

# Wealden Iron



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Research Group

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# WEALDEN IRON RESEARCH GROUP

## Bulletin No 4. Second Series

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# Field Notes

## Charcoal burner's hut (?)

In WIRG, *Wealden Iron* 2nd series, **1** (1981), 11-14, there is described what was believed to have been the site of a turf hut with adjoining hearth, near Kings Standing Farm on the former Ashdown Forest. Since that time we have been informed by Mr E.W. Holden that charcoal burners frequently built clay ovens adjoining their turf huts, and that reconstructed examples have been made at the Open Air Museum, Singleton. Our original description would seem to fit in with this idea.

## Bloomery site near Garden Hill

In May 1983 Ashdown Forest Ranger Montague reported finding bloomery slag and charcoal on the left bank of Table Gill, Ashdown Forest (TQ 446323), near a badger's sett. This was confirmed, and open cast mining at stream level on the opposite bank was noted. The site is c.400m north-north-east of Garden Hill.

## Hartfield

Early in 1983 a new roadway was cut during the reconstruction of the house 'Edgemount' on the north border of Ashdown Forest (TQ 485325). This crosses a small stream which runs into the Millbrook at Newbridge. On the right bank of the stream the roadway cut into a thick layer of bloomery slag and cinder extending for about 20m.

## Roman ironworking at Runham Farm, Lenham Kent

In WIRG, *Wealden Iron*, 1st series **IX** (Spring 1976), 21, and 2nd series **1** (1981), 23, reference was made to a Roman settlement, a possible Roman road, and iron working. Further information has now been kindly supplied by Viscount Monckton in a letter dated July 1983, in which he writes:

"We have just completed our dig for this year on the site. We have found a most beautiful portion of Roman road with marvellous curb stones on both sides. What, however, is more exciting is that we have found the underground parts of two Roman furnaces ... We have not yet found any

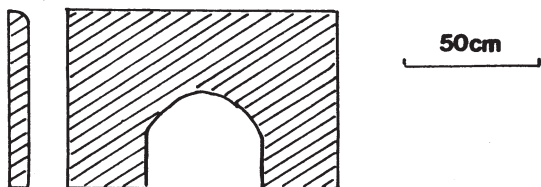
of the actual iron made, but a lot of furnace walling. Each furnace appears to have been used and re-lined about three times.”



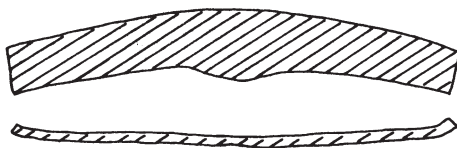
## Cast Iron Plates from Burwash

*C. F. and M. Tebbutt*

In November 1983, after a message from Hastings Museum, we visited Mrs Watson, Poundsford Farm, Burwash (TQ 637225) who had some massive cast iron objects of unknown use. Their shape was puzzling, but



**fig 1 a**



**fig 1 b**

we surmised that they must relate to a furnace, forge, or possibly lime kiln. Later we learned that Mr W. Beswick had inspected them some ten years previously but was not certain as to their use.

One object was a massive iron plate, 96.5cm × 66.0cm × 6.5cm, with a semicircular hole in one of the long sides (Fig. 1a). Recently a second plate, exactly the same as the above, but in a worse condition of rust, has been found in cleaning out a ditch near the house.

The second iron object, 162cm × 18 to 24.5cm × 4cm, appears on one plane to represent a low arch. However, the ends are curved in another plane, which was probably caused by heat distortion as it is unlikely to have been cast in this form. (Fig. 1b).

Mrs Watson knows nothing of the history of these pieces. Drawings were submitted to Prof. R. Tylecote for his opinion. He referred the writers to the publication of the Maryport Blast Furnace (*Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute* **203** (Sept. 1965), 867-874) in which Fig. 4 shows lintel beams and a plate recovered from the ruins of Maryport Blast Furnace, Cumbria. Examination of these diagrams does seem to indicate that the holed plate, at least, could have come from a similar but somewhat smaller furnace. Straker (*Wealden Iron*, 301) suggests that there was also a furnace at Glaziers Forge, about one mile to the south east of Poundsford Farm. There were lime kilns in the same vicinity.

We are grateful to Mrs. Watson for allowing us to examine the objects, to Prof. Tylecote for his help and for supplying an offprint of the Maryport publication, and for further help and information from Mr W. Beswick and Mr C.R. Blick.

# A Late Roman Gold Coin from High Hurstwood, East Sussex

*D. Rudling*

In 1982 a gold solidus of the emperor Honorius (A.D.393-423) was discovered by Mr Llewellyn, in one of the fields which he farms, adjacent to Perryman's Lane, High Hurstwood (approximate location: TQ 486261). Details of the coin are as follows:

## **Obverse**

D. N. HONORIVS P. F. AVG. Diademed, draped and cuirassed bust facing right.

## **Reverse**

VICTORIA AVGGG. Honorius standing right, holding a standard in his right hand and in his left hand a Victory, who is crowning him with a wreath. The emperor has his left foot on a captive. In the field of the reverse are the letters M and D, and in the exergue, COMOB. The mint marks indicate that the coin is a product of the Milan mint. Coin type reference: Cohen 44.

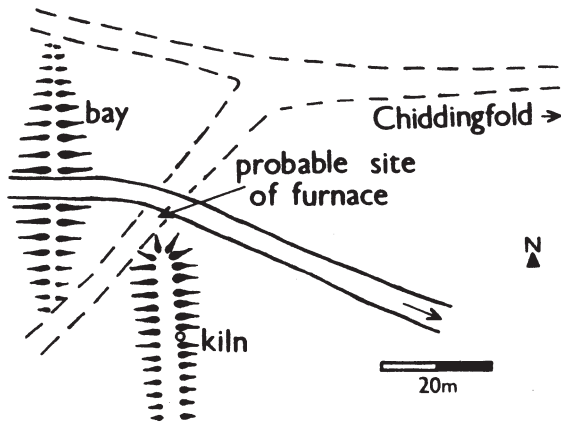
The coin remains in the possession of Mr Llewellyn.

The discovery of such a late Roman coin from the Weald is very unusual, for most of the ironworking establishments had been abandoned by the mid-third century. Mr Tebbutt, who kindly provided details about the location of the discovery, informs me that Perryman's Lane is of interest since it continues to the west, via a footpath, to the important Roman iron manufacturing and administrative centre at Oldlands. Eastwards it goes to an area (TQ 509255) where there is a very extensive Roman bloomery site which has yielded pottery and a hypocaust tile. Here there are also large open-cast mine pits. The Wealden Iron Research Group have walked the field in which the solidus was found and discovered two bloomery slag areas, but unfortunately no associated pottery by which they could be dated.

# West End Furnace, Chiddingfold, Surrey

*J. S. Hodgkinson*

In December 1982, the reconstruction of the road bridge 10m downstream from the bay of this furnace (SU 939344) exposed a section through the road on the south side of the stream. In the section below the modern road surface, about 3.5m above the stream, was a layer of clay and, below that, a layer of iron slag, indicating an earlier road surface.



About 1m below the present road, an area of burnt clay and burnt bricks (size  $50 \times 90 \times 21$ mm) was seen, some 3m across and 1m deep. It was bounded on either side by clay and by two groups of roughly-hewn sandstone blocks, two or three on each side, about 5m apart. Below this, the section was concealed by a fill of gravel for the new bridge being constructed.



From the south, an embankment leads directly towards the immediate area of the section described above. Set into this bank is an old lime kiln, probably of 19th-century date. This embankment has already been suggested<sup>1</sup> as a charging bank and this is supported if the burnt clay and bricks are seen as the disordered remains of the top of the furnace. The sandstone blocks could have been part of the shell of the furnace or they could have been stone foundations for the bridge (conceivably the one after the other).

Some years ago several large timbers were seen in the stream bed, and similar ones were removed from the stream a century ago.

All the foregoing seems to point to the identification of the exact location of West End Furnace, of which nothing else seems to be known.

I am grateful to Laurence Draper, of the Surrey Industrial History Group, for drawing attention to the recent works at this site. His comprehensive description has formed the basis for this note.

#### **Reference**

1. WIRG, *Wealden Iron*, 1st series IX (1976) p.5.



## **Birchenbridge Forge: A New Site Identified**

*T. E. Evans and J. S. Hodgkinson*

### **Documentary Evidence<sup>1</sup>**

The first documentary reference to this site is in a survey of the timber and woods belonging to Sir John Caryll in 1598.<sup>2</sup> It was part of the manors of Chesworth and Sedgwick which belonged, like the Forest of St. Leonard, to the Dukes of Norfolk and were confiscated, then restored, and then confiscated again, during their chequered careers under the Tudors. The

Carylls, who were extensive proprietors of ironworks, having no less than six furnaces and four forges in the early seventeenth century, leased the manors of Chesworth and Sedgwick from the Crown, in succession to Sir Thomas Fynes, following the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572.<sup>3</sup> The forge is not mentioned in the 1574 lists of ironworks and probably dates from the period between 1574 and 1598, during which time Edward Caryll and then his nephew, Sir John Caryll, acquired or took control of the forges and furnaces in St. Leonard's Forest, and at Gosden, Burningfold and Pallingham.

The forge is not mentioned specifically in the three rentals of the manors of 1608, although in one there is a general reference to all of Sir John Caryll's ironworks in the Forest of St. Leonard and in the manors of Chesworth and Sedgwick, which also includes a list of forge implements.<sup>4</sup> These rentals coincide with the expiry of the lease granted to Edward Caryll in 1587.<sup>5</sup>

Birchenbridge Forge is mentioned again in 1614 in the examination, by the Constable at Itchingfield, of Robert Grosmere, alias 'Black James', a vagrant, who claimed he had passed a night in a barn by the forge. Grosmere had earlier stayed at Dedisham Furnace and there are several references in the Quarter Sessions rolls to vagrants stopping for the night at ironworks.<sup>6</sup>

An iron mill, presumably the forge, is mentioned in 1627 in a survey of the manors when they were under consideration to become part of the Royal Contract Estates, purchased by the City of London to provide Charles I with funds. Significantly, with a rent of £146.10s.6d., and 34 years of Sir John Caryll's 60-year lease still to run, the forge, together with the rest of the manors, do not appear to have been sold.<sup>7</sup> In a similar document of the following year, the forge is not mentioned.<sup>8</sup>

The forge does not figure in the lists of ironworks of 1653,<sup>9</sup> nor is it included in the Parliamentary Survey of the manors in 1650,<sup>10</sup> so it can be presumed that Birchenbridge Forge ceased working between 1627 and 1650.

## Physical Evidence

The Field Group visited the site in October 1983 and the report which follows is based on their examination.

The forge site lies at TQ 193292, immediately west of the A281 road between Mannings Heath and Horsham. It lies on the boundary between Nuthurst and Horsham Rural parishes, on the River Arun, a mile and a half downstream of the St. Leonard's Forest ironworks. The road forms the bay, which is 80m long, and 8m high on the downstream side where the water from the large (40-acre) pond passes under the road through a substantial brick spillway of comparatively recent date. Elsewhere the bay averages 3m high on the sloping ground on the north side of the stream, and there is some evidence of it having been raised, possibly to facilitate road repairs. Upstream of the pond, on a tributary, lies a further pond, known as the Roasthole pond. Close to the bay is a stone revetment and a number of large, scattered, sandstone blocks remaining from the corn mill which stood on the site until the late 1960s. There is a pipe through the bay, which was the feeder for the corn mill, and the abandoned wheel race is separated from the present stream by a bank containing much forge slag. Immediately adjacent to this bank, about 20m downstream of the bay, several large masses of forge slag were identified in the stream, suggesting the probable site of the forge. Immediately below this area were found a number of timbers, one of which, at least, showed by its well-preserved lower portion that it had stood upright in wet conditions.

On the north side of the site, a possible overflow leat was traced for 350m to the west.

## References and Notes

1. The authors are particularly indebted to Dr. Tim Hudson for his assistance in locating references to Birchenbridge from the *Victoria County History of Sussex* Vol.VI Part 2 (forthcoming) and for his permission to use them. They are also grateful to Mr. Alan Readman of West Sussex Record office for his assistance.
2. British Library. Additional Charters 18,883.
3. Rev. E. Turner, 'On Sedgwick Castle'. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* Vol. 8 (1856) p.38.
4. Public Record Office (P.R.O.). Land Revenue Rentals and Surveys LR.2;196

ff.7-10; 198 ff.85-88, neither of which mentions the forge. IR.2;203 ff.149-164 contains a copy of the grant of 1601 to Sir John Caryll, which mentions, in general terms, all his ironworks in the area.

5. E. Straker, *Wealden Iron* (1931/69) p.438.
6. East Sussex Record Office. QR/EW 10,m 72. The Authors are particularly grateful to Mr. Brian Phillips for drawing attention to this and other references to ironworks and vagrancy in the Quarter Sessions records.
7. City of London Record Office. R.C.E. Papers No. 123 f.(4).
8. *ibid.* R.C.E. Rentals 2.2
9. WIRG, *Wealden Iron*, 1st series **VIII** (1975) pp.2-7.
10. P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys E.317 No.23.

# Hawksden Forge Ironmasters' House

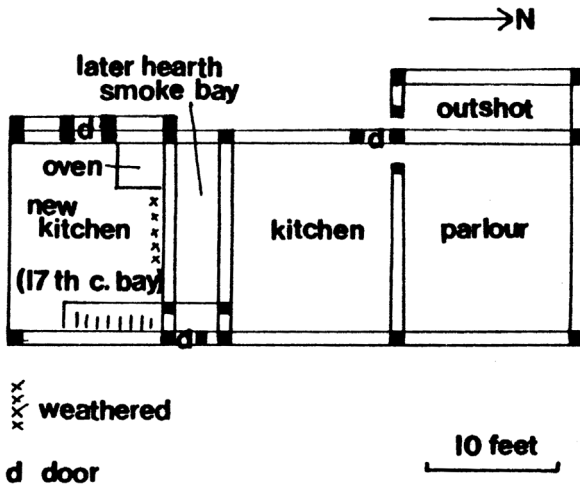
*Margaret Holt*

(NOTE. Hawkesden Forge (TQ 623266) is remote from any other habitation or public road and the fine timber-framed house, standing just downstream of the south end of the bay, must have been built by whoever was operating the forge or possibly a furnace, for there is glassy slag as well as forge cinder here. According to Straker (*Wealden Iron*, 294-5) its origin is likely to have been in the sixteenth century.

We have to thank our member Anne Dalton for contacting the present occupier of the house and obtaining permission for a survey to be made. This was done by Margaret Holt of the Wealden Buildings Study Group, to whom we are grateful. Her report follows. C.F.T.

Originally this was a small house of late 16th-century date. It consisted of two almost equal bays, together with a 3ft. smoke bay at the south end. To this building an extra bay was added in the 17th century, beyond the smoke bay, and extending about a foot beyond the west wall of the earlier house.

The roof is of Queen post construction with collars, wind braces and



*Hawkesden: ground floor plan*

side purlins; it was hipped at both ends and the corners at the east end are braced on each side, with short timbers from the wall plates to the bay posts.

Into the smoke bay a large chimney was built, probably in the mid-17th century, and the tie beam on the north side of the bay was cut off in order that the first floor fireplace could extend into the bedroom. The sloping chimney breast has brick jambs for the fireplace and a small timber bressumer; it is paved with tiles.

There are three small windows on the first floor. That on the west side is of four lights, the one on the north side is of three lights with a non-original shutter and a groove for it to run across, and on the east side there is a two-light window, now plastered over; all have wooden mullions.

The south end of the smoke bay is weathered within the seventeenth century addition, indicating the difference in date of the two sections of the house. A short straight stairway ascends from the ground floor into this south bay and gives access through the side of the chimney to the bedrooms beyond.

The house was floored from the start, and the large open hearth fills the greater part of the old smoke bay in the kitchen room. In the hearth there is a charming small cupboard with a tiny panelled door, and a collection of old fire implements includes a peel for the bread oven which is situated in the right hand corner. In the room behind the fireplace, now used as the kitchen, the immense dome of the bread oven fills the space behind the hearth.

Stone, brick and timber are used in the construction of the house, and the roof is tiled. On the west side a small outshot, now used as a woodshed, extends against the house, entered by an outside door, and probably dates from the mid-17th century, just as the inserted chimney does. The privy stands in the garden, a few feet from the house, on the west near the outshot, and is weatherboarded and tiled.

# Aliens in the Ironworking Areas of the Weald: The Subsidy Rolls, 1524-1603

*Brian G. Awty*

## Introduction

According to Giuseppi's *Guide to the Public Records* the Subsidy was 'a tax which from the reign of Richard II was imposed on persons according to the reputed value (on a very moderate estimate) of their estates, at the rate of 4s. in the pound for lands and 2s. 8d. for goods, those of aliens being valued at a double rate.'<sup>1</sup> In practice things were not always so simple. In the mid-1520s, the Subsidy was combined with a kind of poll tax, resulting in the most comprehensive assessment of the century for Sussex. It gave rise to the sort of complexities and anomalies described by J. Cornwall in the introduction to his Sussex Record Society volume on that Subsidy.<sup>2</sup> Later, during the financial crisis of Edward VI's reign we are looking at what are in fact 'reliefs' rather than subsidies. In some cases the rolls record only the amounts contributed, so that the actual assessment can only be arrived at by calculation. Because of this and because only just over ten per cent of the aliens were affluent enough to pay on goods, it seems simpler to reverse Cornwall's procedure by stating the tax paid rather than the value assessed. The proportion of aliens qualifying to pay on land was minute – Nicholas Jarrett is the only one who springs to mind.

It is evident from the four consecutive rolls of 1549-52 in Sussex that the turnover of ironworkers was large. Some two-thirds of those listed fail to appear in at least one of these rolls. Some immigrants known to have been in the Weald at the time from evidence of parish registers and other sources failed to be taxed at all. This under-recording is so great as to suggest that only those immigrants then working under contract were liable to tax.<sup>3</sup> A comparison of the names of Frenchmen listed as being in the employ of Sir William Sidney with the names of those mentioned

in the Sidney accounts serves to confirm this. Sidney's founder, finers, hammerman, colliers and many of the miners appear in both, but the Frenchmen mentioned solely for woodcutting, carrying, and day labour such as repairing and scouring of water-courses and the dam are not in the subsidy rolls. The Pray or Spray family are mentioned in the accounts from 1542 (U 1475, B7/1)<sup>d</sup> onwards, but it was only in 1553 that a livery coat and covenant were mentioned. Accordingly the Spray family is mentioned in none of the 1549-52 subsidies, but Simon and Adrian Spray appear in 1560 as servants of Sir Henry Sidney.

The circumstances in which women were liable to tax are unclear. Widows were occasionally taxed, but if this was during the remainder of a year for which their husbands had been under contract, why was Jane Bine taxed in three successive years (Robertsbridge 1549-51)? It is unclear why Joan (*Johan*) and Rowland Leonard were taxed at Shoyswell in 1560. In later rolls for the rapes of Lewes and Bramber, and very occasionally in most other parts of the Weald, wives and children born abroad were included in the poll tax.

Water power drew the ironworks to the waterways and these in turn served as convenient boundaries between hundreds, boroughs and parishes, but this makes it difficult to know in what administrative area the workers from some of the ironworks should be entered. Workers at Robertsbridge Forge appear in both Staple and Robertsbridge hundreds; those from Panningridge Furnace in both Foxearle and Netherfield. But Mr Anthony Pelham had workers in both Foxearle and Netherfield too, so it becomes necessary to ask whether this indicates one ironworks or two. Where workers are designated as hammermen or finers we know there must be a forge; where founders and miners are mentioned we must suspect a furnace. But does John Baker's miner in Hawksborough hundred (1549) indicate a separate furnace (Bunghurst perhaps), or is this worker attached to Baker's old mill furnace in the Isenhurst part of the Mayfield parish, returned as part of Dill hundred in the rape of Pevensey?

The other great difficulty is in knowing what the precise boundaries of hundreds and boroughs were. Throughout the whole of the sixteenth



century the boroughs of West Hoathly and Ardingly and part of Balcombe, which later formed part of the hundred of Butting Hill, were returned separately as the hundred of Streat, North, though they were not even contiguous with the remainder of Streat hundred. This fact is patent from the subsidy rolls themselves – what is the biggest problem is that parish and borough or tithing boundaries seldom coincided. My comments on the subsidies have relied heavily in this respect on Budgen's map of Sussex (1724) and the maps included in Hasted's *History of Kent* (1797-98). Budgen's map was helpful in showing that though the boroughs of Isenhurst and Bivelham in the parish of Mayfield are parts of the hundreds of Dill (Pevensey rape) and Hawksborough (Hastings rape) respectively, Bivelham Forge lay outside that borough in the hundred of Shoyswell. Since Shoyswell hundred seemed to show too many forges for the known sites, including one operated by Anthony Pelham, this was a great help. I have also followed Budgen, or hope I have followed him, in allocating Warbleton Priory works to Foxearle hundred, since his map appears to show that the Priory was on the boundary of Foxearle and Hawksborough. Where Budgen was less helpful was in defining the boundaries of Netherfield and Foxearle hundreds in the vicinity of Ashburnham Furnace (formerly Dallington), which was in a detached portion of Dallington parish, but in the manor of Penhurst (Straker, *Wealden Iron* pp.364-66). In January 1549 the jurors of Rye, Winchelsea and Hastings referred to the mill at Penhurst, which might mean either Ashburnham or Penhurst Furnace. I have concluded that both were in existence at this date.

The following schedules relate only to areas in which ironworking is known or suspected to have taken place during the sixteenth century. For instance, in Hastings rape the hundreds of Gostrow, Guestling, Goldspur and the Cinque ports have been omitted; in Pevensey rape only the hundreds of Dill, Shiplake, Loxfield, Rushmonden and those further north have been included; in Lewes rape only Barcombe, Butting Hill and the north part of Streat. Similarly, in respect of date the rolls for 1524/5 and 1543 and those between have been included only for Pevensey and Hastings rapes and the adjacent parts of Kent. Excluded are rolls dated 1544-48 which fail to record aliens. The 1563 rolls exist

only for the central areas of Lewes and Bramber rapes, the hundreds of Tandridge and Reigate and the lathe of Sutton-at-Hone. In the 1590s Surrey and some parts of Kent have several rolls surviving, but that for Hastings rape in 1595 is one of the few for Sussex.

In recognition of the sum being required of aliens in the form of denization fees from 1544 onwards, the rates of tax were very low (as in Kent in 1544 when the poll tax was 1d. with 2d. per pound on goods) or were waived until 1549. In 1543 the poll tax had been 2d. with 4d. on goods. In Surrey in 1557 the levy on goods up to one and two pounds was 8d. per pound. Otherwise the rates levied on goods were 1s. (1539, 1541, 1549, 1550, 1551 and 1552), 2s. (1524, 1560, 1563 and 1572) and 3s.4d. (1576 and 1595). Rates of poll tax were 4d. (1539, 1541, 1557, 1560, 1563, 1572, 1576, 1589 and 1595) and 8d. (1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1594, 1598-1600). One of the few aliens to possess land was the founder, Nicholas Jarrett. On land valued at one pound he paid 2s.8d. in 1560 and 1572 and 3s.4d. in 1576, the first assessment being in Battle and the later ones in Netherfield.

### References and Notes

1. M.S. Giuseppi, *Guide to the Public Records* (rev. ed. 1963), vol. 1, p.66. 2. J. Cornwall, ed., *The Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1524-5* (Lewes, 1956).
3. Except the rolls for 1524, which is probably an almost complete list of landowners, wage earners and heads of households.
4. Kent Archives Office. I am grateful to the Rt. Hon. the Viscount De L 'Isle for permission to consult these papers.

## *ALIENS REFERRED TO IN THE SUBSIDIES*

Notes: A – Alien; D – Denizen; F – Frenchmen; P – Poll Tax; L – Land

### *The Rape of Hastings*

#### **The Hundred of Foxearle**

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b>	Phyllypp Mettett	P	Barden servaunte to	
Holand Frenshman	8d	P	Richard Wodman	P
_____		P		
Gyllam Frensshman	2s	P	Alyens servauntes to Mr	
_____		P	Antonye Pelham	
John Armeran	A 8d	P	John Valeant	2s
_____		P	Stephen Lamell	P
Gyls Duffourd	A 8d		Nicolas Mary	P
			George Morryes	P
			John Langlas	P
<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>	Frenchmen in Mr Ash- burnhams werke	P		
Olyver Taylor	A 1s	P	Aliens servauntes to Sir	
John Colyer	A 2s		William Sidney	
			Peter Ungell	P
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>	Frenchmen in Richard Wodmans werke	P	Phyllyppe Motet	P
Frenchman in Mr Pelhams werke		P		
John Valeant	2s	P		
Guillam Clerke	P			
John Bourdell	P			
Phyllypp Chapleyn	P			
Sampson Frenchman	P			
			<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>	
			Frenchman servauntes to	
			Mr Antonye Pelham	
			John Valyaunte	A 1s
			Simon White	A 1s
Frenchmen in Sir Willyam Sydneys Worke		P	Servauntes to Sir Willm	
John Longley	P	P	Sidnet knight	

George Morryes	P	Alien servaunte to John		<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
John Langles <i>A</i>	P	Ashburnham esquier		Aliens	
Peter Unkyll <i>A</i>	P	Thomas Digon	P	John Lemotte	2s
Peter the servaunte of				Mychaell Sede	P
Peter Unkyll	P	Aliens servauntes to Tho-		John Sellem	P
Phlippe Metett <i>A</i>	P	mas Woodman		James Lyvarde	P
		Peter Rowland	P	Gilbert Pynyan	P
Servauntes to Robert		John Neve	P		
Woodman					
William Brousbull <i>A</i>	P	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>		<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Gyllam Burgonyon <i>A</i>	P	Aliens		Alyens	
John Dygon servaunt to		Thomas Dugyn <i>D</i>	2s	John Le Motte	P
Mr Ashburnham	P	Symon Tiler <i>D</i>	2s	Adam Tottoe	P
		Lewes Rawsner <i>D</i>	2s	John Selen	P
<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>				Frauncysce Dowste	P
Aliens servauntes to An-		Servauntes to Sir Henry		Nicholas Dowlse	P
tonye Pelham esquier		Sydney			
John Valeaunt	P	Simon Spraye	P	<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>	
Clement Griaunt	P	Audryan Spray	P	Aliens	
Simon White	P			John Sellen	P
		Richard Valyante <i>D</i>	4s	Peter Lemote	P
Aliens servauntes to Sir		Robart Tompler <i>D</i>	2s	James Fuller	P
William Sidnet knight		John Rowlande <i>D</i>	4s	John Ades	P
George Morryes	P	John Levee	P	Adrian Ades	P
John Russell	P	Maryan Leve	P		
John Langlesse	P	Zamberte Barden	P		
Peter Unckell	P				
Phillippe Metet	P				

This hundred incorporated the south-eastern part of Warbleton parish and part of Dallington. The name Gylys Duffourd (No. 126 in the Denization rolls) among the 1524 aliens suggests that immigrant

ironworkers may have been active in the south-east of the Weald earlier than formerly supposed. In 1551 an otherwise unknown John Dygon appears as servant to Mr Ashburnham. This is almost certainly an error, since the name appears as Thomas (124) in the four other returns of 1549 to 1560. On the other hand the returns are entirely consistent in recording Richard Woodman's servant Isambard Lamy alias Barden (170) only in 1549, 1550 and 1560. Subsidy rolls for Surrey show him to have been in Dunsfold in 1551 and 1552. The ironmasters named in place of Woodman in 1551 and 1552 were presumably his brother Robert and either his father Thomas, or another brother named Thomas.

On the eastern boundary of the hundred lay Panningridge Furnace, with Ashburnham (formerly Dallington) Furnace and Forge just to the south, beyond which lay Kitchenham Forge. Batsford Furnace dates from later in the century (1571), and in the northwest Warbleton Priory was on the borders, so that the Priory Furnace and Forge will have been within the hundred. The Woodman workers were presumably at the Priory works. The workers at Sir William Sidney's Panningridge Furnace are returned both here and in Netherfield hundred. But this applies to the workers of Anthony Pelham too. Could it be that Pelham was operating Ashburnham Furnace before Mr Ashburnham ran it himself? Proximity to Panningridge would have made the interchange of workers between these two employers in 1550 and 1551 easier. Mr Ashburnham's works of 1549-52 could have been Kitchenham Forge. The sole indication of the location of the workers is given in the subsidy for 1550, when they are returned in two sections. Four boroughs are returned – Ashburnham; Wartling and Boreham; Herstmonceux; Cowbeech and Dill. The workers of Woodman and Ashburnham are placed at the end of the Wartling and Boreham return; those of Pelham and Sidney at the end of that for Cowbeech and Dill. Was the northern part of Ashburnham parish at this date included in the borough of Cowbeech and Dill? Or was the Pelham works not at Ashburnham but

Cowbeeche? ‘The finers boy of Cobeech’ was buried at Wartling in August 1586. But Cowbeeche or Cralle Forge was not in Foxearle hundred at all: it was on the border between Hawksborough hundred and the rape of Pevensey, and though forgermen are mentioned in Wartling parish register from 1552 on (when the parish clerk noted that five out of twenty-two children baptised were of French parentage) the majority of these entries may relate to Kitchenham rather than Cowbeeche. In any case the Woodman workers appear to be returned at the wrong end of the hundred. Perhaps this 1550 return is as mistaken as the 1551 return for Hawksborough, which places Joan Isted’s and Anthony Pelham’s workers in Tottingworth instead of Bivelham borough.

### The Hundred of Bexhill

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b> (nil)	<b>1549 (E 179.190/233)</b> John Rowland <i>F D</i> 1s	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b> (nil)
<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b> Olyver Debyll <i>A</i> P Phylp Mary <i>A</i> P Nycholas Lawrens <i>A</i> P Nycholas Arysman <i>A</i> P Gyles Duffen <i>A</i> P Dyryk Corver <i>A</i> P Peter Johnson <i>A</i> P	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b> John Rowland <i>D</i> 1s <b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b> (lacks Bexhill)	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b> Alyens Growshe P and his wife P <b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b> Alyen William Waters man P <b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b> (nil)

The entries of 1572 and 1576 presumably relate to Buckholt Furnace and Forge, operated by Bartholomew Jeffrey in 1574 and leased to William Waters in 1575 by Jeffrey’s executors.

The presence of seven aliens in the hundred in 1539 requires explanation, and only Gyles Duffen (126 again?) appears to show a positive link with iron manufacture. Dyryk Corver might be Flemish. John Rowland had been at Hoathly and Waldron in 1543. In the subsidy he reappears in 1560 in Foxearle hundred, where entries for him seem to commence in the Wartling parish register in December 1552, and it was there that he was buried in 1567. A later John Rowland of Lingfield (1597) was a collier (Surrey Assize rolls, Elizabeth I, 2688).

### The Hundred of Nenfield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b>	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
Morys Frensheman 8d	(nil)	(nil)	
<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
(nil)	(nil)	Alyens	
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>	John Harvye	P
(nil)	Alien	Christmas Russell	P
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	John Mocko	<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>	
(nil)		(nil)	

An earlier Makkowe was in the Hawksborough hundred return for 1540. John and Remy Harvey (167, 168) came from Wadhurst to Henhurst hundred (probably to Socknersh Furnace) around 1551. The family were colliers and founders, and it may be as a collier that John Harvey ended his days in this area.

### The Hundred of Shoyswell

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b>	John (—)	8d	Garrard Colyar	<i>F</i>	8d	
The borow of Pashely	John Perygo	<i>F</i>	8d	Rowlande Maknyle	<i>F</i> 8d	
Gelote (—)	8d	Roger Elys	<i>F</i>	8d	Gyllam Taylboy	<i>F</i> 8d
Nicholas (—)	8d	Gyllam Furneys	<i>F</i>	8d	Philpott Wodetaller	<i>F</i> 8d
		Gyllam Tassen	<i>F</i>	8d		

<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b> (lacks Shoyswell)	Nycholas Lamberd servauntt to the same Nicholas —————	Nicolas his servaunt <i>A</i> <b>P</b>
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>		<b>P</b> Servauntes to Ambrose Comporte
Vyncent Deproune <i>F D</i>	Petre Weldern <i>A D</i>	<b>P</b> Antonye Ellys <i>A</i> (—)
servauntt to Thomas Shoyswell	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	Nicolas his servant <b>P</b> Nicolas Labye <i>A</i> <b>P</b> John (—?—) <i>A</i> <b>P</b>
Jakes Recrewe <i>F D</i>	Aliens in the workes of Mr Maye	
servauntt to Thomas Maye	2s James Tomple	<b>P</b> Servauntes to Thomas Maye
Thomas Deproune colyer <i>F D</i>	<b>P</b> Jack Recrewe	<b>P</b> Vincent Deprowne <b>P</b>
Valentyne Deproune fyner <i>A</i>	<b>P</b> Nicolas hys man	<b>P</b> Thomas Deprowne <b>P</b>
Richard Roche <i>F D</i>	<b>P</b> Vincent Deproyne	<b>P</b> Valentyne Deprowne <b>P</b>
Gladd fyner <i>F</i>	<b>P</b> Thomas Deproyne	<b>P</b> Richard (—?—) <i>A</i> <b>P</b>
Labys wydowe	<b>P</b> Rychard Roche	<b>P</b> Jamys Tomplen <b>P</b>
John Derrye in the workes of Ambras Com- portt	<b>P</b> Valentyne Deproyne	<b>P</b> Richard (Roche ?) <b>P</b>
Antonye Ellys	<b>P</b> Nicolas Skellerye	<b>P</b> Nicholas H(—?—) <b>P</b>
John Atonye	Robert Tomple	<b>P</b> Thomas <b>P</b>
his servauntt <i>A</i>	Herbe wydowe	
Nycobol Colyar <i>A</i>	<b>P</b> Labye wydowe	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>
servauntt to Jakes	6s Antonye Ellys	Aliens servauntes to Tho- mas Maye, gent
Charles Pullyn <i>A</i>		Vincent Deproine <b>P</b>
servauntt to Ambras	<b>P</b> Aliens in the workes of Mr Pelham	2s Thomas Deproine <b>P</b>
John Bee <i>A</i> servauntt to John Dory (Derrye?)	<b>P</b> John Barden	<b>P</b> Valentine Deproine <b>P</b>
—————	<b>P</b> Poull Hedoll	<b>P</b> Marten Quinto <b>P</b>
Nycholas Hedowell <i>A D</i>	<b>P</b> Michael Hedoll	<b>P</b> John Capper <b>P</b>
Paule Hedowell his son <b>P</b>	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>	<b>P</b> Allo <b>P</b> <b>P</b> Gillam <b>P</b>
	Peter Labye taylor <i>A</i>	
	<b>P</b> Servauntes to John Wyba- rne Jakes	Aliens servauntes to Am- brose Comporte
	<b>P</b> Recrowe <i>A</i>	



Antonye Ellys	2s	Johan Leonarde	P	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Nicolas	P	Allo Fyllet	P	Alyens	
Nicolas Labie	P	Stephyn Untill	P	Folentyne Deprone	P
		John Prevaute	P	John Cressye	P
Aliens servauntes to Tho-		Nycholas Mynnage	P	John Deboyse	P
mas Shoswell, gent.		Poule Judde	P	Leonard	P
Hector	P	Roulande Leonarde	P	Robert Dooall	P
Lunto	P	Nicholas Frencheman	P	Peter Calober	P
		and his too sonnes	P P	Stephen	P
<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>				Peter Deforre	P
Aliens		<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>		Peter Lavender	P
Vincente Deprove	P	Alyens			
Thomas Deprove	P	Marten Le Mowle	P	<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>	
Valantyne Deprove	P	Lucyan	P	Leonard Garden	P
Petar Degoye	P	John Humfrye	P		
Myshawe	P	John Cracye	P		

Immigrant labour was in the area by 1521, when John Ongerfield, hammersmith, of Etchingam (6), was indicted of the murder of a fellow Frenchman.<sup>5</sup> The Perigoes and Ellis were also forgemens, but the employment of as many as eleven Frenchmen by 1524 might imply that Pashley Furnace goes back to that date.

Budgen's map (1724) shows the confluence of the Rother with the Pashley and Linden streams to have been within Shoyswell hundred, so that the ironworks immediately to the west and north of Etchingam were all in that hundred, though Etchingam itself belonged to Henhurst. Surprisingly, the name of neither Tyrwhitt, the proprietor, nor Walsh, the lessee, is mentioned in connection with Etchingam Forge, though denizens had been registered for Tyrwhitts works in 1544 (89-93). A clue may lie in the employment by Abrose Comport of Tyrwhitt's former worker Charles Pulleyn (92). Comport was steward

of the Battle estates for Sir Anthony Browne. However, since in addition to Ambrose Comport (1549, 1551 and 1552), Thomas May, Thomas Shoyswell (1549, 1552), Mr Pelham (1550 and, by inference 1549) and John Wybarne (1551) have all to be accommodated, the problems are considerable. The superfluity of forgemen (Quinton, Barden, the Tomplens and probably Ellys in addition to those specified in the returns) also poses more problems. Though Bivelham borough was within Hawksborough, Budgen's map depicts Bivelham Forge as lying in Shoyswell. This was a Pelham Forge in the seventeenth century and to allocate Pelham's workers there would go a long way to solving some of the problems. Burgh Wood Forge was probably worked by May in conjunction with Pashley Furnace. If Comport had Etchingham Forge, then Wybarn and Shoyswell might have worked Darfold or East Limden Furnace. In the north, Chingley Furnace would be on the Kent border.

5. P.R.O., KB 29/153,m.16, Michaelmas 13 Henry VIII. I am indebted to Christopher Whittick for very kindly providing this reference.

### The Hundred of Netherfield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b>	Shyvall <i>F</i>	8d	Nycholas Capell <i>A</i>	P
<b>1525 (E 179. 189/161)</b>	Sampson Frensshman	8d	Flyx <i>A</i>	P
John Jonner <i>A</i>		8d	old Tullet <i>A</i>	P
Robert Jhonson Scott		8d	<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>	D(—) Capell <i>A</i>
_____	John Colyn <i>A</i>	4s	Peter Borne <i>A</i>	P
Petar Marten	George Boy <i>A</i>	8d	Bormeyne Bredes <i>A</i>	P
John Rever <i>F</i>	Luce Tyler <i>A</i>	8d	Nycholas Bertyn <i>A</i>	P
_____	Frauncys Hynche <i>A</i>		Thomas o Prowne <i>A</i>	P
John Bygo (1525)	Jamys Turke <i>A</i>	8d	Valentyne de Prowne <i>A</i>	P
_____	Hewe Turke <i>A</i>		Wenys(ent) de Prowne <i>A</i>	P
Brother Frenshman	Jamys de Merket <i>A</i>	8d	Graund John Colyer <i>A</i>	P

<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>		in Richard a Wykes	George Bogge	1s	
Frenchenen denyzens		workes	John Farne	1s	
Warner Gerrard	P	Berrye Bordett	P Peter Gayne	1s	
Laurence Blewett	1s	Antonye Keller	P John Carbonet	1s	
Guillam Sobrys	P		Warnet Gerard	1s	
Nycholas Jerard	2s	in Nynyon Burrells	James Kescherell	1s	
John Carbonett	P	workes			
Jamys Templyer	P	Peter Sebrys	P Alyens servauntes to Rich-		
Robert Dowse	1s	Clementt Gryans	P ard Wyke		
Jamys Secherye	P	Robert Templyer	P Lewes Sampson	P	
Petre Secherye	P	John Benett	P John Brye	P	
John Rybonar	3s		Antony Kyllere	P	
Jarman Myttyll	P	in Richard a Wekes	John Pyballyar	P	
Antonye Myttyll	P	workes	Phylppyng Tollet	P	
Symon Tyler	2s	Nycholas Werett	P		
Roger Tynker	1s	Robert Morreys	P Aliens servauntes to		
Lewys Renser	P	Michaell Bellett	P Sir William Sidney		
George Bogge	1s	Flyppying Tollett	P Peter Turner	P	
Guillan Bordett	2s	John Dewewe	P John Lamot	P	
Frenchemen not denizens		Lewys Sampson	P		
in Sir William Sidneys			Aliens servauntes to Mr		
workes		<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	Antony Pelham		
Peter Tourner	P	Aliens	Clement Grians	P	
		Simon Tylar	John Benet	P	
in Mr Antonye Pelhams		Robard Dowse	1s		
workes		Nicolas Gerard	2s	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>	
Phyllypp Grewe	P	Lawrens Blouet	1s	Servauntes to Richarde	
John Lemett		Gyllam Sobrys	1s	a Wyke	
		Jarmyn Mitell	P	Antonye Kellarye A	P
		John Ryboner	3s	John Grate A	P
		Rodger Tenkerye	1s	Lewys Sampson A	P
		Lewes Renser	P	John Pyballary A	P

John Bossell <i>A</i>	P	Servauntes to Charles	John Jerott	P
Lawrens He(us?)	P	Warnet		
Davy Hatto <i>A</i>	P	Nicolas Hoschett <i>A</i>	P Aliens servauntes to Harry	
		Willm Pawyer <i>A</i>	P Westall and Charles Jerat	
Servauntes to Sir Wilim		Peter Petyre <i>A</i>	P Jarmen Mitel	P
Sidney knyght		Peter Lamere <i>A</i>	P John Tyler	P
Phlypyng Tolley <i>A</i>	P	Stephyn Melle <i>A</i>	P William Pavye	P
Peter Turner <i>A</i>	P	Petar Latornys <i>A</i>	P Orbrye Larber	P
			John Jelet his servaunt	P
Antony Toullet	P	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	Peter Lamar	P
servaunt to Wy(kes)		Aliens servauntes to	Aliens householders	
		Sir William Sidney knyght	George Bogge	1s
Servauntes to Charles		Robert Dowse	John Robover	3s
Warner		Simon Tiler		
John Russell <i>A</i>	P	Peter Turner	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>	
Nicolas Fewer <i>A</i>	P	Phlyppyng Tolley	P Robart Dosse	2s
Aliens		Aliens servauntes to An-	Jarmen Myttell	2s
Lawrens Blewet	1s	tony Pelham esquier	Marryan Bennet	2s
Nicolas Gerard	2s	Roger Tankerye	1s John Nevell	2s
Jarmen Mitell	(?)		Guyllham Cardo	P
Warnet Jerard	1s	Aliens servauntes to Rich-	too Frenchmen	
James Morell	1s	ard Wikes	dwellinge with	
Obrye Larber	1s	James Tamplier	P Stephyn Blewet	P P
Gyllam Burdet	1s	John Quen	P Nicholas Pete	P
Symon Tyler	1s	Glode Tomplyar	P and his manne	P
Robert Dosse	1s	Nicolas Jerett	2s Lawrens Dupre	P
Lewes Rawncer <i>A</i>	P	Peter Lamer	P Phillip Grotte	P
Rodger Tynkary	1s	Lawrens Blewet	1s Simon Kennet	P
John Polvo	1s	John Grate	P	
John Ryboner	3s	Warnet Jeret	P	
George Bogge	1s	James Morell	P	

1572 (E 179. 190/283)	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	1595 (E 179. 190/332)
Alyens	Nicholas Jarrett L 3s 4d	Aliens
Nycholas Jerrarde L 2s 8d	Nicholas Pettit P	John Cressie P
Nycholas Furre P	Awdrean Pynean P	John Bowyer P
Adryan Pynyan P	John Pynyan P	Lawrence Hawrowe P
John Pynyan P	Laurence P	John Defect P
John Jellye P	John Valyance P	Peter Weaver P
	Bastyan Lambert P	
	his two men P P	
	Nicholas Furry P	

Netherfield includes the other part of Sir William Sidney's Panningridge work force. To the east it would include Mountfield Furnace, but Hodesdale Forge, though in Mountfield parish, appears to have been just within Battle hundred. However, unless we assign Richard Wakes' forgemen to Hodesdale it seems difficult to find room for them elsewhere in the hundred, and they include Laurence Bluit and members of the Hatto and Tomplier families. Wekes also supplied hammers to Robertsbridge Forge from Darvell Furnace in this hundred<sup>6</sup> and he was certainly employing enough labour – including two French founders, Warnet and Nicholas Jarret – to have run two furnaces. To the north, Glaziers Forge would be on the borders of the hundred. Glaziers was a Pelham Forge and it would be convenient to assign Anthony Pelham's workers to that forge. However, the Hawksborough hundred returns seem to indicate that Nicholas Pelham was running Glaziers at this period. If this is so, it is difficult to solve the problem without supposing that Anthony Pelham's workers here are complementary to those in Foxearle hundred and assigning them to Ashburnham. Another problem is the furnace run by Draper, Westall and Charles Jarrett. Costs of carriage of pig iron to Robertsbridge<sup>7</sup> suggest it was at the same distance as Panningridge. This at once rules out any location

in the eastern half of the hundred, so that Penhurst Furnace seems the only possibility. If so, it is natural to suppose that the workers of Ninian Burrell were also engaged there in 1549, since Burrell was the lord of that manor.

6. D.W.Crossley, ed. *Sidney ironworks accounts* (1975), p.114n.

7. 20d. per ton. idem, p.102n.

### The Hundred of Hawsborough

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/128)</b>	John Jellot <i>F</i>	8d	Peter Makkoe <i>A</i>	P	
Gyllam <i>F</i>	8d	Adrean Frencheman	8d	Thomas Sampton <i>A</i>	P
_____				John Nonno <i>A</i>	P
Jorden Frencheman	8d	(Bivelham)		John Gyllat	P
Tanit Harby <i>F</i>	8d	John Merteyley <i>F</i>	8d	Robert A	P
John Grant <i>F</i>	8d	(Tottingworth)		Peter Ferlekett <i>A</i>	P
John Russell <i>F</i>	8d	Venten Frenchman	8d	John Garrard <i>A</i>	P
Alyn Russell <i>F</i>	8d			John <i>A</i>	P
Voden Voystell <i>F</i>	8d	<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>			
John Tompkyn <i>F</i>	8d	Charles Motye <i>A</i>	1s	<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>	
Thomas Sage <i>F</i>	8d	John Vynter <i>A</i>	2s	Aliens in the workes	
_____		John Jespere <i>A</i>	(1s?)	of Nycholas Pelham	
(In service of John Collen)		Clement Quyer preste	<i>A</i> P	esquyer	
John Turkes <i>F</i>	8d	John Carry <i>A</i>	P	Guyllam Fawke fynar	1s
Barden Frenchenan	8d	William Taylor <i>A</i>	P	Mychell Hedhall colyar	P
Cropper Frencheman	8d	Nycholas Hyndall <i>A</i>	P	Garman the hamerman	P
John Darvie* <i>F</i>	8d	Rychard <i>A</i>	P		
Jenken Frencheman	8d	John Gawyn <i>A</i>	P		

\*An alternative reading to that of J. Cornwall 'Darme'. Capital 'D's and 'H's are also very alike in this MS. so that one could almost read Harvie'. John Harvie came to England in 1552 and later served Hugh Collyn at Socknersh.

Aliens in the workes of John Collyn		Alien in the workes of An- tonye Pelham esquier		<b>1551 (E 179. 190.244)</b>	
John Mynyon colyar	P	Barden hamerman	2s	The borowgh of Warble- ton	
Audryan Hatto hamerman	P	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		Alyen	
Alien servauntt to Bar- tylmewe Geffrey		(The Borowe of Warble- ton)		Dennys Lybbys servaunt to Richard Wodman	P
Peter Hese fownder		Aliens servauntes to Rich- ard Wodman		The borowgh of Bevillym (nil)	
Aliens servaunttes to Antonye Pelham esquier		Denys Lolbys hammer- man	P		
John Vynton fynor	2s	Nicolas Gottye colyer	P	The borough of Tottyn- gworth	
John Leonard fynor	P	John Gottye colyer	P	Servauntes to Mr Antony Pelham	
Aliens in the workes of Joane Istedd		Borowe of Tottingworth		John Vinton fynor	A ls
Robert Blank fynor	P	Alyens servauntes to John Collyn		P Hedall colyar	A P
Petre Borayne fynor	P	John Gue thelder colyar	P	Simon his man	A P
Gyles Laurence fownder	P	John Gue the yonger		Servauntes to Joane Isted Giles Lawrens	
John Maryon mynor	P	colyar	P	fownder	A P
Aliens in the workes of John Bakar		The Borowe of Bevilham		John Curleggo	A P
David Demoyshell myner	P	Aliens servauntes to Mr Antonye Pelham		Robert fynor	A P
_____		John Vinton fynor	1s	Peter Lawrens	A P
Alien in the workes of John Saxpes		John Leonarde fynor	P		
Robert Carone colyer	P	Hedall colyer	P	The borowgh of Burghersh (nil)	
		Actor colier	P		
		servaunte to John Baker			
Aliens in the workes of Richard Wodman		Aliens servauntes to Joane Isted		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	
Nycolas Gottye colyar	P	Robert Banke fynor	P	Aliens servauntes to Richarde Woodman	
Denys Lebbyes hamerman	P	Gyles Lawrens fownder	P		
		John Maryan filler	P		

Denys Lebys	P	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>
Gelum Fasshatt	P	Aliens	Warbleton
		Bardyn	P (nil)
Aliens servauntes to Joane Isted		John Gryndegore	P
		Glode Aveye	P Byshoprich Borowe
Gyles the Fownder	1s	Peter Lamberte	P Jacob <i>A</i> 3s. 4d
Maryan	P	John Everet	P
John Haunyng	P		Tottingford
		<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	Christmas A servaunt to
Aliens servauntes to Thomas Morley gent		Alyens	Henry Collen P
		Jerman Myttell	2s
Glode Aufrey	P	Drushe servant to John	Byvelhan Borowe
John Vinton	P	Glasyer	P Alyens
			Bosewaye P
Alien servaunt to John Baker		servantes to Thomas	Dynnys Bosard P
		Greane	
John Botton	P	Powle Edolfe	p Burhwarsh
		John Nono	p Drowsh <i>A</i> P
Aliens servauntes to Bartilmew Jefferye			
Everet	P	Roger Tanckerell	P <b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>
Michaell	P		(nil)

This hundred included the southern part of Mayfield parish, the borough of Bivelham. The returns are particularly interesting because they record not only many occupations, but the boroughs in which the workers lived. However, there appears to be an error in the return for 1551, if the entries for Joan Isted and Antony Pelham are compared with those of 1549 and 1550. The clerk appears to have gone straight on from Bivelham to Tottingworth, forgetting to record the aliens.



He then tucked them in at the end of the Tottingworth return. The minor errors made by clerks in coping with foreign names are perhaps put in their correct perspective when one looks at what happened to the English place name in the 1576 return for Tottingworth!

In Bivelham we appear to have a Pelham Forge, a Baker Furnace and an Isted Furnace and Forge. However, the miner employed by Baker in 1549 could have been working for Old Mill Furnace in Isenhurst and the appearance here in the 1552 return of John Botton (46) seems to confirm this, since he had been included in the Isenhurst lists of 1550 and 1551. The Pelham Forge is probably Hawksden, with Thomas Morley taking over from Pelham in 1552. Joan Isted's forge may have been Moat Mill (Bevilham Forge itself lying outside the hundred as explained under Shoyswell) in which case her furnace might have been Broadhurst, or more probably Bungehurst. In Tottingworth we find John Collyn's Burwash Forge (1549, 1550), Nicholas Pelham's Glaziers Forge (1549) and a furnace run by Bartholomew Jeffrey (1549, and 1552?), possibly Broadhurst, if this was not the Isted Furnace. In Warbleton we have a Woodman Forge (Steel Forge?), and briefly in 1549 a Pelham Forge (Cowbeech?). In 1541 'Saxbeche' and Woddye each supplied 21 tons of sows to Robertsbridge Forge, before the furnace there was operational,<sup>8</sup> so the works of John Saxpes was probably a furnace. However, in 1543 Robert Caron (178), the worker in question here, was working for Woddy, the return being for the Isenhurst part of the hundred of Dill in Pevensey rape. Heathfield would seem to be on the border between the two rapes and perhaps sufficiently far north to be rated to Isenhurst rather than Hellingly.

Ironworking must have been widespread in Hawksborough hundred by 1524. The works of John Collen had started two or three years earlier and by 1525 eight Frenchmen were being employed presumably at or near Burwash. The place of employment of the other block of eight employees, who included Woden Vasell (158), is difficult to suggest. The alien John Merteley of Bevilham is possibly John do Verey (149) alias Nono, *marteleur*, who had come to England about 1523 and who is still recorded in the return for 1539. His son, also French-born, worked at Green's forge in Bevilham in 1572 and his English-born grandson, Jordan de Verrey, was a hammerman who died in 1641. Venten was probably the finer, John Vinton (97), and might have been employed at Glazier's Forge, before transferring to Hawksden, for which he appears to have worked later on.

8. U 1475, B 5/1.

### The Hundred of Henhurst

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/127)</b>	John Alyn <i>F*</i>	8d	John Derrett <i>A</i>	P
	William Brown <i>F</i>	8d	Marten Derrett <i>A</i>	P
<b>1525 (E 179. 189/133)</b>			Thomas Desyen <i>A</i>	P
Laurence Docheman	2s	<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>	John <i>A</i>	P
_____		Marten Braband <i>A</i>	1s	
John Lambard <i>F</i>	8d	Wyllm <i>A</i>	P	<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>
John Frenchman	2s	Wyllm <i>A</i>	P	John (—)go brewer
Jellat Collyn	8d	John Marrant <i>A</i>	1s	servauntt to Joane Wels-
Robynet Colyer	8d	Husbote <i>A</i>	P	che
		Remy <i>A</i>	3s. 4d	(—)daig(—) colyar
<b>1525</b>		Garred Essewe <i>A</i>	P	servauntt to Godard Wels-
William Alyn <i>F</i>	8d	Antony Essewe <i>A</i>	P	che
_____		Thomas Essewe <i>A</i>	P	P

\*Possibly the same as the John Frenchman listed in 1524.

Maryon Benett serv(auntt to Will)yam Haye	P	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	Aliens servauntes to Godarde Walshe gent.	<b>1572 (E 179.190/283)</b>	Alyens John Tassell	P
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>			Aufrye Russell	P	John Harvye	P
Aliauntes servauntes to Joane Walshe and to Godard her sonne			Collen Mallet	P	Charles Levyvache	P
John Turke	P		Aliens servauntes to Hugh Collyn	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	Alyens	
Guyllam Dygon	P		Simon Cleriewe	P	John Rootes	P
Obery Russell	P		Lewes Burden	P	Nicholas	P
John Margo	P		John Cherterye	P	John Jellye	P
			John Harvye	P	Alloe	P
Alyauntes servauntes to John Haye			Remy Harvye	P		
James Frenchemann	P		Gyllam Detrove	P	<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>	
Marayn Bonnat	P	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>			(nil)	
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>			Aliens			
(nil)			John Harvie	P		
			John Morgo	P		
			Anthonye	P		

This hundred included the Socknersh manor part of Brightling parish, so for this period the known ironworks are Socknersh Furnace and Bugsell Forge. Robynet Colyar is probably the same as John Robynett (47) who worked for John Baker in 1544. The long list of aliens in 1540 does not include any name of an obvious ironworker and is a puzzling feature. The John Margo listed in 1550 (and in 1560?) is probably the

fifth and last person listed in 1544 for Sir Robert Tyrwight's ironworks and the brewing mentioned in 1549 might be the persistent illicit kind, in which some of the immigrants indulged.

Hugh Collyn's workers of 1552 are clearly listed for Socknersh Furnace. The two Harveys (167, 168) were earlier listed at Wadhurst and were members of a family of founders. They could have been brought to Socknersh to re-start the furnace after a period in lease to the Hay family. Collyn also recruited Simon Cleriewe from Framfield. The Walshes were perhaps running Bugsell Forge after a period out of the trade. They had recruited William Duggyn from Sir William Sidney (at Robertsbridge Forge, 1549) and Obery Russell from parson Levett (37).

### The Hundred of Robertsbridge

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/127)</b>	Laurence Fawtrell	P	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		
	Richard Byne	P	Aliens in the workes of		
<b>1525 (E 179. 189/133)</b>	Jane Byne	P	Sir William Sidney		
Quinto <i>F</i>	2s Hugh Marchaunt	P	William Fawterell alias		
Fayther Daye <i>F</i>	2s Jamys Growte	P	Hatto		P
A Docheman (1525)	8d Willyam Duggyn	P	Jane Byne vidua		P
Jaket Frenchman (1525)	8d Vyncentt Bokett		William Vacket		P
	nayle maker	P	Richard Falyant		P
1540 (E 179. 190/187)	Aleyn Jerre his man	P	Charles Pullen		P
Vyncent Bokett <i>A</i>	P		Aliens in the workes of		
Peter <i>A</i>	P		John Philpott		
Garrett <i>A</i>	P		Lewes Bayarde	P	Lewes Bayard
			Laurence Lokear	P	Lawrens Lokkyar
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>	John Nayler	P	John Clowcher		P
Aliens in workes of	Maryon Mayskyn		Vincent Bookett nayle		
Wyllyam Sidney knyght	wydowe	2s	maker		P
Wyllyam Fawtrell alias					
Fatter		P			

<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>	
Aliens servauntes to	Aliens servauntes to	Aliens	
Sir Willm Sidney knyght	Sir William Sidney	Peter Joly	2s
William Fawterell	knicht	Jarman Dullamot	P
Jane Bine widowe	P Hewe Marchaunte	P John Clotear	P
Hugh Marchaunt	P Peter Jollye <i>P</i>		
		<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
Aliens servauntes to	Aliens servauntes to	Peter Jellye <i>A</i>	2s
John Philpott	John Philpott smythe		
Lewes Bayerde	P Lawrens Loyeker	P <b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Lawrens Lokyar	P Lewes Berade	P Alyens	
John Cloucher	P John Clocher	P Peter Jellye	3s. 4d
	Vincet Boket	P Thomas Powle	P
		Charles Fever	P
		<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>	
		(nil)	

The ironworks is Sir William Sidney's Robertsbridge Forge, with the furnace coming back into blast in 1573. Philpot and Bokett (203) are well known from the Sidney ironworks accounts as purchasers of iron and suppliers of ironwork, especially nails. From the names of the workers we gather that Phillipot also manufactured locks. If he employed native labour as well he must have operated on a considerable scale. In 1550 Bokett looks to follow on at the end of the Philpot list without actually belonging to it, but in 1552 he is possibly just another of Philpot's employees. The reversion of the surname 'Nayler' to the French *cloutier*, in various forms, throws an interesting light on the anglicisation of foreign surnames.

## The Hundred of Staple

<p><b>1524 (E 179.189/127)</b>  <b>1525 (E 179. 189/133)</b>            (nil)</p>	<p><b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>            (lacks Staple)</p>	<p><b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>            Alyens            William the Frenchman 2s            Edward Ransome P            Bastyan <i>F</i> P</p>
<p><b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>            (Lacks Staple)</p>	<p><b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>            Adryan Doggyn <i>D</i> 1s            Frauncis his servaunte P</p>	<p><b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>            Alyens            Peter de Guye P            Godfrye de la Haye P            Ognilen Lutere * P            John Mary P            Stephen de Voye P            John Fycot P            Rowland Meadowe P</p>
<p><b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>            Frenchement in the workes            of Willyam Sydney            knyght            Petre Jollye P            Nicholas Marye P            Roger de Prewe P            Adryan Duggyn P</p>	<p><b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>            Damarons alias Kessle 1s            Peter Damarons his son P            Fraunces <i>A</i> P</p>	
<p><b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>            (incomplete)</p>		<p><b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>            Peter Kinge <i>A</i> 3s 4d</p>

\*Should read, Ogniben Lutere, the name of a well-known Italian glassmaker.

This hundred contains more of the workers at Robertsbridge Forge. Iridge and Northiam Furnaces are thought to be seventeenth century in date. Brede Furnace borders the hundred and is thought to have been built between 1574 and 1578. However, the names of Godfrye de la Haye and Ogniben Lutere must be associated with the glass works in the area. Peter de Guye had been listed in 1560 in Shoyswell hundred together with Rowand (sic) Leonard, whom he married at Goudhurst the next year. The parish register shows him to have remained in Kent, possibly a worker at Bedgebury Forge, until 1573. Rowland Meadow was a collier, who was later at Crowhurst and Penhurst. The payment of Peter Kinge was listed was 4s. 4d., but the roman *iiiijs* has arabic 3s entered above, which would be correct.

### The Hundred of Baldslowe

The return for 1525 (E 179. 189/133) contains the name of one Frenchman, John Helyngcourt, who paid 8d., but the only other entry to contain aliens, and the only one of concern for iron manufacture is that for 1572 (E 179. 190/283) in which James Tubull and John Grengell paid the poll tax. They were presumably workers at Crowhurst Forge and John Gringo had previously paid tax in 1560 in Hawksborough hundred (Gryndegore). In 1565 he figured in the Warbleton parish register and he was buried later in 1572 at Crowhurst.

Westfield Forge was within this hundred and its finer, Alexander Vinton, who died in February 1579, was English born. If any Frenchman were employed the forge must have been built too late for them to appear in the 1576 return. It was not in the 1574 list.

### The Hundred of Battle

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/127)</b>	Antony Denaybone <i>F</i> 2s. 6d	Peter Byshopp <i>F</i>	8d
	_____	_____	
<b>1525 (E 179. 189/133)</b>	Gorge Joyce Docheman 8d	John Petygrewe Scotte	8d
	_____	_____	
Symon Merser <i>F</i>	2s	John Frambofe <i>A</i>	1s
_____		Peter <i>F</i>	8d
		_____	
Corneles Androwis Do- cheman	8d	Corneles Capper Doche- man	8d
_____		_____	
		William Nele <i>F</i> (1525)	8d

<b>1540 (E 179. 190/187)</b>		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>		<b>1560 (E 179. 190/266)</b>
John Frondebeyff <i>A</i>	2s	Alyens		Aliens
John Laby <i>A</i>	6s	Charles Jerett <i>D</i>	8s	Harman Stempe 14s
Wyllm Velo <i>A</i>	1s	Harmer Stempe <i>D</i>	25s	Nicholas Jarret <i>L</i> 2s. 8d
George Johonson <i>A</i>	P	Fryso Harmer		
		Dodeman	P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/233)</b>		his servaunte William a		Alyens
Alyens		Woode Docheman	P	Herman Stempe 2s
Harman Stempe <i>D</i>	25s.4d	Symon <i>F</i>	P	Lamberte Fleete P
George Johnson		Peter Byman <i>F</i>	P	John Platten P
Flemyng	P	Antonye Gyles <i>F</i>	P	
Petre Byneham <i>F</i>	P			<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>
Antonye Gyles <i>A</i>	P			Alyens
servauntt to Robert Har-				James Minidge* 3s. 4d
rys				Christofer Burdett P
				Lambert Flitt P
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>				John Platton P
(return incomplete)				William Welles P
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/244)</b>				<b>1595 (E 179. 190/332)</b>
(lacks Battle)				(nil)

\* this name could read Mundge

The known ironworkers listed here are Charles (1552) and Nicholas Jarrett (36) (1560). It is noteworthy that Charles Jarrett, as partner with Draper and Westall in Netherfield hundred, paid less tax here than in 1550 as an employee at Buxted. He is listed as a denizen, but no record of this denization seems to survive in either State papers or Denization rolls. Other names connected with ironworking might be Laby (1540), Minidge and Burdett (1576). Though ironworks were built late in Battle



hundred, Hodesdale Forge on the northern border was probably worked by Richard Wekes before 1550.

The contributions to the subsidy made by Harman Stempe are notable. The will of John Frondebaffe (1545) shows him to have been a saddler. In 1525 the name of Gorge Joyce appears more convincingly as George Jenson and continues as Johnson (or Johonson!) in 1540 and 1549.

## *The Rape of Pevensey*

### The Hundred of Loxfield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/117)</b>		<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	Lawrens Peterson	A	4s
Wadhurst		Wadhurst			
John Bodewyn	F 2s	Alyens	(Green )Herst		
Laurence Streter	F 2s	Lawrens Bluytt	8d Alyens		
Peter Herby	F 2s	Peter Russell	16d Charlys		3s. 4d
Reme le Bages	F 2s	Wylliam Obery	p Perygo		8d
		Peter Turner	p John Penyon		4d
Mayfield		Maryon Gardyner	p Gylbert		8d
(nil)		John Nayler	p John Morrell		4d
		John Gardymbas	p Angell		4d
(Buxted ?)					
Gylbert Verall	F 8d	Mayfield		<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>	
William Lovet	F 8d	Alyens	Wadhurst		
Peter Russell	F 8d	Peter Stoberne	P Alyens		
Colen Lambert	F 8d	Nycholas Relf	P Marian Lambert		P
		Glade the colyer	P Nicholas Lambert		P
<b>(E 179. 189/164)</b>			Stephen Collet		P
Greenhurst		Uckfield			
John the Brewer	F 8d	Hubberd Skrett	A		
Bartylmewe Docheman	8d	servant to Robert Vaut	P		

John Rowbye	P	Reme Tyller	P	Mayfield	
[Jo]hn [Har]ve	P			Peter Stoborne	<i>A</i> P
[Reme H]arv(e?)	P	Buxted			
		Alyens		Framfield	
Mayfield		Charles Garrete	20s	Quinten Tyller	<i>A</i>
Peter Stoburne	<i>A</i>	P John Penyon	1s	servant to Nicholas Evers-	
(lacks the remainder		Marye Shelley wydowe	P	felde	P
of Loxfield)		Peter Lambert	P		
		Hambrey	P	Greenhurst	
		John de Mounle	P	Alyens	
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		Hambonye Fraunces	P	John Rynion	P
Wadhurst		Hambonye Bordye	P	Marten Sampson	P
Alyens				James Sampson	P
Gellet Russell	<i>F</i> 2s	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/237)</b>		Gyllyam the collyer	P
Barthelmewe Polyne	P	Wadhurst			
John Rowebowe	P	Alyens		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	
John Harrewe	P	John Trantham	P	(Wadhurst)	
Maryen Gardiner	P	Steven Collete	P	Alienes	
Gilbert Frenshe	P	John Harvey	P	Old Gylbert	P
William the parishe prest		John Robey	P	Marian Gardiner	P
of Maughefeld	P	Worrell Robeys mane	P	Marians servant	P
		(Tosain?) his man also	P	Stephan Collet	P
Mayfield		Barton Powllen	P	John Pynnen	1s
Aliens		William Duchin	P	Mihell Hedell	P
Peter Stoneborne	P	Thomas Ramset	P	John Roboye	P
Rowe the collier	P	Symon Hayward	P	Roboyes servant	P
		Remy Harvye	P		
Framfield		Peter Bigod	P	Mayfield	
Alyens		Olde Gilberd	P	Peter Stoporne	<i>A</i> P
Menten Tyller	P	Marryan Gardiner	P		
Symon Clerygo	P			Framfield	
				Peter Quintun	<i>A</i> 1s

<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>	Framfield	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Wadhurst	Widowe of Thomas	Wadhurst	
Aliens	Smythe	P John Johnson	A P
John Royboy	P		
Richard Benet	P <b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	Mayfield	
	Lamberhurst	Gabrell Penson	A P
	John Gunson	A	P

In the Loxfield hundred returns for 1524 we should presumably find the workers at Roger Machyn's Buxted iron mill. These are perhaps the four Frenchmen headed by Gylbert Verall (40), and this seems the more likely as Verall, or Averall, was still at Buxted in 1543 and 1544. Other future denizens identifiable in the 1524 list seem to be Peter Russell (2?) and at Wadhurst, John Bodewyn (34?) and Peter Herby (5). It is noteworthy that the Wadhurst aliens, perhaps employed at Verredge or Brookland Forges, each paid 2s. to the subsidy, whilst their two neighbours returned for the small forges in the Sunninglye section of Washlingstone hundred paid no less than 3s. each. Perhaps the workers at these forges were better paid than the Frenchmen at the major works elsewhere in the Weald.

As it stands, roll 237 (1549) contains some anomalies. Both Wadhurst and East Grinstead occur twice, giving two entries for Stephen Collet and John Roboye. Bartholomew Polen appears both in Danehill Horsted hundred and in Wadhurst (as Barton Powllen). It is evident that the first membrane of 237 belongs in a different subsidy. I have transferred its entries to 1551, the roll for which (242) otherwise lacks Loxfield hundred. As a result Bartholomew Polen is found at Danehill Horsted in 1549, moves to Wadhurst in 1550 and is still there in 1551. This rearrangement seems to work satisfactorily in other respects too. The second membrane, which is for East Grinstead, contains no aliens,

but is dated to the reign of Henry VIII, and also is an intruder in this roll.

Among the aliens at Wadhurst in 1543 John Barham's workers Marian Lamberd alias Gardiner (108) and John Gardambas (110) can be identified, and possibly also Gilham Soberis (109) in the guise of an otherwise unknown William Obery. But by 1549 Wadhurst had lost Bluytt, Soberis and Peter Turner (probably the Peter Founder of the Panningridge accounts) to Netherfield hundred, whilst parson Levett's Nicholas Jarrett (36) had moved there as well. John and Remy Harvey also moved from Wadhurst to Henhurst hundred (presumably to Socknersh Furnace) between 1551 and 1552, as did Simon Clerigo from Framfield about the same time. The presence of the Harveys and Turner in Wadhurst borough bears out the statement of Thomas Darrell that the parishes of Wadhurst and Lamberhurst contained four furnaces in 1548 (Straker, *Wealden Iron*, p.269), but gives no indication as to which.

The only ironmaster named is Nicholas Eversfield in 1551 at Framfield. He died the following year mentioning his forge in his will. However, the Tyler family were founders, Quintin Tyler (58, already Eversfield's servant in 1544) probably being the Quyn tin who ran Scarletts Furnace in 1574. The register of Framfield contains the marriage entry in 1539 for another Eversfield worker, Roger Tancre (57). If Eversfield was running a furnace in Framfield this would be Pounsley, which is mentioned in the Ports men's complaint of 1548 and which his family owned in the seventeenth century. His own Inquisition Post Mortem includes the mention of the 'Brokefield' in Framfield.

Despite the lack of ironmasters' names it is easy enough to identify parson Levett's workers under Greenhurst or Buxted. It is notable that in 1543 all Levett's workers were affluent enough to be taxed on goods, whilst in 1550 Charles Jarrett paid the handsome sum of 20s. just before leaving for Battle and his partnership with Draper and Westall. After his departure the number of aliens employed at Buxted seems to have declined rapidly.

## The Hundred of Hartfield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/117)</b>		Robert Temple <i>A</i>	8d	<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	
Garfysh <i>F</i>	8d	William Brisball <i>A</i>	8d	Alyens	
		John Corse <i>A</i>	8d	servants to Mrs Bower	
John Blank <i>F</i>	2s	Colne Capyll <i>A</i>	8d	More	P
		Allyn Moris <i>A</i>	8d	Fremyng	P
John Myskyn <i>F</i>	8d	John Gossatt <i>A</i>	8d	Thomas Collyar	P
Raynald Robyn <i>A</i>	8d	Nouell May	8d	Nycolas Growt	P
Jakes Asces <i>A</i>	8d	William Russell <i>A</i>	8d	John Gardener	P
Maryon <i>A</i>	8d	Perese Botell <i>A</i>	8d	Antony Fownder	P
Jakatt <i>A</i>	8d			John Turke	P
Fraunces Haukes <i>A</i>	8d	<b>(E 179. 189/164)</b>		Peter Collyar	P
Nicholas Robard <i>A</i>	8d	Effryt Pennyon <i>A</i>	8d	William Bordyn	P
Antony Capell <i>A</i>	8d	Jacobe Caserall <i>A</i>	8d	Peter Flemyng	P
John Garner <i>A</i>	8d	Colles Robyn <i>A</i>	8d		
Laussnet <i>A</i>	8d	William Milkylbyll <i>A</i>	8d	Gyllan Thomas Gavylls	
Petter <i>A</i>	8d			prisoner	P
Jelye <i>A</i>	8d	Nicholas Jenkes <i>A</i>	2s		
John Fettery <i>A</i>	8d	John Temple <i>A</i>	2s	servants to parson Levett	
Kennad <i>A</i>	8d	Fraunssis Cheverell <i>A</i>	8d	Gylberd the collyar	P
Peter <i>A</i>	8d			Charlis	P
Nicholas Groute <i>A</i>	8d	Wethyham		Scrace	P
		Michell Shosmyth <i>F</i>	8d		
Filpott Lambert <i>A</i>	8d	Alyn colyar <i>F</i>	8d		
Lambert Lyllat <i>A</i>	8d				

Adryan Reder	P	Alyens	Withiham		
servants to Adrian Reder		Peter Collyer	P Bartholmew Powntyngs	<i>F</i>	
Barthelmewe Pountye	P	Nycholas Rychard	P Fynche	P	
John Godfrye	P	Fremi yng the fyner	P		
Frauncis Jayms	P	Mowery the fyner	P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
			Alyens		
servants to Leonard Callis		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	Gyllam Pykes	P	
Cardo Kervyle	P	Alenes	Phillip	P	
		Peter Collyar		P	
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>		Jurden	P	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
(lacks Hartfield)		Fremyng	P	Hartfield	
		Marian	P	Alyens	
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		Jhon his man	P	John Arthur	10s
Alyens		Bartyllmewe fyner	P	Gyllam Fortell	P
Barthelmew Fyner	P	Mathew Bewser	P	Anthonye Lavyntor	P
Frymynge Collier	P	Kyrwyn Carde	P	Freming	P
Fetter Colyer	P			Peter Marygold	P
Mores Fyner	p	1560 (E 179. 190/265)			
Myclowe Colyer	P	aliens	Wythyham		
		Peter Colyer de Newbrege	James the Smyth	P	
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>		Dawne hamerman de			
Barthelmew Pownting	<i>A</i> P	Paroke		2s	
Leonarde Curlyffe	<i>A</i> P	Gyfferd the colyer	P		
Davye	<i>A</i> P	Frimyng Stephen			
		colloer	P		

The 1524 list of ironworkers headed by Filpott Lajrbert is introduced by the name of Roger Machyn, whose assessment was for thirty rounds. Machyn's will was proved later in the April in which the subsidy was

levied, and we know from it that he held iron mills at Buxted, Birchden and Steel Forge.<sup>9</sup> The eleven (or fifteen?) workers listed here for him would certainly include those working at the Steel Forge in Ashdown Forest, but might include the Birchden workers too, since the stream in Birchden formed the boundary with Rotherfield hundred. Among future denizens listed here are Nicholas Grout (84), William Brisball (122), Effryt Pennyon (101) and possibly John Garner (156). Later references to Brisball occur at Robertsbridge in 1546 (ESRO, Accession 1745, unlisted), transferred to the Archdeacon (Sir John Sherief – at Sheffield or Worth?) in 1547 (U 1475, B 10/1), working for Robert Woodman in 1551, and finally at Cowden in 1560 (Subsidy rolls). A future collier at Robertsbridge was Francis Hawkes (U 1475, B 7/1), whilst Maryon was possibly Marin Renoult, who came from Bouelles and in 1526 appointed his brother Tassin as his procurator to wind up his affairs in France (Archives Departementales Seine-Maritime, 2 EP 14/318, 9 Sept 1526).

Parson Levett's workers of 1543 were presumably at Stumblets Furnace, which was on the King's commons and consequently returned here despite actually being in the hundred of Danehill Horsted. Here also Charles (Jarrett) and Gylbert (Averell) paid the poll tax, though also being assessed on goods at the works in Greenhurst.

The Hartfield subsidy seems to confirm the deduction of C.F. Tebbutt that the missing works of John Baker in Withyham parish was that near Crowborough Warren (WIRG *Wealden Iron* 1st series, **XII** (1977), p.2). Entries relating to Leonard Callis, Cardot Quiesdeville (44) and Bartholomew Pounten can be found in the Rotherfield parish register, and these can much more easily be accounted for if Baker's works was so far south in Withyham parish. The inclusion of another Baker worker, Mathew Bewser (43), in the 1552 return for this hundred

lends support to this view.

Adrian Reder and Leonard Callis (the latter English born) as well as the persons listed as working for them would all then have been employed at Baker's Crowborough Warren works.

The 1576 return seems to show something of a resurgence of ironworking in the hundred. Marygold may have worked for Roger Gratwick in St. Leonard's Forest earlier (1560) and Gyllam Fortell was the William Hatto alias Fewterell who had been hammerman at Robertsbridge (1543-51) and later was at Sheffield (1560) and Horsted Keynes (1572).

9. Roger Machyn of Rotherfeld, P.C.C., 19 Bodfelde (1524). My thanks are due to Mrs. B.R. Tupman for this reference.

### The Hundred of Rotherfield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/117)</b>		<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>		<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>	
John Colyen <i>F</i>	8d	Alyens		Alyens	
		John Goderd	2s	Jakes Honynges	P
John the Frenshman	8d	Jakes Hamyng	2s	John Goderd	2s
		Jakes Hanyng junr.	P	Peter Rowland	P
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>				Gloves Jonney	P
alyons		1550 (E 179. 190/239)			
Gyllet Russell	4s	Aliens		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	
Jakes Hanizett	4s	Jakes Hanyng (amounts		Alienes	
Godderd alias Kyng	1s	John Goderd (wanting)		Jakes Hanyng	2s
William Hone alias				John Godderd	16d
Shynny prisoner to				John Masens	P
Jamis Oxley*	2d			Audrian Lauris	P



John Lucian	P	Gyllam Pycott	P	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Antony Lucian	P	Renny Durrant	P	Retherfield	
<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>		Furr' servaunt to Alexan- der Farmer	P	Reey Durraunt	A P
Sowthe Borwghe		Peter Lambert servaunt to John Carpenter	P	Frante Borowe	
Alien				Alyens	
Hugo	p	Pullen servaunt to	P	Nicholas Good servaund to John Saundre	P
Guilam Pygot	p	John Barham	P	Pollen	P
<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>		Anthonye Pavye servaunte to John Porter	P		
Alyens					

\*The fact that William Hone contributed 2d. on goods seems to preclude his being an alien. In this subsidy the minimum paid by aliens on goods was generally 4d. on goods worth one pound. 2d. was the poll tax paid by aliens. Otherwise the identification with Wybarn's worker Gilham Holmes (103) would have seemed likely.

The three well-established aliens of 1543 all paid tax on goods. All had become denizens in 1541 (18, 20 and 9 respectively) and John Godard who came in 1523 was the most recent arrival. Jakes Hanniset was later employed as a finer in St. Leonard's Forest (1560), the Goddard family were forgermen also, as were the Russells. There seems to be nothing here to support the supposition of H.R. Schubert that Lord Abergavenny was operating a furnace at Eridge in 1538 or even earlier.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, all three of these aliens may have been living in Frant. Remy Durrant is probably the first definitely identifiable furnaceman living in Rotherfield in 1572. However, the 1560 list which is rendered in Latin, contains in its enigmatic 'de Hugone', the only entry in a Sussex subsidy roll which it seems possible to identify with the elusive Mr Huggett of Huggetts Furnace, which lay just beyond the boundary of the borough.<sup>11</sup>

10. H.R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and steel Industry*, (1957), p.168.
11. If so, he rapidly moved to South Wales. Both the Robertsbridge steelworks accounts and the Sidney Glamorgan accounts refer in 1567 to money owing to Huggette – or ‘Huget’ (D. W. Crossley, ed. *Sidney ironworks accounts* (1975), pp231, 239) and in 1571 and 1572 he was recorded as ‘Hewgate Fownder’ among Frenchmen paying the subsidy at Cleobury Mortimer (E 179. 167/44, 50).

### The Hundred of Daneshill Horsted

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/164)</b>		<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>		<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	
(nil)		Alyens		Robert Tyller	A P
		James Farnes	1s		
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>		Robert Tyler	P	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>	
Servants to Sir Wylliam		Anthonye Tyller	1s	Alyens	
Barrentyne		James Tyller	P	John Fernes	1s
Jordayne Bowelly	P	Jorden de Lawnse	1s	Peter Gayne	P
Jamis Jenne	P	Barthelmew Polen	P	Mychell Alyne	P
Bartyne Pullyne	P	Charles Polen	P	Robert Tyller	P
Davyd Hawtont	P	John Vernes	1s	Peter Belly	P
Antony Fownder	P	Richard Monyon	1s	Anthony Tyller	P
Robert Tylar	P	Barthelmew Jorden	P	Onyen Russell	P
Nycolas	P	Denys Jorden	P	John Pollerd	P
Antony Tylar	P	Thomas Picard	P		
Jamis Collyar	P	Umfrey Polen	P	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	
Peter Gayn	P	Thomas Monyon	P	Alyenes	
Obury Morrys	P			James Farnyse	1s
John Colyar	P			John Pekerde	P
John Pycarke	P				
Rowland Mocumlye	P				

Robrt Tylor	P	Antony Lerby	P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>
Henry Marian	P			Alyens
Antony Tylor	P	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>		John Pyckard P
Peter Bely	P	Aliens		John Gyllam P
Owen Russell	P	Anthony Tylor	P	Gyllam Hatto P
Moris Lerby	P	William Pavy	P	
Marian Dawe	P	uxor et fill	P P	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>
Charrelles Lerby	P			(nil)

Many of the names correspond with those of Frenchmen known from the Denization rolls (118, 119, 131, 132, 133, 134, 137). The James and John Colyar of 1543 appear under their surname of Vergnes (136, 138) in the later returns. Another occupational name may be Anthony Fownder (possibly Anthony Burder, 117). Though he and the members of the Tyler family of founders put the emphasis on Barrentyne's furnace at Horsted Keynes, such Frenchmen as the members of the Pulleyn and Pavy families, who were noted forgermen could have been employed at Freshfield Forge, which was among the works mentioned in the Portsmen's complaint in 1548. Onyan Russell (1551, 1552) and Gyllam Hatto (1572) are other hammermen listed here. Lindfield bordered the Ouse on the south side at Freshfield, which perhaps explains why John Pickard was returned under Lindfield Arch in 1560.

It might appear that Horsted Keynes Furnace was out of blast in 1550. Was Robert Tyler Barrestyne's principal founder, whom he thought it prudent to retain, on contract lest he be poached?

### The Hundred of Danehill Sheffield

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/164)</b>	Edward Groyne	8d	Lose Doucheman	8d
John May Doucheman	2s 6d		Doucheman	

<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	Peter Gomer	P	Peter Curler	1s
alynes	Mores Larkes	P	Remy Ayelar	P
servants to the duke of Norfolk	John Showse	1s		
	Marian Predome	P	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	
Coly	4d Peter Carler	1s	Alyenes	
Tantas	4d Reme Kelet	P	Clement Malet	P
Peter Laby	4d John Morrell	1s	Marten	P
Maryon	P		John Bordet	P
Jellett	4d <b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		Antony Bordet	P
Blake John	4d Aliens		John Barten	P
Jamis Fyllar	P Peter Carler	1s	Gyllet Barten	P
Lewis Collyar	P Peter Gagge	1s	Gylles Newewe	P
Jelett Colyar	P Peter Lorman	1s	Peter	P
Jorden Moyner	P		Mother Combe	P
John Myschaue	P <b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>			
Jakes Collyar	P Alyens			
Jelett the younger	P Maryan Mocombell		<b>1560 (E 179.190/265)</b>	
Nawde	P wydowe	1s	Aliens	
Tantas	P Jellete Rewy	P	John Barton	2s
	Comes wydowe	P	Gyllam Hato	2s
servant to John Vere Ste-	John Rewy	1s	John Artor	P
vyn Almon	P Gylles Neve	P	Clement Collyer	P
	Martyne Peter	P		
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>	John and Gylles servantes	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>		
Alyens	to John Rowy	P P	Carden Tostet A	P
Peter Gage	1s Clemente Collyer	P		
James Swage*	1s Thomas Borde	1s	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
Jellet Barten	2s Anthony Border	P	Alyens	
John Barten	P Gyllam the Fyner	P	Myshawe	P
Gylgys Neve	P Marryan Perdone	P	Dynnys Carnellum	P
John Gomer	1s John Rewy	P		

\*The eight names from James Swage to John Showse have been superimposed on erasures. ‘Mores Larkes’ should obviously read ‘Mores Larbe’, the ‘s’ perhaps showing through from the erased entry. But many of the other entries are unsatisfactory, both here and elsewhere. ‘Reme (Kelet?)’ (1549)

and 'Remy Ayelar' (1551) should probably read 'Remy Tyler' (75). In 1550 he is found entered correctly at Framfield.

A comparison of the 1543 return with the lists of denizens (65-78 and 143-148) makes better sense of the single and occupational names given here, provided one knows of three sets of aliases, viz.: Peter Laby alias Almond (65), Jellet Barton alias Rewy (73) and John Gumrie alias Tantas (144). Of the denizens who do not appear here, John Carye (68) is found later at Worth, both Nicholas Lawhen (66) and Remy Morrell (76) may be there also ('Loye' and 'Remi') and Peter Buly (72) later appears at Danehill Horsted (1551, 1552). Black John went on to work as a collier at Panningridge in 1546;<sup>12</sup> he could be John Gavell (70). From the denization entries 144 and 146 we know that the Duke had two finers here (Gumrie and Predom), working presumably at Sheffield Forge. The mention of the miner and filler in 1543 and the inclusion of Peter Gage in 1549 and 1550 make it clear that the entries of these years relate to Sheffield Furnace too. The three entries for 1550, being on goods only, furnish no proof that anyone was employed by covenant that year at all, which agrees with the walls and banks being "in ruin and decay" (Straker, *Wealden Iron*, p.414). A rapid recovery seems to have been made.

There is no certainty whether any of the later entries relate to Fletching Forge. Possibly the workers listed under Barcombe hundred (Lewes rape) in 1576 belong there.

12. ESRO, microfilm of Huntington library MS. This information kindly communicated by Christopher Whittick.

### The Hundred of Rushmonden

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/164)</b>	Barden	1s	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>	
Rottingham	Peter Gage	1s	Marsfield	
John Ducheman	8d Barnard Rychardson	P	Aliens	
			Peter Almon	10s
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>		Peter Gage <i>D</i>	P
Barnard Rycharson	Rottingham		Charles Pollyn <i>D</i>	P
<i>A</i> 4d	Barnarde Richardson	<i>A</i> 1s	David Hato <i>D</i>	P
	—————		John Myshar	
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>	Alienes		alias Rovero <i>D</i>	P
Barnard Richardson	<i>A</i> 1s			
Lawrans Hamson	<i>A</i> P	18d		
	Peter Alman	P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
	Antony Lucas	P	Alyens	
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	Peter Gostocke	P	Nycholas Gotyer	6s
(nil)	Peter Gayge	P	Peter Debewe	P
	John Gummer	P	Peter Servaunt	
	Charrelles Pullyn	P	to Gotyer	P
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>	Nicolas Laby	P	Robert Blowe	P
Alyens	Barden	P	Maryan Olde	P
Peter Alman	1s Gyllet	P		
Anthony Lucas	P Roger Gaunet	P		
Jarman Tulloke	1s Lenarde	P	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
John Gomer	1s		Alyens	
			Maryan Olde	P
Anthony servant to			Myshawe	P
the seid Gomer	P			

Schubert thought Hendall was at Pelham Furnace and that it started about 1544,<sup>13</sup> but Isambard Bilet, Anthony Pelham's worker (94), is first mentioned in the Maresfield parish register in 1553, and the subsidy rolls seem to indicate a date of around 1550 for the move of French ironworkers, and particularly of the founder Peter Gage, to the area. That Anthony Pelham was involved would find further confirmation if it could be proved that Barden (1551, 1552) was John Barden, his hammerman (Warbleton 1549; Shoyswell, i.e. Bevilham Forge, 1550) and that Leonard (1552) was John Leonard, his finer (Bevilham, i.e. Hawkesden Forge, 1549-1551).

13. Schubert, op. cit., p. 377.

### The Hundred of East Grinstead

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/117)</b>	<b>1550 (E 179.190/239)</b>	<b>1572 (179. 190/283)</b>	
Burgus	(nil)	Alyens	
Guye Deryk stranger 8d		George Gyles	P
	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>	Peter Busse	P
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	Henry Thomas A		P
(nil)		The Borowghe	
	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>	Harry Thomas A	P
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>	Harri Thomas A		P
(nil)		<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>	
	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>	Grinsted Borowe	
	Anthony Burdewe	Henry Thomas A	P

The entries for Gyles and Busse in 1572 are the only ones that it seems probable are linked to the manufacture of iron in these returns.

### The Hundred of Lindfield Arch

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/119)</b>	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>
	Alyens	Alienes
<b>1525 (E 179. 189/126)</b>	Harry Lucas	2s Henry Lucas
Peter Arnold <i>A</i> (1524)	Nycholas Fownder	P John Johnson
Francis Flote <i>A</i>	John Johnson	P The Founder
labourer (1525)	James Gascon	P
		<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/237)*</b>	Aliens
Alyens	Alyens	John Pycard
John Johnson servant to	Henry Lucas	2s Guillam Daglon
Harry Lucas	John Johnson	P
Harry Lucas	James Gascon	P <b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>
Cornelius servant to the	Nycholas Founder	ls (nil)
said Harry		
Cornelys Harmon		<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>
		(nil)
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>		
(lacks Lindfield Arch)*		

\*As explained under Loxfield, the first membrane of 190/237 (which contains an entry for Lindfield Arch) properly belongs to 1551 and has been transferred there.

The only known site is the one at Freshfield (complained of as an iron mill and not an iron hammer in the Portsmen's complaint of 1548) where the later canal has apparently removed all traces of slag. The entry of 1552 makes it clear that Nycholas Founder in the earlier entries is an occupational name, so that we have every indication of a furnace here, though only a forge survived in 1574. Was the John Johnson listed here the 'covenant servant' of Peter Baude, the King's founder of brass cannon, and the father of Thomas Johnson of Cowden and Combe, the Queen's Gunfounder? Johnson is later found at Worth



(1563), Lamberhurst (1572) and Wadhurst (1576), and is described as of Rotherfield in 1592, when administration of his effects was granted to his widow, Alice. Thomas Johnson, there described as ‘of Hartfield, gentleman’ was one of the bondsmen.

### The Hundred of Dill

<b>1524 (E 179. 189/123)</b>		<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>	
(Hellingly)		Issenherst		Isynghurst	
Peter Frenshman	8d	Peter Whit <i>A</i>		2s Alyenes	
		John Bottinge <i>A</i>		P Roger Tankerell	2s
<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>				Anthony Pottell	P
Isenherst		1551 (E 179. 190/242)		Nycholas Forrell	P
Alyens not worth 20s		Issynherst			
Gyles Myner <i>A</i>		Peter Whit <i>A</i>	4s	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>	
servant to John Baker	P			Alyens	
Peter Wete <i>A</i> servant to		Frenshmen		Arnolde Duchman	P
the said John	P	{ Gow <i>A</i>		P William Hambleton	P
Petter Botten <i>A</i> servant to		{ Gow <i>A</i>		P Leonard Beck	P
the said John	P	{ Nycholas <i>A</i>			
Robert Caron <i>A</i> servant to		{ Harye <i>A</i>		P <b>1576 (E 179.190/298)</b>	
William Woddy	P	{ Servantes to Mr God-		Hellingly	
		dard Walsh		Anthony Frenchman	P
<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>				Nicholas Frenchman	P
Issynherste		<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>		Leonard Bekes	P
Petter Whitt <i>A</i>	2s	Issynherst		Wylliam Hambleton	P
{ Gawnt <i>A</i>	P	Peter Whit <i>A</i>	4s	John Peters	P
{ John Bottinge <i>A</i>	P				
{ servants to John Baker					

The inclusion of a miner among John Baker's servants in 1543 and the fact that Woddy had been a supplier of pig iron to Robertsbridge Forge in 1541<sup>14</sup> indicates that we should be looking for two furnaces in Isenhurst at this time. Baker acquired the manor of Isenhurst in 1544 and the fact that Old Mill Furnace lay just within its bounds at the extreme north of the hundred points to this as the Baker furnace.<sup>15</sup> As explained under Hawksborough hundred, the fact that Woddy here in 1543 and John Saxpes in 1549 under Warbleton both employed the same worker, Robert Caron, and the fact that each supplied the same amount of iron to Robertsbridge (21 tons) indicates that they were working the same furnace, or that they were partners in some way. There were several ironworks on the Heathfield tributary of Cuckmere and the most northerly of these, Heathfield Furnace, seems the likely one. I suggest that this furnace was the one taken over by Goddard Walsh in 1551. The fact that his employee Aubery Russell (Henhurst, 1550, 1552) at his death in 1561 was of Heathfield seems to confirm this. Baker appears to have continued to operate Old Mill, as poll tax was paid by a collier in 1550 and by John Batting in 1551 as employees of John Baker in the immediately adjoining borough of Bivelham (Hawksborough hundred returns). The Isenhurst aliens of 1560 are certainly ironworkers, but of those returned in 1572 and 1576 it is uncertain whether any were connected with the iron trade.

14. U 1475, B 5/1.

15. I am grateful to Mrs. P. Combes for information about the Baker connection with Isenburst and about the bounds of the manor.

### The Hundred of Shiplake

1525 (E 179. 189/146)	Henry Potte	A	6s	Rype		
(Laughton ?)				John Sand	(A?)	(?)

<b>1543 (E 179. 190/191)</b>	<b>1549 (E 179. 190/237)</b>	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>
Hothlye and Waldern Alyens	(lacks Shiplake)	Hothelighe
John Rowland <i>A</i> P	<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>	Nicholas Varyet <i>A</i> P
George Morrrys A servant to Nicholas Eversfield P	Chyttynglye	Chedynlyghe
John Trowley	John Sherwood* P	Robert Blant <i>A</i> P
A servant to the said Nicholas P	<b>1551 (E 179. 190/242)</b>	Peter Barham <i>A</i> P
John Cosenet A servant to the said Nicholas P	Chedingligh	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/265)</b>
Marten A servant to Nicholas Pelham esquier P	John Scherin A servant to John Frenche P	(nil)
	William A servant to the said John P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>
	Hotheligh	Laurence A servant to John Frenche P
	Nicholas <i>A</i> 1s	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/298)</b>
		Walderne
		German Frenchman <i>A</i> P

\*Not stated to be an alien, but taxed as such.

The John Scherin of 1550 and 1551 was probably Joan Isted's worker of 1544 (48), a masher of the Sharowe alias Gownett family of forgeworkers. In 1552 John French also acquired another worker from Joan Isted, her finer, Robert Blank (176). These were both workers at Chiddingly hammer which was complained of in 1548. I have elsewhere supposed that the Laurence of 1572 was Laurence Dupre (Netherfield, 1560), who was working later in the 1570s at Sheffield in Yorkshire<sup>16</sup> and that he was himself a founder and father of Lewis Duprey, the Mayfield founder of 1615.<sup>17</sup> This is perhaps somewhat slender evidence for the existence of a furnace there in the sixteenth century.

The workers listed under Hoathly and Waldron in 1543 for Nicholas Eversfield were perhaps at his forge. George Morrrys is the Moryow

or Moreway (53) of the Denization roll, and might be the Mowery finer found later at Hartfield (1560). If Nicholas Pelham's Marten was working at Waldron Furnace, this would preclude Eversfield from having worked Waldron as a forge before the furnace was built. The evidence must be regarded as quite inconclusive. No other sites of the Tudor period are known in Hoathly and Waldron.

16. B.G. Awty, 'French immigrants and the iron industry in Sheffield', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol.53 (1981), p.59.  
 17. ESRO, QR/E 5,m. 60. I am indebted to Brian Phillips for kindly supplying this reference.

## *The Rape of Lewes*

### **The Hundred of Barcombe**

<b>1549 (E 179. 190/235)</b>		<b>1551 (E 179. 190/246)</b>		<b>1563 (E 179. 190/274)</b>	
John West <i>A</i>	1s	William the Scotte	1s	Newicke	
				Peter Willen <i>A</i>	P
William Car <i>A</i>	3s	John West <i>A</i>	P		
		(John Coler)*		<b>1572 (E 179.190/283)</b>	
John Cole <i>A</i>	P			(nil)	
		<b>1552 (E 179.190/247)</b>			
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		John West <i>A</i>	12d	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/299)</b>	
William the Scotte	18d	William Michell <i>A</i>	P	John Harvye	P
John Weston <i>A</i>	P			John Cavenche	P
John Polle <i>A</i>	P	<b>1560 (E 179.190/267)</b>		Gillam Hussher	P
		Peter Unkle <i>A</i>	P	Gillam Bygood	P
				one Peter <i>A</i>	P
				one Gillam <i>A</i>	P

\*This rather blurred entry is incomplete and is perhaps intended to be deleted.

Ironworkers are probably confined to the borough of Newick, which bordered the Ouse in the vicinity of Fletching Forge. John West (or Weston) was probably resident at Newick, but the first definite ironworker in the hundred is Peter Unckle in 1560. He had previously worked at Panningridge as a collier and was later in Kent (Barnfield, 1572). Peter Willen had previously worked for Nicholas Eversfield (55) and was buried at Newick in 1564. Perhaps most of the aliens listed in 1576 worked at Fletching Forge.

### The Hundred of Streat North

<b>1549 (E 179. 190/235)</b>	Herman Tull' <i>A</i>	P	<b>1563 (E 179. 190/274)</b>		
Cornell <i>A</i>	P		Hothelie		
	Cornell <i>A</i>		P Peter Gayne <i>A</i>		P
Harman Tulli <i>A</i>	P	Jeffrey <i>A</i>	P George Tullie <i>A</i>		P
			and his wyffe <i>A</i>		P
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		<b>1560 (E 179. 190/267)</b>			
Cornell <i>A</i>	P	George Tullye <i>A</i>	P Ardinglighe		
		Peter Gayne <i>A</i>	P Aliens		
Herman Tully <i>A</i>	P	John Meshowe <i>A</i>	P Anthonye Hewashe		P
			and his wyffe		P
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/246)</b>		John Cary <i>A</i>	2s Frauncis Obbell		P
Cornell <i>A</i>	P	James Fernis <i>A</i>	P and his wyffe		P
		Nycholas Homan <i>A</i>	P Charles Growte		P
Harman Tully	P	Nycholas Demerowe	P and his wyffe		P
<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)</b>		Morres Larbye <i>A</i>	P Balcome		
Nicholas the Founder <i>A</i>	P	Glowe <i>A</i>	(nil)		
			P		

<b>1572 (B 179. 190/283)</b>	Crystofer Rossoll	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/299)</b>	
George Tollye <i>A and</i>	P servant A	P Jonne Tollye <i>A</i>	P
Jone his Wyfe <i>A</i>	P		

Only the north part of Streat hundred, comprising the parishes of West Hoathly, Ardingly and (it appears from the 1563 return) part of Balcombe, all later included in the hundred of Butting Hill, was within the ironworking area of Sussex. Though ironworking in the area goes back at least to 1546, when Chittingly Furnace supplied iron to Sheffield Forge, it is difficult to know whether Cornell and Harman Tully were ironworkers. Though Tully might be Jarman Tollet (106), one of Thomas May's former workers, there is another candidate for this role, Jarman Tolloke of Rushmonden hundred (1551). The founder of 1552 is presumably Nicholas Tyler (81), at Newbridge in 1544, at Worth 1549-1551, and of Fletching (presumably at Sheffield Furnace) in 1556 when he made his will. Many of the aliens from 1560 onwards are quite well identifiable, but it is difficult to relate them to particular ironworks because the parish register for West Hoathly does not survive, and because although the Ardingly parish register is very explicit about ironworkers and ironworks, Obell and Hewashe soon moved to Butting Hill hundred and Growt is soon found at Beeding.

### The Hundred of Butting Hill

<b>1549 (E 179. 190/235)</b>	Marian <i>A</i>	P	John Cari <i>A</i>	1s
Davy <i>A</i>	1s Jerman <i>A</i>	P	Nicholas Tiller <i>A</i>	1s
and his 2 sisters	Thomas Brosball <i>A</i>	1s	Antoni Beg <i>A</i>	P

Roveri <i>A</i>	P	John Hauneng <i>A</i>	1s	Holland Seller <i>A</i>	P
Rennie <i>A</i>	P	Jordyn <i>A</i>	1s		
Loyes Botri <i>A</i>	P	John Cary <i>A</i>	1s	<b>1560 (E 179. 190/267)</b>	
Loye <i>A</i>	P	Henri his man	P	Blasse Bryda <i>A</i>	P
Thomas Bordell <i>A</i>	P	Nycolas Tiller <i>A</i>	1s	Peter Starre <i>A</i>	P
Antoni Bordell <i>A</i>	P	Lewes <i>A</i>	P	Peter Devall <i>A</i>	P
Pebealet <i>A</i>	P	John his man <i>A</i>	P		
Mihell <i>A</i>	P	Baringtons man <i>A</i>	P	<b>1563 (E 179. 190/274)</b>	
_____		John Messon <i>A</i>	1s	Crawley	
William Johnson <i>A</i>	P	The potter	P	Gabriell <i>A</i>	P
		_____			
<b>1550 (E 179. 190/239)</b>		William Johnson <i>A</i>	P	Worthe	
John Roberey <i>A</i>	P	Adrian <i>A</i>	P	George Tyler <i>A</i>	P
Marien <i>A</i>	P	_____		Blase Bryda <i>A</i>	P
John Care <i>A</i>	1s	Holland Celler <i>A</i>	P	Rychard Whit <i>A</i>	P
Nicholas Tiler <i>A</i>	1s			Gillome Rafe <i>A</i>	P
Remy <i>A</i>	P	<b>1552 (E 179. 190/247)*</b>		John Jonsone <i>A</i>	P
Loye <i>A</i>	P	Crawley and Worth		Gillome Dermetond	P
Gellet Low <i>A</i>	1s	John Messowe <i>A</i>	1s	Danyell Collier	P
Clement <i>A</i>	P	John Cary <i>A</i>	1s		
Lowes <i>A</i>	P	John forger	1s	Cuckfield	
Jeloys <i>A</i>	P	Peter Bylwarn <i>A</i>	P	John Carye <i>A</i>	P
Thomas Burdel <i>A</i>	P	Jemis finer <i>A</i>	P	Peter Lurye <i>A</i>	P
John Misse <i>A</i>	P	Dawes the			
_____		hammerman <i>A</i>	P	Slaugham	
William Johnson <i>A</i>	P	Jemis Colbor <i>A</i>	P	John Artor <i>A</i>	P
Adrian Ridleygh <i>A</i>	P	John Hans <i>A</i>	P	and his wyffe <i>A</i>	P
_____		Cristofer Hans <i>A</i>	P		
Holland Seller <i>A</i>	P	_____		Bawcombe	
		William Johnson <i>A</i>	P	Nicholas Lurie <i>A</i>	P
<b>1551 (E 179. 190/246)</b>		_____		and his wyffe <i>A</i>	P
Crawley and Worth		George Tull' <i>A</i>	P	Nicholas Hune <i>A</i>	P
		_____			

<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b>		John Rossett	<i>A</i>	P	Polter	<i>A</i>	P
Pawco	<i>A</i>	p	Nicholas Loes	<i>A</i>	P	his sonne	<i>A</i> P
Morrys	<i>A</i>	p	Robert Buse	<i>A</i>	P	John Bray	<i>A</i> P
Quynale	<i>A</i>	p	his 2 sonnes	<i>A</i>	P P	_____	
Charles Pullyn	<i>A</i>	p	Glade	<i>A</i>	P	Fraunces Howbeth	<i>A</i> P
Bluetts 2 frenchmen		P P	his 2 sonnes	<i>A</i>	P P	and his wyffe	<i>A</i> P
			Nicholas Furrye	<i>A</i>	P	Robert Camarynge	<i>A</i> P
<b>1576 (E 179. 190/299)</b>			Robert Tuck	<i>A</i>	P	Charles Pullen	<i>A</i> P
Anthonye Huashe	<i>A</i>	P	his 2 sonnes	<i>A</i>	P P	John Dallanton	<i>A</i> P

\*There are some doubtful readings here. In particular the two first names 'Jemis' could be read 'Jenns', which seems unlikely, but would match the two Flemish names which end the Crawley and Worth entry. One of the Flemings, if such they are, could be the potter of 1551.

As befits a double furnace (Worth), the 1549 list seems to throw up several founders – Nicholas Tyler, Anthony Beg(o) (probably the Antony Fownder of Hartfield, 1543) and Anthony Burdel (probably the Antony Fownder of Danehill Horsted, 1543). Note that Barrentyne contributed other workers to Worth – Thomas Burdel and the unnamed man of 1551.

Striking is the quick turnover of personnel, with almost no continuity between the three periods 1549-52 (during the confiscation of the Norfolk estates), 1560-63 and 1572-76. Later, even in 1563 when boroughs are listed, I find it impossible to link aliens to specific works, since the hammerman, George Tyler, and the finer, Blaise Brydaie (later at Linchmere), are the only specialists I can identify.



## *The Rape of Bramber*

### **The Hundred of Burbeech**

<b>1560 (E 179. 190/268)</b>	<b>1563 (E 179. 190/344)</b>	<b>1576 (E 179. 190/297)</b>
The forest of Saynt Lenards	William Panny A servant to Swayne and Ilman P	Ifilde
Marigold A servant to Roger Grateweke P	John Parrys A servant with Swayne and Ilman P	Adrian Dogen A 10s his wife A P his sonne A P
Jocab A servant to the said Roger P	Adrian A P with Roger Gratwike	and 2 doughters A P P John Towsand A 10s
The tithinge of Sedgeweke*	Jacob A being P with (the said Roger?)	his wife A and P twoe servauntes A P P
Jamys Hennesey A 8s		Peter Agamo A P
Martyn Heath A howsholder P	<b>1572 (E 179. 190/283)</b> Isfield Audryan Duddinge A 6s John Thowsandman A 6s	his twoe sonnes A P P and one servaunte A P Peter whelebarow maker A P and his wife A P John Taber A P and his mother A P

\*Sedgewick is an enclave belonging to and returned with Brightford hundred.

The building of ironworks in the Forest of St. Leonards is marked by the appearance in the Horsham parish register for Lewis Bottery (1553), Jakes Myssheo (1556) and James Onysed (i.e. Jakes Hunnisset), finer (1558). Myssheo, who worked for Roger Gratwick, was buried at Horsham (as Jacob Missiam) in 1565, but Hunnisset, who lived in the tithing of Sedgwick and who was buried at Nuthurst in July 1560, could have worked at the nearby Birchenbridge Forge. There was an Ilman

connection with the ironworks at Ifield, before it came into Gratwick's hands<sup>18</sup> and it may be that this was the works of Swayne and Ilman.

18. Sybil Jack, 'Sources in the Public Record office for the history of the Wealden iron industry, Part 4', Bulletin (WIRG, *Wealden Iron*), 2nd Series, 3, p.30.

## *The Rapes of Arundel and Chichester*

The only names of immigrant ironworkers in Arundel and Chichester rapes yielded by the subsidy roll for 1572 (E 179. 190/283) are Charles Payve and Nicholas Mores at North Chapel and Blase (Brydaie) at Linchmere. Both Pavy and Brydaie were finers and had earlier been at Worth (parish register 1566-67, subsidy 1560, 1563). A William Pavy had worked for Charles Jarrett in 1551, had been at Danehill Horsted in 1560 and may be the William Panny of the Burbeeche hundred return for 1563. Charles Pavy died after an affray between rival workers from North Chapel and Dunsfold in March 1580 (*Sussex Assize Rolls* Elizabeth I, 801), but Brydaie appears in later subsidies and was buried at Linchmere in 1610.

## KENT

### *The Lathe of Scray*

#### The Hundred of Cranbrook

##### 1525 (E 179. 125/324)

(John?) Savage	A	8d	Felipe Frare	A
John Deryk	A	8d	Gye Spall	A

##### 1541 (E 179. 124/240)

8d	Alyens	
	Laurence Frelyng	
8d	a doucheman	10s

Lewys the Joyner of Gowthurst	10s	Burkley Weston <i>A</i>	2d	Lewes Valette <i>A</i>	4d
Symon Fork the glasier	P	Powllys Walter <i>A</i>	2d		
Peter Whir <i>D</i>	P	Laurence Frelynge <i>D</i>	3s.4d	<b>1550 (E 179. 126/333)</b>	
John Sprynger	P	_____		Peter Whyte	6s
Gosvyn Brynger	P	Lewys Valet <i>A</i>	4d	John Sprynget <i>A</i>	P
Powles Walter	P			William a Castell <i>A</i>	P
John Dale	P	<b>1544 (E 179. 125/273)</b>		Jasper the Joyner	6s
Nicholas the Tynker Stone (Scone?)	P	John Selyes <i>A</i>	2d	Olyver Buke <i>A</i>	P
John Crane	P	_____		Mathewe Busse <i>A</i>	P
		Lawrence Frelyng <i>A</i>	6s.8d	<b>1572 (E 179. 126/423)</b>	
<b>1543 (E 179. 124/259)</b>		Jasper the ioynr <i>A</i>	20d	Peter White <i>A</i>	2s
Askell de Wordon <i>A</i>	16d	_____		Phillip Hellen <i>A</i>	P
_____		Joskyn <i>A</i>	4d	John Peerson <i>A</i>	P
Genkyn Crane <i>A</i>	4d	Peter Whyte <i>A</i>	20d	Easter Light <i>A</i>	P
_____		John Sprynget <i>A</i>	4d		
Gaskyn <i>A</i>	2d	Edmond Sadler <i>A</i>	4d	<b>1600 (E 179. 127/533)</b>	
Peter Whyte <i>A</i>	4d	John Fremde <i>A</i>	4d	(nil)	
John Spryngett <i>A</i>	2d	Peter Hushe <i>A</i>	4d		
Edmund Saddler <i>A</i>	2d	Burkely Weston <i>A</i>	4d		
John Frerend <i>A</i>	2d	Pawles Walter <i>A</i>	4d		
Peter Husshe <i>A</i>	2d	_____			

The majority of aliens listed here may be Flemings, perhaps weavers where the occupation is not stated directly, or indicated by an occupational surname.

That ironworkers are listed also is proved by the appearance of Mathew Bewser (43) in 1550. He was back in Sussex in 1552 (Hartfield hundred). Powlles Walter must be related to ‘Paul Waters the smith’, who was drowned at Heathfield in 1618, and a later member of the

Springet family, William, was clerk to an ironworks near Pontypool from 1577.<sup>19</sup> More importantly Peter Husshe (1543, 1544) is almost certainly the founder employed by Bartholomew Jeffrey in Hawksborough hundred in 1549. In 1543 Jeffrey himself was employed in west Barnfield hundred by Thomas May, so the removal of both of them to Sussex is no coincidence. The appearance of ironworkers in Cranbrook hundred must make us ask whether Bedgebury Furnace (in Cranbrook parish, though in Barnsfield hundred) was operating in the 1540s.

19. PRO, E 134, 22 Eliz. I, Trinity 4.

### The Hundred of Berkeley

No aliens are returned for this hundred except for Symon Petigrew in 1525 (E 179. 125/324) and John Selys in 1543 (E 179. 124/259). But the English 'Borden the hamarman' who paid 3s. in 1572 (E 179. 126/423), must certainly have been of French descent and presumably worked at Biddenden hammer.

### The Hundred of Barnfield

<b>1525 (E 179. 125/324)</b>	<b>1544 (E 179. 125/273)</b>	<b>1572 (E 179. 126/423)</b>
Garard Jonson	2s (nil)	Thomas Vynsenall A P
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/240)</b>	<b>1550 (E 179. 126/333)</b>	<b>1600 (E 179. 127/533)</b>
(nil)	John Bousellowe A P	(nil)
	John Cornelys A P	
<b>1543 (E 179. 124/259)</b>		
(nil)		

Barnfield hundred included the furnaces at Hawkhurst Mill, Frith Park and Bedgebury, but the ironworkers listed here are curiously fewer than those in Cranbrook hundred. Boussellowe might be the John Bossell who worked for Richard Wekes in Netherfield hundred in 1551.

## *The Lathe of Aylesford*

### **The Hundred of West Barnfield**

<b>1525 (E 179. 124/186)</b> (illegible)	Arnold Johnson <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	4d	<b>1572 (E 179. 126/423)</b>	
	—————			John Michell <i>A</i>	2s
	Peter Wyldorne <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	4d	John Myllam <i>A</i>	P
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/249)</b>	Maryan Rawe <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P	Peter Nonkell <i>A</i>	P
Arnolde Johnsone <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P		John Porynges <i>A</i>	P
Peter Taylor <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P		Peter Degoy <i>A</i>	P
John Lasye <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P			
	—————			<b>1600 (E 179. 127/533)</b>	(nil)
<b>1543 (E 179. 125/268)</b>	<b>1550 (E 179. 126/333)</b>				
Mayes servauntes* (ends:)	George Rosell <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P		
John Loye <i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	P			
	—————				

\*Thomas May was employer of five servants, of whom the first four were English. These all paid on goods, viz.: the later ironmaster Bartylmewe Jeffrey (8d), Adams Cossam (6d), Richard Knell (2d), and John Hoke (2d).

This hundred was returned with Aylesford lathe until 1543 as West Barnfield, but from 1550 onwards will be found returned with Scray as Little Barnfield. The hundred included Chingley Wood and raises the possibility that in 1543 May's servants were working Chingley Furnace for him although it is not named until 1565. Peter Taylor is probably an

occupational name for Peter Wyldorne (a Shoyswell denizen in 1549), but what of John Fowndryng if he was not working for May? James Sherlowe is possibly James Sharowe alias Gownett.

The hundred also included Bedgebury Forge, and Bedgebury Furnace would have been near the Great Barnfield border. Entries for Peter Degoy, John Millam and John Ponynges in the Goudhurst parish register seem to confirm that they may have worked at the nearby Bedgebury Forge. Did Sharowe, who would be a forgerman, and Fowndryng work at Bedgebury too?

### The Hundred of Brenchley

<b>1525 (E 179. 124/186)</b> (illegible)	Horsemonden (nil)	Horsmonden Gilbert Anderson P Peter Fannor P
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/249)</b> Gilbert Andersone A P George Browne A 1s	Lambortherst George Browne A 4d	<b>1572 (E 179. 126/424)</b> (nil)
<b>1543 (E 179. 125/268)</b> (Brenchley) Rowland Clerke A P Henry Dove A his* servaunt P	<b>1550 (E 179.126/336)</b> Brenchelye Henry Blanke A P _____ John Ingerfyld D 2s Nicholas Colleyn A P	<b>1599 (E 179. 127/522)</b> Brencheley William Burlet A P James Pome A P
_____ John Ang(erfield) A 1s		

\* servant to Edmond Cougherst.

The Angerfield family were forgeworkers and entries for them occur in the registers of both Frant and Lamberhurst, which suggests Bayham as the forge. But John Angerfield appears under Brenchley in both 1543 and 1550. Nicholas Colleyn, who is returned with him in 1550 but in

1563 was at Newdigate, was possibly the progenitor of the Collyn alias Laughen (Laffam) family of hammermen, in which case he would be the Nicholas Lawhen who worked at Sheffield for the Duke of Norfolk in 1544 (66). However, he could also be connected with Michael Collyn of Horsmonden, founder (1564).<sup>20</sup> The two aliens of 1599 are probably colliers, though Burlet became a tanner.<sup>21</sup>

20. Kent Assize records, Elizabeth I, 259.

21. Kent Archives Office, DRb/PW 20.

### The Hundred of Washlingstone

<b>1525 (E 179. 124/186)</b>	<b>1543 (E 179. 125/268)</b>	<b>1550 (E 179. 126/336)</b>
Barden	Spelhurst and Rustall	(nil)
Peter Stace Doucheman 2s	Philyppe Davor A P	
		<b>1572 (E 179. 126/424)</b>
Sunnynleigh*	(Tudeley?)	(nil)
John Kyng F 3s	Mr Vanes servautes	
Peter Frensheman 3s	(ends:)	<b>1599 (E 179. 127/522)</b>
	Mathew Delamerr A P	(nil)
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/249)</b>		
(nil)		

\* Thomas May and John Barham each employed one English servant in this borough, Thomas Catcher and John Lorkyn respectively. Their wages were one pound as against the three pounds at which each of the Frenchmen was assessed. May and Barham paid tax on goods worth eight and three pounds respectively.

The 1525 entries must relate to the forges on the Teise between

Benhall and Dundale, of which the forge at Marriott's Croft was a May forge in 1576 (Straker, *Wealden Iron* p. 266). Philippe Deffere (189) was a collier who came from France in 1541.

### *The Lowey of Tonbridge*

Returned with Sutton at Hone lathe up to 1544 and with Aylesford from 1550.

<b>1525</b>				Sowthe Burghe	
(no return survives)				John Broke <i>A</i>	2s
				Laurence Dufyll <i>A</i>	2s
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/223)</b>				Maryan Dabat <i>A</i>	
John Johnstone <i>A</i>	P			servaunt to	
John Marten <i>A</i>	P			David Willard	P
John Flemnyng <i>A</i>	P			Mighell Pycot <i>A</i>	
John Warde <i>A</i>	P			servaunt to	
				the seid David	P
(Hadloo ?)				Roberte Turner <i>A</i>	
Budden Bricke <i>A</i>	1s			servaunt to	
				Laurence Duffyll	P
<b>1543 (E 179. 124/262)</b>				William Furrie <i>A</i>	
(nil)				servaunt to	
				the seid David	P
<b>1544 (E 179. 125/275)</b>				Nicholas Furrye <i>A</i>	
Leucas Jonsone <i>A</i>	2d			servaunt to	
Johannes Warde <i>A</i>	2d			the seid David	P
				James Geryng <i>A</i>	
				servaunt to	
Hadloo				the seid David	P
Boden Dericke <i>A</i>	5d				



John Berehowse	<i>A</i>	<b>1598 (E 179. 127/515)</b>	Southborough		
servaunt to		Tunbridge	Robert Turner	<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
the seid David	<i>P</i>	Barnarde Cornelius			<i>P</i>
Helden Burghe		Hadlowe			
Fraunces Gyllyt	<i>A</i>	Peter Wyngate	<i>A</i>		<i>P</i>

These returns probably cover Postern and Rats Castle Forges near Tonbridge and Vauxhall Furnace and Old Forge in Southborough. In the event only the works in Southborough seen to be positively identified here. The Dufour or Duffell family seem to have been forgeworkers, so perhaps Laurence Duffyll was running Old Forge on behalf of Willard. Of the Tonbridge aliens Nicholas Wingate was a shoemaker.<sup>22</sup>

22. Kent Archives Office, DRb/PW 11.

### *The Lathe of Sutton at Hone*

#### **Hundred of Somerden**

<b>1525</b>	<b>1543 (E 179. 124/262)</b>	<b>1544 (E 179. 125/275)</b>
(no return survives)	Pensherst	Pensherst
	Lucas Jonsone <i>A</i>	4d Franciscus Gillote <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/223)</b>	Titio Shull <i>A</i>	4d Egidius serviens
Pensherst	John Symon <i>A</i>	2d Edwardo Lucas <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Lucas Johnsonsone <i>A</i>	John Frenchman <i>A</i>	<i>P</i> Barnardus serviens
John Symon <i>A</i> servaunte	Arnold Garrett <i>A</i>	<i>P</i> eidem Edwardo <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
to John Pelsort	Francis Gillot <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
Michael Peryon <i>A</i>		
servaunte to John Pelsort		
Tyse Shulle <i>A</i>		1s

1560 (E 126/391)	1563 (E 179. 126/393)	1571 (E 179. 126/422)
Cowden	Cowden	(nil)
William Brisboll <i>A</i>	Peter Russell <i>A</i>	P
servaunt to Andrew	Charles Mores <i>A</i>	P
Firmynger	P Myshoe <i>A</i>	P
Jeffrey Tootyng <i>A</i>	Bonford <i>A</i>	P
servaunt to the seid Andrew		
	P	

Penshurst Forge was on Willoughby land between the village and Long Bridge and was in lease to Thomas Broker, smith, at an annual rent of 2s.<sup>23</sup> It is in fact a blacksmith's forge and since Lucas Johnson, who lived in the adjoining tenement was a shoemaker, it could have produced nails. Whether any of Lucas's companions worked at the forge it is impossible to say, but we know that Francis Gillot (212) was a Breton carpenter.

John Pelsort could also be a denizen (198), but he could also be the John Pelsett of Seale, who died in 1563, or the person who was bailiff of Penshurst in the 1570s.<sup>24</sup> The proximity of the Sidney Penshurst estate could have something to do with the fact that both the first identifiable ironworkers, Totayn (111) and Brisboye (122), had worked for Sir William Sidney. Firminger is later found at Fletching and the family occurs in other Sussex ironworking areas.

The employment here of Peter Russell, a hammerman,<sup>25</sup> is proof that we have here a forge. Hasted's map shows Cowden Furnace, as well as Scarletts, as lying in the western part of Cowden parish and therefore

returned as part of Edenbridge in Westerham hundred. Is this a mistake, and was this forge on the site of the future Cowden Furnace, or should we, as has been suggested, be looking for a third site at Cowden? Straker placed a forge only at Scarletts.

23. U 1475, T 55/10

24. U 1475. A 10/1-3

25. ESRO, Lewes Archdeaconry wills, A 5, 151. Peter Russell was executor of his brother, Jordan Russell of Salehurst, 26 March 1564.

### The Hundred of Westerham

<b>1525</b>	<b>1543 (E 179. 124/262)</b>	<b>1560 (E 179. 126/391)</b>
(no return survives)	Westerham	Etonbridge
	John Engleche <i>A</i>	P Reynold Rey <i>A</i> 2s
<b>1541 (E 179. 124/223)</b>	Peter Jonesone <i>A</i>	P John Quinton <i>A</i> 2s
Westheram		John <i>A</i> P
Richard Johnson a Skote P	The ville of Brasted	servaunt to Quynnton
William Sely a Flemnyng P	Thomas Cobham <i>A</i>	P Gillam A servaunt
		to Mr Thatcher P
The ville of Brasted	<b>1544 (E 179. 125/275)</b>	Crippyn <i>A</i> and P
Isaac Silibrigg	Etonbridge	his servaunt Goldshoe <i>A</i>
ducheman 16d	Reginaldus Reyer <i>A</i>	P
John Ducheman <i>A</i>		
servaunte to William	Villat' de Brasted	
Crowne P	Jacobus Leynarde <i>A</i>	P

<b>1563 (E 179. 126/393)</b>	Stephen Cryppyn <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	<b>1572 (E 179. 126/422)</b>	
Westerham	Reynold Pay		Eatonbridge	
William Sely <i>A</i>		<i>P</i>	Quynton Tyler <i>A</i>	6s
Etonbridge	Villat' de Brasted		Reignold Ray <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
Quynton Tyler <i>A</i>	Nicholas Holybrand <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	Mathew Washer <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
		2s		

The western half of Cowden parish was returned as part of the borough of Edenbridge. We have here therefore returns for Scarletts, but Hasted's map of Westerham and Somerden hundreds shows Cowden Furnace also as returnable in Edenbridge. Reynold Rey is mentioned frequently in the Edenbridge parish register and therefore was not an inhabitant of Cowden parish, but the other aliens returned for Edenbridge may all be ironworkers.

'Lawrence the founder of Cowden' is mentioned in April 1559 in the nuncupative will of Katherine Tyler of Fletching, widow of the founder Nicholas Tyler. Quintin Tyler of Cowden was one of her executors. Was Tyler the Quynton who was running Scarletts Furnace in 1574? Or was Quynton the even more elusive John Quinton of 1560? When Tyler died in 1579 he left a P.C.C. will, in which he was described as 'of Hartfield, yeoman'. But this contains no mention of the iron trade.

## SURREY

### The Hundred of Tandridge

<b>1551 (E 179. 185/258)</b>	Godstone		<b>1552 (E 179. 185/265)</b>	
Crowhurste	Mathew Vanwey <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>	Crowhurst	
John Johnson <i>A</i>		<i>P</i>	John Joly <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
			Charles <i>A</i>	<i>P</i>

<b>1557 (E 179. 185/275)</b> (nil)	<b>1563 (E 179. 185/281)</b> Lyngefælde (Aliens)	Tanridge Hughe Merchant <i>A</i> 6s.8d
<b>1559 (E 179. 185/282)</b> Lyngefæld Anthony <i>A</i> serviens Mri Spylman Nycholas <i>A</i> serviens Mri Johannis Gresham	<b>P</b> <b>P</b> <b>P</b> <b>P</b> <b>P</b> Godstone Guylam Fraunces <i>A</i> servaunte to Roberte Reed	<b>P 1593 (E 179. 186/352)</b> <b>P (nil)</b>  <b>1599 (E 179. 186/373)</b> Godstone William Crill <i>A</i> <b>P</b> William Simons <i>A</i> <b>P</b> John Cukin <i>A</i> <b>P</b> Arott Boven <i>A</i> <b>P</b> Jacob Reddishe <i>A</i> <b>P</b> John Gylpin <i>A</i> <b>P</b> William Bruler <i>A</i> <b>P</b> Henrye Bruler <i>A</i> <b>P</b> <b>P</b>
Godstone Mathew Fanwaye <i>A</i> <b>P</b> Wylliam Fraunces <i>A</i> <b>P</b> serviens roberti Rede	<b>1576 (E 179. 185/308)</b> Crowhurste Nicholas Gelke <i>A</i> <b>P</b>	

The known ironworks in this hundred was Woodcock Forge. This lay in the south of the hundred, within the parish of Lingfield, but in an enclave which was a detached part of Godstone parish. I have omitted aliens listed in northern parts of the hundred (Oxted, Bletchingley), but have included Godstone aliens as well as the sole alien returned for Tandridge itself, Hugh Merchant (1576), since he was a former finer at Robertsbridge and Abinger forges.

Woodcock Forge perhaps started around 1560 and is first mentioned in the Lingfield parish register in 1561. Do the three names (especially that of John Joly) indicate an attempt to start a forge in Crowhurst early in the 1550s? The large number of aliens listed under Godstone in 1599 may have been employed in the gunpowder works of the Evelyn family, though their works in Godstone was not known to have started in the sixteenth century.

## The Hundred of Reigate

<b>1551 (E 179. 185/258)</b>	Nudygate	<b>1576 (E 179. 185/308)</b>
(nil)	servientes Mri Dorrell	Lye and parte of Nudgate
	Obraye <i>A</i>	P Pownsley Prudam <i>A</i> P
<b>1552 (E 179. 185/265)</b>	Adryan <i>A</i>	P Guyllam Pickarde <i>A</i> P
Newdegate	Roberte Younge <i>A</i>	P John Ellyot <i>A</i> P
Richard Tyll <i>A</i>	P	
Peter Ganny <i>A</i>	P	<b>1563 (E 179. 185/281)</b>
	Parte of Nudgate	Charlwood
<b>1557 (E 179. 185/275)</b>	John Gomber <i>A</i>	Nicholas Downe <i>A</i> P
Lighe	servaunte with Mr	<b>1593 (E 179. 186/352)</b>
Maryan Predron <i>A</i>	Christofer Dorrell	(nil)
John Jolye <i>A</i>	P Peter Ubbri A servaunte	
	P with Mr Christofer Dor-	<b>1599 (E 179. 186/373)</b>
Newdygate	rell	(nil)
Obre <i>A</i>	P Nicholas Collen <i>A</i>	
Roberte le Jean <i>A</i>	P servaunte with Mr	
Symons <i>A</i>	P Christofer Dorrell	P
Roybie <i>A</i>	P Nicholas Purford A	
	servaunte with John	
<b>1559 (E 179. 185/282)</b>	Rychebell	P
Lyghe	Hollan Ussher <i>A</i>	
Maryan Predon <i>A</i>	servaunte with George	
serviens Mri	Laby	P
Christoferi Dorrell		

Only entries from the south part of the hundred are included here. They relate fairly obviously to Ewood Furnace and Leigh Hammer. Nicholas Downe (1576), who is listed under Charlwood, was a collier. The Duke of Norfolk's former finer, Marian Predon (146) was working at Leigh in 1557 and 1559, but in 1563 had been replaced by the Duke's other former finer, John Gumrie (143). One must speculate that

the curiously named Pownsley Predom had been born in France but baptised in England. Another interesting anglicisation can be seen in the change over from Robert le Jeune to Robert Young (1559).

### The Hundreds of Blackheath and Wotton

<b>1551 (E 179. 185/262)</b>	<b>1557 (E 179. 185/275)</b>	<b>1571 (E 179. 185/301)</b>
Cranley	Abinger	Cranley
aliens	Harman Thorne <i>A</i> <i>P</i>	Mariam Predam <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Charles Huysson <i>P</i>		
Crystyan Huysson <i>P</i>	Cranley	Abingeworth
Adryan Huysson <i>P</i>	aliens	Hugh Marchaunt <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
	James Haward	<i>P</i> Steme Masse <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Dunsfolde	John Myles	<i>P</i> Oberie Larbie <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Bardyn <i>A</i> <i>P</i>		
	Shalford	Shalford
Abyngworth	aliens	John Cowper <i>A</i> 3s. 4d
Harmen Thornton <i>A</i> <i>P</i>	George Brewer 16d	(Thesaine John <i>P</i> )*
	William (Somersoe ?) <i>P</i>	
<b>1552 (E 179. 185/265)</b>		Nicholas Lamboren <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Dunsfolde	<b>1559 (E 179. 185/285)</b>	
Alyens	Dunsfolde	<b>1589 (E 179. 185/336)</b>
Izamberd Lamye	Alliens	Cranley
alias Bardyne <i>P</i>	John Garrett	<i>P</i> James Wheler <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Roger <i>P</i>	John Rewe	<i>P</i> his wif <i>A</i> <i>P</i>
Cranley	Shallforde	<b>1595 (E 179. 186/357)</b>
John Mocomber <i>A</i> <i>P</i>	Cornelyous Deryckson 3s.4	(nil)
Abinger	Cranley	
Harman Thorne <i>A</i> <i>P</i>	James Wayner	<i>P</i>

\* Entry Crossed Out.

The 1551 and 1552 entries for Dunsfold and the 1552 entry for Cranleigh show that French ironworkers were engaged in this part of the Weald much earlier than hitherto supposed. If, like his descendants, Isambard Lamy, alias Barden (170) was a forge worker, the forge in question would be Burningfold. The furnace cannot have been far distant, so perhaps Vachery Furnace<sup>26</sup> in Cranleigh parish dates from this period, though the names of John Mocomber (180), probably a collier, and James Haward, presumably wainer or carrier, furnish no proof. Obery Larber and Marian Predom had left Leigh before 1563, so although we do not pick them up until 1571 in this area, both the forges in question, Abinger and Vachery, perhaps go back to before 1563. In 1567 Burningfold was obtaining pig iron from as far away as Ifield,<sup>27</sup> but it is hard to believe that the Vachery Furnace was the only one in the area at this period. The deleted entry at Shalford in 1571 looks like an attempt to make John Thousandman, the Ifield finer, contribute to the tax in Surrey too. Nicholas Lamboren is probably a collier and slag has been found, but supporting entries from Shalford parish register are not forthcoming.

Godalming hundred subsidy rolls furnish no entries for immigrant ironworkers at the known furnace sites there.

26. Stanley Smith, 'Vachery ironworks', Bulletin (WIRG, *Wealden Iron*) 2nd Series, 1, p.2.

27. Schubert, op cit, p.378.