparation would immediately morrow; but that

WACE—*continued*

if he yielded, and the council consented, he would give up all to him beyond the Humber towards Scotland. The barons approved this, and some said to him, 'Fair sir, one thing we wish to say to you: if nothing else can be done, and fight we must, let us fight promptly, and let there be no delay. Delay may be to our injury, for we have nothing to wait for, but Harold's people increase daily; every day they come in greater numbers.' And the Duke said to them that in truth there should be no more delay.

"Then he made a score of knights mount upon their war-horses. All had their swords girt, and their other arms were borne by the squires who went with them. A hundred knights mounted next and went riding after the twenty, but did not approach too near; and then a thousand knights also mounted and followed the hundred, but only so near as to see what the hundred and twenty did.

"The Duke then sent to Harold, whether by monk or abbot I know not, and desired him to come into the field and speak with him, and to fear nothing, but to bring with him whom he would, that they might talk of an arrangement.

"But Gurth did not wait for Harold's answer, and neither let Harold speak nor go to talk with the Duke; for he instantly sprang upon his feet and said, 'Harold will not go! Tell your lord to send his message to us hither, and let us know what he will take and what he will leave, or what arrangement he is willing to make.' Whilst the messenger returned to carry this answer, Harold called together his friends and his earls, all by their names, to hear what message the Duke would send back. And he sent word to Harold that if he would abide by his covenant he would give him all North-umberland, and whatever belonged to the kingdom beyond the Humber; and would also give to his brother Gurth the lands of Godwin their father. And if he did not care to have this, he challenged him for perjury, on account of his daughter whom he ought to have taken for wife, and on account of the kingdom which he ought to have rendered up: in all this he had lied and broken faith, and unless he made reparation he defied him. And he desired that the English should know, and take notice, that all who came with Harold against him, or stood by him in this gear, were excommunicated by the Apostle and the clergy. At this excommunication the English were much troubled; they feared it greatly, and the battle still more. And much murmuring was to be heard, and consulting one with another; none was so brave but that he wished the battle might not take place.

"My lords,' said Gurth, 'I know and see that you are in great alarm; that you fear the event of the battle and desire a arrange-

WACE—*continued*

ment: and so do I, as much, and in truth more, I believe; but I have also great fear of Duke William who is very full of treachery. You have heard what he says, and how low he rates us, and how he will only give us what he likes of a land which is not yet his. If we take what he offers, and go beyond the Humber, he will not long leave us even that, but will push us still farther. At all times he will watch us, and bring us to ruin in the end. When he has got the uppermost, and has the best of the land, little will he let us hold, and will soon try to take it all. He wants to cheat us into taking, instead of a rich country, a poor portion of one; and presently he will have even that. I have another fear which is more on your account than on my own, for I think I could easily secure myself. All your lands he has given to knights of other countries: there is neither earl nor baron to whom he has not made some great gift; there is no earldom, barony nor castlery that William hath not already given away; and I tell you for a truth that he hath taken homage from many for your inheritances which he has given them. They will chase you from your lands, and, still worse, will kill you. They will pillage your vassals and ruin your sons and daughters: they do not come merely for your goods, but utterly to ruin you and your heirs. Defend yourselves then, and your children, and all that belong to you (while you may). My brother hath never given away, nor agreed to give away, the great fiefs, the honours or lands of your ancestors; but earls have remained earls, and barons enjoyed their rights; the sons have had their lands and fiefs after their fathers' deaths; and you know this to be true, that peace was never disturbed. Thus we can let things remain, and it is best for us so to determine. But if you lose your houses, your manors, demesnes, and other possessions, where you have been nourished all your lives, what will you become and what will you do? In what land will they go begging, and where shall they seek an abode? When they thus lose their own honour, how shall they seek it of others?"

"By these words of Gurth, and by others which were said at his instance, and by pledges from Harold to add to the fiefs of the barons, and by his promises of things which were then out of his power to give, the English were aroused, and swore by God, and cried out that the Normans had come on an evil day and had embarked on a foolish matter. Those who had lately desired peace and feared the battle, now carried themselves boldly and were eager to fight; and Gurth had so excited the council that no man who had talked of peace would have been listened to, but would have been reproved by the most powerful there."

THE NIGHT BEFORE AND EARLY MORNING

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

"An old writer, describing that army of Harold, would have said that, as it passed, rivers were drunk dry, and forests levelled to the ground; for from all parts of England very large forces had assembled. Some displayed their zeal for Harold; all for that fatherland which, though unjustly, they were eager to defend against the foreigners. The kindred land of the Danes had also sent them numerous auxiliaries.

"But, not daring to fight with William on level ground, fearing him more than the king of the Norsemen, they first occupied the higher ground, a hill bordering upon the forest through which they had come. Straightway dismounting, they all posted themselves on foot in a dense mass."

"In the meanwhile some of the most experienced horsemen, whom the Duke had sent to reconnoitre, returned soon, and announced that the enemy was upon them. The furious King was making all the more haste, since he had heard that the neighbourhood of the Norman camp had been devastated, he even thought to overwhelm them, when they would be somewhat off their guard, by a sudden nocturnal attack, and, so that they might not escape to a place of safety, he opposed their strategy by an armed fleet of seventy ships. The Duke immediately ordered all who were in the camp (for the greater part of his men had gone foraging on that day) to be armed. He himself being present at the sacrament of the mass, with the greatest devotion, fortified his body and soul by receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord. He also hung humbly about his neck the relics whose favour Harold had alienated from himself by violating the promise he had given when he swore by them. Two bishops who had accompanied him from Normandy, were present: Odo, of Bayeux, and Godfrey, of Coutances, together with many clergy and a few monks. That body prepared itself to fight by means of prayer.

"Another man would have been frightened by the fact of his breast-plate being put on hind part before as he was being armed. He, however, laughed at this reversing as an accident, and was not frightened at it as a portent of evil."—*William of Poitiers.*

GUY OF AMIENS AND WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES

"In the meanwhile this king (Harold) the abode and heir of all dark fraud, skilled in the robber's craft, ordered his forces to arm under darkness of the night, and commands them to attack the forces of the Duke who was concealing himself, if they could find them. He thought to overthrow the unwatchful enemy by fraud, but whilst he thought to deceive, he was deceived and rushed to his fall. The Duke, who had stood on the watch by the directions of the messenger, was conscious in his heart of his rival's skill."—*Guy of Amiens.*

"Afterwards and during six days he gathered together a great multitude of English, wishing to surprise and attack the Duke, and, having ridden a whole night, he arrived the next morning on the field of battle."—*William of Jumièges.*

How both hosts passed ready for battle; hortled his men.

"The Duke and his but returned to their on the morrow. They on every side, strait hauberks and helmets saddles and stirrups stringing the bows, for the battle. I have night before the day were very merry, laughing themselves. A drank, and never let They might be seen dancing, and singing cried, and 'Weisse 'Drincheheil,' 'Dr 'Drintome,' 'Drintome.' Thus the English themselves; but the betook themselves and were in very made confession of themselves to the priest no priest near him neighbour. The day was to take place between men, by the advice that they would never eat flesh or blood of Bishop of Coutances their penances, received benedictions, of Bayeux, who bore He was Bishop of name, the son of Harold the Duke on the morning to his brother a great other men, being valued silver. On the fourth was fought the battle. The priests had water sought and called on Him in their chapelets throughout the holy vowed fasts and penorisons, they said litanies and kyriels and for His mercy, and masses: some others 'Salus Populi Sancte Parens,' being as belonging to that day.

WACE—continued

How the men of England made ready, and who they were.

“Harold had called his men from castles, cities, ports, villages and towns; earls, barons, and vavassors (yeomen).

“The villeins were also called together from the villages, bearing such arms as they could find: they carried clubs and great pikes, iron forks and stakes. The English had enclosed a field: there Harold was with his friends and the barons of the country whom he had summoned and called together. Those of London had come at once, and those of Kent, Herfort and of Esseste; of Suree and of Sussesse; of St. Edmund and of Sufoc; of Norwis¹ and of Norfoc; of Cantorbieri and of Stanfort; and thither they came from Bedefort and thither those of Hundetone. The men of Northantone also came; and those of Eurowic and Bokinkeham, of Bed, and of Notinkeham; of Lindesie and of Nichole, came all those who heard the summons. There came also from the West many people: from Salebieri and from Dorsete, from Bat and from Sumersete. Many came too from about Glocestre, and many from Wirecestre, from Wincestre, from Hontesire and from the county of Brichesire; and many more from other parts, countées—parts of a country that we have not named, nor can all name nor wish to recount.

“All who could bear arms and had learnt the news of the Duke's arrival, came to defend the land against those that wished to seize it.

“But none came from beyond the Humber, for they had other business upon their hands: the Danes and Tostig having damaged them and hurt them sore.”

¹ Norwich and Norfolk, Canterbury and Stamford, Bedford and Huntingdon, Northampton, York and Buckingham, Bedfordshire and Nottingham, Lindsey and Lincoln, Salisbury and Dorset, Bath and Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Winchester, Hampshire, Berkshire.

MISCELLANEOUS

“So when Duke William and the Normans knew for certain that Harold the perjurer was coming against them to battle, and that while he was coming he dared to make ready, they also made ready as best they could, by calling upon God with all their heart that he would now be their Helper, and would not in the day of their distress desert them by reason of their sins.”—*Brevis Relatio.*

“The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passing the whole night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy.

“On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole of the night in confessing their sins; and received the Communion of the Lord's Body in the early morning. Their infantry, with their bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, separated into wings, took up their position in the rear.” *William of Malmesbury.*

“The night which hid them was dark, and they thought to surprise the Norman host at dawn of day. So the field had its people armed and its battalions divided. Out to sea they made people go, in order to take and to detain those who would attempt to flee from the battle and come to the ships. Three hundred of them there were, and more. Henceforth, they thought, the Duke could not escape them. He must either be taken, or killed in the great battle. For this reason the Duke wished very much to be on the alert, that no man might surprise him.

“As night advanced it became more obscure, so that all in consequence were in greater safety. He caused all to be ready armed until daylight appeared in its fullness.”—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

“The King hastened to oppose him and drew up his army in line of battle on the plains of Hastings.”—*Henry of Huntingdon.*

KING HAROLD AT THE PLACE OF BATTLE.

(October 1066)

GUY OF AMIENS

"He (William) drew up his armed ranks under his own immediate command, and sent the foot-soldiers in advance to begin the battle with their arrows. He placed the slingers in the centre, so that they might fix their flying weapons in the faces of the enemy, that, when wounded, they might turn their faces back. He hoped to post in the rear of the foot-soldiers his picked warriors in firm ranks; but he was prevented from doing so by the commencement of the battle. For he spied the enemy's columns not far off, and that a whole forest was glittering with spears. O Mars, god of war, thou who restrainest sceptres by swords, and takest delight in the bleeding bodies of young men and the blood shed in a great slaughter of men, what was thy purpose then, and how great was thy desire for mischief when thou in the midst of the field orderest the fierce ranks to join in battle! No slaughter delighted thee more than this, since the time when Julius Cæsar overcame Pompey by arms, and stole from him the Roman walls, and compelled him in fear to cross the river Nile: no slaughter was, I think, so pleasing to thee. Neither youthful charm, nor old age which thou oughtest to reverence, nor the mean and wretched band of foot-soldiers, nor the nobility of parents was able to turn thee from doing whatever thy fiercest mind desired! Thou drovest those wretched, blinded men to glittering arms, and compellest them go to death as if to a game. Why should I linger at words, when already fury is showing itself in arms? Fulfil thy will, O Mars, and accomplish the work of death! Suddenly the forest poured forth its cohorts, and columns of soldiers leaped out of their lurking-place in the woods. There was a hill, and a valley near to it, and ground uncultivated on account of its roughness. As was the custom of the English, they advanced in serried ranks and seized this place for the purposes of battle. A race unskilled in war, despised the comfort of horses, and, trusting in their strength, remained on the ground on foot, thinking it to be the greatest glory to die in arms, so that the country should not pass under the yoke of another.

WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES AND
ABBÉ BAUDRI

"On a Saturday, at dawn of day, he (the Duke) divided his army into three corps, and marched with boldness to meet his formidable enemies." — *William of Jumièges.*

"Then he (the Duke) orders who shall bear the standards, who lead the lines: he posts the centre and he posts the rear. Now the clarions resound, and now the martial trumpets sound: the enemy, with many a man of war, is close at hand: and ere that the Norman soldier entered upon the fray the hearts were chilled and stark with cold fear, for they knew not the number, nor was there anyone who could tell them how great were the forces of the confronting people. The serried rank of spears deceived many, for, unless it were light, it were a forest of lances." — *Abbé Baudri.*

W

"And when the which were finished all the barons assent Duke, and it was arm form three divisions attack in three places

"Harold knew th come and attack hi had in the morning e he placed all his E them arm early, anc the battle, he himsel and accoutrements t The Duke, he said, o wanted to conquer E him to abide the att the land. He comm counselled his baron together, and defend for if they once sepa difficulty recover the mans,' said he, 'are on foot and on horse they on horseback, a all is lost if within They have brought l but you have pointed keen-edged bills, and their arms can stand whenever you can: it spare aught.'

"Harold had many came from all quart but a multitude of m the favour of Heaven many have since saic a small force, and account.

"But many others s and the Duke had ma men made no great certainly many baron had plenty of good ku of good archers.

"The English pea and keen-edged bills. before them shields o In front they had rais close set and tightly had made in front an therein left no apertu

Observations.—The final preparations of Harold are extremely interesting. A good deal of controversy¹ has taken place as to whether the sole defence was the wooden towers; others that there was a very elaborate series of barricades, palisades, and other defences. The idea that there were any such defences, in a general way, is extremely unlikely. They are not mentioned by the

¹ The subject has been very ably criticized by Mr. Horace Round. He has lately published a reference to the papers published in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 349, July, 1892. It is greatly to be regretted that the picturesque work of Mr. E. A. Freeman should have been sullied by the errors which Mr. R.

Quarterly Review, No. 349, July, 1892.

Contemporary Review, No. 327, March, 1893.

Quarterly Review, July, 1893, etc.

WACE—*continued*

MISCELLANEOUS

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mans could come amongst them who wished to rout them. With shields and with planks (boards) were they surrounded, thinking therewith to defend themselves : and if they had remained steady and held themselves well, they would not have been conquered that day ; for every Norman who made his way in lost his life in dishonour, either by hatchet or bill, by club or other weapon. They wore short and close hauberks, and helmets that came down to their coats.

"King Harold issued orders, and made proclamation around, that all should be ranged with their faces towards the enemy, and that no one should move from where he was : so that whoever came should find them ready ; and that whatever anyone, be he Norman or other, should do, each should do his best to defend his own place. Then he ordered the men of Kent to go where the Normans were likely to make the attack ; for they say that the men of Kent are entitled to strike first ; and that whenever the King goes to battle, the first blow belongs to them. The right of the men of London is to guard the King's body, to place themselves around him, and to guard his standard ; and they were according placed by the standard, to watch and defend it.

"When Harold had made all ready, and given his orders, he came into the midst of the English, and dismounted by the side of the standard. Leofwin and Gurth, his brothers, were with him ; and around him he had barons enough, as he stood by his gonfanon which was, in truth, a noble one sparkling with gold and precious stones. William, after the victory, sent it to the Apostle, to prove and commemorate his great conquest and glory.

"The English stood in close ranks, ready and eager for the fight : and they had moreover made a fosse on one side, which went across the field guarding one side of their army."—*Wace*.

"Harold, elated by his successful enterprise (the Battle of Stamford Bridge), vouchsafed to give no part of the spoil to his soldiers ; on which account many, as they found opportunity, stealing away, deserted the King as he was proceeding to the battle of Hastings : for, with the exception of his stipendiary and mercenary soldiers, he had very few people with him.

"This was the reason why, circumvented by a stratagem (of William's), he was routed with the army which he headed. . . .

"The Duke, with a serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favour his, as being the righteous side, called for his arms ; and presently, when through the hurry of his attendants he had put on his hauberk the hind part before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying, 'The power of my dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom.'"—*William of Malmesbury*.

"Now there was nothing more to do but to fight and to bear themselves bravely, that the battle might be gained before nightfall. Many of his people had Harold brought with him, and little is wanting ere all be assembled.

"Many lines were formed and divided, so richly and splendidly caparisoned that their gold and silver armour made bright the land about them ; and many rich ensigns and pennants were there unfurled."—*Benolt de St. Maur*.

"When Harold had formed his whole army in close column, making a castle as it were of them, the Normans could not penetrate their ranks."—*Henry of Huntingdon*.

place respecting the defences prepared by him. Some maintain that the wall of shields presented by Harold's Neither the early writers nor the Tapestry give the slightest colour to this latter supposition. The main descriptions to have existed. But Wace may have been led away by the description of some particular part of the field, for not reliable authorities. Henry of Huntingdon's remark as to the castle is clearly figurative only.

by him and others respecting the controversy which is of great interest (see vol. 41, Sussex Archaeological Society's Collection). and has undoubtedly exposed.

FINAL PREPARATIONS ON THE MORNING

THE BAYEU



HERE THE KNIGHTS LEAVE HASTINGS,

WACE

“Then all went to their tents and armed themselves as best they might; and the Duke was very busy, everyone asking his advice; and he was courteous to all the vassals, giving away many arms and horses to them. When he prepared to arm himself he called first for his good hauberk, and a man raised it upon his arm and brought it before the Duke; but, in putting his head into it to get it on, he inadvertently turned it the wrong way, with the back part in front. He quickly changed it, but when he saw that those who stood by were sorely alarmed, he said, ‘I have seen many a man who, if such a thing had happened to him, would not have borne arms, or entered the field the same day; but I never believed in omens and I never will. I trust in God; for He does in all things His pleasure, and ordains what is to come to pass according to His will. I have never liked sorcerers, nor believed in diviners, but I commend myself to our Lady. Let not my hauberk be cause of doubt or fear in you. The hauberk which was turned wrong, and then set right by me, signifies that a change will arise out of the matter in which we are now moving. You shall see the name of Duke changed into King. Yea, a King shall I be, who hitherto have been but Duke. Think not otherwise.’

“Then he crossed himself and straightway took his hauberk, stooped his head, and put it on aright, and laced his helmet, and girt his sword which a varlet brought to him.

“Then he called for his good horse—nor could a better be found. It had been sent to him by a King of Spain out of his great friendship. Neither arms nor throng did it fear when its lord spurred on.

“Walter Giffard, who had been to St. Iago, brought it. The Duke stretched out his hand, took the reins, put foot in stirrup and mounted: and the good horse pawed, pranced, reared himself up, and curvetted. The Viscount of Toarz saw how the Duke bore himself in arms, and said to his people who were around him, ‘Never have I seen a man so fairly armed, nor one who rode so gallantly, or bore his arms, or became his hauberk so well: neither anyone who brandished his lance so well, or sat his horse, and turned him, and controlled him so

WACE—continued

nobly. There is no other such knight under heaven! A fair Duke he is and fair King he will be. Let him fight, and he shall overcome: shame be to him who shall fail him!’

“The Duke called for horses, and had several led out to him: each had a good sword hanging at the saddle-bow, and those who led the horses bore sharp lances. Then the barons armed themselves. The knights and the lancemen and the whole were divided into three companies: . . . each company having many lords and captains, that there might be no cowardice nor fear of loss of limb or life.

“The Duke called a serving-man and ordered him to bring forth the gonfanon which the Pope had sent him: and he who bore it having unfolded it, the Duke took it, reared it, and called to Raoul de Conches, ‘Bear my gonfanon,’ said he, ‘for I would not but do you right; by right and by ancestry your line are standard-bearers of Normandy, and very good knights have they all been.’ ‘Many thanks to you,’ saith Raoul, ‘for acknowledging our right: but by my faith the gonfanon shall not this day be borne by me. To-day I claim quittance of the service, for I would serve you in other guise, and in other ways. I will go with you into the battle, and will fight the English as long as life shall last, and know that my hand will be worth any twenty of such men.’ Then the Duke turned another way, and called to him Walter Giffard. ‘Do thou take this gonfanon,’ said he, ‘and bear it in the battle.’ But Walter Giffard answered, ‘Sire, for God’s mercy look at my white and bald head: my strength hath fallen away, and my breath become shorter. The standard should be borne by one who can endure long labour. I shall be in the battle, and you have not any man who will serve you more truly. I will strike with my sword till it shall be red with your enemies’ blood.’

“Then the Duke said fiercely, ‘By the splendour of God, my lords, I think you mean to betray and fail me in this great need.’

“‘Sire,’ said Giffard, ‘not so! We have done no treason, nor do I refuse from any felony towards you; but I have to lead

a great chivalry, born of my fief. Never of serving you as I please I will serve die for you, and will yours.’

“‘By my faith,’ qu loved thee, and now survive this day thou it all thy days.’ knight whom he had Tosteins Fitz Rou le abode was at Bec- delivered the gonfanon it right cheerfully, at thanks, and bore it still have quittance inheritance on that are entitled so to ho ever. William sat called out Rogier, w gomeri. ‘I rely on ‘On that side you them from that side.

“‘William the Ser a right good vassal, s attack them with yo the men of Boulogne soldiers. Alain Fen fight from the the Poitevins and barons of Maine: a men and my friends in the middle throng be hottest.’ The lancemen were all no foot were well equip and sword. On the to their feet were h had good hides whic their bodies, and ma and had quivers an girdles. The knig swords, boots of ste shields at their nee lances. And all ha that each might kn man might not strik man kill his country on foot led the w bearing their bows. supporting the arch both horse and foot

TAPESTRY



AD COME TO GIVE BATTLE TO KING HAROLD.

continued

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WACE—continued

order of march as they began ; in close ranks at a gentle pace, that the one might not pass or separate from the other. All went compactly, and all went gallantly ; and in each host stood archers ready to exchange shots.

"Meanwhile the Normans appeared, advancing over the ridge of rising ground ; and the first division of their troops moved onwards along the hill and across a valley.

"King Harold saw them from afar off, and calling to Gurth said, 'Brother, which way are you looking? See you the Duke coming yonder? Our people will have no mischief from the force that I see yonder. There are not men enough there to conquer the great force that we have in this land. I have four times a hundred thousand armed men, knights and peasants.'

"By my faith' answered Gurth, 'you have many men, but a great gathering of villeinage is worth little in battle. You have many folk in ordinary clothes (without armour), but I fear the Normans much : for all who have come from over the sea are men to be feared. They are all well armed and come on horseback, and will trample our people underfoot. They have many lances and shields, hauberks and helmets, glaives and swords, bows and barbed arrows that are swift, and fly fleetly than the swallow.'

"Gurth,' said Harold, 'be not dismayed, God can help us if He so please ; and there is certainly no need to be alarmed at yonder army.'

"But while they yet spoke of the Normans at whom they were looking, another division still larger came in sight close following upon the first : and they wheeled towards another side of the field, forming together as the first body had done. Harold saw them and examined them, and calling Gurth, pointed them out to him. 'Gurth,' quoth he, 'our enemies grow, knights come up thickening their ranks : they gather together from all around : I have great fear, and was never before so dismayed. I much fear the result of the battle, and my heart is in great tribulation.' 'Harold,' said Gurth, 'thou didst ill when thou didst fix a day for the battle. I lament that thou camest, and that thou didst not remain either at London or

WACE—continued

at Winchester : but it is now too late : it must be as it is.'

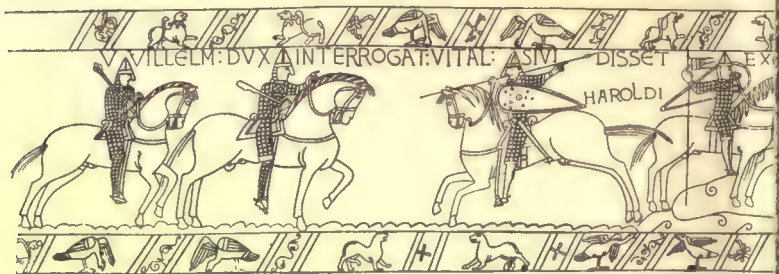
"Sir brother,' replied Harold, 'bygone counsel is little worth : let us defend ourselves as we can : I know no other cure.'

"If,' said Gurth, 'thou hadst stayed in London, thou mightest have gone thence from town to town, and the Duke would never have followed thee. He would have feared thee and the English, and would have returned or made peace, and thus thy kingdom would have remained to thee. Thou wouldst not believe me, nor value the advice which I gave thee. Thou didst fix the day of the battle, and sought it of thine own free will.' 'Gurth,' said Harold, 'I did it for good. I named Saturday because I was born on a Saturday, and my mother was wont to tell me that good luck would attend me on that day.' 'He is a fool,' said Gurth, 'who believes in luck, which no brave man ought to do. No brave man should trust to luck. Every one has his day of death : thou sayest that thou wert born on a Saturday, and on that day too thou mayest be killed.'

"Meanwhile a fresh company came in sight covering all the plain, and in the midst of them was raised the gonfalon that came from Rome. Near the standard was the Duke, and the best men and the strength of the army were there. The good knights, the good vassals, and the stout warriors were there ; and there were gathered together the gentle barons, the good archers and lancemen, whose duty it was to guard the Duke and range themselves around him.

"The youths and common followers of the camp, whose business was not to meddle with the battle, but to take care of the harness and stores, moved off towards a hillock. The priests and the clerks also ascended a hillock, there to offer up prayers to God, and watch the event of the battle.

"Harold saw William come, and beheld the field covered with arms, and how the Normans divided into three companies, in order to attack at three points. I know not of which he was most afraid : but his trouble was so sore that he could scarcely say, 'We are fallen on an evil lot, and I fear much lest we come to shame. The Count of Flanders hath betrayed me : I trusted to him, and was a fool for so doing : when he sent me



HERE DUKE WILLIAM ASKS VITAL IF HE HAS SEEN HAROLD'S ARMY

WACE—continued

word by letter, and assured me by messages that William could never collect so great a chivalry. On the faith of his report I delayed my preparations, and now I rue the delay.'

"Then his brother Gurth drew near, and they placed themselves by the Standard, each praying to God to protect them. Around them were their kinsmen, and those barons who were their nearest friends, and they besought all to do their best, seeing that none could now withdraw.

"Each one had his hauberk on, with his sword girt and his shield at his neck. Great axes were also slung at their necks, with which they expected to strike heavy blows.

"They were on foot in close ranks, and carried themselves right boldly; yet if they had foretold the issue, well might they have bewailed the evil fate—cruel and hard of a truth—that was approaching."—*Wace*.

MISCELLANEOUS

"The Duke, therefore, ordered his allied legions to arm; war will now bring forth the diadem to him. Then he himself, strong, clothed himself in his own armour, and an omen happened to him, which the soldiers themselves saw. For, whilst putting on his breastplate, he, unconscious of the fact, turned to the front what should be behind. He swore by the 'Divine splendour' that everything that was prosperous was foreshown to him now by such an omen. Perfidious Harold, who held the first place of the kingdom, coming behind, shall be put to death. Here the Duke drew up his Norman battle array, and ordered each man to maintain his first position.

"Under the cover of the ground, Harold, panting, leads his forces, so that he might cut up the incautious Duke with the sword. The splendour of his arms, and he himself, were seen by the Danes, and the stratagem was discovered by the rays of the sun. Nor were the others less cunning: the Danes remained under arms, and kept watch during the night. Bright Arcturus had shone with slanting beams, when the Pleiades made the ground wet with their dark storms. Then springs the day, noted on account of the death of Callixtus, and cruel England will drink the cup of the Danes. The Duke drew up his legions in three ranks; Harold drew up his without any order. Then the highest planet and the father of the Gods saw the day: on it the Dane fought his last battle. The one lost his throne. The new man won it for himself by arms. Behold, the throne that Harold possessed hath become the throne of the Duke. When he had drawn up all his legions, it was the third hour of the day; on all sides there resounded the noise of trumpets."—*Draco Normannicus*.

MISCELLANEOUS

"Having arrived at the lande, situated in the north, while they were on with their armour, and by accident it was on the wrong side foremost, and saw this, cursed the omen, but the duke's face was of good cheer, and was a token of good that those things which their ground were themselves to him. moved, put on the mantle, and uttered the following words:

"I know, my dear friends, that I have had any confidence in you, account to go to battle, permitting myself to trust in every matter, I have seen to omens, neither sorcerers. Wherefore, for my aid, and in order to have the courage of you, about to engage in battle, I VOW, that upon this day, if I find a suitable free man, I will give him a portion of you all, and who fall; and this I swear by God and His saints, servants of God made known to me, even as I shall be content with myself a propitious man, freely offered to all men."

"Among those who were present, a monk of Marmoutier, named Faber, who was in the service of the Duke, stepped forward: of Faber (or 'the simpleton') the story stands:—As he was one of his companions, they gave him a bow and arrows, and thereupon he went more to a neighbourly man, to be unacquainted with the Duke. He (William) therefore, presently, with great indignation, and in great anger, betook himself to Marmoutier, the famous abbey, and was then very great.

TAPESTRY.



ONE INFORMS HAROLD CONCERNING THE ARMY OF DUKE WILLIAM.

US—continued

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

hill called Heche-
direction of Hastings
ping one another
there was brought
the Duke to put on,
handed to him the
Those who stood by
as an unfortunate
wer again bade them
clared that this also
fortune, namely,
h had before kept
out fully to submit
Duke, perfectly un-
with a placid counte-
memorable words :
st friends, that if I
mens, I ought on no
to-day ; but com-
to my Creator in
given no heed
ve I ever loved
now, secure of His
strengthen the hands
so for my sake are
conflict, I make a
place of battle I will
mastery, for the sal-
especially of those
ill do in honour of
to the end that the
be succoured ; that
bled to acquire for
lum, so it may be
ollowers.'
eard this vow, was a
one William, sur-
nerly, while in the
d obtained the name
) from this circum-
day a-hunting with
ppened to be short
n had recourse for
smith, who proved
n such sort of work.
seized his tools, and
enuity, fabricated an
changing his pro-
to a religious life at
which for sanctity
d when the descent

of the Duke upon England was everywhere extolled, he, in order to advance the interests of his Church, attached himself to the army. Immediately on hearing the Duke's vow, which was exactly suited to his wishes, he proposed that the monastery should be dedicated to the blessed bishop St. Martin. The pious Duke favoured his suit, and benignly promised that it should be so.

"When the Duke was armed for the engagement, he called together his barons and knights, and urged them, both by persuasions and promises, to acquit themselves faithfully in the conflict. And in order to animate their courage, in their presence and with their concurrence, he made a *vow* unto God, that if he would vouchsafe him a victory over his foes, he would as freely and entirely dedicate that place to God as he sought it for himself, and that he would build a monastery, in which the servants of God might dwell together for the salvation of them all, but especially of those who should fall in the approaching battle, and that it should be a place of refuge and help for all, that, by the continual efficacy of good works, atonement might be made for the deeds of bloodshed there committed. Encouraged by these words, they engage manfully, and in the end, on the fourteenth of October, God being their helper, the enemy is overthrown and his army routed ; and they gain the victory."—*Battle Abbey Chronicle*.

"Saturday it was, as I follow in reading. Then he took three very great legions, dividing them into three parts, and his other men he got ready—archers, serjeants, and infantry.

"When all was in order the ensign was unfurled that the Pope had sent from the Holy Church at Rome. This effected, and all being assembled, the whole of them, lances in hand, marched against their mortal enemies."—*Benoît de St. Maur*.

"Accordingly, coming to a hill which was on the side of Hastings, opposite that hill upon which Harold with his army was, there under arms, they halted for a short

time, surveying the army of the English. One word which the most Christian Duke William is related to have said, as he was putting on his breastplate, is well worth mentioning and remembering. When the person, who handed his breastplate to him to put on, he unexpectedly handed it to him inside out, which he, noticing, calmly and quietly observed to the soldiers around him, 'If I were superstitious, I should not go to battle to-day : but I have never been superstitious, nor loved those that are. For, in every business, whatsoever I had to do, I have always entrusted myself to my Creator.' So saying and, as he was ever wont to do, placing all his confidence in his Creator, he put his armour on him. And so, armed and commending himself and all his army to the Lord, he began to enquire of a certain soldier (?Vital) who was near him, where he thought Harold was. The soldier answered that he thought he was in the midst of that dense array, which was before them on the top of the hill, for as he was thinking, he saw Harold's standard there." *Brevis Relatio*.

THE SPEECH OF WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



HERE DUKE WILLIAM EXHORTS HIS SOLDIERS TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR BATTLE

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

“We do not doubt that his speech, which, on account of the shortness of the time, was brief as the crisis required, was excellent, and added much to the bravery of his soldiers, although it has not been given to us in all its grandeur. ‘He reminded the Normans that in many and great dangers they had always been victorious under his leadership. He reminded all of their country, of their noble deeds, and of their great name. Now they must show by their arms how powerful they were by their bravery, and what a spirit they had. It was not the question now who should live and reign, but who should escape from imminent danger with his life. If they fought like men they would acquire victory, glory, and wealth. Otherwise they would either be speedily butchered, or be taken prisoners and be a sport to their most cruel enemies, and, in addition to this infamy, they would incur eternal disgrace. There were no means of flight, for, on the one side, arms and an hostile and unknown country blocked their way, and on the other arms and the sea. It did not become real men to be frightened by mere numbers. Over and over again the English had fallen, overthrown by the hostile steel and had frequently come under the power of the enemy: they had never been praised for military glory. Those who were unskilled in war could easily be crushed by the prompt valour of a few, especially when Divine aid would not be wanting in a just cause. Let them, therefore, be brave and not yield, and they would all the more quickly rejoice in victory.’”

WACE

“The Duke stood on a hillock, in order to see as many as possible of his men. The barons surrounded him, and he spoke to them proudly:—

“‘Much ought I,’ said he, ‘to love you all; and much should I confide in you; much ought and will I thank you who have crossed the sea for me, and have come with me into this land. It grieves me that I cannot now render such thanks as are due to you, but when I can I will, and what I have shall be yours. If I conquer you will conquer. If I win lands you shall have lands; for I say most truly that I am not come merely to take for myself what I claim, but to punish the felonies, treasons, and falsehoods which the men of this country have always done and said to our people. They have done much ill to our kindred, as well as to other people. Everything they do is done by treason, and by no other way. On the night of the feast of St. Bridget they committed most horrible treachery; they slew all the Danes in one day; they had eaten with them and then slew them in their sleep; no fouler crime was ever heard of than to kill in this manner the people who trusted in them. You have all heard of Alwered, and how Godwin betrayed him; he saluted and kissed him, ate and drank with him; then betrayed, seized, and bound him, and delivered him to the felon King, who confined him in the Isle of Ely; tore out his eyes, and afterwards killed him. He had the men of Normandy also brought to Gedefort, and decimated them; and when the tenth was set apart hear what felony they committed! They decimated that tenth once more, because it appeared too many to save. These felonies, and many others which they have done to our ancestors, and to our friends who demeaned themselves honourably, we will revenge on them if God so please. When we have conquered them (which we shall do

WACE

easily), we will take their lands and the wealth of their manors and their manors and their manors and the world there is no such proved men assembled.’ Then he said, ‘You will not see of us will fear to die for lord. And he answered them, ‘For God’s sake, spare the beginning: stay the booty shall be plenty for every man. No safety in peace or never love or spare were, and felons they were, and false they will towards them, for they you: neither the coward nor the bold man is better liked by the spared any the more may flee to the sea further: you will bridge there: there receive you: and they you and kill you in you will die in flight therefore, will not and you will conquer the victory; we are victory is in our hands certain.’

“As the duke said said yet more, William his horse being all said he, ‘we tarry to arm ourselves. All

Observations.—William of Poitiers and other chroniclers hint that Harold was hoping to surprise the Norman retreat. Guy says fifty ships (see *Messages*), and Benoît fully 300 ships.

On Friday, October 13th, the hopelessness of coming to terms was fully realized by both sides. The disposition of the reports of William’s speech, as we might expect, vary considerably, and thus little historic value can be attached to some of the Norman accounts the onset had commenced before its complete delivery. The Tapestry seems to support

TAPESTRY.



FULLY AND DISCREETLY FOR THE BATTLE AGAINST THE ARMY OF THE ENGLISH.

continued

their gold and silver
 ch they have plenty
 ch are rich. In all
 o brave an army, or
 y vassals, as are here
 y began to cry out,
 coward; none here
 of you, if need be.
 n, 'I thank you well.
 not; strike hard at
 ot to take spoil: all
 common; there will
 e; and there will be
 ight: the English will
 rmans. Felons they
 are: false they were,
 Show no weakness
 will have no pity on
 rd for swiftly fleeing,
 striking, will be the
 English, nor will be
 n that account. You
 but you can flee no
 ll neither ship nor
 be no sailors to re-
 nglish will overtake
 ur shame. More of
 an in battle; flight,
 ure you; but fight,
 I have no doubt of
 ome for glory; and
 of that you may be

his, and would have
 Fitz Osber rode up,
 d with iron. 'Sire,'
 too long, let us all
 allons!'"

MISCELLANEOUS

Draco Normannicus.

When, therefore, his legions were armed, he stood up above them in his splendour, and addressed them as follows in a loud voice.

The speech of William, Duke of Normandy, in the presence of the allied legions, when King Harold armed, met them with his forces.

"O Valour of the Normans! O flower of probity! Behold! the undying fame of our name is at hand. This day will bring the highest glory to the victors, but this [day] will also remain as a disgrace to the vanquished. Here it is our delight to remember the triumphs of Rollo, my father, whose praise and probity Normandy will always be. This he wrested from the Franks by his might and arms, and he left it to us later. He who conferred this on his people by his great probity, moves his people to walk in his footsteps. He subdued his native land by the sword. He himself tells us as a witness that thus his heir would conquer another fatherland. That perfidious man violated both justice and his sacred oath, when he made my diadem to belong to him. Edward, when dying, gave the crown of the kingdom to me, as his heir; and I seek it by right. He passed over Harold; the treaties were confirmed. That perfidious man laid aside the burden of the flesh and seized the sceptre. Being defiled with the uncleanness of fratricidal blood, he inflicted many wounds for that double crime. He held the crown as a perjurer and the murderer of his brother. May he perish and fall in like manner by the sword. I am not trying to subject foreign kingdoms to myself by armed forces, but I am seeking my rights. I am striving to imitate the renowned labours of Rollo, and may my allies equally strive for the honour of glory. He subdued fierce men to himself with the greatest

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

Draco Normannicus

savageness; it pleases us to subdue the English to our sceptre. Let the soldier see clearly how much probity there is in arms to have seized the diadem for himself by his own hand. For probity belongs to a commander's character, and also the glorious valour of a soldier, as well as fierceness of mind, and vigour in counsel. If these be wanting, what good are arms to him, except as a burden? For steel seems to be a base weight to the timid. I confess that nothing more disgraceful ever happened to the Danes than if that Englishman should conquer so many troops. It has resounded to the Alps, that the Normans wished to subdue the English kingdom to themselves by force and the sword. The terrible reputation remains either for praise or disgrace: to conquer would be praise; to be conquered, will be the worst terror. If we are conquered, we shall be the laughingstock of the French and of the world. We conquer! Our renown shines bright with them. It is vain to be attacked by ship, for the Danes know not how to yield in battle; it is his part to stand there: to fall there. Harold confides in his thousands, we on our bravery. Battles are won not by numbers, but by bravery. Rollo is a witness to this, who defeated so many troops: he slew innumerable men, nor had he himself so great an armed force. But yet, we have not a small number of legions, since your army filled three thousand ships, and of all the number that I ordered to come, not one was wanting. Never was there a more splendid fleet of war. For if England twice felt the effects of Cæsar's fleet, the greater part of it was buried in the sea. Thus also, when the warlike crowd beheld the city of Alexander the Great, with its ships drawn up, it murmured. Then from the city the ships, with the king in person sped: fleet was close to fleet: the one strikes the other and

while his troops were plundering; and he mentions that a fleet of seventy ships had been sent to cut off the

the Norman camp is referred to in the description of the Castle (*ante*, p. 518).

attached to any of the accounts. It would be heard by a very limited number of the army. According to this view.

THE SPEECH OF WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

rushes on [to destruction]. When the sea received the troops when the ships' beaks were cut away, Cæsar himself with many companions escaped by swimming. His right hand held a book, the waves of the sea held his left hand. Cæsar and the Roman leaders gained the shore. Here, the king of that city sinking in the waves died from exhaustion: his golden breast-plate makes him known; and the shore holds him. This being brought before Cæsar's eyes, was carried into the city: the citizen looked at it and the closed walls open. Pompey had already been defeated in war, and Julius himself wept when he saw his head cut off. Thus fortune cast ashore the ships of the ruler of the world; but the swelling waves bore ours reverently. That rebel shall pay the same penalty as Pompey; the head which seizes the crown justly loses it. Hannibal, who was in the habit of drawing up his forces in crescent shape, overthrew the nation of Romulus, while the sun shone favourably on him. He took off gems and gold from their fingers, and Carthage possesses three pecks of them. To-night let our troops with like valour be ready and at sunrise let the Danish trumpets sound. That traitor is already approaching with many troops: he thinks that we being incautious he can slaughter us. That hostile charge will be great I think; but may our valour repress them, puffed up with craftiness. May the vigorous right hand redouble wounds on those who are already worn out! By fighting prudently, may [each one] avoid the danger of death; whilst, fleeing, he wishes to avoid shameful loss. This warlike spot holds us, either as victors or slain; but nobody is able to repulse us. I think that I have already proclaimed here whatever was useful. I compress in three words everything which it is pleasant to retain. May the power of the Normans, the hope of the kingdom, and glorious fame, move us to arms, stir us up, and protect us."

"When the duke had finished his speech the Norman ardour resounded, each one declared that he would conquer or die."

—*Draco Normannicus.*

"As wise, brave, and discreet knights, the Duke admonished them to remember their great reputation, and that, since they had had him for their lord, they had never been vanquished by any.

"Now was the time come that their valour was to redouble itself, increase, show forth and reach its consummation.

"For, to them there was no advantage in pillage, but with swords of sharpened steel they must defend their bodies and lives; for, by so doing, the great work will be

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

accomplished: here the battles will end and they will receive the great revenues that good knights ought to have:—lands, fiefs, honours, more than had any one of their ancestors. By their valour, and by their prowess, they will have henceforth great riches, great holdings and fiefs. But the alternative was very perilous. If the victory were not theirs, and if they were not conquerors, dead they would be: they would have no chance of recovering themselves, for, by flight they would gain nothing; neither castles nor wooded lands would they receive. But let them be brave and wise and show a bold front; and he, the Duke will be everywhere, helping, as guide, shield and defence. And, if one reflects, he will see that England little wishes to see the Normans conquerors and the English are able to defend her; and also that they ought to understand that victory may be so far certain, in that Harold was a perjurer. False, enslaved, coming to the battle with all his dishonour on his head, he will be vanquished and sent to his last account, and they shall live ever honoured by the great conquest they had made that day, when together with him they shall depart."—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

MISCELLANEOUS

"William made five squadrons of 1 posed them in a ter them after this ma Normans, the brav if I had any doubt I were uncertain of any chance or obst escape you. But if of conquering, it m flame your courage b little does the inhe require to be rouse mortals! What av Frankish King, wi Lorraine to Spain. predecessor? Who of France for him he chose he left to during his pleasure he relinquished it, a better. Did not I first Duke, the foun progenitors conqu the Franks in the I nor could the King any respite until own daughter and you is called Nor fathers take prisoner and detained him a Normandy to your boy, with this stipu ference between th the Duke of Norm have his sword by should not be allow much as a dagger? fathers compelled th as binding for ever. lead your fathers t of the Alps, and e the lord of the tov own wife? Nor wa mortals, for he over with whom he wrest bound his hands be conqueror, left him do I go back to fo in your own time, temer, did not the battle, and use thei swords, while you— mander being slair victory, the honour results of your wo any one of the Ee cessors—both Dane defeated in a hunc and show that th suffered a defeat fu even once, and I Is it not shameful, th

BEFORE THE BATTLE (October 14th, 1066)—*continued.*DUS—*continued*

brilliant advance with
cavalry, having dis-
e order he addressed
r: 'I address you ye
of nations, not as
your valour, not as if
tory, which never by
e hath been able to
n once you had failed
t be necessary to in-
xhortation. But how
t spirit of your race
O most valiant of
ed the power of the
all his people, from
gainst Hastings, our
propriated as much
as he wished; what
King. This he held
hen he was satisfied,
looked for something
o, my ancestor, the
of our race, with our
at Paris the King of
rt of his dominions:
f the Franks obtain
humbly offered his
territory which from
dy? Did not your
e King of the Franks,
ouen till he restored
uke Richard, then a
on, that in every con-
King of France and
dy, the Duke should
side, while the King
a sword not even so
This concession your
reat King to submit to,
id not the same Duke
Mirmanda at the foot
orce submission from
his son-in-law, to his
t enough to conquer
me the devil himself,
, and cast down and
nd his back and as a
he angels. But why
er times? When you
acking them at Mor-
rench prefer flight to
purs instead of their
lph, the French com-
reaped the fruits of
the spoil, as natural
d success. Ah! let
sh whom our prede-
and Norwegians have
d battles, come forth
race of Rollo ever
his time until now
ll submit and retire.
, that a people accus-

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

tomed to be conquered, a people ignorant
of the art of war, a people not even in pos-
session of arrows, should make a show of being
arrayed in order of battle against you, O
bravest of men? Is it not a shame that
this King Harold, perjured as he is, should
have dared to show his face against me in
your presence? It is a wonder to me that
you have seen with your own eyes those
who with horrible treachery have beheaded
your relations with Alfred my kinsman, and
that their own accursed heads are still on
their shoulders! Raise your standards,
my heroes, and set no bounds to your just
indignation. Let the lightning of your glory
flash, and the thunders of your onset be
heard from East to West, and be ye the
avengers of the noble blood which hath
been spilled.'—*Henry of Huntingdon.*

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BATTLE

THE BAY



"THE SI

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

"Now he advances in the following admirable order,—the standard which the Pope had sent him, going in front. Next he placed his footmen armed with crossbows and arrows; in the second line, heavier infantry with cuirasses; and lastly, the troops of cavalry in the centre of which he was himself with the flower of his troops, to give directions to the whole army with hand and voice.

"... The Duke with his men, undismayed by the roughness of the ground, gradually ascended the steep sides of the hill. The dreadful din of the trumpets on both sides gave the signal for the fight; the Normans' ready daring commenced the battle. Just as when, in a court of law, a case of rapine is tried, he, who lays the charge, first strikes with his speech. So the Norman footmen, getting closer, challenge the English, and with their missiles [hurled] upon them deal wounds and death.

"The [English], on the other hand, resist bravely, to the best of their ability. They hurl spears and various sorts of weapons, deadly axes and stones fastened to pieces of wood. You would have thought that our men were being overwhelmed by them as by some deadly avalanche. Up come the cavalry, and they who were in the rear now form the van. To fight from afar is foul shame: they dare to engage with the sword, in hand-to-hand combat. The shouting, loud as loud can be, of the Normans on this side, and the barbarians on that, is drowned by the clash of arms and by the groans of the dying. So, for some time, did both sides fight with might and main.

"The English are helped greatly by the advantage of the higher ground which they hold without stirring an inch, and closely packed together; they are helped too by their enormous numbers and brave presence; and also by their weapons of battle, which easily find their way through shields and bucklers and the like. Very stoutly therefore they withstand or repel those who dared

GUY OF AMIENS

"The King, who was about to fight against the enemy, ascended the hill and strengthened each wing with noble men and fixed his standard on the top of the hill, and ordered the other standards to be set up near his. They all dismounted and left their horses in the rear, and, when they were on the ground, they gave the signal for battle, with the trumpet. The Duke, humble and fearing the Lord, led his army under better control, and boldly approached the steep hill. He went through the ranks hastily and said: 'Foot-soldiers, throw them into confusion by your arrows; shields are of no avail against straight darts.' The helmeted warriors hastened to join shield to shield, and on both sides the foes raged with raised spears.

"As some wild boar, wearied by the hounds and brought to bay, protects himself with his tusks, and, with foaming jaws, hurls back the spears, nor fears his foe nor the darts that threaten him with death, so fight the English troops fearlessly. Meanwhile as the issue of the battle still hung in the balance, a juggler, whom an all-too-hasty courage ennobled, preceding the countless forces of the Duke, cheers the Gauls and scares the English with his challenge, and, throwing his sword high in the air, plays with it all a juggler's tricks. When one, out of all the thousands of the English, saw him, juggling thus with his sword, retire; seized with a true soldier's pride, and putting life behind him, he leapt forth to go to death. Cleaver of Iron was the name by which the buffoon was known and, as he was, he spurred on his horse. With a sharp lance he pierces the shield of an Englishman and threw him down, and with his sword cut off his head. Turning him round, he shows his delight to his comrades, and points out that he began the battle. All rejoice. All with one accord do reverence to the Lord, and exult that theirs is the first blow. While excitement and the heat of passion run through

WILLIAM OF ABBE

"About the third H commenced."—*Wil.*

"The enemy, d form themselves in unless he were mad for the Norman c serried host, nor car in the wedge. Th bow and catapult; f England learned de English learned to they knew not bef death comes down above. These En accompanies as fro may cut off the stra launched; many pe the tribes packed to fall.

"Then the nati shame, march strugg wandering foe. Th and escape from tho on all sides the fly. On that very spot th by little are they l order of the Duke length the natives, loss, break line ar accord, against the down with unwonted foes, and the Norm presence of the Du the Normans were them, and they pre selves in flight, an spread that the Du rank and file, demora faster. Then the p men were wavering, the helmet that hid I pray you, mindfu me. Indeed I li O my people, w is assured to us our swords: con strength, and the

Observations.—The picturesque story of Taillefer is so very striking that it bears a considerable semblance

In the Tapestry the archers seem first to have preceded the cavalry, who subsequently charged into Harold's line heavily armed troops, and hold their shields close in front. A solitary archer stands near the apex of the wedge.

X TAPESTRY.



LD WALL."

UMIÈGES AND AUDRI

WACE

MISCELLANEOUS

of the day the battle
of *Jumièges*.
arding their horses,
a close wedge which,
ould not be broken,
e not approach the
e bring down anyone
Duke bids them use
then for the first time
by them. Then the
by the arrow which
: it is believed that
on them from heaven
sh, a line of troops
afar that the troops
ers. The shafts are
n where they stand ;
her have no room to

, in sorrow and in
g forth and chase the
Normans feign flight
who put them to flight,
horse cut them off,
are slain : thus little
ened, but the skilful
not impaired. At
perated by continual
rush on, with one
e. Then they cut
laughter their fleeing
fled right up to the

Then the hearts of
but frightened out of
ed on to hide them-
the common rumour
was slain, and the
ed thereby, flee all the
e perceived that his
d suddenly removing
face, he said, 'Halt,
of yourselves and of
I live. Fear not.
flee ye? victory
we must all use
now, display your
ength of your fathers

" 'Olicrosse,' they often cried ; and many times repeated, 'Godemite.' 'Olicrosse' is in English what 'Sainte Croix' is in French, and 'Godemite' the same as 'Dextot poissant' in French.

"The Normans brought on the three divisions of their army to attack at three different points. They set out in three companies, and in three companies did they fight. The first and second had come up, and then advanced the third which was the greatest : with that came the Duke with his own men, and all moved boldly forward.

"As soon as the two armies were in full view of each other, great noise and great tumult arose. You might hear the sound of many trumpets, of bugles, and of horns : and then you might see men ranging themselves in line, lifting their shields, raising their lances, bending their bows, handling their arrows, ready for assault and for defence.

"The English stood steady to their post, the Normans still moving on ; and when they saw the Normans come, the English were to be seen stirring to and fro ; men going and coming ; troops ranging themselves in order ; some with their colour rising, others turning pale ; some making ready their arms, others raising their shields ; the brave man rousing himself, the coward trembling.

"Taillefer, who sang right well, rode, mounted on a swift horse, before the Duke, singing of Karlemaine and of Rollant, of Oliver and the vassals who died in Roncevaux. And when they had ridden so long that they were drawing nigh to the English, 'A boon, Sire !' cried Taillefer : 'I have long served you, and you owe me for all such service. To-day, so please you, you shall repay it. All I ask as my guerdon, and beseech you for it earnestly, is that you will allow me to strike the first blow in the battle !'

"And the Duke answered, 'I grant it.' Then Taillefer put his horse to a gallop, charging before all the rest, and struck an Englishman dead, driving his lance below the breast into his body, and stretching him

"And William came against him un-awares, before his people were set in array. But the king nevertheless strenuously fought against him with those men who would follow him ; and there was great slaughter on either hand."—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"And on Saturday, the 11th of the kalends of November (22nd October), before a third of his army was in order for fighting, he joined battle with them nine miles from Hastings, where they (the Normans) had fortified a castle. But, inasmuch as the English were drawn up in a narrow place, many retired from the ranks, and very few remained true to him : nevertheless, from the third hour of the day until dusk, he bravely withstood the enemy, and fought so valiantly and stubbornly in his own defence that the enemy's forces could hardly make any impression."—*Florence of Worcester*.

"Then Duke William is said to have remarked, 'I believe in the mercy of Almighty God, Whose judgments, although they are secret, are right, and He to-day will do me justice as concerning Harold, the perjurer who to-day dares to come against me to battle.' So saying and spurring on the horse on which he rode, he charged the English, and, running one of them through, slew him."—*Brevis Relatio*.

"All on foot, armed with battle-axes and covering themselves in front by the juncture of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body in the shape of a wedge, which would have secured their safety that day, had not the Normans, by a feigned flight, induced them to open their ranks, which, up to that time, according to their custom, kept close order.

"The King himself, on foot, stood with his brothers, near the Standard, in order that, while all shared equal danger, none could think of retreating. This Standard William sent, after the victory, to the Pope. It was sumptuously embroidered in gold and precious stones, and represented the form of a man fighting.

of truth. Taillefer's object, not very successful, seems to have been to overawe the superstitious English. Harold's troops are shown in a rude wedge-shaped formation, the cavalry attacking on either side. They are

THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



HERE WERE SLAIN LEOFWINE AND GYRTH, BROTHERS OF KING HAROLD. HERE WERE SLAIN TOGETHER IN BATTLE

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued.*

to attack them with drawn swords ; they wound too even those who shoot darts at them from afar. Lo and behold you! terrified by their fierceness, the infantry and cavalry of Brittany simultaneously, and all the auxiliaries on the left wing are put to flight : almost the whole of the Duke's army falls back : if one may say so, *pace* the Normans, the most invincible of . . . men. The Normans believed that their Duke and lord had fallen : they did not therefore cease from their disgraceful flight, a flight to be the less deplored, as it was the greatest of blessings to them. For the commander, observing that the greater portion of the opposing army had sallied out, and was pursuing his retreating troops, ran to meet and stop the fugitives, striking or threatening them with his spear, and baring his head moreover and removing his helmet, he exclaimed, 'Behold me !' he says, 'I am alive and will conquer, God helping. What madness suggests flight to you? What way of escape lies open to you? Those whom you can cut down like so many sheep are beating you off and slaying you. You are deserting victory and undying glory, and are rushing to destruction and eternal shame. Not one of you can avoid death by running away.' Hearing this they took heart again. He first rushes forward with his sword flashing as the lightning flashes, and mowed down the confronting host which, rebelling against him, their king, deserved their death. The eager Normans, outflanking several thousands that had followed them, annihilated them in a moment, so that not even one survived. Encouraged thereby, they attacked

GUY OF AMIENS—*continued.*

their manly breasts and all the men are eager to join in the battle. First the troops of bowmen attack, and, from afar, with their weapons pierce the bodies of the foe with their arrows : the cross-bowmen with a shower, as of hail, burst the bucklers ; beat them with blows innumerable. The French attacked the left, the Bretons the right : the Duke with his Normans fights in the centre. The serried English host stands rooted to the ground and opposes javelin to javelin and sword to sword ; dead bodies bereft of breath cannot be laid low, nor do the bodies make way for the living soldiers ; for every dead body, although the breath of life has left it, stands as though untouched and keeps its place, nor can the Normans penetrate the dense forest of Englishmen, did not genius give strength to their strength.

"The French, skilled in the arts of war, cunningly pretend to flee as though they had been vanquished : the rustic folks rejoice and think that they are conquerors, and follow up the fleeing foe with naked swords. When the unwounded move the wounded fall, and the forest of men, so thick just now, gets thinned. When they see that the left wing is weakened, and a broad way is open for entering on the right, they, on both sides, strive with loosened rein to destroy with death in every phase, the enemy dispersed abroad : then those who feigned flight turn back upon their pursuers, and compel them to offer their backs to death.

"A great part perished there, while part massed together resisted. Ten thousand men there met their death. As fell the gentle sheep before the ravening lion, so does the accursed race, driven to death, rush

WILLIAM OF
ABBÉ BAU

and forefathers : the once : let us attack ye flee?' he exclaimed the shore : we remove when we moved a city have we unto wh use our right hand to hands it rests whet *Abbé Baudri.*

Observations continued—

The next division in the Tapestry shows an attack on Harold's brothers, in which they are represented as appear to be of a different form, and round, convex, with studded outer edge, and a large boss in the centre. This is the kite shape.

The Tapestry shows what appears to have taken place at the Evil Ditch or the "Malfosse," described by Wace.

The French cavalry and the English light-armed foot are seen together falling into a fosse or slight precipitous work or for reeds growing in a marshy spot, the latter supposition being the more probable) ; the Tapestry lifting his helm, exclaiming, "Here is William !" Odo is shown with a club rallying the troops or varlets.

There is much confusion in the several accounts as to the order of the incidents of the flight and the ruse, or the broke their line in pursuit, and that William afterwards profited by the experience of this incident to organize a pret got upon the hill by crushing the last remaining body of House-carls.

In the Tapestry the figure slightly in front of William, bearing a standard, appears, from a mutilated name in the Tapestry the archers are seen to be again coming into action, and seem to be aiming high in the air.

TAPESTRY.



ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH. HERE BISHOP ODO HOLDING A CLUB ENCOURAGES THE BOYS. HERE IS DUKE WILLIAM.

MIÈGES AND
I—continued.

WACE—continued.

MISCELLANEOUS—continued.

enemy will flee at
m. Whither would
Our fleet is far from
all hope of escape
from that. What
to flee? We must
champion us : in your
we live or die.”—

upon the ground. Then he drew his sword and struck another, crying out, ‘Come on ! come on ! What do ye, Sirs? Lay on ! lay on !’ At the second blow he struck, the English pushed forward and surrounded him. Forthwith arose the noise and cry of war, and on either side, the people put themselves in motion. The Normans moved on to the assault, and the English defended themselves well. Some were striking, others urging onwards ; all were bold, and cast aside fear.

“And now, behold ! That battle was gathered whereof the fame is yet mighty. Loud and far resounded the bray of the horns and the shock of the lances, the mighty strokes of clubs, and the quick clashing of swords. Sometimes the English rushed on, sometimes they fell back ; while the men from over sea charged onwards, and again at other times retreated. The Normans shouted ‘Dex aie’ ; the English people ‘Ut.’ Then came the cunning ruses, the rude shocks and strokes of lance, and blows of sword, among the serjeants and pikemen, both English and Norman. When the English fall the Normans shout. Each side taunts and defies the other, yet neither knoweth what the other saith : . . . and the Normans say that the English bark, because they understand not their speech.

“Some wax strong, others weak ; the brave exult, but the cowards tremble, as men who are sore dismayed.

“The Normans press on the assault, and the English defend their post well. They pierce the hauberks, and cleave the shields ; get and give mighty blows. Again some press forward, others yield, and thus in various ways the struggle proceeds.

“Then was begun the song of Roland, so that the warlike example of that man might stimulate the soldiers ; whilst William called on God for assistance, the battle was begun on both sides, and was fought with great ardour, neither side yielding during the greater part of the day.”— *William of Malmesbury.*

“The Danish and the English chiefs were both renowned for their zeal in arms. The armies attack : the din of arms resounds : on all sides might contends with violent hands. Recently Harold had overcome the Norsemen, and, tired of fighting, he and his troops were less fierce. Their fierceness of mind was unchanged in William’s legions, and each with his own leader wished to conquer. Only when the quivers were emptied did the discharge of arrows cease, the shield resists the spears, the helmet resounds under the blow of the sword. The terrible power of so great forces is seen : fierceness and inborn strength incite them. The fury of the one side is increased by the hope of a kingdom, by the possession of wealth, whilst the English, fearing this, rage fiercely in arms. The King admonishes them to fight for their country, and to repulse the enemy with slaughter, whilst he himself strives [to imitate] the Danes by his bravery. The legion of the English surrounds the King, and terrible in arms gleams with the thunderbolt of war.”— *Draco Normannicus.*

“The Duke, then, by his heralds, thrice offered conditions of peace, which were thrice refused by the enemy ; and at length conformably to the prophecy of Merlin ‘that a Norman people in iron coats should

lain. The order, in point of time, of this event seems somewhat premature. It will be noted that the shields of shield seems to have been carried only by those of the Royal body-guard, and are of a more ancient form than

(The outer side of the fosse shows certain pointed objects in the ground which may either be taken for defences also shows the panic occasioned thereby, and the rally by William. The Duke is seen baring his face, by

lights and ruses. The most plausible construction is that the Norman left wing at first gave way, and the Saxons fled flight as a ruse, which was so successful in drawing away the English that the Normans by an outflanking attack

the margin, to have been Eustace of Boulogne, who was in command of the Norman left wing. In the margin of

THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS (Sat

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued.*

with more vehemence the main body of the army, which, although it had sustained a terrible loss, did not seem to be less in numbers. The English boldly opposed them with all their strength, striving especially, not to allow the enemy any ingress. So densely were they packed that not even the slain could fall to the ground. At last, from different sides, a way was cut into their ranks by the swords of the bravest. On them pressed Cenomanians, French, Bretons, Aquitanians, but, where all were valiant, the Normans were most valiant of all. A young Norman soldier, Robert, son of Roger de Beaumont, seeing battle for the first time that day, did deeds deserving of everlasting fame; rushing in with the company he led on the right wing, and dealing havoc all round with the utmost boldness. It is not within our power, nor is it our intention to celebrate worthily the brave deeds of individual warriors. One blessed with the noblest powers of speech, if he had been an eye-witness of that battle, could scarce describe each single feat. We hasten from the fight in order that, when we have finished the praises of William the Duke, we may write of the glory of William the King."—*William of Poitiers.*

GUY OF AMIENS—*continued.*

to its destruction. The greater part, surviving, press on more keenly to the battle, and count friends lost to them as nothing. The English people being superior in numbers, beat back the foe, and compelled him to beat a retreat perforce. The flight that was at first feigned is now turned into an actual retreat: the Normans flee, their shields protect their backs. When the Duke saw that his people were retreating, beaten, he rushed up to them, making signs with his hand, he chides them and strikes them, and checks them, and constrains them with his spear, and, enraged, he takes the helmet from his head. He frowned upon the Normans, and, entreating the French, he cried 'whither flee ye? Whither will ye go to die? France, noblest nation upon earth! France, that hast ever conquered! How canst thou bear to be seen conquered? It is not men but sheep that you flee from and idly fear: what you now do is too great a disgrace. The sea is behind you: your only way of returning is by the sea, the sea which wind and the opportunity deny you. Difficult is your return to your fatherland, a long and difficult journey: there is no escape for you here: you must strive to conquer, if you wish to live.' So said he, and straightway the blush of shame steals o'er their cheeks: they turn right about face: their front is turned towards their foe."—*Guy of Amiens.*

WACE—

"In the plain was a
mans had now behind
it in the fight without
English charged an
before them, till the
upon this fosse, over
and men. Many w
therein, rolling one o
faces to the earth, an
of the English, also
drew down along wit
no time during the d
so many Normans as
So those said who sa
"The varlets who
harness wished to d
the loss of the Fre
upon the fosse wit
themselves. Being
ing the difficulty ir
began to quit the
around, not knowin
Then Duke William
priest, the bishop o
and said to them, 'S
Be quiet and move
if God please we sha
took courage and m
and Odo returned g
the battle was fierc
service on that day.
on over a white alb,
at the sleeve: and s
that all should recog
he held a mace, and
need, he led up and
and often urged th
strike the enemy."—

* ground axes nor pointed arrows, did any think to escape or to survive: all gave themselves up to die. from the bodies. Such a sorrowful sight was never seen, nor in one day had so many heart-rending sounds. I shall tell you. Our people were greatly dismayed at the confusion in those places and heights where they themselves face to face, their chance would be then almost at an end. Our people deplored greatly that themselves, so that I find it written without doubt that on the left side of the battle-field, where our men were thought that they saw that the Duke was killed in the engagement: this made thousands turn their backs to fly st

"Now began such a marvel as had never before been equalled, nor was ever heard before, that the Eng

"Then burst forth sorrow and dismay, there was nothing that could restrain them, nor could the field were thus undone, killed, repulsed and vanquished, he took them promptly under his care, feeling pain and would be killed, and for him, whom they thought in danger of death, great fear came upon them. Their chief expired, wished to show them plainly, as well they knew, that to him all was safe and all sure, and that good severely did he threaten them, when they deserted the field and their posts, that one would not be able to rel reported and safe, and quite certain of the victory? Turn back to the fight, for already you shall see them order to see with certainty if any escaped from the battle; nowhere has he ever had to recover his own.' This that he gave them courage and boldness. And when they saw that he was safe, they pulled up their horses

tinued.

MISCELLANEOUS—continued.

MISCELLANEOUS—continued.

...sse, which the Nor-
...them, having passed
...garding it. But the
...drove the Normans
...made them fall back
...owing into it horses
...to be seen falling
...the other, with their
...nable to rise. Many
...whom the Normans
...them, died there. At
...the battle did they slay
...rished in that fosse.
...he dead.

...re set to guard the
...rt it when they saw
...men, thrown back
...at power to recover
...tly alarmed at see-
...storing order, they
...arness and sought
...here to find shelter.
...rother Odo, the good
...yayeux, galloped up
...d fast! Stand fast!
...! Fear nothing, for
...nquer yet.' So they
...ed not from the spot,
...pping back to where
...s, and was of great
...e had put a hauberk
...le in the body, tight
...on a white horse so
...re him. In his hand
...erever he saw most
...ationed the knights,
...on to assault and
...ce.

lay low the pride of the English,' a decisive battle was bravely fought.

"Upon the hill where the Abbey now stands the English supported their King in a compact body."—*Battle-Abbey Chronicle*.

"When the squadrons were drawn up, and all for striking made ready, there were many people on both sides; and for boldness they seemed like leopards. One of the Frenchmen then galloped forward before the others. His name was Taillefer. He was a very bold champion: he had arms and a good horse. Also he was a brave and noble vassal. In front of the others he placed himself, and did wonderful things before the English. He took his lance by the butt, as if it were a truncheon. He threw it very high and caught it again by the blade. Three times thus he threw his lance, then the fourth time he advanced quite near and aimed it at the English ranks, wounding one of the men. Then drawing his sword, he came into the open space, and threw the sword that he held on high, and then caught it again. Those who saw this said one to another, that this was magic which he did before the folk. When he had thrown the sword three times, the horse with its mouth wide open came bounding joyously towards the English, who thought that they were going to be swallowed up by the baying horse. (The minstrel had taught him.) The Champion then came and struck an Englishman with his sword. The blow made his hand fly off on the spot: another he struck as well as he could, but evil recompense the day brought him, for the English on all sides launched at him javelins and darts, so that they killed him and his charger: to his doom he had asked to strike the first blow. After this the French attacked, and the English fought against them. Many great cries were raised."—*Geoffroi Gaimar*.

"Duke William had not concluded his harangue, when all the squadrons inflamed with rage, hurled themselves on the enemy with indescribable impetuosity, and left the Duke speaking to himself. Before

the armies closed for the fight, one Taillefer sportively casting swords before the English troops, while they were all lost in amazement at his tricks, slew one of the standard-bearers of the English. A second time a like thing happend, but the third time he was slain himself.

"The battle commenced in earnest: the deadly storm of arrows begins: the thunder of swordstrokes follows: the fiery collision of helmets with swords ensues."—*Henry of Huntingdon*.

"They attacked each other so mercilessly and with such fury, that never was there such cruel slaughter. They assembled on both sides, arrows and darts are flying with such velocity, without cessation, that the eye durst not distinguish anything with certainty. The noise of the troops, the hues and cries were heard afar. With fury warfare is waged, so as to cover the field with blood. In a short time blood was constantly flowing, with the blows from the Danish axes and steel lances. They fought so mercilessly and so effectually, that wounded sides, and spines, heads, arms, and breasts make the ground purple with their gore. That so many of the wounded fainted was no wonder.

"Now the battle has commenced with the cruel lances ground to such sharpness, by which a thousand shields were mangled and cut to pieces, and the strong hauberks sundered, letting the vitals gush out; as well as blood in a clear stream.

"Of their troops there were already 2,000 miserable fainting men down. Never was there such havoc made as when the terrible clashing of the swords was heard upon the helms: the serfs then rose, fought and encumbered those who made war in the saddle, here a man scattering brains, and there a man hacking faces. Thus the combat lasted so long that cowards and worthy men, those on horse and those on foot of both sides, made one heap of slain.

"Then the carnage was so general until past noon, that neither from sharp spears, glittering lances, piercing swords, well-

*Continued at foot of page.**

...his was the end of their labour, for they were wading up to their knees through grass steeped in clear blood and cries of mortal agony, been heard. In this bitter and fierce work the English had such advantage as old's people were. The English had held the day so long, that it augured badly for our future. If they found y, that the combat was so unequal. With great loss they were attacked; there where they stood defending thing, there arose a panic, for they knew not what dire misfortune had overtaken them. Several believed and ght to the sea.

...h pressing the Normans sore, during so many hours, had beaten, broken up, and routed them. y longer hold them, unless one were able to work a miracle: but when the Duke saw, and heard, that his men rrow at heart. Throughout the feeble ranks he became animated recklessly, so that they believed that he isarmed in the battle, both of helm and hood, and in such mortal peril, where so many good vassals had rtune would return to him. To those who were already flying he goes, his sword held out in front of him: so it. One then heard him cry aloud, 'What have you heard, cowards? Do you not see your lord, free, well sup- omforted.' Then, pricking his horse came that Eustace, whom the Duke frightened, saying 'Dead he was, in t to great shame those who had so badly and so foolishly spoken. And the Duke so admonished his people nd were no more afraid.'—*Benoît de St. Maur*.

THE RUSE AND FINAL A

THE BAYEU



HERE THE FRENCH FIGHT, AND THOS

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

“The Normans and their allies, perceiving that so powerful an enemy, so long as they offered an undivided resistance, could not be overcome without enormous loss to themselves, turned their backs, or purposely pretending to flee. They remembered how, but a little before, flight had given them the opportunity of effecting their desired purpose. The delight of the barbarians rose high with their hopes of victory. Encouraging one another with shouts of exultation, they assailed our men with curses, and threatened them one and all with death upon the spot. A few thousands, as before, dared, as though they had wings to their feet, to press upon the foe that they thought was fleeing. The Normans, suddenly wheeling round on horseback, cut them off and shut them in on every side, and slew them, sparing no one. Having twice made use of this stratagem with equal success, they attacked the rest with greater vigour, a host still formidable and almost impossible to outflank. The action that ensued was unusual in kind: the one side making inroads and movements in all directions, the other remaining as if rooted to the ground. The English grow weaker, and, as if confessing their guilt by their defeat, offer no resistance to the vengeance of the victor. The Normans shoot arrows, strike, pierce: the dead, as they fall, seem to have more movement in them than the living; the slightly wounded were not allowed to escape; the close press of their fellows crusheth them to death. Thus, good luck helped to hasten William’s triumph.

“There took part in the battle Eustace Count of Boulogne, William, son of Richard Count of Evreux, Geoffrey, son of Rostron Count of Mortain, William Fitz Osbern, Almeric Viscount of Thouars, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Montfort, Ralph of Toesny, Hugh de Grantmaisnil, William of Warren; and very many other famous warriors whose names should be commen-

GUY OF AMIENS

“The Duke, as he was leading, so is he the first to strike: after him the rest turn and strike to the heart; in rejecting fear they assume strength; as perisheth the straw when the wind fanneth the flame, so English crowds, before the French, you fall! At the presence of the Duke the trembling host falleth as the wax melteth and floweth away at the sight of fire. With his drawn sword he cleaveth both helmets and shields, and his charger striketh full many a corse. The brother of Harold, by name Gerth (Gyrth), not scared by the lion’s face, brandishing his weapon, hurling it with his swift arm, shot his lance from afar, wounded the charger, and so forced the Duke to fight on foot; but the Duke on foot only fighteth better, for swiftly he followeth the prince like a roaring lion, and, tearing him limb from limb, thus soliloquizes: ‘Receive the crown that thou hast won from us; if my charger hath perished I, on foot, giveth thee this,’ he spake, and forthwith turned him to the war, and withstandeth his opponents with the strength of a Hercules. He cutteth off the heads of these, the limbs of those, and devoureth with the sword, he sendeth down to darkness many a soul. As he descried a knight going through the midst of the mêlée, one sprung from the Cenomanian race, with his sword not spattered with brain, nor washed in wave of blood, he signalled to him to come and help him. The knight, fearing death, refuseth to make him safe, for he quaked at death as a wolf before a pack of hounds. The Duke, when that soldier suddenly turned to him, exasperated, taking him by the nose-piece of his helmet, brought his face to the ground and his heels in the air; he runneth to mount the horse thus released to him. O thou Ruler of Heaven! thou merciful Compassionater of us men! Thou who, by Thy divine will, rulest all that is, what calamities do the surviving English suffer! Here piety falleth and impiety ruleth. Lives are lost; cruel death rageth, and the sword revelleth. Where Mars holdeth

ABBÉ

“Hastily he urgeth brazen spurs, and sue foe with savage steel as Hector when he l Achilles when he l though each was br followeth the Duke shame; now were it a and now the hand-to-one striketh with his striketh with dread wounds is a way mad Mars favoureth both sides alike; each rusheth courageously death followeth close and they die on that hastened on by Death three Sister Fates, i wearied out, and mar the thread of life be man, in death, depa world below, and tho their own hands. Vic side without loss; th with the blood of the

Observations.—The final assault on the body-guard of Harold is shown in the Tapestry. In the margin may be seen a knight whose right eye is pierced by an arrow. One figure, using a battle-axe with both hands, has a shield slung upon his right arm. Another figure, with a sword-cut from a Norman knight who, in the effort of striking, has been slightly unseated and thrown forward, holds his own sword.

TAPESTRY



WHO ARE WITH HAROLD ARE SLAIN.

BAUDRI

his charger with his
only flasheth upon the
Not so great as he
low the Greeks, or
the Trojans low—
The whole host
passion rageth, and
came to have yielded,
and fight beginneth;
wage sword, another
igger; by manifold
or those bold spirits.
ts and smiteth upon
nd every detachment
to slaughter. Swift
they die on this side
leath was at hand,
own swords. The
mistake not, were
a man died without
broken. Many a
d unbidden to the
nds hasten death by
y will pass to neither
arched soil floweth
in.”—*Abbé Baudri.*

WACE

“From the third hour of the day, when the battle began, till past the ninth hour, the battle was up and down, this way and that, and no one knew who would conquer and win the land! Both sides stood so firm and fought so well that no one could guess which would prevail. The Norman archers, with their bows, shot thickly upon the English; but they covered themselves with their shields, so that the arrows could not wound their bodies, nor do any mischief, how true soever was their aim, or however well they shot. Then the Normans determined to shoot high, so that when the arrows came down they should fall straight upon the heads of the English; and the arrows in falling struck their heads and faces and put out the eyes of many; and all feared to open their eyes or to leave their faces unguarded.

“The arrows now flew thicker than rain before the wind; fast sped the shafts that the English call ‘wibetes.’

“Then it was that an arrow that had been thus shot towards the sky, struck Harold right above his eye, and put one of his eyes out. In his wrath he drew it out and threw it away, breaking it with his hands; and the pain to his head was so great that he leaned upon his shield. So the English were wont to say, and still say to the French, that the arrow was well shot which was so sent up against Harold; and that the archer won them great glory who thus put out King Harold’s eye.

“The Normans saw that the English defended themselves well, and were so strong in their position that they could do little against them. So they consulted together privily and arranged to draw off, and pretend to flee, till the English should pursue and scatter themselves over the field; for they saw that if once they could get their enemies to break their ranks they might be attacked and discomfited much more easily. As they had said, so they did. The Normans fled,

MISCELLANEOUS

“Finding this, William gave a signal to his party that by a feigned flight they should retreat. Through this device the wedged shape body of the English, opening for the purpose of cutting down the straggling enemy, brought upon itself swift destruction, for the Normans, facing about, attacked them thus disordered, and put them to flight.”
—*William of Malmesbury.*

“And not so very long after, a body of Normans amounting to nearly a thousand horsemen, drawn up in the shape of a wedge, as the English were marching out against them from the other side, charged them with a terrible onset, as if they wished to break them through. But when they had come up to them, they pretended to take to flight, as if they feared them: the English then, deeming that they were really taking to flight, began to rush after them, wishing to slay them if they could. Seeing this, the Normans, who were more crafty in battle than the English, soon returned and flung themselves in between them and the main body from which they had separated themselves, and in a short time slew all of them.”
—*Brevis Relatio.*

“The Duke, who was skilled in the art of war, ordered the weary soldiers to retire; then he bringeth up fresh troops. Here the valour, the fury, of the Normans burneth and rageth against the English, and rusheth madly at the King. They are beaten back by the swords of the English, and resist with the sword, while slaughter, with the din of battle, holdeth possession of the blood-stained field.

“Who, I ask, is able to tell what fury was here? What violence, what madness, what an onset, and what horror were there? The English were fighting for their King’s life, and for the kingdom; the Dane was aiming at the former and seeking to gain the latter, raging in arms.

“When the English were slain, the royal lines were penetrated, and he alone was

noticed one of the round shields peculiar to the armament of the body-guard, lying beside a figure in armour, whose
e, of a form not otherwise depicted on the Tapestry. He appears to be a tall elderly man with a beard, and receives
d on to the horse’s neck. The next two figures represent a knight on foot slaying a light-armed man with

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued.*

ded in the volumes of history as mighty men of war; but William, their leader, so excelled them in bravery and caution, that by some he is deservedly preferred, by others compared, to those ancient Greek and Roman generals who are most highly praised in history. Nobly did he lead his men, staying their flight, giving them courage, and sharing all their dangers; more often calling upon them to follow him than bidding them to advance; whence it is clearly to be understood that his valour in the van gave courage to his soldiers and the path to follow. Numbers of the enemy, absolutely unscathed, lost heart at the sight of that marvellous and terrible soldier. Three horses fell under him. Thrice did he spring up undaunted, nor did the death of his charger remain long unavenged. Here might be seen his agility; here his strength of body and mind. He pierced shields, helmets, and breast-plates through with that angry sword which brooked no delay; he crushed several with his shield (buckler). Marvelling at his prowess on foot, several of his soldiers, severely wounded, revived again; and some, whose strength failed from loss of blood, leaning upon their shields, fought bravely, or, when they could do nothing else, urged on their comrades by voice and gesture, imploring them to follow their leader boldly and not let the victory slip out of their hands. He himself helped and saved many.

“With Harold—a Hector or Turnus of the poets’ description—William would no more dread to fight in single combat than Achilles dreaded to fight with Hector, or Æneas with Turnus. Tydeus died praying for a rock to help him against his fifty ambushed foes; William, on fair ground, would not alone have feared a thousand. The author of the *Thebais* or the *Æneid*, poets who after the manner of poets, of great deeds write still greater things, might compose, proclaiming only the truth on the prowess of this hero, as great a work and one far worthier than their own. Indeed, if they could celebrate him in verse befitting the dignity of the subject, their pens would translate him to the ranks of their own gods. But let our humble prose, purposing to celebrate his piety in the worship of the true God, who alone is God from everlasting and world without end, bring to a brief and truthful close the account of the battle in which he conquered as justly as bravely.”—*William of Poitiers.*

GUY OF AMIENS—*continued.*

sway, no man spareth. When the Duke is on horseback again, more keenly than before he woundeth his foes, attacketh and thundereth and pursueth. While he striveth to conquer, while he imbrueth the battle-field with blood, the son of Hellox, a swift and doughty wight, briefly layeth a snare for the Duke to end his life; but when the javelin was launched the blow falleth on the horse. Down on the ground he cometh; the Duke is unhorsed, and, filled with rage, he bethinketh him how to comport himself or what he will do. He wondereth that he should have lost two horses; for a moment he is perplexed at it; but on reflection he thinketh nothing more of it; he thinketh that Fortune will favour him and will second his desires. ‘So,’ he sweareth, ‘unless my right hand lose its cunning, the death of my horse shall not go unavenged.’ Without delay, desecrating from afar the author of the crime skulking amidst the crowd, he runneth to destroy him. With his mighty right hand and his good sword’s sturdy stroke he striketh him through the groin and sheddeth his bowels on the ground.

“But Count Eustace, sprung from a race of high-born sires, surrounded by a troop of many soldiers, hasteneth to be the first to help the Duke and maketh himself a foot-soldier that the Duke may get away on horseback.

“There was a soldier of the Count brought up by him; he did for the Count what the Count had done for the Duke. Under these auspices Duke and Count united together, where the arms gleam most, there seek they the fray.”—*Guy of Amiens.*

WACE—

little by little, the English
As the one fell back, the French
and when the French
English thought, and
of France fled, and w

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“The Normans li
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continued.

ish following them. Other pressed after, men retreated the led out, that the men never return.

ived by the feigned chief thereby befell remained steady nor on, it is not likely been conquered at y broke their lines yued.

to be seen, by great y, so as to draw the Normans flee and ush out their lances rejoicing in their themselves over the jeered and insulted 'Cowards,' they in an evil hour, eeking to seize what ere to come! Nor d you will not easily e use to run back; sea at a leap or can and daughters are ned and bore it all, ot what the English med like the baying uld not understand. and turned round, heir ranks; and the crying 'Dex Aie!' n the Normans re- sition, turning their ny; and their men round and rushing élée; the one party this man striking, rds. One hitteth, fleeth, another pur- stroke, while another man against English- , and the Normans w would you have wift flight and keen s are many, the plain and the *mêlée* fierce. t hard, the blows are waxeth fiercer. The heir part well, when shing up, having in men, accoutred with ded a fine northern ll foot long, and was anner, being tall and age. In the front of Normans thronged ng on, swifter than a lling before him and ned straight upon a ed and riding on a ith his steel axe to

WACE—*continued*

cleave his helm; but the blow miscarried, and the sharp blade glanced down before the saddle-bow, driving through the horse's neck down to the ground, so that both horse and master fell together to the earth. I know not whether the Englishman struck another blow; but the Normans who saw the stroke were astonished, and about to abandon the assault, when Roger de Montgomeri came galloping up with his lance set, and heeding not the long-handled axe, which the Englishman wielded aloft, struck him down and left him stretched upon the ground. Then he cried out, 'Frenchmen, strike! The day is ours! Upon the English!' and again a fierce *mêlée* was to be seen, with many a blow of lance and many a one of sword. The English still defended themselves, killing the horses and cleaving the shields.

"There was a soldier out of France of noble mien, who sat his horse gallantly. He spied two Englishmen who were carrying themselves right haughtily. They were both men of great worth and had become companions in arms and fought together, the one protecting the other. They bore two long and broad bills, and did great mischief to the Normans, killing both horses and men.

"The French soldier looked at them and their bills, and was sore alarmed, for he was afraid of losing his good horse, the best that he had, and would willingly have turned to some other quarter if it would not have looked like cowardice. But soon he was possessed with other thoughts, and, spurring his horse, gave him the bridle and galloped swiftly forward. Fearing the two bills, he raised his shield by the straps and struck one of the Englishmen with his lance straight below the chin on the breast, so that the iron passed out at his back. At the moment that he fell the lance broke, and the Frenchman seized the mace that hung upon his right arm and struck the other Englishman a blow that completely smashed his skull.

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued,*

sought for who wore the crown. For there would be an end of the war so soon as the King was dead; but the iron valour of his knights shut him in. Unless he were taken or slain by the sword, no way remained: the terrible battles forbade it. Phoebus was declining from the centre while seeking the realms of Neptune, and was already turning his back on the armed men. Then the soldiers of the Duke and of the King joined battle with swords, and the result showeth what great bravery was here. The bold Duke himself rode through the royal phalanx and the valour of the English and all their glory raged; but the might of the Normans, which overcame the Franks, now overcometh the English, overwhelmeth them, slayeth them with the sword."—*Draco Normannicus.*

"But at length, by a preconcerted scheme, the Duke feigned a retreat with his army and Eustace, the valiant Count of Boulogne, nimbly followed the rear of the English, who were scattered in the pursuit, rushed upon them with his powerful troops; meanwhile the Duke returned upon them, and they, being thus hemmed in on both sides, numbers were stricken down. The miserable English, feeble and on foot, are scattered abroad. Pressed upon, they fall; they are slaughtered and killed; and their King, being overthrown by a chance blow, they fly in all directions and seek their hiding-places. And then, after an innumerable multitude had been slain on the field, or rather in their flight, a very great calamity presented itself before the eyes of all.

"There lay between the hostile armies a certain dreadful precipice, caused either by a natural chasm of the earth or by some convulsion of the elements. It was of considerable extent, and being overgrown with bushes or brambles was not very easily seen, and great numbers of men, principally Normans in pursuit of the English, were suffocated in it. For, ignorant of the danger, as they were running in a disorderly manner, they fell into the chasm, and were fearfully dashed to pieces and slain. And the pit from this deplorable accident is still called *Malfosse*."—*Battle Abbey Chronicle.*

THE RUSE AND FINAL ASSAULT

WACE—*continued*

“Duke William pressed close upon the English with his lance, striving hard to reach the standard with the great troop that he led; and seeking earnestly for Harold, on whose account the whole war was waged. The Normans seek their lord and press around him; they ply their blows upon the English, and these defend themselves stoutly, striving hard with their enemies, returning blow for blow.

“One of them was a man of great strength, a wrestler, who did great mischief to the Normans with an axe that he wielded; all feared him, for he struck down a great many Normans. The Duke spurred on his horse and aimed a blow at him: but he stooped and so escaped the blow. Then, jumping on one side, he lifted his axe aloft, and as the Duke bent to avoid the blow, the Englishman boldly struck him on the head and beat in his helmet, though without doing much injury. He was very near falling, however, but bearing on his stirrups, he recovered himself immediately; and when he thought to have revenged himself on the caitiff by killing him, the caitiff had escaped, dreading the Duke’s blow. He ran back in among the English, but he was not safe even there, for the Normans seeing him, pursued and caught him, and, having pierced him through and through with their lances, left him dead on the ground.

“Where the throng of the battle was greatest the men of Kent and of Essex fought wondrous well and made the Normans again retreat, but without doing them much injury. When the Duke saw his men fall back and the English too much rejoicing,

WACE—*continued*

his spirits rose high, and he seized his shield by the straps and his lance, which a varlet handed to him, and took post by his gonfanon.

“Then those who kept close guard by the Duke, and rode where he rode, being about a thousand armed men, came and rushed with closed ranks upon the English; and with the weight of their good horses, and the blows that the knights gave, broke the press of the enemy and scattered the crowd before them, the good Duke leading them on in front. Many pursued and many fled; many Englishmen were seen to fall and be trampled under the horses’ hoofs, crawling on the earth and not able to rise. Many of the richest and noblest men fell in that rout, but still the English rallied in places, smote down those whom they reached, and maintained the fight as best they could, beating down the men and killing the horses. One Englishman watched the Duke, and plotted to kill him; he would have struck him with his lance, but he could not, for the Duke struck him first and felled him to the earth. Loud was now the clamour and great the slaughter; many a soul then quitted the body wherein it dwelt. The living stepped over the heaps of dead, and each side was weary of striking. He charged on who could, and he who could no longer strike still pushed forward. The strong struggled with the strong; some failed, others triumphed; the cowards fell back, the brave pressed on, and sad was his fate who fell in the midst, for he had little chance of rising again; and many in truth fell who never rose at all, being crushed under the throng.”—

Wace.

MISCELLANEOUS

“There were such such efforts did they their trenchant, short knights cleft the armor by their shields. Wounded killed, and all their good the English, who fought advantage, had already selves to be cut down such victims were numbers, that thousands narrative) fell there.

“At this battle, in the son of Roger de Be such of your knights bold, and so useful, mention of him in the he come powerfully to knights the Eustace nor iron hath prevailed Osbern, who attacked guarded, that he could death.

“There were knights long-suffering and faithful Viscount of Thouars, soldier nor a coward Almeric: many the rewards.

“Walter Giffart, cur best of the day, was the so that five hundred already passed him, help him, when the good with his sword of pole and extricate him a In such a place it would ceal an effort such as

NEOUS

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

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Also neither steel
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not possible to con-
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prince. None contested nor strove any more, that the prize might be his the day of the battle; for they had great doubt and fear of death, on account of the rescue of Walter Giffart. Of those whom few excelled that day, were Hugh and William of Warenne, who rode to conquer the kingdom with good and lusty knights. One Taillefer, thus saith the scribe, might have gained many great rewards, but he had been killed. So great was his endurance that in the press and crowding of their people he helped the others as if he had been safely enclosed within a wall; and even when mortally wounded he was so good and kind, that never did knight of such gentle birth take such pity on them. Nor is this all that he did, nor all that is written in the early chronicles, of one (a rich and noble vassal) who met mortal hurt in the fierce combat. Too long would it be necessary to speak, did I wish to write their exploits: in three quires of parchment I should not come to an end: for I must finish the work lest some, bored, weary and unheeding, tire of listening, as also may others who like nothing better than to hear and learn about good deeds."—*Benoit de St. Maur.*

"Duke William therefore commanded his troops to make a feigned retreat. In their flight they happened unawares on a deep trench, which was treacherously covered, into which numbers of them fell and perished. While the English were engaged in pursuit the main body of the Normans broke the centre of the enemy's line, which being perceived by those in pursuit over the aforesaid

trench when they were consequently recalled, most of them fell there. Duke William also commanded his bowmen not to aim their arrows straight at the enemy, but to shoot them in the air, that their cloud might spread darkness over the enemy's ranks; this occasioned great loss to the English."—*Henry of Huntingdon.*

"Old Rogier de Belmont attacked the English in the front rank, and wondrous renown did he win, as is plain by the wealth his heirs enjoy: any one may know that they had good ancestors, standing well with their lords who gave them such honours. From this Rogier descended the lineage of Mellant. Guillaume, whom they call Mallet, threw himself boldly into the fray, and with his glittering sword created great alarm among the English. But they pierced his shield and killed his horse under him, and he would have been slain himself, had not the Sire de Montfort and Lord Willame de Vez-pont come up with their strong force and bravely rescued him, though with the loss of many of their people, and mounted him on a fresh horse.

"The men of the Beessin also fought well, and the barons of the Costentin; and Neel de St. Salveor exerted himself much to earn the love and good will of his lord, and assaulted the English with great vigour. He overthrew many that day with the poitrail of his horse, and came with his sword to the rescue of many a baron. The lord of Felgieres also won great renown, with many very brave men that he brought with him from Brittany.

"Henri the Sire de Ferrieres, and he who then held Tillieres, both these barons brought large companies, and charged the English together. Dead or captive were all who did not flee before them, and the field quaked and trembled.

"On the other side was an Englishman who much annoyed the French, continually assaulting them with a keen-edged hatchet. He had a helmet made of wood, which he had fastened down to his coat, and laced round his neck, so that no blows could reach his head. The ravage he was making was seen by a gallant Norman knight, who rode a horse that neither fire nor water could stop in its career, when its lord urged it on. The knight spurred, and his horse carried him on well till he charged the Englishman, striking him over the helmet, so that it fell down over his eyes; and as he stretched out his hand to raise it and uncover his face, the Norman cut off his right hand, so that his hatchet fell to the ground. Another Norman sprung forward and eagerly seized the prize with both his hands, but he kept it little space, and paid dearly for it; for as he stooped to pick up the hatchet, an Englishman with his long-handled axe struck him over the back, breaking all his bones, so that all his entrails and lungs gushed forth. The knight of the good horse meantime returned without injury; but on his way he met another Englishman, and bore him down under his horse, wounding him grievously, and trampling him altogether under foot.

"The good citizens of Rouen, and the young men of Caen, Faleise and Argentoen, of Anisie Matoen, and he who was then Sire d'Aubemare, and Lord Willame de Romare, and the sires de Litehare, Touke, and La Mare, and the sire de Neauhau, and a knight of Pirou, Robert the sire de Belfou, and he who was then sire de Alnou, the chamberlain of Tancharville, and the sire d'Estoteville, and Wiestace d'Abeville, and the sire de Magneville, William whom they call Crespin, and the sire de St. Martin, and Lord William des Molins, and he who was sire des Pins, all these were in the battle, and there was not one of them that did not acquit himself valiantly.

"A vassal from Grentemesnil was that day in great peril: his horse ran away with him, so that he was near falling, for in leaping over a bush the bridle rein broke, and the horse galloped towards the English. The English seeing him ran to meet him with their hatchets raised, but the horse took fright, and turning quickly round brought him safe back again.

"Old Gifrei de Meaine, and old Onfrei de Bohun, Onfrei de Cartrai, and Maugier a newly made knight, were there also. William de Garennes came too, his helmet setting gracefully on his head, and old Hue de Gornai, and together with him his men of Brai. With the numerous forces they brought they killed great numbers.

"And Engerran de l'Aigle came also, with shield slung at his neck, and gallantly handling his spear, struck down many English. He strove hard to serve the duke well for the sake of the lands he had promised him. And the viscount of Toarz was no coward that day. And Richard d'Avrencia was there, and with him were the sire de Biarz, and the sire de Solignie, and the butler d'Aubignie, and the lords de Vitrie, de Lacie, de Val, de Saire, and de Tracie; and these forming one troop, fell on the English off-hand, fearing neither fence nor fosse; many a man did they overthrow that day, many did they maim, and many a good horse did they kill.

"Hugh the sire de Montfort, and those of Espine, Port Courcie, and Jort also, that day slew many men. He who was then sire de Revers brought with him many knights who were foremost in the assault, bearing the English down with their war horses. Old Willame de Moion had with him many companions, and Raol Teisson de Cingueleiz and old Rogier Marmion carried themselves as barons ought, and afterwards received a rich guerdon for their service.

"Next the company of Neel rode Raol de Gael; he was himself a Breton, and led Bretons; he served for the land which he had, but he held it short time enough; for he forfeited it, as they say.

"Avenalsdes Biarz des Mostiers-Hubert who was crooked, but on horseback, had many men fell before him, and many men fell before him of Val de Roil, who and those of Breton many an Englishman. The men of Sole Johan and Brehal, who were to be seen on the quarters, and holding heads, so as to reach hatchets. All would the spot than have fallen.

"And there were Saint Sever (sen?) de Semillie, and Ma near him the lords of Sainteals, of Viez M he who was sire de de Corcie, and a c the lords de Gacie, and the sires de V de Praeres, and W and old Gilbert d and de Coionieres, and lord Richard, sire de Bonnesboz, de Gloz, and he who killed two English through with his other with his sword horse back, so that him.

"And the sire de was warden of the of Hue li Bigot, who and at Loges and duke in his house a which office he held him a large troop. He was small of build, bold, and assaulted men gallantly.

"And now might and cry of battle, and The English stood and shivered the pieces with their Normans drew their the lines, and the fell back upon their collected the maimed.

"Then the sire de neither spared nor whom he did not kill such as none could.

"The lords de Vitrie and Saie, and the down many of the suffered grievously, killed. Botevilain neither blow nor took many on the

continued

as there, and Paienals and Robert Bertram, was very strong when he saw him a great force, he and his archers, the men of great pride, put out the eyes of their sharp arrows. Oireval, and of St. Brius, and of Homez, today, striking at close their shields over their heads to receive the blows of the rather have died on their lawful lord. To present the lords of Caillie, and the sires de Basquevile; and Praels, of Goviz, and of Monceals; and of the seneschal of Lacie, with Dillie, and de Sacie, and of the sire de Torneor, and of the sire de Columbieres, and of the sire de Chaignes, and of the sire de Bolebec, and of the sire de Orbec, and of the sire de Sap, and of the sire de Tregoz; he and his men, smiting the one and braining the other, and then galloped his Englishman touched

his shield, and the ancestor had lands at Maletot, and he served the duke of his seneschals, in fee. He had with him a noble vassal, but very brave and he English with his

heard the loud clang of the clashing of lances. in their lines (lices), and beating them into the ground with swords and maces. The English and broke down the standard in great trouble, where were many wounded.

Haie charged on, and did any, striking none and inflicting wounds on all.

and Urinie, de Moubrai, and de la Ferté smote the English, most of whom had many of them were killed, and Trossebot feared, but heartily gave the day.

WACE—*continued*

“William Patric de la Lande called aloud for King Harold, saying that if he could see him, he would appeal him of perjury. He had seen him at la Lande, and Harold had rested there on his way through, when he was taken to the duke, then at Avranches, on his road to Brittany. The duke made him a knight there, and gave him and his companions arms and garments, and sent him against the Bretons. Patric stood armed by the duke's side, and was much esteemed by him.

“There were many knights of Chauz, who jousted and made attacks. The English knew not how to joust, nor bear arms on horseback, but fought with hatchets and bills. A man when he wanted to strike with one of their hatchets, was obliged to hold it with both his hands, and could not at the same time, as it seems to me, both cover himself and strike with any freedom.

“The English fell back upon a rising ground, and the Normans followed them across the valley, attacking them on foot and horseback. Then Hue de Mortemer, with the sires d'Auviler, d'Onebac, and Saint-Cler, rode up and charged, overthrowing many of the English.

“Robert Fitz-Erneis fixed his lance, took his shield, and galloping towards the standard with his keen-edged sword, struck an Englishman who was in front, killed him, and then drawing back his sword, attacked many others, and pushed straight for the standard, trying to beat it down; but the English surrounded it, and killed him with their bills. He was found on the spot when they afterwards sought for him, dead, and lying at the standard's foot.

“Robert count of Moretoing never went far from the duke. He was his brother on the mother's side, and brought him great aid.

“The sire de Herecort was also there, riding a very swift horse, and gave all the help he could. The sires de Crievecoer, Driencort, and Briencort, also followed the duke wherever he moved. The sires de Combrai, and Alnei, de Fontenei, Rebercil, and Molei, challenged Harold the king to come forth, and said to the English, ‘Stay! stay! where is your king? he that perjured himself to William? He is a dead man if we find him.’

“Many other barons there were whom I have not even named, for I cannot give an account of them all, nor can I tell of all the feats they did, for I would not be tedious. Neither can I give the names of all the barons, nor the surnames of all whom the duke brought from Normandy and Brittany in his company. He had also many from Mans and Thouars, and Angevins and Poitevins, and men of Ponthieu and Bologne. He had also soldiers, from many lands, who

WACE—*continued*

came some for land and some for money. Great was the host and great the enterprize.

“Duke William fought gallantly, throwing himself wherever the greatest press was beating down many who found no rescue; so that it might easily be seen that the business in hand was his own. He who bore his gonfanon that day—Tostein, Fitz Rou le blanc by name, born at Bec near Fescamp—was a brave and renowned knight. He bore the gonfanon boldly, high aloft in the breeze, and rode by the duke, going wherever he went. Wherever the duke turned, he turned also, and wheresoever he stayed his course, there he rested also. And the duke fought where the greatest throng was, where he saw the most English, and wherever the Normans were attacking and slaughtering them. He also had around him a great company, vavassors of Normandy, who to save their lord would have put their own bodies between him and the enemies' blows.

“Alain Fergant, count of Brittany, led a great company of Bretons, a bold and fierce people, who willingly go wherever booty is to be won. They wounded and killed many, and few that they struck stood their ground. Alain Fergant himself fought like a noble and valiant knight, and led his Bretons on, doing great damage to the English.

“The sire de St. Galeri, and the count d'Ouz and Rogier de Montgomeri, and Lord Ameri de Toarz also demeaned themselves like brave men, and those whom their blows reached were ill handled.”

DEATH OF

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



"HERE KING HAROLD WAS SLAIN"

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

GUY OF AMIENS

WILLIAM OF
ABBÉ

"As falleth some forest thinned by the axe laid to the root of the trees, so is the forest of English soldiers wiped out. And now Gaul victorious was all but mistress of the field ; now joyfully she seeketh the spoils of war, when the Duke caught a glimpse of the King upon the top of the hill cutting down his men as they boldly pressed on. He summoneth Eustace : leaving the battle to the French, he brought good help to those overwhelmed.

"As another son of Hector, the noble heir of Ponthieu, Hugh by name, ready to do his duty, accompanieth them ; the fourth is Giffard, known by his father's name ; these four bear arms to kill the King. But many others did so ; these are better than those : if anyone doubt about that, their actions are the proof. . . . The first through the shield, bursting with his spear the breast bedeweth the ground with an outpoured shower of blood. The second striketh off the head with his sword, beneath the shelter of the helmet ; the third layeth open his bowels with the lance ; the fourth smote off his leg and carried it away. Thus slain, earth holdeth the dead body. Rumour, flying, spreadeth through the ranks, ' Harold is slain ' : fear at once subdueth their proud hearts."—*Guy of Amiens*.

"About the third night, in the midst of losses on both sides, marching in the front, William of Jumièges was wounded mortally."

"At last, that the Normans did not prove vain, and that God favoured the Norman chance pierceth Harold in the war, as he was encircled his sullied gold, and had himself outraged the sceptre."

Observations.—The Tapestry depicts the final mêlée around the Standard. One figure of a Saxon is shown to be meant to represent the beating down of the Standard is rather uncertain, because close behind stands a tall bearded man. This is undoubtedly the Saxon Dragon of Wessex. There are indications in the Tapestry that the order of the Standard is not shown in the engraving. He bears a sword. The arrow now appears only as a restoration in the Tapestry, and is not shown in the engraving. The next pair of figures show a Saxon cut down by a Norman knight. A sword-cut being in the thigh, the rest shows the last stand of the house-carls.

TAPESTRY.



OLD IS SLAIN."

MIÈGES AND
AUDRI

our of the day the
was prolonged until
carnage, and with
Harold himself,
ank with his knights,
y and fell slain."

essages of Heaven may
opitious Providence
A deadly shaft by
He was the end of
ts cause. He had
ad with a crown of
with perjured hand,
Abbé Baudri.

WACE

"And now the Normans had pressed on so far, that at last they reached the Standard. There Harold had remained, defending himself to the utmost; but he was sore wounded in his eye by the arrow, and suffered grievous pain from the blow.

"An armed man came in the throng of the battle, and struck him on the *vantail* of his helmet, and beat him to the ground, and as he sought to recover himself, a knight beat him down again, striking him on the thick of his thigh, down to the bone.

"Gurth saw the English falling around, and that there was no remedy. He saw his race perishing away, and had no hope of saving himself. He wished to flee, but could not, for the throng continually increased. And the Duke pushed on till he reached him and struck him with great force. Whether he died of that blow I know not, but it was said that he rose not again.

"The Standard was beaten down to the ground, the golden gonfanon was taken, and King Harold and the best of his friends were slain; but there was such a throng seeking to kill Harold that I know not who it was that slew him."—*Wace.*

MISCELLANEOUS

"At last, after great slaughter on both sides, about twilight, the King, alas! fell. There were slain also Earl Gurth, and his brother Earl Leofwine, and nearly all the nobility of England.

"(Then Duke William returned with his men to Hastings."—*Florence of Worcester.*)

"This vicissitude, first of one party conquering and then of another, prevailed as long as the life of Harold continued; but when he fell, his brain having been pierced by an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night. The valour of both leaders shone forth conspicuously there.

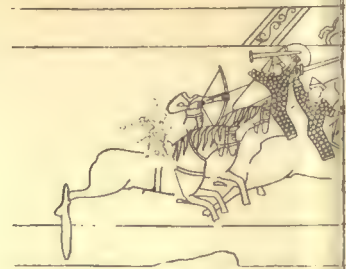
"Harold, not merely content with the duty of a general, namely, to exhort others, played vigorously the soldier's part: often would he strike an enemy when coming to close quarters, so that none could approach him with impunity: for, immediately, with one stroke both horse and rider were laid low. Wherefore, as I have related, receiving the fatal arrow from a distance, he yielded to death.

"One of the soldiers gashed his thigh with a sword as he lay prostrate: for which shameful and cowardly action he was branded with ignominy by William, and expelled from the army."—*William of Malmesbury.*

ing forward; a lance or pole, having a dragon affixed to it, falls with him; also his sword. Whether this figure is
thane holding one of the large round shields with his left hand, and in his right he holds a pole with a dragon on its
ts is not always strictly followed. Another figure is seen clutching an arrow which seems to have entered his right
e-shaped shield of the usual pattern, and the word "Harold" above his head seems to indicate that it is intended for
may represent the incident mentioned in the Chronicles where the Norman knight gashes the thigh of Harold. The

THE FLIGHT AND PURSUIT OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



AND THE ENGLISH

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

“As the day was drawing to its close, the English army saw clearly that it could no longer stand against the Normans. They knew that their numbers had been lessened by the destruction of many companies; that the King and his brothers, and some of the great nobles had fallen; that the survivors were all but exhausted; that there were no reinforcements to hope for. They saw that the Norman losses had not much impaired their ranks, and that the enemy, as though their numbers increased with the fighting, were pressing on more vigorously than at first; that, such was the sternness of the Duke that he spared none who withstood him; such was his bravery that it could only be at rest in victory. Accordingly, taking to flight, they went off in all directions, some on horseback, some on foot, some taking to the roads, most by bye-paths. Those who were struggling, or who, rising, were unable to escape, were wallowing in blood; to some the eager desire for life gave strength. Many remained in the lonely woods, mere corpses; more, sunk down to die on the high roads, were a hindrance to the pursuers. The Normans, although unacquainted with the country, pursued anxiously, slaying the guilty fugitives and putting the last touch to the success of the day. The hoofs of the horses too, as they trampled over the fallen, wreaked vengeance upon the dying. At last the fugitives regained confidence to renew the fight, having an excellent position on the steep side of a hill defended by numerous entrenchments. The English, as a people, have always been swift to fight, by their nature, the real descendants of the old Saxons, the fiercest of men. They would only have been defeated under the pressure of the strongest force. How easily did they lately conquer the king of the Norsemen, though he had a large and powerful army upon which to rely! But the leader of the victorious hosts, seeing the companies collecting thus unexpectedly, although he thought that reinforcements were freshly arriving, turned not from his march, nor halted, but, more

GUY OF AMIENS

“The English refuse to fight; vanquished, they ask for quarter; weary of life, they submitted their backs to death. Then the Duke sent two thousand down to Orcus, besides other thousands beyond measure.

“It was evening. Even now the turning point was changing the day to night, when God made the Duke victorious: night and flight alone saved the conquered English in the concealment of the dense forest. Amongst the dead the Conqueror spent the night, and waited for dawn to return.

“The vigilant son of Hector followeth and cutteth down the fugitive. Mars beareth arms for him, death rageth as his ally. Right up to daybreak he spent the night in various conflicts; nor is he weighed down with sleep, nor suffereth time to dream.”—*Guy of Amiens.*

WILLIAM OF ABBÉ

“The English, bravely in the fight, finding that their king was for their own safety; at night, they turned to flight. The Normans, the English escaping, pursued during the whole of Saturday and Sunday, without detriment; for they found them an old ditch. The Normans were suddenly into it they fell with armour, killing one on top of the other, without warning. We are men perished there.

“Thus, on October, punished in divers of sinners in each for, by the raging. He slew on the sands of the English that time had unjustly innocent Alfred, and day had butchered Harald, Earl Tostig; thus, on the following, avenged the English; furious Normans into, swallowed them up; to the contrary, the foe with unrestrained. Psalmist saith, ‘their blood.’”—*W. of Jus.*

“The English host, God himself increased a sudden, the whole fight. Nor could after be recalled: to precipitous rout, suffocated many, who on all around: many arms. Armour is a who can, take off the who was just now fight. Presently the Normans harasseth the rear, many the winged

Observations.—The last scene on the Tapestry shows the flight of the light-armed troops. They are of the same William of Poitiers as heavy stones tied to sticks, in the manner of the old flint-axe. One figure seems to have depicted fugitive figures. The Tapestry has been restored in many places throughout its length. [See the Author's

ONS (Saturday and Sunday, October 14th and 15th, 1066).

TAPESTRY.



ISH FLED.

MIÈGES AND
AUDRI

WACE

MISCELLANEOUS

or having persisted whole day, on learn- head, began to tremble d, under the cover of y and sought safety y then, seeing the ed them obstinately the night between but to their own ng grass hid from moat) into which the ly precipitated, and heir horses and their ther as they fell, one ddenly, without any d that nearly 15,000

14th, Almighty God ys a great number of the two armies, ry of the Normans, Saturday several thou- who long before ly put to death the he preceding Satur- without mercy King d many others. And ight, the same Judge in precipitating the he hidden gulf which or, in spite of orders plundered the fallen passion; and, as the et were swift to shed ges.

s panic-stricken, and their panic; and on ray melteth away in vast multitude here- ly fly, a band driven he very attack itself the slaughterer is going perish by their own ndrance to all: those armour. The soldier g departeth unarmed. with loosened rein, the flying foe; and e trampleth beneath

"The English were sore grieved at having lost King Harold, and at the Duke's having conquered him and beaten down the standard; but long they fought and defended themselves long, until at last the day drew to a close. Then it clearly appeared to all that the standard was fallen, and the news had spread that Harold for certain was dead; and all saw that there was no help coming, so they left the battle, and those fled who could.

"I do not tell, and I do not indeed know, for I was not there to see, and have not heard say, who it was that smote down King Harold, nor by what weapon he was wounded; but this I know, that he was found dead among the dead. His great efforts availed him nothing: amidst the slain he was found slain also. The English who escaped from the field did not stop till they reached London, for they were in great fear, and cried out that the Normans followed close after them. The press was great to cross the bridge, and the river beneath it was deep: so that the bridge broke under the throng, and many fell into the water.

"William fought well: in many a throng did he press; many a blow did he give, and many get; and many fell dead by his hand. Two horses were killed under him, and he took a third when needed, so that he fell not to the ground, nor lost a drop of blood. But whatever anyone did, and whoever lived and died, this is certain, that William conquered. Many of the English fled from the field, and many died on the way. Then William returned thanks to God, and in his pride ordered his gonfanon to be brought and set up on high, where the English standard had stood: and that was the sign of his having conquered and beaten down the standard.

"And he ordered his tent to be raised on the spot among the dead, and had his meat brought thither, and his supper prepared there.

"But behold, up galloped Walter Giffart: 'Sire,' said he, 'what are you about? You are not agreeably placed here among

"There was slain King Harold and Leofwin the earl, his brother, and Girth the earl, his brother, and many good men; and the Frenchmen had possession of the place of carnage, all as God granted them for the people's sins."—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"In this manner the Normans and English began to fight, and so the Normans were fighting with the English almost all that day till evening. At length the English were defeated and took to flight, and those who could not escape were slain on the spot. In that fight Harold was slain and his two brothers, and with them most of the English nobility. Now the battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, on the ground where William, then Duke of the Normans, but afterwards King of the English, ordered an Abbey to be built, in memory of the battle and for the pardon of all the sins of those who were slain there."—*Brevis Relatio*.

"William too was equally ready to encourage his soldiers, by his voice and by his presence; he was the first to rush forward to attack the thickest of the foe. Thus, everywhere raging, everywhere furious, he lost three chosen horses, which were that day pierced through under him. The dauntless spirit and vigour of the intrepid general, however, still persisted, though often called back by the friendly entreaty of his body-guard; he still persisted, I say, till approaching night crowned him with complete victory. And no doubt the hand of God so protected him, that the enemy should draw no blood from his body, though they aimed so many javelins at him.

"In this manner, deceived by a stratagem: they earned an honourable death in avenging their country: nor indeed were they without their own revenge, for, by frequently making a stand, they slaughtered their pursuers in mighty heaps. Getting possession of an eminence, they drove down the Normans, when roused with indignation and anxiously striving to gain the higher ground, into the valley beneath, where easily hurling their javelins, and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, they destroyed them

the class as shown in the Malfosse group above. The arms that they carry may be the weapons spoken of by his eye pierced by an arrow or lance. The end of the Tapestry is much damaged and frayed, and seems to be on the restorations of the Bayeux Tapestry in the *Antiquary*, 1907.]

THE FLIGHT AND PURSUIT OF THE ANGLO-SAXON

WILLIAM OF POITIERS—*continued*

terrible with his broken spear than a troop brandishing long lances, he bade in a loud voice Count Eustace, who was turning away with fifty horsemen, and eager to sound the recall, not to depart. He, on the other hand, took the liberty to suggest to the Duke to return, declaring that it was speedy death if he advanced. As Eustace was thus speaking he was struck with a blow that gave a sound between his shoulders, the force of which was shown by a stream of blood that gushed out from his nose and mouth, and was carried off half dead by his companions. The Duke, disdainful of any fear or disgrace, advanced and crushed his opponents. In this action several noble Normans fell, their courage being hampered by the precipitous character of the country. Thus the victory was consummated, and he returned to the battle-field and saw the scene of slaughter, which he looked upon not without commiseration: although the victims of the slaughter were ungodly foes, although to slay a tyrant is a glorious deed of fair renown and pleasing benefit."—*William of Poitiers.*

ABBÉ BAUDRI—*continued*

his feet. The present triumph giveth the Normans courage; the death of their king, and the fear it causes, thoroughly dispiriteth the English. The wish that war shall not be renewed upon the morrow whetteth the Normans: death pressing close upon the English troubleth them. The Norman, more fierce than a pregnant tigress, presseth on; the Englishman, more timid than a sheep, falleth before him: and, as a wolf, whom cruel hunger hath driven to the sheepfold, knoweth not how to spare the harmless flock, nor ceaseth from killing till he hath slain them all, so doth the ruthlessness of the Normans not relent. But, God being merciful, night, the stay and salvation of the flying English, putteth an end to the battle and the slaughter. No night could have been more favourable for the English than that on which they were able to shield themselves from their misfortunes: at night they take whatever place chance assigneth them: some take to caverns, others hide themselves in thickets."—*Abbé Baudri.*

WACE

this dead folk. Ma bloody and mingled sound or only wounded gore; tarrying of his ing to rise at night, ness. They would d revenge, and would none of them carried wards, if he but sh they say that we li wrong. You should let yourself be guard sand armed men of best trust. Let a this night, for we h may be laid for us. day of it; but the e me best.' 'Giffart, thank God that we h and, if such be God' do well henceforwar for all!' Then Gil William took off l barons and knights, when he had unstru took his helmet fr hauberk from his b blows upon his shie was dinted in.

"And all greatly w a warrior never was nor did such feats there been on eart Roland and Oliver."

"Thus they lauded and rejoiced in what also for their friends battle. And the l among them, of ne and rendered thank through Whom he thanked the knight also frequently for and drank among bed that night upon

continued

an Englishman lieth
with the dead, but yet
and besmeared with
in accord, and mean-
escape in the dark-
ht thus to take their
their lives dearly :
no killed him after-
a Norman first, for
done them much
ramp elsewhere, and
by one or two thou-
se whom you can
eful watch be set
w not what snares
V have made a noble
of the work pleaseth
id the Duke, 'I
done well hitherto ;
l, we will go on and
Let us trust God
turned away, and
armour ; and the
es and squires came,
his shield, and they
his head, and the
and saw the heavy
and how his helmet

ered and said, 'such
r dealt such blows,
arms : neither has
uch a knight since

extolled him greatly,
y saw ; but grieving
ho were slain in the
e stood meanwhile
stature and mien ;
the King of glory
the victory ; and
ound him, mourning
dead. And he ate
dead, and made his
field."—*Wace.*

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

to a man. Besides, by a short passage known to them, avoiding a deep ditch, they trod under foot such a multitude of their enemies in that place, that they made the hollow level with the plain by the heaps of dead bodies."—*William of Malmesbury.*

"Then when the Normans rallied their forces they were up to their knees in blood. Also of those who lay dead here, all soiled with blood, was King Harold, who had fallen struck on both sides by three sharp lances, and by the blades of two swords, which entered up to his ears, so that the hilts were all red. It was not at once perceived, for there were many who were then keeping foolishly separated from him.

"From dawn of day, when they began to fight, up till late noon, the battle raged in all its fury, for nothing had as yet been gained. But when the thing was certain, and, among the English, it was perceived that Harold was really killed, and the greater part of his people, and his brothers and several barons, they did not wait any longer for succour. Miserable, feeble, helpless, and faint from the blood that ran down their bodies, they saw that they were broken and scattered, and on all sides surrounded ; they saw their people dead and dying, and they saw that night was coming on, which discomfited them ; they saw the Normans regain vigour, and their force increase and redouble itself ; they saw that there was no protection in weapons, in concealment or in flight ; they were doomed to die : then they turned their backs, never to return and left their men to defend themselves. Such was their loss, and such their straits, that they were routed at one onslaught. Then there was such carnage, and so many victims, that I should never be able to tell of such butchery and such suffering. So it kept on until dawn of the next day, neither did nightfall cause the trouble to cease. As appeared on the morrow, that which the ground concealed was a thorny ditch which killed and destroyed more English (*sic*) than anything else had been able to effect. They stumbled and were overturned, and those on foot killed them. So that, neither have I known or read, or found in any history, that any such great nation was ever thus beaten. So in this way they perished : nor did any escape, or return from the abyss. So the battle was won on the first (*sic*) day of October precisely. And it was thought and believed that five thousand were counted among the killed and wounded in the rout which continued all through the night. On returning to the dead, our knights were seen to rejoice. But the Duke is full of pity ; his face is wet with tears, when he looketh upon the slain : even though all were mortal enemies to him and his, among them were many good men killed, and though he ought to have had great joy at having thus conquered a tyrant, one who was perjured, false, and disloyal towards him, at the same time

MISCELLANEOUS—*continued*

he was sorry that the bravest and best, and all the flower of both kingdoms, should have thus perished, through his action and through his fault."—*Benoît de St. Maur.*

"From morn till eve they did not cease thrusting and striking. Many knights died of whom I know not the names ; nor dare I speak falsely who struck the best. The English, whom Alan of Brittany and his companions vanquished, fought valiantly. This man fought as became a baron. Many also were beaten by the Bretons who came with the King to the land, to help him in his wars. His cousin was he—of his lineage—a gentleman of noble birth. He served and loved the King, who right well rewarded him. Richmond he bestowed upon him, a beautiful and strong castle in the North, and several places in England did the King give him land. Long did he hold the land, and then came to his end. At St. Edmund's he was buried. Now that I have spoken about this baron, I will return to my story. He and the others did so much, that the battle was well gained. And they knew at last that the English were worsted, and they turned to flight in the evening. Many bodies were left void of souls. Harold and his two brothers lay there. Through them died fathers and sons, and many others of noble lineage suffered great loss. Leofwine and Gyrrh were slain : whereupon, William had the country."—*Geoffroi Gaimar.*

"When the princes who stood by the King's side were killed, the English fled, by whatever road each one could find. Thus the cubs run away when the roaring lion is slain, and the she-bear is deserted by her young when she is overcome by death."—*Draco Normannicus.*

"Twenty of the bravest knights also pledged their word to each other that they would cut through the English troops and capture the royal ensign, called 'The Standard.' In this attack the greater part were slain, but the remainder, hewing a way with their swords, captured the Standard. Meanwhile the whole shower of arrows fell round King Harold, and he himself fell, pierced in the eye. A crowd of horsemen now burst in, and slew the wounded King. With him fell Earl Gurth and Earl Leofric, his brothers. After the defeat of the English army, and so great a victory, the Londoners submitted peaceably to William, and he was crowned at Westminster by Aldred, Archbishop of York. Thus the right hand of the Lord brought to pass the change which a remarkable comet had foreshadowed in the beginning of the same year, as it was said, 'In the year 1066 the furthest borders of England saw the flames of a comet.' The battle was fought in the month of October, on the feast of St. Calixtus (October 14th). King William afterwards founded a noble abbey on behalf of his dead on this spot, and gave it the fitting name of 'Battle Abbey.'"
—*Henry of Huntingdon.*

THE BURIAL OF HAROLD AND DEPARTURE OF

(Friday, October 11, 1066)

WILLIAM OF POITIERS

"Far and wide, the flower of the English nobility and youth, soiled by blood, covered the ground. The King's two brothers were found near him. He, robbed of all his beauty, was recognized by certain marks, but not by his face, and was taken to the Duke's camp, who gave him to William Malet, for burial, and not to his mother, who offered an equal weight in gold for the body of her beloved offspring. For he knew that it would not be becoming that gold should be accepted for such merchandize. He thought that it would be wrong that he should be buried where his mother wished, as innumerable men were lying unburied on account of his ambition. It was said in mockery, that he ought to be the custodian of the sea and of the shore which he had madly occupied by his arms. We do not insult you, Harold; but, with the pious Conqueror who shed tears over your downfall, we pity and mourn you. You first of all conquered by a success that was worthy of you, and you lay in blood; and now you are lying in a grave by the seashore, and you will be execrated by future generations of Englishmen, as well as of Normans. Those are apt to fall who think that the greatest power in the world is the greatest happiness; and, in order that they may be very happy, seize power, and, when they have seized it, try to retain it by force of arms. You were wet with your brother's blood, lest your brother's greatness might make you less powerful. Then you rushed furiously into another conflict, in order that, being helped by parricide in your fatherland, you might not lose the royal honour. Therefore the slaughter, which you brought about, carried you away. Lo! you do not shine in that crown which you perfidiously attacked: you do not sit on that throne which you arrogantly ascended. Your death proves how rightly you were raised by Edward's gift at his death! A comet, the terror of kings, appearing in the early days of your elevation, foreboded your destruction.

"Having buried his own dead, and given the defence of Hastings to an active commander, he attacked Romney, and exacted whatever penalties he chose for the slaughter of his men, who landing there by mistake the fierce people had attacked and had routed to the great detriment of both sides."—*William of Poitiers.*

GUY OF AMIENS

"After the most brilliant lamp of Phœbus had shone forth, freeing the world from dense darkness, the Duke, reviewing the field of battle, carried off the dead bodies of those of his soldiers who had fallen, and buried them in the bosom of the earth. But the bodies of the English, that were lying on the ground, he left to be eaten by worms and wolves, by birds and dogs. He took up Harold's mangled body and covered it with purple and fine linen, and he took it with him when he returned to his seaside-camp, so that he might carry out the accustomed rites of burial. Harold's mother, overwhelmed by grief, sent to the Duke and besought him to give him up to her, unhappy woman, a widow bereft of her three sons; and, for the three, restore to her the bones of the one, or, if he wished, he might weigh the corpse against its weight in pure gold in return for it. But the enraged Duke altogether rejected both requests, swearing that he would rather entrust to his custody, the shores of the port, under a heap of stones: therefore, as he had sworn, he commanded the body to be buried on the ground on the lofty top of a rock; then immediately someone, partly English, and partly Norman, pitied Harold, and willingly carried out the command, and quickly bore away the King's body and buried it, putting a stone over it, and wrote as an inscription:—'By the Duke's command thou restest here, King Harold, to remain as the custodian of the shore and of the sea.' The Duke, lamenting with his men, distributed gifts to Christ's poor, over the buried remains. Having laid aside the name of 'Duke' and thus being settled as king, he assumed the royal name for himself, and departed. He remained in the castle of the port of Hastings for five days, and thence directed his course towards Dover."—*Guy of Amiens.*

WILLIAM OF ABBÉ

"After this the returning from the s repaired to the battle of the night. On Sunday despoiled the enemy of his friends, he h London. . . . The p so it hath been told still called, 'Battle of William there built of the Holy Trinity, of the order of I Martin de Tours, abundance all the w sibly need, on behalf sides."—*William of*

"The nobility, all bers, yet occupies the of troops hold the w now day had come mands his victorious before him, and ad race unconquerable, whom the bright call to Empire! A set of wars, and yo night, and your lessened your stren bodies of many nea unburied, and some beneath the fatal wo upon us with the lab alone will bring forth baleful, delaying has let us prevent them together. While they a ing in all their hesita opportunity of making are staggering benea their heads are bowe are left a wandering let it not be grievous burden of this one d wearied ones rest. march; let us cor towns; let the Alm the departed. Let taking the spoil, lest a burden to us. But exult in the nobles augment to the full y your services."—*Abb*

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR FROM HASTINGS [SHEET 12
20th, 1066).

MIÈGES AND
AUDRI

WACE

MISCELLANEOUS

ave Duke William,
ghter of his enemies,
eld about the middle
ay morning, having
nd buried the bodies
ened on his way to
e where they fought,
s, was called, and is
Moreover, King
monastery in honour
ablishing in it monks
moutier and Saint
showering on it in
th that it could pos-
of the slain on both
mièges.

diminished in num-
owns, and a handful
around them. And
hen the Duke com-
ndards to be brought
ssed his troops, 'O
ople ever invincible,
tellations of heaven
ough the mighty on-
labours during the
chings, may have
; and although the
nd dear to you are
f them are sinking
t, yet to-day presseth
rs thereof: this day
ace for us. Delay is
en harmful to many :
n taking counsel to-
staggered and waver-
n, we must stop their
plans. While they
their defeat ; while
and low ; while they
ople without a king,
to us to bear the
to-day will give us
et us be off upon the
suddenly upon the
ty have the souls of
withal abstain from
eat store of booty be
morrow be it ours to
of trophies. I will
r prizes, and reward
Baudri.

"The morrow was Sunday, and those who had slept upon the field of battle, keeping watch around and suffering great fatigue, bestirred themselves at break of day, and sought out and buried such of the bodies of their dead friends as they might find. The noble ladies of the land also came, some to seek their fathers, and others their husbands, sons, or brothers. They bore the bodies to their towns, and interred them at the churches : and the clerks and priests of the country were ready, and, at the request of their friends, took the bodies that were found, and prepared graves, and laid them therein. King Harold was carried, and buried at Varham (Waltham), but I know not who it was that bore him thither, neither do I know who buried him. Many remained on the field, and many had fled by night."— *Wace*.

"And William the *eorl* went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited to see whether the people would submit to him. But when he understood that they would not come to him, he went upwards with his army which was left to him, and that which afterwards had come from over sea to him ; and he plundered all that part which he over ran, until he came to Berkhamstead."— *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"When the English were defeated, Duke William returned to his camp, giving hearty thanks to Almighty God Who, of his mercy had granted him the victory over his enemies. But, making no long stay there, he set out to go to London, the chief city of England, and thus to secure the land of the English. Then gradually very many English began to come to him and to make peace with him. So, in a short time, the greater part of the English were reconciled to him. He accepted their fealty, and restored to some of them their lands because as yet he did not fully trust them. At length, on the Nativity of the Lord, the French and English assembled in London, and, all of them agreeing, he received the crown and lordship of the whole of England."— *Brevis Relatio*.

"When victory was complete, he caused his dead to be interred with great pomp, granting the enemy the liberty of doing the like, if they thought proper. He sent the body of Harold to his mother (who begged it) unransomed, though she proffered large sums by her messengers. She buried it, when thus obtained, at Waltham ; a church that he had built at his own expense, in honour of the Holy Cross, and which he had filled with canons.

"William then, by degrees proceeding, as became a conqueror, with his army,—not after a hostile but a royal manner,—journeyed towards London, the principal city of the kingdom."— *William of Malmesbury*.

"His body was sought, and found to be wounded in thirteen places : for besides him, as I think, there was no better knight. But he feared neither God nor his oath, and for this he was taken without mercy. Of his men, both his brothers (that is my opinion) were found dead : they would not leave him, and all three had to die. Thus did they gain their deserts : he who desireth all loseth all. This carnage, and this great desolation that the Normans wrought among them, they merited by their exceeding great felony. Others were killed, and many of the good Normans, so that none were afterwards left to hate each other ; and in this calamity was accomplished the expiation of

US—continued

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

MISCELLANEOUS—continued

our church, and also
 reverence for him have
 trial with us, so that,
 protection, the status
 gain firmer, and its
 ed.' The renowned
 their prayers and
 Your King, forgetful
 gion, deserveth not
 benefit of burial,
 the present paid the
 since the said king,
 d the government of
 th ended his life, I
 ect for him and for
 departed who, having
 dren on my account,
 their souls as my
 quest,—to found a
 order of a hundred
 petually keep vigil
 their souls, and who
 ng in that church
 honours, and enrich
 benefits out of rever-
 om those brothers,
 e consolation of his
 said :—' No, great
 rs of your suppli-
 bus Highness may
 es; and deign to
 of gold as it were a
 for the use of your
 nd his body to the
 tled, so that, being
 his body, we may
 eived great consol-
 at that tomb, being
 church, may be a
 our posterity.'
 g Duke, therefore, as
 heart, and was the
 them on account of
 he Lord had given
 enemies,—granted
 their offering of gold,
 othing. 'In case,
 are in want of any-
 for performing the
 equire anything for
 ordered it to be

paid to you liberally, and we grant you
 peace and all tranquillity from the fellow-
 soldiers in our army in all your affairs.'
 The brothers, therefore, being comforted
 with inestimable joy, hastened to the dead
 bodies; but when they turned them round
 and round, they were not able to recognize
 the body of their lord the King, because the
 bloodless body of a man hath not as a rule
 the same form when dead as it generally had
 in its former state. The only possible remedy
 for this was resolved upon, namely, that
 Osegod was to return home, and bring
 back with him the woman whom he had
 loved before he assumed the rule over the
 English, Edith Swanneshals by name,—
 which means swan-necked,—who, having
 formerly shared the King's bed-chamber,
 would know any secret signs about him
 better than others, having been admitted to
 the most intimate of his secrets, so that
 the knowledge of him might be certified by
 secret marks which others outside could
 not know: because as soon as he was
 pierced by the deadly wound, all his royal
 insignia were taken to the Duke, as a sign
 of the overthrow of the King: since it was
 an ancient custom,—and up to recent
 times we believe when kings were captured
 or their camps seized—to bestow large gifts
 on those who were the first to knock off
 the King's helmet and present it to the
 King, or who was the first, when a castle was
 taken by assault, to seize the royal standard,
 the most conspicuous object on the ramparts.
 When Osegod had brought her, and she
 had pointed out by many marks the body of
 King Harold amongst the heaps of dead
 bodies,¹ they buried the body with great
 honour at Waltham, where, up to this day
 (whatever fables men may tell of his remain-
 ing on a cliff at Dover,² and the late story

¹ "It was placed on a litter, while many of the
 heroes of the Duke of Normandy showed honour
 to the body, and it was carried to Pontem Belli
 (Battle Bridge), as it is now called, by his brothers,
 with a large number of English accompanying it,
 who had heard of his late death."

² The *Vita Haroldi* says that he spent ten
 years a hermit on Dover Cliff.

that the deceased was buried at Chester),
 he certainly rests, at the translation of
 whose body for the third time, according
 as the state of the church was such as
 to admit it, or the devotion of the brethren
 showing reverence to the body, I can
 just remember to have been present myself
 on the third occasion, and, as is com-
 monly known, and we have heard from the
 attestations of old men, I both saw the
 wounds impressed on the very bones with
 my bodily eyes, and touched them with
 my bodily hands. But that celebrated
 king lived and reigned over the English for
 a moderate length of time, for a year and
 (*sic*) months; and, having gone the way
 of all flesh, was buried with his fathers."—
De Inventione.

"Amid these miseries there was exhibited
 a fearful spectacle: the fields were covered
 with dead bodies, and on every hand
 nothing was to be seen but the red hue of
 blood. The dales all around sent forth a
 gory stream which increased at a distance
 to the size of a river! How great, think
 you, must have been the slaughter of the
 conquered, when that of the conquerors is
 reported upon the lowest computation to
 have exceeded ten thousand? Oh! how
 vast a flood of human gore was poured in
 that place where these unfortunates fell
 and were slain! What dashing to pieces
 of arms; what clashing of strokes; what
 shrieks of dying men; what grief, what
 sighs, were heard! How many groans;
 how many bitter notes of direst calamity
 then sounded forth, who can rightly calcu-
 late? What a wretched exhibition of
 human misery was there to call forth
 astonishment! In the very contemplation
 of it our pen fails us. Yet it is fair to
 add that, the battle being at length con-
 cluded, upon that triumph England sub-
 mitted to the Normans.

"The place being marked where the
 standard of this rash and hostile invasion
 fell, the Duke went forward with all haste
 to extend his authority."—*Battle Abbey
 Chronicle*

Hastings. The statement that he was buried on the sea-cliffs, beneath a cairn of stones, at Hastings, is supported by
 with the evidence before mentioned, and the Waltham writer states that William did with Harold's body what the

s again conflicts with the Waltham tradition. It is of course very probable that the seaside grave would have
 the explanation of the matter given by those at Waltham. The assertion by the Anglo-Saxon Canons that the
 s pointed out as that of Harold, seems to be the strongest evidence that is forthcoming in the matter. The mere
 on the one hand and the credulous pilgrim on the other, as the actual possession of the body itself. If the body
 encroachments of the sea.

(wfy (or Alwy) had headed in the battle, with a score of men at arms. The Conqueror is said to have grimly joked
 nor apiece; and that such should be the mulct inflicted on the offending community." (Liber Monast. de Hyda—

e *Peterborough Chronicle* states:—"And there was Leofric, Abbot, in the same expedition; and there he sickened



Appendix

APPENDIX

LIST OF DEANS AND CUSTODIANS OF COLLEGIATE CHURCH (OR "ROYAL FREE CHAPEL") OF ST. MARY WITHIN THE CASTLE OF HASTINGS.

DEANS.

NAME.	PRESENTED, ETC.	VACATED.	AUTHORITY.
1. Hugh (early 12th cent.) .	By the Count of Eu	—	Foundation Charter of Henry Count of Eu.
2. Thomas à Becket (afterwards Archbishop)	<i>Circa</i> 1155 . . .	<i>Circa</i> 1162 . . .	William FitzStephen
3. Henry de Ow (? Eu) . . .	1195	—	Cal. Robertsbridge Abbey Charters No. 24
4. Michael "the Dean of St. Mary's"	A.D. 1198 (occurs) .	—	(Deed transferring St. Michael's Church to Hastings Priory) <i>Col. Topog. Nichols</i> , vol. vi.
5. Peter (witness to Grant to Hastings Priory). By Henry de Palerne	<i>Circa</i> 1180-1204 . .	—	<i>Col. Topog. Nichols</i> , vol. vi.
6. Vincent (mentioned in Charter Roll 9 Edw. I. m. 7, No. 50)	Occurs 1280	—	Close R. 8 Edward I. m. 3
7. William de London (?) . .	—	—	Robertsbridge Charters
8. William de Esebrigg . . .	1292	—	Inquis. 27 Edw. I.
9. Giles de Audenard of Woodhouse	1302, July 30, Canon of Chichester	1305, res.	Edw. I. Pat. 30, Edw. I. m. 15 (<i>Add. MS. B. M. 6,344</i> , fo. 667)
10. William of Lewes (? intruded)	1305, November 8	1306-7, died . . .	Ed. I., Pat. 33, Ed. I., p. 2, m. 2
11. Nicholas Fermbaud, cl. . .	1312, September 1 (buried at West Thurrock Church)	—	Ed. II., Pat. 6, Ed. II., p. 1, m. 20
12. Edmund de London	Occurs in 1319. 1322 (? Warden)	1332, died	Chancery Misc. Rolls 4, 23, and 15 Ed. III., p. 3, m. 9d.
13. Andrew of Lincoln	Occurs 1322	—	See Inquisition, p. 153 <i>ante</i>
14. Walter Lyndrigge (? William de Lyndich, Archdeacon of Lewes)	1337, October 17 . .	1339, vac.	Apptd. 1335-36. P. 10, Ed. III., p. 2, m. 7, and Pat. 11, Ed. III. p. 3, m. 22. <i>Add. MS. 6644-667</i>
15. Geoffrey de Clare	1340	—	P. 14 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 30, Ed. III., Pat. 2, Ed. III., m. 22
16. John Wade (appointed 1342. 16 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 30)	Reappointed 1340, see p. 185 <i>ante</i>	1360, res.	—
17. John de Codyngton	1360, August 30 . . .	Occurs 1366	<i>Cant. Arch.</i> , vol. 39. <i>Reg. Langham</i> . Ed. III., Pat. 33, p. 2, m. 8
18. Robert Leget (Legatt) alias Crall	1369, September 7 . .	1374, res.	Ed. III., Pat. 43, p. 2, m. 22
19. William de Griseleye (or Grysell) cl.	1374, June 14	1374, exch.	Ed. III., Pat. 48, p. 1, m. 13
20. John de Harleston (Harleston of Selsey)	1374	1383, res.	<i>Add. MS. [B. M.]</i> , 6344, fo. 677
21. John Eyr, cl.	1383, October 5 . . .	1389, exch.	Rich. II., Pat. 7, p. 1, m. 25

Appendix

NAME.	PRESENTED, ETC.	VACATED.	AUTHORITY.
22. John Notyngham . . .	1389, October 16 . . .	1394, exch. . .	Rich. II., Pat. 13, p. 1, m. 9
23. William Wyndesore (of Colworthe, Canon of Chichester)	1394, December 17 . . .	1396, exch. . .	Rich. III., Pat. 18, p. 1, m. 1 (<i>Add. MS.</i> 6344, fo. 667)
24. Richard Clyfford (jun.) . . .	1396, August 19 . . .	1398, res. . .	Rich. II., Pat. 20, p. 1, m. 23
25. Gilbert de Stone, cl. . .	1398, August . . .	1400, exch. . .	Hen. IV., Pat. 2, m. 9
26. John Gernemouth (Chancellor of Chichester)	1400	1401	<i>Add. MS.</i> (B. M.), 6344, fo. 677
27. John Gamull	1401, March 5	—	Henry IV., Pat. 2, p. 2, m. 9
28. Henry Rumworth	1408, February 7	1411, exch.	Hen. IV., Pat. 9, p. 2, m. 28
29. William Have	1411, July 16	1414, exch.	Hen. IV., Pat. 12, p. 2, m. 5 (<i>Harleian MS.</i> , 6952, fo. 90)
30. William Tanfeld	1414-15, April 10	? 1423	Hen. V., Pat. 2, p. 1, m. 41
31. William Prestwyk (note brass at Warbleton Church)	1423	1436, died	<i>Vide</i> Hen. VI., Pat. 21, p. 1, m. 14, page 256, <i>ante</i>
32. William Walesby (Archdeacon of Chichester)	1436, November 8	1437, res.	(<i>Add. MS.</i> 6344, fo. 667). 15 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 40
33. John Faukes (Fawkes) ¹	1437, May 13	1458-59, res.	Henry VI., Pat. 15, p. 1, m. 16
34. John Kyngescote, Dec. Dr.	1448-49, March 20	—	Hen. VI., Pat. 37, Hen. VI., p. 1, fo. 5. <i>Sussex Arch. Collns.</i> xiii. mention 1458

CUSTODIANS OF THE CHAPEL.

NAME.	PRESENTED.	VACATED.	AUTHORITY.
1. Geoffrey de Clare	1333, May 8	—	Ed. III., Pat. 7, Ed. III., p. 1, m. 8
2. Thomas de Staunton	1336-37, January	—	Ed. III., Pat. 10, Ed. III., p. 2, m. 5
3. Geoffrey de Clare	1339, March 12	—	Ed. III., Pat. 14, Ed. III., p. 1, m. 30
4. John de Cadamo	1302, Aug. 9 (during King's pleasure, Westminster)	—	—
5. John Carpenter	1460	—	<i>Sussex Arch. Collns.</i> xiii. 154
6. Benedict Burgh	Circa 1460	1480, res.	} <i>Chich. Epis. Reg. Story</i> , p. ii, fol. 15
7. John Pensell	1480	—	
8. Richard Brokysby or Roksbye, etc. (Vicar of Iden, 1538)	Occurs 1535	—	<i>Valor Eccl.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii. 344

¹ Referred to as Master Foxe, Dean of Hastings, in 1461 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, v. 542), Chancellor of Chichester, Register of Bishop Praty, fo. 74; Pat. Rolls 15 Henry V., *MS. Harl.* 6963, fo. 21b, 43 and 59; 38 Henry VI., ib. 27; Rector of All Saints, Hastings; Clerk of the Parliament; Dean of Windsor, 1642; Prebend of Lincoln; Chaplain of St. Bartholomews, Rye, 1449; Chaplain of the Chantry of Robertsbridge Abbey at the Great Altar of St. Mary at Chichester Cathedral.

Additions and Corrections

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 8, line 11, for "axe heads" read "palstaves."
- Pages 15 and 52, for the best description of the "Hide," "Hundred" and "Knight Service," see Dr. J. H. Round's *Feudal England*.
- Page 16. The first recorded mention of "Haestingaceastre" (spelling various) was in the Edict of Greatley, A.D. 928 (see vol. ii, pp. 517 and 551).
- Page 21, note 2. Additional readings are given in Part IV of this work dealing with the prebendal churches and not in the Appendix. Many of the canons here noticed are mentioned in Domesday (see also Part IV).
- Page 22, n. 18, and p. 380, n. 2. "The Monastery" may be the one referred to in Offa's Bexhill Charter (see vol. ii, p. 381).
- Page 22, n. 28. In the Agreement (11th century) by Walter Fitz-Lambert for the election of future Canons to the prebend of Guestling "the common consent of the Chapter" only is mentioned, and in a deed *Circa* 1190 (Campb. ch. xvi, 17) one "Brunching" a canon makes a grant "by the common consent of the Chapter."
- Page 23, n. 16. "Cistelebergham" is probably Tilbury, Essex.
- Page 24, n. 7. "The Monastery of Rotherd" is given as "Bochehordea" (see *Cal. Ancient Documents* (of France), No. Sussex, D, 1073; Pat. 31, Henry III, m. 8). The Monastery was probably at Buckworth, Hunts, which belonged to this prebend in 1246.
- Page 26, n. 1. Wissant is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles South of Boulogne.
- Page 47, l. 14.
- Page 48, l. 23, and n. 1, l. 2. } For "Hovenden" read "Hovden" = Howden.
- Page 49, l. 2.
- Page 57, l. 4.
- Page 57. For another reference to the work at the Castle at "New Hastings" in the Pipe Rolls 28 Henry II, see p. 18, n. 2.
- Page 72, para. 2, l. 6, Ferlega (Fairlight) is referred to in Domesday in error as "one furlong" in "Gestelinges Hundred."
- Page 76, para. 5, l. 3, for 1202 read 1201.
- Page 78, para. 4, l. 1, read from.
- Page 81, para. 2. The name of this hero was William de Casingham.
- Page 90. The name of the Dukes of Brittany is variously spelt, De Britannia, De Bretagne, Brittany. The form Brittany is adopted throughout this work.
- Page 100, l. 1, for "(Goding)" read "(Coding)" = Cowden.
- Page 100, l. 5 from bottom, for "device" read "devise."
- Page 111. *hiatus* in MS., the words may be "let every one turn and face one another across the Choir."
- Page 132, para. 2. The Canons claimed that the foundation was of Edward the Confessor, and said that the Conqueror gave "the Castle and Chapel with the prebends" to the Count of Eu; but this was a mere fabrication (see *Ancient Petitions*, P.R.O. E. 668).
- Page 149. The Commission for this visitation is given in the Patent Rolls (15 Edward II, pt. 1, m. 15, *dorso*), in similar terms to the Recital.
- Page 225. The Petition upon which this Commission was granted appears in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 18-121, P.R.O. 1432, being the petition by Lewis Coychurch, Archdeacon of Lewes (1419-42), for the restoration to him of the Ordinary Jurisdiction, and that he might hold visitations of the Chapel and its prebends, because they were not of the *primary* Foundation of the Kings of England nor of the same constitution as were other Chapels Royal of such primary foundation. Also that

Additions and Corrections

- the Inductions should belong to him ; but that William Prestwyk, Dean of the Chapel, ignored these matters and had exercised *pretended* visitation and jurisdiction, to the prejudice of the Archdeacon, etc.
- Page 229, para. 2, for "Count of Sussex" read "Conte of Sussex."
- Page 238, para. 3. On the 5th June, 1403, a Commission was issued to the Abbot of Battle, John de Kyngston, and Robert Barton (Parson of Brede), to visit the King's Free Chapel of Hastings "wherein are divers defects, by negligence of the Dean and Canons and their Ministers."
- Page 238. In 1407 in the Return to the Commission after visitation it is mentioned that the Vicars' houses at the West end of the Chapel had lately been rebuilt, but that the houses below the Castle upon land called Godelond (? near St. Andrew's Church) which were used by the Dean and Canons-resident (in common) were ruinous and almost uninhabitable. That the recent Dean had usually been non-resident and had suffered many rents and annual payments to be withdrawn from the College to its great loss (Chanc. Misc. Bdle. 20, file 1, No. 11).
- Page 256. On 16th November, 1442, a Licence was granted to the executors of the Will of the late Dean, William Prestwyk (John Stopyndon, Keeper of the Rolls, and William Lunsford) to found a perpetual Chantry of one or two Chaplains in the Parish Church of Warbleton (where the testator and his parents are buried) for the good estate of the King, during his life, and for his soul after death, and for the souls of the said William Prestwyk, his parents, and benefactors. Also licence for John Pelham, Knight, to grant to the said Executors the advowson of the Rectory and Vicarage of the Parish Church of Burwash (alias Bergherssh), held in chief, so that they might grant the same and an acre of land in Warbleton (not held in chief) for a dwelling-place to be built thereon to the use of the said Chaplain or Chaplains, to hold the same for ever.
- Page 288. In 9 Edward IV, Lord Hastings granted and enfeoffed (*inter alia*) the Castle, Honour, Rape and Lordship of Hastings and all his advowsons, etc., to George, Archbishop of York, and others as feoffees for him. These were released to Lord Hastings again on 27th April, 15 Edward IV (Harl. MS. No. 388, pp. 16 and 19).
- Page 321, para. 1, note. In 1721 Anthony, sixth Viscount Montague, granted the site of the Collegiate Church or late Royal Free Chapel to Sir Thomas Webster, together with Battle Abbey (Webster Family Papers, Cat. p. 190).
- Page 348, para. 1. The name "Palerne" was suspected by the author as a misreading for "Pelham," but there appear to be other grants by the family of Palerne to Battle Abbey. The name is probably derived from Palermo and not connected with Pelham. With reference to this subject, see note to p. 323.
- Page 382, para. 3, l. 1, for "Earl" read "Count."
- Page 383, para. 6, l. 2, read "ancestor of."
- Page 386, para. 5. See illustration of this pre-conquest stone coffin lid in vol. *xlvi*, p. 154, *Sussex Arch. Collns.*
- Page 410, l. 4, for "weathered" read "weather."
- Page 412, n. 1, l. 6, for "soldier" read one knight.
- Page 441, n. 1, l. 2, for "twelfth" read "eleventh."
- Page 442, para. 3 (West Thurrock). Recent excavations around the tower have revealed the foundations of a round wall, thirty feet in external diameter, encircling the base of the tower. Mr. George Clinch has suggested that these may be the remains of the nave of an older Church, of the Knights Templars or Hospitallers (see *Reliquary*, vol. *xiv*, p. 212).
- Page 464. "Geoffrey de Blangi" may be the person in Domesday named "Canon," holding half a hide in Sedlescomb and as "Priest" with another Clerk Roger having one hide in Bexhill and 2 hides in Wilesham (? Filsham) in the hundred of Baldslow.
- Page 517, para. 1. The Northern portion of the great outer ditch was exposed in the year 1887, while making the new carriage road. The ground has slipped from the South bank, filling up the ditch, in which was also found a black deposit composed of trees and vegetable-earth containing leaves and hazel nuts. The author examined the spot and took photographs at the time. The exact site of the portion of the ditch exposed was immediately South of the land called "Mephams" (see W. Herbert's plan, page 513 *ante*).

Additions and Corrections

Page 517, read "Haestinga Ceastre."

Page 518, para. 3, l. 7, for "North East" read to the "South East" of the Inner Ward. From recent excavations it has been proved that nearly the whole of this mound is composed of the ruins of the Norman rectangular keep. It may, however, have been the site of an earlier wooden keep.

Page 519, l. 2, read "Western outpost."

Page 523, para. 4, l. 4, read "The Mound in the form of a truncated cone."

Page 525, para. 4, l. 11, for "above" read "about."

Page 527. For reference to No. 5 diagram, see vol. xl, *Sussex Archæological Collections*, 1894.

Page 530. For reference to "Photo' No. 6," see diagram, vol. xl, *Sussex Archæological Collections*, 1894.

Pages 106, 149, 151-152, 189 and 540. Note that the "Crucifix of Hastings" is made the subject of a bequest by Richard, Lord Poynings, together with the roods of Boxley, Bromholm and the North Door of St. Paul's (Cant. Archipis., Reg. Courtenay, fol. 223). This may be the Cross referred to.

Page 543. Recent excavations by the Author on the North side of the Chapter-house show that the vaulting of the roof and the North wall of the building fell down bodily, and still remain covered up by earth on the outside of the present wall West of the present Caretaker's lodge. Remains of the original curtain wall are also to be found there.

Page 566, para. 4. Orderic Vitalis (B. III, ch. xiv) states that Harold before going North withdrew his ships and troops from Hastings and Pevensey and other seaports on the coast lying opposite to Normandy.

Appendix, Sheet 4, col. 1, l. 4. "The Hoar Apple Tree." A road is mentioned as running between "Burghers" (Burwash) and Horapeltre" (*Calendar of Ancient Documents (France)*, A. 4163, 13th century).

Appendix, Battle of Hastings, Sheet 8A. Bayeux Tapestry title, read "Encourages the boys."

Appendix, Sheet 10 (observations), for "house-earls" read "house-carls."



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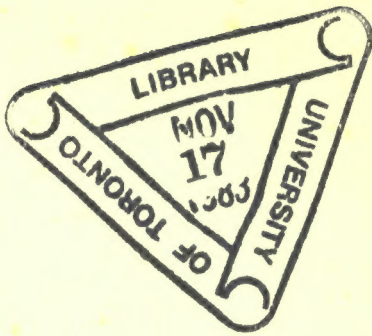
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