

## THOLDMAN.

The changes and chances of this world bring the most unlikely places and persons into contact in the records of the past, as well as in the stirring scenes of the present day. The Pharos at Boulogne, referred to the days of Caligula, which fell in 1644, would seem to have no relation to an obscure moated farm-house on a by-road in the parish of Fressingfield. Yet a domestic catastrophe a few years ago served to bring to light a document connecting the two. It was in 1883 that the oven of Mr. Harry Seaman of that Suffolk parish became overheated, and some adjacent timber caught fire. This necessitated afterwards some bricklayers' work, the wall being much injured. Between two of the bricks there fell out an old worn paper bearing these words:—

“To all & singler maiers, sheryfes, baylyfs, const. & other the Kyngs maties offycers know ye that I Sr Thom<sup>as</sup> Palm' knyght captayne of his maties bastilyan at tholdman have licensed this bearer Jeffrey \_\_\_\_\_ to passe into Ingland unto his habytacion ther. Wherefore I shall desyre you and euy of you to pmytt & suffer hym quyety to passe by you w<sup>o</sup>ut any lett, trowble or hyndrance. From Tholdman the xxij daye of maie anno H. R. viij. xxxvij<sup>o</sup>.”

This paper I did not see till last summer, nor did my inner light suffice to interpret *Tholdman*. Directed to Boulogne through the kindness of Mr. W. H. St. John

Hope, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, I put myself into communication with Mons. V. J. Vaillant of that ancient town, from whose *Notes Boulonnaises* I have been able to extract most valuable information about the fort which went by a name so singular, and at first sight, so inexplicable.

The changes in the names of places, which seem to have been made mainly in the third century, were not all of equal permanence. *Londinium* reverted to its old form, in spite of the grandeur of *Augusta*, its later name; but *Gessoriacum* (to adopt the version of the best MSS. of Antonine's Itinerary) passed into *Bononia* by the time of Pentinger's Tabula, conjecturally through some Italian influence.

It was the principal port for Britain, communicating directly with *Rutupiæ* or Richborough, and thence with all parts of our island, while on the south the great road of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, c. B.C. 40, carried the traveller by *Durocortorum* (Rheims) and *Vienna* (Vienne) to Marseilles. Four great lighthouses appear to have been erected about the same time, one each at Boulogne and Richborough, and two at Dover. The foundations in the N.E. corner of the station at Richborough, which are held by many to be those of a lighthouse, constitute one of the most important remains in that notable place, and the Boulogne Pharos forms the subject of the present paper. The connection of the two at the time of Antonine's Itinerary is manifest from the specification of the distance: "A Gessoriaco de Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero CCCCL," whereas *Dubris* (Dover) receives no more notice than is accorded to *Portus Lemannis* (Lymne in Romney Marsh), viz., the mileage to *Durovernum* (Canterbury). The erection at Dover of the octagonal tower, built of flint, tufa, and Roman tile, probably dates from the period which follows immediately on this, about the middle of the third century.

The earliest possible date which I can find for the ascription of this tower to Caligula, is 1616. In that year, as well

as in 1624, the Jesuit Gilles Boucher visited Boulogne. "Bis aut ter a me annis Christi 1616 et 1624 cum stupore visa discussaque," says he of the structure, which in his work *Belgium Romanum ecclesiasticum et civile* (Liège, 1655) he designates, "Monimentum cis Alpes credo vetustissimum juxta et pulcherrimum," strong words for one who had visited Nismes, Arles, Avignon, &c. In recording the repairs to the upper part of the tower by Charlemagne, he contrasts the troubles of the ninth century with those of Caligula's time. Bolder spirits, before and after Boucher's days, such as Adrien le Romain (1575) and François Hibon, who mentions the fall of part of the tower at the poppingay-shooting in commemoration of S. Sebastian, on that saint's day, 20 Jan., 1664, are found to connect the name of Julius Cæsar with the Pharos. The testimony of the latter is weakened by his version of the great commander's name, *Julles Sezard*, whom he regards, in defiance of history, as improving Caligula's work. The name of Caligula has not been exclusively recorded in the documents relating to the *Pharos*, *Pharus* or *Farus*, as it is often simply styled, other forms, amongst many, being *Pharus Odrans*, *Turris Odnea*, *Turris Ardens* (N.B., both forms are found), *Tour d'Odre* and *Tour du Guet*. Of these the third seems to possess the greatest derivative importance, while the fourth, apparently a corruption of it, and without assignable meaning, most generally obtained.

No French record has the name *Tholdman* or *The Old Man*, or its French form *Le Vieil Homme*. On the other hand no other name seems known to English scribes, if we except *La Tour du Guet*, *the Watch Tower*, which seems to have been a novelty. What then is the origin of this senile designation applied to an ancient Pharos? Several answers have been given. It may have been a bit of mere English slang, which Sir Thomas Palmer's colloquial spelling rather favours, or by analogy connected with the Cornish rocks called *The Old Man and his Man*, for there was a demilune called by the English *The Young Man*,

built hard by, or more improbably it may come from the Celtic *Maen*, a stone. *Accipe, lector, quid mavis!*

It was in 1544 that the Emperor Charles v. and our Henry VIII. made their offensive and defensive alliance against Francis I. a palpable reality. Henry's army crossed the Straits in two divisions, one under the Duke of Norfolk and Sir John Russell to attack Montreuil, the other, directed against Boulogne, under the personal charge of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who was Commander-in-Chief of the whole expedition. Soon the great Henry afforded his own presence to the encouragement of the investing army. The lower town, which must have contained *Tholdman*, surrendered on the 21st of July, but two more months elapsed before the Duke of Suffolk was able to deliver the keys to his royal brother-in-law. Almost at the same time the French king concluded a separate peace with the Emperor, but Boulogne was held by us till, in 1550, it was agreed to be restored on payment of one fifth of the sum which Francis I. had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The date of the Pass granted by Sir Thomas Palmer, is 22 May, 1545, the accession of Henry VIII. being 22 April, 1509, and we can hardly expect any light to arise on the circumstances which induced the "Captain of the Old Man" to part with one of his men at a time when the French were making most strenuous efforts to free their shores from the remnant of the invading army.

Sir Thomas Palmer's chequered life came to an end after the Lady Jane Grey fiasco. He was tried, with the Duke of Northumberland and others, on Aug. 18th and 19th, 1553, and executed with all of them, except the Earl of Warwick and Sir John Gates, on the 21st, confessing his adherence to the Roman faith.

It is a pity that the crease in the paper should have led to the impossibility of determining the surname of the man to whom this pass was granted. In the Fressingfield register, which begins in the year 1556, we find nothing material to us.

The house where the paper was found is within the old Manor of Wittingham, which, in Domesday Book, is among the possessions of Roger of Poitou. The influence of the Lord of the Manor had probably taken the copyholder, Jeffery ——, to Boulogne, but the circumstances which induced Sir Thomas Palmer to grant the pass are beyond the bounds of anything but mere conjecture. Another Fressiugfield man, Robert Sandcroft, great-uncle of the Archbishop's grandfather, "went with K. Henry VIII. to Bulloin; and, as he went, he was drowned; the gunns being negligently left, and in a rough sea falling all on one side, and so overturning the shipp." So writes the Archbishop. This was on Sept. 14, 1544.

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