

Wealden Iron

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Research Group

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WEALDEN IRON RESEARCH GROUP

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CONTENTS		Page No.
Field Notes		2
Cast iron plates from Burwash	C.F. and M.Tebbutt	3
A late Roman gold coin from High Hurstwood, East Sussex	David Rudling	5
West End furnace, Chiddingfold, Surrey	J.S.Hodgkinson	6
Birchenbridge Forge - a new site identified	T.E.Evans and J.S.Hodgkinson	7
Hawkesden Forge ironmaster's house	Margaret Holt	11
Aliens in the ironworking areas of the Weald: The Subsidy Rolls 1524-1603	Brian G.Awty	13

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FIELD NOTES

Charcoal burner's hut (?)

In Bulletin Second Series, No. 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.

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Roman ironworking at Runham Farm, Lenham, Kent

In Wealden Iron Bulletins 9 (Spring 1976), 21, and Second Series No. 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 we

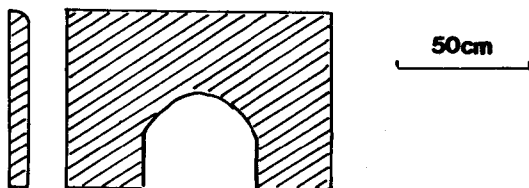


fig 1 a

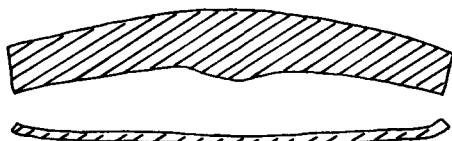


fig 1 b

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 x 66.0cm x 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 x 18 to 24.5cm x 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.

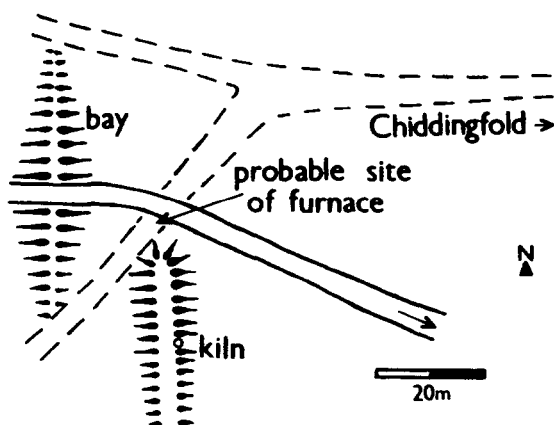
The coin remains in the possession of Mr. Llewellyn.

The discovery of such a late Roman coin from the Weald is very unusual, for most of the iron-working 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 x 90 x 210mm) 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 limekiln, probably of 19th-century date. This embankment has already been suggested⁽¹⁾ 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.

1. WIRG Bulletin 9 (1976) p.5.

BIRCHENBRIDGE FORGE
A NEW SITE IDENTIFIED.

T.E.EVANS and J.S.HODGKINSON

Documentary Evidence⁽¹⁾

The first documentary reference to this site is in a survey of the timber and woods belonging to Sir John Caryll in 1598.⁽²⁾ 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.⁽³⁾ 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.⁽⁴⁾ These rentals coincide with the expiry of the lease granted to Edward Caryll in 1587.⁽⁵⁾

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.⁽⁶⁾

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 £146.10.6., 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.⁽⁷⁾ In a similar document of the following year, the Forge is not mentioned.⁽⁸⁾

The Forge does not figure in the lists of ironworks of 1653,⁽⁹⁾ nor is it included in the Parliamentary Survey of the Manors in

¹⁰
1650, 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 A.281 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. LR.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 Bulletin 8 (1975) pp.2-7.
10. P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys E.317 No.23.

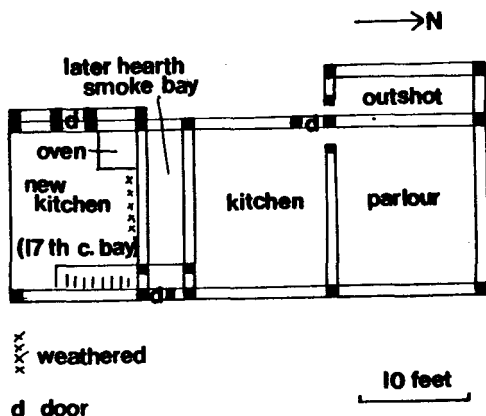
HAWKESDEN FORGE IRON MASTERS' HOUSE.

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.



HAWKESDEN : Ground Floor Plan.

The roof is of Queen-post construction with collars, wind-braces and 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 fire-place, 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 Giuseppe'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.'¹ 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.² 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.³ 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)⁴ 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 (Bungehurst 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 (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 sums 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.

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=Frenchman; P=Poll Tax; L=Land)

THE RAPE OF HASTINGS

THE HUNDRED OF FOXEARLE

1524 (E 179. 189/128)	Phyllypp Mettett	P	Barden servaunte to	
Holand Frenshman	8d	Petre Ungell	P	Richard Wodman P
- - - -		Jamys Morrell	P	
Gyllam Frensshman	2s	George Morrys	P	Alyens servautes to
- - - -		John Marygon	P	Mr Antonye Pelham
John Arneran	A 8d	Stephyn la Mell	P	John Valeant 2s
- - - -		Clementt Grewe	P	Stephen Lamell P
Gyls Duffourd	A 8d			Nicolas Mary P
		Frenchmen in		George Morryes P
1540 (E 179. 190/187)	Mr Ashburnhams worke			John Langlas P
Olyver Taylor	A 1s	Thomas Dyggyn	P	
John Colyer	A 2s	John Furrye	P	Aliens servautes to
				Sir William Sidney
1549 (E 179. 190/233)	Frenchmen in		Peter Ungell	P
Frenchmen in Mr Pelhams	Richard Wodmans worke		Phyllyppe Motet	P
worke	Phlyppynng Fardell	P		
John Valeant	2s	Sambert Lamen	P	1551 (E 179. 190/244)
Guillam Clerke	P	John Stampylon	P	Frenchmen servautes
John Bourdell	P			to Mr Antonye Pelham
Phyllypp Chapleyn	P	1550 (E 179. 190/239)	John Valyaunte	A 1s
Sampson Frenchman	P	Servautes to	Simon White	A 1s
		Mr John Assheborneham		
Frenchmen in	Thomas Dyggen	P	Servautes to	
Sir Wilyam Sydneys Worke	Antony Hoyse	P	Sir Willm Sidnet knight	
John Longley	P			

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

This hundred incorporated the south-eastern part of Warbleton parish and part of Dallington. The name Gyllys 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 Cowbeech ? 'The finers boy of Cobeech' was buried at Wartling in August 1586. But Cowbeech 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 Cowbeech. 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

1524 (E 179. 189/128) (nil)	1549 (E 179.190/233) John Rowland F D ls	1560 (E 179.190/266) (nil)
1540 (E 179. 190/187) Olyver Debyll A P Phylp Mary A P Nycholas Lawrens A P Nycholas Arysman A P Gyles Duffen A P Dyryk Corver A P Peter Johnson A P	1550 (E 179. 190/239) John Rowland D ls 1551 (E 179. 190/244) (lacks Bexhill) 1552 (E 179.190/247) (nil)	1572 (E 179. 190/283) Alyens Growshe P and his wife P 1576 (E 179.190/298) Alyen William Waters man P 1595 (E 179. 190/332) (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 Hoathley 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

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

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

1540 (E 179. 190/187)	Nycholas Lamberd	Nicolas his servaunt A P
(lacks Shoyswell)	servauntt to the	
	same Nicholas P	Servauntes to
1549 (E 179. 190/233)	- - - -	Ambrose Comporte
Vyncent Deproune F D	Petre Weldern A D P	Antonye Ellys A (—)
servauntt to P		Nicolas his servant P
Thomas Shoyswell	1550 (E 179. 190/239)	Nicolas Labye A P
Jakes Recrewe F D	Aliens in the workes of	John (—?—) A P
servauntt to 2s	Mr Maye	
Thomas Maye	James Temple P	Servauntes to Thomas Maye
Thomas Deproune	Jack Recrewe P	Vincent Deprowne P
colyer F D P	Nicolas hys man P	Thomas Deprowne P
Valentyne Deproune	Vincent Deproyne P	Valentyne Deprowne P
fyner A P	Thomas Deproyne P	Richard (—?—) A P
Richard Roche F D P	Rychard Roche P	Jamys Tomplen P
Gladd fyner F P	Valentyne Deproyne P	Richard (Roche ?) P
Labys wydowe P	Nicolas Skellerye P	Nicholas H(—?—) P
John Derrye in	Robert Temple P	Thomas P
the workes of P	Herbe wydowe P	
Ambras Comportt	Labye wydowe P	1552 (E 179. 190/247)
Antonye Ellys 6s	Antonye Ellys 3s	Aliens servauntes to
John Antonye his		Thomas Maye, gent
servauntt A P	Aliens in the workes of	Vincent Deproine P
Nycholas Colyar A	Mr Pelham	Thomas Deproine P
servauntt to Jakes P	John Barden 2s	Valentine Deproine P
Charles Pullyn A	Poull Hedoll P	Marten Quinto P
servauntt to Ambras P	Michaell Hedoll P	John Capper P
John Bee A servauntt		Allo P
to John Dory(Derrye?)P	1551 (E 179. 190/244)	Gillam P
- - - -	Peter Labye taylor A P	
Nycholas Hedowell AD 1s	Servauntes to John Wybarne	Aliens servauntes to
Paule Hedowell his son P	Jakes Recrowe A P	Ambrose Comporte

Antonye Ellys	2s	Johan Leonarde	P	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	
Nicolas	P	Allo Fyllet	P	Alyens	
Nicolas Labie	P	Stephyn Untill	P	Folentyne Deprone	P
		John Prevaute	P	John Cressye	P
Aliens servautes to		Nycholas Mynnage	P	John Deboyse	P
Thomas Shoswell, gent.		Poule Judde	P	Leonard	P
Hector	P	Roulande Leonarde	P	Robert Dooall	P
Lunto	P	Nicholas Frenchman	P	Peter Calober	P
		and his too sonnes	PP	Stephen	P
1560 (E 179. 190/266)				Peter Deforre	P
Aliens		1572 (E 179. 190/283)		Peter Lavender	P
Vincente Deprove	P	Alyens			
Thomas Deprove	P	Marten Le Mowle	P	1595 (E 179. 190/332)	
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 Etchingham⁵(6), was indicted of the murder of a fellow Frenchman. The Perigoes and Ellis' were also forgermen, 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 Etchingham were all in that hundred, though Etchingham itself belonged to Henhurst. Surprisingly, the name of neither Tyrwhitt, the proprietor, nor Walsh, the lessee, is mentioned in connection with Etchingham forge, though denizens had been registered for Tyrwhitt's works in 1544 (89-93). A clue may lie in the employment by Ambrose 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 forgesmen (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 Linden 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

1524 (E 179. 189/128)	Shyvall F	8d	Hewe Turke	A	P		
1525 (E 179. 189/161)	Sampson Frensshman	8d	Jamys de Market	A	P		
John Jonner A	8d		Nycholas Capell	A	P		
Robert Jhonson Scott	8d	1540 (E 179. 190/187)	Flyx	A	P		
- - - -	John Colyn	A	4s	old Tullet	A	P	
Petar Marten	8d	George Boy	A	1s	D(---) Capell	A	P
John Rever F	8d	Luce Tyler	A	P	Peter Borne	A	P
- - - -	Frauncys Hynche	A	P	Bormeyne Bredes	A	P	
John Bygo (1525)	8d	Jamys Turke	A	P	Nycholas Bertyn	A	P
- - - -					Thomas o Prowne	A	P
Brother Frenshman	8d						

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

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

1572 (E 179. 190/283)	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	1595 (E 179. 190/332)
Aliens	Nicholas Jarrett L 3s4d	Aliens
Nycholas Jerrarde L 2s8d	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 PP	
	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 Wekes' forgermen 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 Darvel furnace in this hundred⁶ 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 Robertsbridge⁷ 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 HAWKSBOROUGH

1524 (E 179. 189/128)	Jenken Frencheman	8d	John Gawyn	A	P
Gyllam F	8d	John Jellot	F	8d	Peter Makkowe A P
-----	Adrean Frencheman	8d	Thomas Sampton	A	P
Jorden Frencheman	8d		John Nonno	A	P
Tanit Harby F	8d	(Bivelham)	John Gyllat		P
John Grant F	8d	John Merteyley	F	8d	Robert A P
John Russell F	8d	(Tottingworth)	Peter Ferlekett	A	P
Alyn Russell F	8d	Venten Frencheman	8d	John Garrard	A P
Voden Voystell F	8d		John A		P
John Tompkyn F	8d	1540 (E 179. 190/187)			
Thomas Sage F	8d	Charles Motye	A	1s	1549 (E 179. 190/233)
-----	John Vynter	A	2s	Aliens in the workes	
(In service of	John Jespere	A	(1s?)	of Nycholas Pelham	
John Collen)	Clement Quyer	preste	AP	esquyer	
John Turkes F	8d	John Carry	A	P	Guyllam Fawke fynar 1s
Barden Frencheman	8d	William Taylor	A	P	Mychell Hedhall colyar P
Cropper Frencheman	8d	Nycholas Hyndall	A	P	Garman the hamerman P
John Darvie ⁺ F	8d	Rychard	A	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 Denys Lebby's hamerman P Robert Banke fynor P
 of John Collyn Gyles Lawrens fownderP
 John Mynyon colyar P Alien in the workes of John Maryan filler P
 Audryan Hatto hamermanP Antonye Pelham esquyer
 Barden hamerman 2s 1551 (E 179. 190.244)
 Alien servauntt to The borowgh of Warbleton
 Bartylmewe Geffrey 1550 (E 179. 190/239) Alyen
 Peter Hese fownder (The Borowe of Warbleton) Dennys Lybbys servaunt to
 - - - - Aliens servauntes to Richard Wodman hammerman P
 Aliens servaunttes to Richard Wodman
 Antonye Pelham esquyer Denys Lobbys hammerman P The borowgh of Bevillym
 John Vynton fynor 2s Nicolas Gotty'e colyer P (nil)
 John Leonard fynor P John Gotty'e colyer P
 The borowgh of Tottynghworth
 Aliens in the workes of The Borowe of Tottynghworth Servauntes to
 Joane Istedd Alyens servauntes to Mr Antony Pelham
 Robert Blank fynor P John Collyn John Vinton fyner A 1s
 Petre Borayne fynor P John Gue thelder colyar P Hedall colyar A P
 Gyles Laurence fownder P John Gue the yonger Simon his man A P
 John Maryon mynor P colyar P
 Servauntes to Joane Isted
 Aliens in the workes of The Borowe of Bevilham Giles Lawrens fownder AP
 John Bakar Aliens servauntes to John Curleggo A P
 David Denoyschell mynerP Mr Antonye Pelham Robert fyner A P
 - - - - John Vinton fynor 1s Peter Lawrens A P
 Alien in the workes of John Leonarde fyner P
 John Saxpes Hedall colyer P The borough of Burghersh
 Robert Carone colyer P Actor colier P (nil)
 servaunte to John Baker
 Aliens in the workes of 1552 (E 179. 190/247)
 Richard Wodman Aliens servauntes to Aliens servauntes to
 Nycolas Gotty'e colyar P Joane Isted Richarde Woodman

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

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 ⁸sows to Robertsbridge forge, before the furnace there was operational, 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 de Verrey (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

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

⁺ Possibly the same as the John Frenchman listed in 1524.

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

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

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

1524 (E 179.189/127)	1551 (E 179. 190/244)	1572 (E 179. 190/283)
1525 (E 179. 189/133)	(lacks Staple)	Alyens
(nil)		William the Frenchman 2s
1540 (E 179. 190/187)	1552 (E 179. 190/247)	Edward Ransome P
(Lacks Staple)	Adryan Doggyn D ls	Bastyan F P
	Frauncis his servaunte P	
1549 (E 179. 190/233)	Damarons alias Kessle ls	1576 (E 179. 190/298)
Frenchement in the workes	Peter Damarons his son P	Alyens
of Willyam Sydney knyght		Peter de Guye P
Petre Jollye P	1560 (E 179. 190/266)	Godfrye de la Haye P
Nicholas Marye P	Fraunces A P	Ogniben Lutere ⁺ P
Roger de Prewe P		John Mary P
Adryan Duggyn P		Stephen de Voye P
		John Fycot P
1550 (E 179. 190/239)		Rowland Meadowe P
(incomplete)		
		1595 (E 179. 190/332)
		Peter Kinge A 3s4d

⁺ 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 Rowland (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 as 4s.4d., but the roman ^siiiij 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 Frenchmen 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

1524 (E 179. 189/127)	Antony Denaybone F 2s.6d	- - - -	
	- - - -	Peter Byshopp F	8d
1525 (E 179. 189/133)	Gorge Joyoe	- - - -	
Symon Merser F 2s	Docheman 8d	John Petygrewe Scotte	8d
- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	
Corneles Androwis	John Frambofe A 1s	Peter F	8d
Docheman 8d	- - -	- - - -	
- - - -	Corneles Capper	William Nele F(1525)	8d
	Docheman 8d		

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

+ This name could read Mudge.

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 Welkes before 1550.

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

THE RAPE OF PEVENSEY

THE HUNDRED OF LOXFIELD

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

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

1560 (E 179. 190/265)	Framfield	1576 (E 179. 190/298)
Wadhurst	Widowe of Thomas Smythe P	Wadhurst
Aliens		John Johnson A P
John Royboy P	1572 (E 179. 190/283)	
Richard Benet P	Lamberhurst	Mayfield
	John Gunson A P	Gabrell Penson 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 (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 Quynthin who ran Scarlets 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 Portsmen'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

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

Adryan Reder	P	Alyens		Withiham	
servants to Adrian		Peter Collyer	P	Bartholmew Powntyngs	P
Reder		Nycholas Rychard	P	Fynche	P
Bartelmewe Pountye	P	Fremiying the fyner	P		
John Godfrye	P	Mowery the fyner	P	1572 (E 179. 190/283)	
Frauncis Jayms	P			Alyens	
				Gyllam Pykes	P
servants to Leonard		1552 (E 179. 190/247)		Phillip	P
Callis		Alenes			
Cardo Kervyle	P	Peter Collyar	P	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	
		Jurden	P	Hartfield	
1549 (E 79. 190/237)		Fremiying	P	Alyens	
(lacks Hartfield)		Marian	P	John Arthur	10s
		Jhon his man	P	Gyllam Fortell	P
1550 (E 179. 190/239)		Bartyllmewe fyner	P	Anthonye Lavyntor	P
Alyens		Mathew Bewser	P	Freming	P
Barthelmew Fyner	P	Kyrwyn Carde	P	Peter Marygold	P
Frymynge Collier	P				
Fetter Colyer	P	1560 (E 179. 190/265)		Wythyham	
Mores Fyner	P	aliens		James the Smyth	P
Myclowe Colyer	P	Peter Colyer de Newbrege			
		Dawne hamerman de Paroke	2s		
1551 (E 179. 190/242)		Gyfferd the colyer	P		
Barthelmew Pownting	A P	Frimyng Stephen colloer	P		
Leonarde Curlyffe	A P				
Davye	A P				

The 1524 list of ironworkers headed by Filpott Lambert is introduced by the name of Roger Machyn, whose assessment was for thirty pounds. 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.⁹ 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 (E.S.R.O., 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 (Bulletin, 1st series, 12, 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

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

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

+ The fact that William Home 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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), pp.231,239) 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 DANEHILL HORSTED

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

Robrt Tylor	P	Charrelles Lerby	P	1572 (E 179. 190/283)	
Henry Marian	P	Antony Lerby	P	Alyens	
Antony Tylor	P			John Pyckard	P
Peter Bely	P	1560 (E 179. 190/265)		John Gyllam	P
Owen Russell	P	Aliens		Gyllam Hatto	P
Moris Lerby	P	Anthony Tylor	P		
Marian Dawe	P	William Pavy	P	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	
		uxor et fill'	PP	(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 forgers, 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 Barrentyne's principal founder, whom he thought it prudent to retain on contract lest he be poached?

THE HUNDRED OF DANEHILL SHEFFIELD

1524 (E 179. 189/164)	Edward Groyne	8d	Lose Doucheman	8d
John May Doucheman	2s6d	Doucheman		

1543 (E 179. 190/191)	John Gomer	1s	Marryan Perdone	P
alynes	Peter Gomer	P	John Rewy	P
servants to the	Mores Larkes	P	Peter Curler	1s
duke of Norfolk	John Showse	1s	Remy Ayelar	P
Coly	4d Marian Predome	P		
Tantas	4d Peter Carler	1s	1552 (E 179. 190/247)	
Peter Laby	4d Reme Kelet	P	Alyenes	
Maryon	P John Morrell	1s	Clement Malet	P
Jellett	4d		Marten	P
Blake John	4d 1550 (E 179. 190/239)		John Bordet	P
Jamis Fyllar	P Aliens		Antony Bordet	P
Lewis Collyar	P Peter Carler	1s	John Barten	P
Jelett Colyar	P Peter Gagge	1s	Gyllet Barten	P
Jorden Moyner	P Peter Lorman	1s	Gylles Newewe	P
John Myschaue	P		Peter	P
Jakes Collyar	P 1551 (E 179. 190/242)		Mother Combe	P
Jelett the yonger	P Aliens			
Nawde	P Maryan Mocombell		1560 (E 179.190/265)	
Tantas	P wydowe	1s	Aliens	
	Jellete Rewy	P	John Barton	2s
servant to John Vere	Comes wydowe	P	Gyllam Hato	2s
Stevyn Almon	P John Rewy	1s	John Artor	P
	Gylles Neve	P	Clement Collyer	P
1549 (E 179. 190/237)	Martyne Peter	P		
Alyens	John and Gylles	PP	1572 (E 179. 190/283)	
Peter Gage	1s servantes to		Carden Tostet A	P
James Swage +	1s John Rowy			
Jellet Barten	2s Clemente Collyer	P	1576 (E 179. 190/298)	
John Barten	P Thomas Borde	1s	Alyens	
Gylgys Neve	P Anthony Border	P	Myshawe	P
	Gyllam the Fyner	P	Dynnys Carnellum	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;¹² 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" (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. E.S.R.O., Microfilm of Huntington library MS. This information kindly communicated by Christopher Whittick.

THE HUNDRED OF RUSHMONDEN

1524 (E 179. 189/164)	Anthony servant to	1560 (E 179.190/265)
Rottingham	the seid Gomer P	Marsfield
John Ducheman 8d	Barden 1s	Aliens
	Peter Gage 1s	Peter Almon 10s
1543 (E 179. 190/191)	Barnard Rychardson P	Peter Gage D P
Barnard Rycharson A 4d		Charles Pollyn D P
	1552 (E 179. 190/247)	David Hato D P
1549 (E 179. 190/237)	Rottingham	John Myshar alias
Barnard Richardson A 1s	Barnarde Richardson A 1s	Rovero D P
Lawrans Hamson A P		
- - - -		
1550 (E 179. 190/239)	Alienes	1572 (E 179. 190/283)
(nil)	Peter Alman 18d	Alyens
	Antony Lucas P	Nycholas Gotyer 6s
1551 (E 179. 190/242)	Peter Gostocke P	Peter Debewe P
Alyens	Peter Gayge P	Peter Servaunt to
Peter Alman 1s	John Gummer P	Gotyer P
Anthony Lucas P	Charrelles Pullyn P	Robert Blowe P
Janman Tulloke 1s	Nicolas Laby P	Maryan Olde P
John Gomer 1s	Barden P	
	Gyllet P	1576 (E 179. 190/298)
	Roger Gaunet P	Alyens
	Lenarde P	Maryan Olde P
		Myshawe P

Schubert¹³ thought Hendall was a Pelham furnace and that it started about 1544, 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

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

1524 (E 179. 189/119)	1550 (E 179. 190/239)	1552 (E 179. 190/247)
1525 (E 179. 189/126)	Alyens	Alienes
Peter Arnold A(1524)2s	Harry Lucas 2s	Henry Lucas 2s
Francis Flote A	Nycholas Fownder P	John Johnson P
labourer (1525) 8d	John Johnson P	The Founder P
	James Gascon P	
1543 (E 179. 190/191)		1560 (E 179. 190/265)
Alyens	1551 (E 179. 190/237) ⁺	Aliens
John Johnson servant	Alyens	John Pycard P
to Harry Lucas P	Henry Lucas 2s	Guillam Daglon P
Harry Lucas 5d	John Johnson P	
Cornelius servant to	James Gascon P	1572 (E 179. 190/283)
the said Harry P	Nycholas Founder 1s	(nil)
Cornelys Harmon P		
		1576 (E 179. 190/298)
1549 (E 179. 190/237) ⁺		(nil)
(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

1524 (E 179. 189/123)	1550 (E 179. 190/239)	1560 (E 179. 190/265)
(Hellingly)	Issenherst	Isynghurst
Peter Frenshman 8d	Peter Whit A 2s	Alyenes
	John Bottinge A P	Roger Tankerell 2s
		Anthony Pottell P
1543 (E 179. 190/191)	1551 (E 179. 190/242)	Nycholas Forrell P
Isenherst	Issynherst	
Alyens not worth 20s	Peter Whit A 4s	1572 (E 179. 190/283)
Gyles Myner A servant		Alyens
to John Baker P	Frenshmen	Arnolde Duchman P
Peter Wete A servant	(Gow A P	William Hambleton P
to the said John P	(Gow A P	Leonard Beck P
Petter Botten A servant	(Nycolas A P	
to the said John P	(Harye A P	1576 (E 179.190/298)
Robert Caron A servant	(Servantes to	Hellingly
to William Woddy P	Mr Goddard Walsh	Anthony Frenchman P
		Nicholas Frenchman P
1549 (E 179. 190/237)	1552 (E 179. 190/247)	Leonard Bekes P
Issynherste	Issynherst	Wylliam Hambleton P
Petter Whitt A 2s	Peter Whit A 4s	John Peters P
(Gawnt A P		
(John Bottinge A 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 1541¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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 (Isenhurst, 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 Botting 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 Isenhurst and about the bounds of the manor.

THE HUNDRED OF SHIPLAKE

1525 (E 179. 189/146)

Rype

(Laughton ?)

Henry Potte A 6s

John Sand (A?)

(?)

1543 (E 179. 190/191)	1549 (E 179. 190/237)	1552 (E 179. 190/247)
Hothlye and Waldern	(lacks Shiplake)	Hotheligh
Alyens		Nicholas Varyet A P
John Rowland A P	1550 (E 179. 190/239)	Chedynlyghe
George Morrys A servant	Chyttynglye	Robert Blant A P
to Nicholas Eversfield P	John Sherwood ⁺ P	Peter Barham A P
John Trowley A servant		
to the said Nicholas P	1551 (E 179. 190/242)	1560 (E 179. 190/265)
John Cosenet A servant	Chedingligh	(nil)
to the said Nicholas P	John Scherin A servant	
	to John Frenche P	1572 (E 179. 190/283)
Marten A servant	William A servant	Laurence A servant
to Nicholas Pelham	to the said John P	to John Frenche P
esquier P		
	Hotheligh	1576 (E 179. 190/298)
	Nicholas A	ls Walderne
		German Frenchman A 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 member 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 Yorkshire¹⁶ and that he was himself a founder and father of Lewis Duprey, the Mayfield founder of 1615.¹⁷ 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 Morrys 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. E.S.R.O.; QR/E 5,m. 60. I am indebted to Brian Phillips for kindly supplying this reference.

THE RAPE OF LEWES

THE HUNDRED OF BARCOMBE

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

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

1572 (E 179. 190/283)	Crystofer Rossoll	1576 (E 179. 190/299)
George Tollye A and P	servant A	Jonne Tollye A P
Jone his Wyfe A 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 Tullocke 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, Obbell and Hewashe soon moved to Butting Hill hundred and Growt is soon found at Beeding.

THE HUNDRED OF BUTTING HILL

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

Roveri A	P	John Hauneng A	ls	Holland Seller A	P
Rennie A	P	Jordyn A	ls		
Loyes Botri A	P	John Cary A	ls	1560 (E179.190/267)	
Loye A	P	Henri his man	P	Blasse Bryda A	P
Thomas Bordell A	P	Nycolas Tiller A	ls	Peter Starre A	P
Antoni Bordell A	P	Lewes A	P	Peter Devall A	P
Pebealet A	P	John his man A	P		
Mihell A	P	Baringtons man A	P	1563 (E 179. 190/274)	
- - - -		John Messon A	ls	Crawley	
William Johnson A	P	The potter	P	Gabriell A	P
		- - - -			
1550 (E 179. 190/239)		William Johnson A	P	Worthe	
John Roberey A	P	Adrian A	P	George Tyler A	P
Marien A	P	- - - -		Blase Bryda A	P
John Care A	ls	Holland Celler A	P	Rychard Whit A	P
Nicholas Tiler A	ls			Gillome Rafe A	P
Remy A	P	1552 (E 179. 190/247) +		John Jonsone A	P
Loye A	P	Crawley and Worth		Gillome Dermetond	P
Gellet Low A	ls	John Messowe A	ls	Danyell Collier	P
Clement A	P	John Cary A	ls		
Lowes A	P	John forger	ls	Cuckfield	
Jeloyes A	P	Peter Bylwarn A	P	John Carye A	P
Thomas Burdel A	P	Jemis finer A	P	Peter Lurye A	P
John Misse A	P	Dawes the hammerman A	P		
- - - -		Jemis Colbor A	P	Slaugham	
William Johnson A	P	John Hans A	P	John Artor A	P
Adrian Ridleygh A	P	Cristofer Hans A	P	and his wyffe A	P
- - - -		- - - -			
Holland Seller A	P	William Johnson A	P	Bawcombe	
		- - - -		Nicholas Lurie A	P
1551 (E 179. 190/246)		George Tull' A	P	and his wyffe A	P
Crawley and Worth		- - - -		Nicholas Hune A	P

1572 (E 179. 190/283)	John Rossett	A	P	Polter	A	P
Pawco	A	P	Nicholas Loes	A	P	his sonne
Morrys	A	P	Robert Buse	A	P	John Braye
Quynale	A	P	his 2 sonnes	A	PP	- - - -
Charles Pullyn	A	P	Glade	A	P	Fraunces Howbeth
Bluetts 2 frenchmen	PP	his 2 sonnes	A	PP	and his wyffe	A
		Nicholas Furrye	A	P	Robert Carmarynge	A
1576 (E 179. 190/299)	Robert Tuck	A	P	Charles Pullen	A	P
Anthonye Huashe	A	P	his 2 sonnes	A	PP	John Dallanton
					A	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

1560 (E 179. 190/268)	1563 (E 179. 190/344)	1576 (E 179. 190/297)
The forest of Saynt	William Panry A servant	Ifilde
Lenards	to Swayne and Ilman P	Adrian Dogen A 10s
Marigold A servant	John Parrys A servant	his wife A P
to Roger Grateweke P	with Swayne and Ilman P	his sonne A P
Jocab A servant	Adrian A P	and 2 doughters A PP
to the said Roger P	with Roger Gratwike	John Towsand A 10s
The tithinge of	Jacob A being P	his wife A and P
Sedgeweke +	with (the said Roger?)	twoe servauntes A PP
Jamys Hennesey A 8s		Peter Agamo A P
Martyn Heath A	1572 (E 179. 190/283)	his twoe sonnes A PP
howsholder P	Isfield	and one servaunte A P
	Audryan Duddinge A 6s	Peter whelebarow maker AP
	John Thowsandman A 6s	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 Hunniset), finer (1558). Myssheo, who worked for Roger Gratwick, was buried at Horsham (as Jacob Missiam) in 1565, but Hunniset, 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

connexion with the ironworks at Ifield, before it came into Gratwick's hands¹⁸ 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, 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 Burbeech 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 8d

- - - -

John Deryk A 8d Gye Spall A 8d

1541 (E 179. 124/240)

Alyens

Laurence Frelyng

a doucheman 10s

Lewys the Joyner		Burkley Weston	A	2d	- - - -	
of Gowthurst	10s	Powllys Walter	A	2d	Lewes Valette	A 4d
Symon Fork the glasier	P	- - - -				
Peter Whir	D	P Laurence Frelynge	D	3s.4d	1550 (E 179. 126/333)	
John Sprynger	P	- - - -			Peter Whyte	6s
Gosvyn Brynger	P	Lewys Valet	A	4d	John Sprynget	A P
Powles Walter	P				William a Castell	A P
John Dale	P	1544 (E 179. 125/273)			Jasper the Joyner	6s
Nicholas the Tynker	P	John Selyes	A	2d	Olyver Buke	A P
Stone (Scone?)	P	- - - -			Mathewe Busse	A P
John Crane	P	Lawrence Frelyng	A	6s.8d		
		Jasper the ioyner	A	20d	1572 (E 179. 126/423)	
1543 (E 179. 124/259)	- - - -				Peter White	A 2s
Askell de Wordon	A 16d	Joskyn	A	4d	Phillip Hellen	A P
- - - -		Peter Whyte	A	20d	John Peerson	A P
Genkyn Crane	A 4d	John Sprynget	A	4d	Easter Light	A P
- - - -		Edmond Sadler	A	4d		
Gaskyn	A 2d	John Fremde	A	4d	1600 (E 179. 127/533)	
Peter Whyte	A 4d	Peter Hushe	A	4d	(nil)	
John Spryngett	A 2d	Burkely Weston	A	4d		
Edmund Saddler	A 2d	Pawles Walter	A	4d		
John Frerend	A 2d					
Peter Husshe	A 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 1577.¹⁹ 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. P.R.O., 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 hamman' 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

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

1525 (E 179. 124/186)	Arnold Johnson	A	4d	1572 (E 179. 126/423)		
(illegible)	- - - -			John Michell	A	2s
	Peter Wyldorne	A	4d	John Myllam	A	P
1541 (E 179. 124/249)	Maryan Rawe	A	P	Peter Nonkell	A	P
Arnolde Johnstone A P	- - - -			John Porynges	A	P
Peter Taylor A P	James Sherlowe	A	P	Peter Degoy	A	P
John Lasye A P	- - - -					
	John Fowndryng	A	4d	1600 (E 179. 127/533)		
1543 (E 179. 125/268)				(nil)		
Mayes servautes +	1550 (E 179. 126/333)					
(ends:)	George Rosell	A	P			
John Loye A 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 Ponynge 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

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

⁺ Servant to Edmond Cougherst.

The Angerfield family were forgerworkers 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 Colley, 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).²⁰ The two²¹ aliens of 1599 are probably colliers, though Burlet became a tanner.

20. Kent Assize records, Elizabeth I, 259.

21. Kent Archives Office, DRb/PW 20.

THE HUNDRED OF WASHLINGSTONE

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

1525		1550 (E 179. 126/336)	Sowthe Burghes	
(no return survives)		The Towne	John Broke A	2s
		Lowkas Jonson P	Laurence Duffyll A	2s
1541 (E 179. 124/223)		Nicholas Danyell A P	Maryan Dabat A	
John Johnstone A P		John Martyn A P	servaunt to	P
John Marten A P		Nicholas Wyngget A P	David Willard	
John Flemmyng A P		Nicholas Powell A P	Mighell Pycot A	
John Warde A P			servaunt to the	P
		Hadloowe Boroughe	seid David	
(Hadloo ?)		Anthony A P	Roberte Turner A	
Budden Bricke A 1s			servaunt to	P
		1572 (E 179. 126/424)	Laurence Duffyll	
1543 (E 179. 124/262)		Tunbrydge	William Furrie A	
(nil)		Nicholas Wingat A 2s	servaunt to the	P
		Edward Garette A 2s	seid David	
1544 (E 179. 125/275)		Arthure Shulder A P	Nicholas Furrye A	
Leucas Jonsone A 2d		Peter Wyngget A	servaunt to the	P
Johannes Warde A 2d		servaunt to P	seid David	
		Henry Parker	James Geryng A	
Hadloo			servaunt to the	P
Boden Dericke A 5d			seid David	

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

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 seem 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.²²

22. Kent Archives Office, DRb/PW 11.

THE LATHE OF SUTTON AT HONE

HUNDRED OF SOMERDEN

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

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

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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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. Firmynger is later found at Fletching and the family occurs in other Sussex ironworking areas.

The employment here of Peter Russell, a hammerman,²⁵ 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. E.S.R.O., Lewes Archdeaconry wills, A 5, 151. Peter Russell was executor of his brother, Jordan Russell of Salehurst, 26 March 1564.

THE HUNDRED OF WESTERHAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁺ 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 furnace²⁶ 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,²⁷ 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, 2nd Series, 1, p.2.

27. Schubert, op. cit., p.378.