

William Lambard
The perambulation of Kent (third edition)
London
1656

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THE
PERAMBULATION
OF
KENT.

Containing the Descripti=
on, History and Cu=
stoms of that County.

Written by WILLIAM LAMBARD
of Lincolns Inne;

Corrected and Enlarged.

To which is added the Charters,
Laws and Privileges of the
Cinque Ports, Never before
printed.

LONDON.
Printed for Matthew Walbancke, and Dan.
Pakeman 1656.

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<iii> To the Right worshipfull, and
vertuous, M. Thomas Wotton, Esq;.

It is the manner (Right Worship=
full) of such as seek profit by
Minerals, first to set men on
work to digg and gather the
Oare: Then by fire to trie out
the Metall, and to cast it into
certain rude lumps, which they
call Sowze: And lastly to commit them to Artifi=
cers, that can thereof make things serviceable and
meet for use. Somewhat after which sort, I my
self, being very desirous to attain to some knowledge
and understanding of the Antiquities of this Realm,
which (as Metall contained within the bowels of
the earth) lie hidden in old books horded up in cor=
ners, did not only my self digg and rake together
whatsoever I could of that kind, but procured di=
vers of my friends also to set to their hands and doe
the like. And when the matter was by our dili=
gent travail grown (as me thought) to a convenient
Masse, with such fire of discretion as I had, I se=
vered the metall and drosse in sunder, and cast it
into certain rude, and unformed Sowze, not un=
meet for a work man. But, whereas no small com=
mendation groweth to the metall, by the skilfull hand
<iv> of the craftsman that bringeth it to fashion, and
therefore the wiser sort of men use to deliver it to
such as be their crafts masters, and can thereof make
sundrie utensils both for pleasure and utilitie: I con=
trariwise, having neither good art nor instrument to

begin withall, nor yet approved pattern or Moald to imitate and follow, adventured neverthesse to fa=
<shi>on somewhat out of my Sowze, and have (as I
<now> see) shaped such a peece, as is more meet to be
<con>demned to the Kitchen, than worthy to be admit=

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ted, or have place in the parlour.

To speak plainly, I had some while since gathered out of divers ancient and late Histories of this our Island, sundrie notes of such quality, as might serve for the description and Storie of the most famous places thorow out this whole Realm: which collection (because it was digested into Titles by order of Al= phabet, and concerned the description of places) I called a Topographicall Dictionarie: and out of which, I meant in time (if God granted life, ability, and leisure) to draw (as from a certain Store= house) fit matter for each particular Shire and Countie. Now, after that it had pleased God to provide for me in Kent, I resolved (for sundry just respects) to begin first with that Shire, and therein (before I would move any further) to make estimation and triall, both of the thing it self, of mine own abi= lity, and of other mens likings.

This when I had in a rude plot and rough sort performed, and minded to communicate the same with some such of this Country, as for skill aboun= dantly could, and for good will indifferently would, weigh and peruse it, You (Right Worshipfull) came first to my minde, who, for the good understanding and interest that you have in this Shire, can (as well as any other) discern of this doing, And to whom (be= yond other) I thought my self for sundry great cour= tesies most deeply bound and indebted.

I know right well, that the thing it self (being but a Beare=whelp that lacketh licking: a raw coloured portraiture that wanteth polishing: and a gift,

In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor)

is neither answerable to your worthinesse, nor to mine own wish: Howbeit, having heretofore taken undoubt= ed assay of your gentle acceptation, I am nothing a= fraid to offer it, Submitting to your favorable Censure, both the work, my self, and my writer, And committi<ng> to the defence of the almighty, your self, your wife, y<our> sonnes and family. From Seintcleres, this l<ast> of January, 1570.

Yours in the Lord,

W. Lambard.

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To his Countrymen, the Gentlemen of the County of Kent.

This Book fair written (in gift) lately sent unto me, doe I fair printed (by dedica= tion) now send and commend unto you. I know not (in re= spect of the place) unto whom I may more fitly thus send it

than unto you, that are either bred and well brought up here, or by the goodnesse of God and your own good provision, are well settled here: and here lawfully possesse, or are neer unto sundry of those things, that this book specially speaketh of: and thus, as of your selves, doe you see what they are now, and thus as of this book may you know why they were, and by whom they were, and what they were long agoe.

I know not (in respect of the persons) unto whom I may more fitly thus send it, than unto you: with whom, I have been best and longest acquainted: from whom (by points of singular courtesie) I have been many waies much pleased: Toward whom, for the generall conjunction and association of your minds, and your selves in good amity and familiarity, one toward another: and all, in good zeal toward the advancement of Christian religion: and for the indifferent and discrete course ye keep in handling and compounding such controversies, as many times fall (and thereby in nourishing peace, a Jewell most precious) between your honest and tractable neighbours, (things unto almighty God, <v>ery acceptable: unto her Majesty, very grate<f>ull: unto your Country, very fruitfull: unto <y>our selves, very commendable:) Toward whom,

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I say, for these causes which, as a member of this County with others I see joyfully and generally: and for the first two causes which derived from you, light upon my self particularly, I have been, and am, and must be very lovingly affected.

I know not how I may more fitly and effectually commend it than to say, that it is in substance, an Historie: treating of the parts (and actions of greatest weight a good time together, done by the most famous persons) of one speciall Country: fet from great antiquity, which many men are much delighted with: out of sundry books with great studie collected painfully: by this Author in the matter set out truly: with good words well placed eloquently. In commendation of this book, upon a fit occasion, the like in a manner, is in Latine lately written by a Gentleman of our Country, known to be very honest, and, I think, very well learned: and so under the authority of his good judgement, may I (without blame) the more boldly commend it unto you.

What utility followeth the studie of Histories, many of them have well declared that have published Histories written by themselves, or have set out Histories written by others. And therefore already sufficiently done, I need not (unlearned me self, I cannot) therein say much. And yet thus much I may briefly say, and fit for the thing I have in hand (me thinketh) I must needs say, that (the sacred word of Almighty God alwayes excepted) there is nothing either for our instruction more profitable, or to our minds more delectable, or within the compass of common un-

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Alexander
Neuil, Norwicus.

derstanding more easie or facile, then the studie of histories: nor that studie for none estate more meet, then for the estate of Gentlemen: nor for the Gentlemen of England, no Historie so meete, as the Historie of England. For, the dexterity that men have either in providing for themselves, or in comforting their friends (for very good things) or in serving their King a

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Country (of all outward things, the best) thing doth rest chiefly upon their own and other folks experience: which I may assuredly accompt (for in an Historie, in our tongue as well written as any thing ever was, or I think ever shall be, great experience driven from a proof of two such things, as prosperity and adversity be, upon a fit occasion under the person of a very wise man, is rightly accounted) to be the very Mother and Mistress of wisdom. Now that that a number of folks doth generally, is much more then that, that any one of us can doe specially, and so by other folks experience, are we taught largely: and that, that other folks for their King, their Country, themselves, their friends, like good men doe vertuously, ought to provoke us with good devotion inwardly to love them: and with good words openly much to commend them, and in their vertuous actions, rightly to follow them. And that, that other folks against their King, their Country, their Friends, (and so against themselves) like foolish men doe ignorantly, or like leud men doe wickedly, ought to move us first (as our neighbours) Christianly to bewail them: and then (as by presidents of perill procured through their own follies and faults) dutyfully and wisely to beware by them. And so by these mens experience (which like the burnt Child, that then too late the fire dreadth, with much repentance they buy dearly) are we taught and brought out of danger to settle our selves, as it were, in a seat of surety. Thus you see what experience doth, and thus you see where other folks experience is to be had: which, for the good estate of England (resting chiefly upon the good judgement and service of the Gentlemen of England) is, as I think, most properly fet from the History of England. And this for this purpose, I say both unto you my Country men the Gentlemen of this County (a portion of the Realm) specially, and to all the Gentlemen

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of the whole Realm beside, generally

There resteth that for this Book (which I doe upon these respects thus send, and with these reasons thus commend unto you) we should unto the Author William Lambard, yeeld our very hearty and perpetuall thanks: as our Country man in our words and deeds lovingly use him: as a man learned, duly esteem him: (for a late very well learned and reverend father hath publiquely and rightly so reputed him) as a Gentleman

Sir Thomas
Moor Knight,
in the historie
of King
Richard the
third.

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Mathew Parker
Archbishop
of Canterbury
in his

Preface to the
Book De rebus
gestis Aelfredi
Regis.

religious and very honest, make right account of him: which, for my part, I think meet to doe, and mean to doe: and for your parts, I desire heartily you should doe, and I hope assuredly you will doe. And if by you he might (and would) be moved at his good leisure, to doe as much for all the rest of the Counties of this Realm generally, as he hath done for this County specially (toward which I know, by great pain and good cost, he hath already under the title of a Topographical Dictionarie gathered together great store of very good matter) himself (the Author of it) were worthy of good reward, and singular commendation for it: You (the Motioners) in the reading, shall receive great pleasure by it: the rest of the Gentlemen of this Realm, that of themselves see what things in their own Countries are of greatest fame now, and by that Book shall know, what those things and other things were long agoe, must needs with great delight receive it: and surely, being as he is unto me, a very dear friend, for mine own part, I mean also (God willing) upon some fit occasion, with my request to further it. The 16 of Aprill. 1576. Your Countryman and very loving friende.

T. W.

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The **Description** of the English Heptarchie, or seven Kingdomes.

To the end that it may be understood what is meant by the tearms of East-Saxons, West-Saxons, Mercia, Northumberland, and such other, of which there is common mention in the Treatise following: I have thought good to **set down the limits** of the seven sundry Kingdomes into which this Realm was sometime divided. But yet, for the better and more plain explanation of the matter, it shall be good first to know, that all these Nations following have had to doe within this our Countrie; The Brittons, the Romans, the Scots and Picts, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans.

The Brytains.

The Bryttons (after the Samothees and Albionees, which be of no great fame in our Historie) were the most ancient Inhabitants of this Land, and possessed it in peace, untill Julius Cæsar (the Romane Emperor) invaded them: for so much may a man gather of Horace his words, where he saith,

Intactus aut Brytannus,
Sacra ut descenderet catenatus via, &c.

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These therefore were by Julius Cæsar subdued to the Romane Empire, and their Countrie made a tributarie Province: In

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which case it continued many yeers together, untill at the length, being grievously vexed with the Picts and Scots their neighbours on the North, and being utterly void of all hope of aid to be had from the Romans their patrons (who also at the same time were sore afflicted with the invasion of the Hunnes & Vandales, like barbarous Nations) they were enforced to seek for further help: And therefore sent into Germanie, from whence they received hired Souldiers, of the Nations called Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, two naturall Brethren, and both very valiant Captains.

The Scots and Picts.

These Scots (as themselves doe write) were a People of Scythia, that came first into Spain, then into Ireland, and from thence to the North part of Britaine, our Island, where they yet inhabite. They were called Scottes or Scyttes of Scyttan, which is to shoot. The Picts also came from the same place after them, and occupied the parts where Westmorland and Galoway now be. And they were called Pictes either for that they used to paint their bodies, to the end to seem the more terrible: or else of the word <pyktēs>, which signifieth a Champion, by reason of their great courage and hardnesse.

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The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles.

The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles were the Germans that came over (as we have said) in aid of the Britons, of which, the first sort inhabited Saxonie: the second were of Gotland, and therefore called Gutes, or Gottes: the third were of Angria or Anglia, a Countrie adjoyning to Saxonie, of which the Duke of Saxonie is Lord till this day, and beareth the name thereof in his Stile, or title of honour: And of these last we all be called Angli, English men.

<3>

These Germans for a season, served against the Scots and Picts: But afterward (enticed by the pleasure of this Countrie and the fraud of the Enemies) they joynd hands with them, and all at once set upon the Britons that brought them in: And so, driving them into France, Wales, and Cornwall, possessed their dwelling places, and divided the Countrie amongst themselves.

Howbeit, they also wanted not their plague: For after that they had long warred one upon another, for the inlarging of their particular Kingdomes, and had at the last so beaten each other, that the whole was, by the West-Saxons, reduced into one entire Monarchie, suddenly the Danes (a people of Norway and Denmark) came upon them, and after much mischief done, in the end took the Crown and Kingdome quite and clean from them.

But they also were expelled after thirty years trouble, and the English and Saxon

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Nation restored to the Royall Dignitie: which yet they enjoyed not many years after. For straight upon the death of Edward the Confessor, William of Normandie (whose people at the first came from Norway also, and were therefore called Normans) demanded the Crown, and wan it of Harold in the field, which his posterity holdeth till this present day.

The Nor=
mans.

<4>

The seven
Kingdomes.

Thus much of the Nations, that have had interest in this Realm: Now to our former purpose, that is, to the division of the same into the sundrie Kingdomes under the Saxons. And although (by reason of the continual contention that was amongst them for enlarging their bounds) there can no certain limits of their Kingdomes be described, yet we will goe as neer the truth as we can, and follow the best approved Authors that have written thereof.

Westsex.
1

The first Kingdome therefore, was called the Kingdome of the West-Saxons, because it was in the West part of the Realm, and it comprehended the whole Shires of Southampton, Berk, Wilton, Dorset, and Somerset, besides some parts of Surrey, Gloucester, and Devonshire: As for the residue of Devonshire and whole Cornwall, the Britons retained it, whose language is not there as yet forgotten.

Southsex.
2

The second, was the South-Saxon Kingdome (so termed because it lay South) and contained whole Sussex, and the remain of Surrey.

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Kent.
3

The third, was the Kentish Kingdome, and had for the most part the same bounds, that the Shire of Kent yet holdeth, although at sometime, and by the prowes of some King, it was extended much further.

Essex.
4

The Kingdome of Eastsex, (or of the East-Saxons) was the fourth, which was named of the situation also, and included the whole Shires of Eastsex, and Midlesex, with some portion of Hartfordshire.

East-Angle.
5
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The fift, was of the East Angles (or East Englishmen, consisting of the Isle of Elye, and the Shires of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge.

Mercland.
6

The Kingdome of Mercia (or Mearc-lande) had the sixt place, which was so called of the Saxon word Mearc signifying a bound, limit, or marke, as we yet speak: and that, because it lay in the midst of this our Island, as upon the which all the residue of the Kingdomes did bound, and were bordered. In this Kingdome were wholly these Shires, Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland,

Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Chester, Darby, Nottingham, Stafford: And partly Hereford, Hartford, Warwick, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire.

Northumberland.
7

Northumberland (so called, because it lay North from the River Humber) was the seventh Kingdome: and it environed Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmerland wholly,

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and so much of Lancashire besides, as was not in Mercia.

This Kingdome was for a season divided into twain, that is to say, Deira, and Bernicia: but for as much as neither that division endured long, nor the acts of their Kings were greatly famous, I will not stay upon them: But to the end it may appear by what Laws and Customes these Kingdomes were guided (for of them also we must make mention in this historie, I will proceed to **speak somewhat concerning them, that thereby the History may the better be understood.**

Three sorts of
Laws, in old
time.
<6>

As each Country therefore, hath his proper Laws, Customes, and Maners of Life, so no man ought to doubt but that these Peoples, being aggregated of so many sundry Nations, had their severall rules, orders, and institutes. Howbeit, amongst the rest those be most famous, which our ancient writers call the Dane law, West-Saxon law, and Merchen law: The first of which was brought in by the Danes: The second was used amongst the West-Saxons: And the last was exercised in the Kingdome of Mercia: And yet not so exercised amongst themselves alone, but that they spread over some parts of the rest of the land also, being either imbraced for their equitie above the rest, or commanded by such the Kings as prevailed above others.

1

To the West-Saxons law therefore, all

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such were subiect, as inhabited the Kingdomes of Kent, Sussex, or Westsex.

2

The East-Saxons, East-Angles, and they of the Kingdome of Northumberland (all which were much mingled with the Danes) lived under the Danes law.

3

The Laws of
our time.

They of Mercia, had their own law, but not throughout: for after some mens opinions, the East and North parts of it lived after the law of the Danes also. All these laws, King William the Conqueror collected together, and (after a discreet view had) by advise of his counsell allowed some, altered others, and quite abrogated a great many, in place of which he established the laws of Normandie his own Country.

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The Saxon Characters, and their values.

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<A1-4 mislabelled B1-4>

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The description and History, of the shire of Kent.

These #thngs be all handled, in the inducti= on to the To= pographical Dictionary.

Having thus before hand exhibited in generality, the names, scituation, & compasse of the Realm, the number of the sun= dry nations inhabiting within the same, the se= verall Lawes, Languages, Rites, and Maners of the People, the conversion of the Country to Christianity, the divisions and limites of the Kingdomes, the begin= nings and alterations of Bishopricks, and such other things incident to the whole: Order now requireth, that I shew in par= ticular, the bounds of each Shire and County, the severall Regiments, Bishops Sees, Lasts, Hundreds, Franchises, Li= berties, Cities, Markets, Boroughs, Castles, Religious houses, and Schools: Ports Ha= vens, Rivers Waters, and Bridges: And finally, the Hills and Dales, Parks, and Forrests, and whatsoever the singulari=

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ties, within every of the same.

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And because not only the Romans and Saxons (that were conquerours of this Realm) but also the Disciples of the A= postle Philip, and the messengers of Pope Gregory (that were converters of the peo= ple) arrived first in Kent: and for that the same by commodity of the River of Thames (the chief key of this Island) first openeth it self, and to the end also that such guests and strangers as shall vouch= safe to visite this our Britain, may at their first entry finde such courtesie and enter= tainment, as from henceforth they cease, either with Horace to call us, 'Hospitibus feros, or with others, 'Feroce in advenas,' I will be their Xenagogus, or guide, and first shew them our Country of Kent, the inhabitants whereof, Cæsar himself in his Commentaries, confesseth to be of all o= thers the most full of humanity and gen= tlenesse.

Scituation of Kent.

Kent therefore, lying in the Southeast Region of this Realm, hath on the North the River of Thames, on the East the Sea, on the South the Sea and Sussex, and on the West Sussex and Surrey. It extend= eth in length, from the West of the lands in Beckenham, called (I will not say, pur= posely hereof) Langley, where is the stile,

as it were, over into Surrey, to the Rams gate in the Isle of Thanet, about fifty and three miles: and reacheth in breadt

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from the River Rother on the South of Newendene next Sussex, to the River of Thames, at Nowrheade in the Isle of Greane, twenty six miles, and somewhat more: And hath in circuit 160. miles, or thereabouts.

Kent, why so named.

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It is called by Cæsar, and other ancient writers, Cancium, and Cancia in Latine; which name was framed either (as I make conjecture) out of Cainc, a word that (in the language of the Britains, whom Cæsar at his arrivall found inhabiting there) signifieth, Bowghes, or Woods, and was imposed, by reason that this Countrey, both at that time, and also long after, was in manner wholly overgrown with Wood, as it shall hereafter in fit place more plainly appear: or else, of Cant, or Canton, which denoteth an Angle or Corner of land, (so this and sundry others be) as Master Camden the most lightsome Antiquary of this age hath observed.

The whole Shire hath long been, and is at this day, divided into five parts, commonly called Lathes, not altogether equall: which also be broken into Hundreds, and they again parted into Towns and Borows, most aptly for assembly and administration of Justice.

The Aire.

The Aire in Kent, by reason that the Country is on sundry parts bordered with water, is somewhat thick: for which cause (as also for that it is scituate neerest to

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the Sunne rising and furthest from the North pole of any part of the Realm) it is temperate, not so cold by a great deal as Northumberland, and yet in manner as warm as Cornwall. It hath also the better side of the river of Thames, from whence by the benefit of the South and Southwest Windes, (most common in this region) the fog and mist is carried from it.

The Soile.

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The Soile is for the most part bountifull, consisting indifferently of arable, pasture, meadow and woodland: howbeit of these, wood occupieth the greatest portion even till this day, except it be towards the East, which coast is more champion than the residue.

The Corn.

It hath Corn and Grain, common with other Shires of the Realm: as Wheat, Rie, Barly, and Oates, in good plenty, save only, that in the Wealdish, or wooddy places, where of late daies they used much Pomage, or Cider for want of Barley, now that lack is more commonly supplied

with Oates.
The Pulse. Neither wanteth Kent such sorts of pulce, as the rest of the Realm yeeldeth, namely beans, peas, and tares, which some (retaining the sound of the Latine word Vicia) call vetches, and which Polydor supposed not to be found in England.

The Pasture. The Pasture and meadow, is not on<ly> sufficient in proportion to the quantity <of> the Country it self for breeding, but <is>

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comparable in fertility also to any other that is near it, in so much that it gaineth by feeding.

The Woods. In fertile and fruitfull woods and trees, this Country is most flourishing also, whether you respect the mast of Oake, Beech and Chesten for cattle: or the fruit of Apples, Pears, Cherries, and Plums for men: for besides great store of Oake and Beech, it hath whole woods that bear Chestnut, a mast (if I may so call it, and not rather a fruit, whereof even delicate persons disdain not to feed) not commonly seen in other Countries: But as for Orchards of Apples, and Gardens of Cherries, and those of the most delicious and exquisite kindes that can be, no part of the Realm (that I know) hath them, either in such quantity and number, or with such art and industry, set and planted. So that the Kentish man, most truly of all other, may say with him in Virgil,

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Sunt nobis mitia poma,
Castaneæ molles, &c.

The Cattell. Touching domesticall cattel, as horses, mares, oxen, kine, and sheep, Kent differeth not much from others: only this it challengeth as singular, that it bringeth forth the largest of stature in each kinde of them: The like whereof also Polydore (in his history) confesseth of the Kentish poultry.

Deer and Conies. Parks of fallow Deer, and games of

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great Conies, it maintaineth many, the one for pleasure, and other for profit, as it may well appeer by this, that within memory almost the one half of the first sort be disparted, and the number of warrens continueth, if it doe not increase dayly.

As for red Deer, and black Conies, it nourisheth them not, as having no Forests, or great walks of waste ground for the one, and not tarying the time to raise the gain by the other: for, black Conies are kept partly for their skins, which have their season in Winter: and Kent by the neernesse to London, hath so quick market of young Rabbets, that it killeth this

game chiefly in Summer.
No Mines. There is no Minerall, or other profit digged out of the belly of the earth here, save onely that in certain places they have Mines of Iron, quarries of Paving stone, and pits of fat Marle.

<12> Besides divers pieres, jetties, and creeks, that be upon the coasts of the Thames and the Sea, Kent hath also sundry fresh rivers and pleasant streams, especially Derent, Medwey, and Stowre; of the which, Medwey is more navigable then the rest, for which cause, and (for that it crosseth the Shire almost in the midst) it is the most beneficiall also.

The Fish. The Sea, and these Waters, yeeld good and wholesome fishes competently, but yet neither so much in quantity, nor such

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in variety, as some other coasts of the Realm doe afford. And here let us for a season leave the Sea and the Soile, and cast our eyes upon the men.

The People. The People of this Country, consisteth chiefly (as in other Countries also) of the Gentry, and the Yeomanry, of which the first be for the most part, *archontes*, governors, and the other altogether *archomenoi*, governed: whose possessions also were at the first distinguished, by the names of Knight fee, and Gavelkinde: that former being proper to the Warrior, and this latter to the Husbandman. But as nothing is more inconstant, then the estate that we have in lands and living (if at the least I may call that an estate which never standeth) even so, long since these tenures have been so indifferently mixed and confounded, in the hands of each sort, that there is not now any note of difference to be gathered by them.

The Gentlemen. The Gentlemen be not here (throughout) of so ancient stocks as else where, especially in the parts neerer to London, from which City (as it were from a certain rich and wealthy seedplot) Courtiers, Lawyers, and Merchants be continually translated, and doe become new plants amongst them. Yet be their revennues greater then any where else: which thing groweth not so much by the quantity of their possession, or by the fertility of their soile,

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as by the benefit of the scituation of the country it self, which hath all that good neighbourhood, that Marc. Cato, and other old authors in husbandry require to a well placed graunge, that is to say, the Sea, the River, a populous City, and a well traded Highway, by the commodities whereof the superfluous fruits of the

ground be deerly sold, and consequently the land may yeeld a greater rent.

These Gentlemen be also (for the most part) acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the lawes: They use to manure some large portion of their own territories, as well for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better increase in wealth. So that they be well employed, both in the publique service, and in their own particular, and doe use hawking, hunting, and other disports, rather for their recreation, then for an occupation or pastime.

The Yeomen, and why so called.

The common people, or Yeomanry, (for so they be called of the Saxon word gemen, which signifieth common) is nowhere more free, and jolly, then in this shire: for besides that they themselves say in a claim (made by them in the time of King Edward the first) that the commonalty of Kent was never vanquished by the Conquerour, but yeelded it self by composition: and besides that Gervasius affirmeth, that the foreward in al battes

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elongeth to them (by a certain preeminence) in right of their manhood, it is agreed by all men, that there were never any Bondmen (or villaines, as the law calleth them in Kent.

Neither be they here so much bounden to the Gentry by Copyhold, or customary tenures, as the inhabitants of the Western countries of the realm be, nor at all endangered by the feeble hold of Tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenancy at will) as the common people in the Northern parts be: for Copyhold tenure is rare in Kent, and Tenant right not heard of at all: but in place of these, the custome of Gavelkind prevailing every where, in manner every man is a Freeholder, and hath some part of his own to live upon. And in this their estate, they please themselves, and joy exceedingly, in so much, as a man may finde sundry Yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not yet for all that change their condition, nor desire to be apparelled with the titles of Gentry.

Gavelkind.

Neither is this any cause of disdain, or of alienation of the good minds of the one sort from the other: for nowhere else in all this realme, is the common people more willingly governed. To be short, they be most commonly civill, just, and bountifull, so that the estate of the

10

old Franklyns and Yeomen of England

<15> either yet liveth in Kent, or else it is qui<te> dead and departed out of the realm for <al=> together.

The Artificers. As touching the Artificers of this shire, they be either such as travell at the Sea, or labour in the arts that be handmaidens to husbandry, or else do worke in Stone, Iron, and Woodfuell, or be makers of coloured woollen clothes: in which last feat, they excell, as from whom is drawn both sufficient store to furnish the wear of the best sort of our nation at home, and great plenty also to be transported to other foraign Countries abroad. Thus much I had summarily to say of the condition of the Country, and Country men. Now therefore (God assisting mine enterprise) I will go in hand with the History.

The first inhabitation of England. We read in the first book of Moses, that after such time as the order of nature was destroyed by the generall flood, and repaired again by the mercy of almighty God, the whole earth was overspread in processe of time, by the propagation of mankinde that came of the loins of Sem, Cham, and Japhet. By which authority, we are thoroughly certified, that all the nations of the world, must of necessity derive their Pedegrees from the country of Chaldee (or some place nigh unto it) where the Ark of Noah rested.

11

The error of those, which say, that the Britains were Indiginæ.

<16>

And therefore, I will not here either <d>oubt, or debate to and fro, as Cæsar, Cornel. tacit. Polydore, and others doe, whether the first inhabitants of this Island were (Aliunde advecti, and advenæ) that is, translated & brought out of some other Country to dwell here, or no: or yet affirme, as the same Cæsar doth, that some, or (as Diodorus Siculus writeth) that all the Britains were indiginæ, the naturall born people of that Country, and that ab origine, even from the first beginning: for to take the one way of these, or the other, would but leade us to distrust the infallible Scriptures of God concentering the creation and propagation of mankinde, and to trust the wretched vanity of opinion that the Gentils had, & namely the Atheniens, who, the better to advance their antiquity, were wont to vaunt, that they only (forsooth) of all the Grecians were <autochthones>, that is to say, Sativi, & indiginæ terræ parentis, the very naturall Seeds, Stocks, and Imps, springing out of their good mother the same earth where they dwelt, and not brought from elsewhere.

We read more over in the same book of Moses, that the Isles of the Gentils were divided into their Kingdomes and

Nations, by such as descended of the children of Japheth: whereupon, as the Italians in their histories derive themselves from Gomer the first sonne of Japheth: the Spani-

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yards from Tubal his fift sonne: and thence Germanes from Thuysco (whom as they say, Moses calleth Ascenas) the eldest sonne of Gomer: even so the late learned (and yet best travailed in the histories of our country) rejecting the fond dreams of dotting Monks and fabling Friars, do collect out of Herodotus, Berosius, and others the most grave and ancient authors, that one Samothēs, the sixth sonne of Japheth, (whom Cæsar in his commentaries calleth Dis, and Moses nameth Mesech) did about 250 yeeres after the generall inundation of the world, take upon him the first dominion of these countries in Europe, which are now known by the names of France and Britain, and the inhabitants thereof long time called Celtæ, or rather <kelētai>, of the verb <kelētizein>, for their speciall skill in riding.

<17>

That is to say, Riders: and, to Ride.

An. mundi. 2219. Albion.

An ante Christum 1142. Brutus, and Britains.

Of this mans name (say they) the first inhabitants of England were called Samothæi, by the space of 300 yeeres, or more: about which time Albion Mareoticus (the sonne of Neptune, or rather Nepthuim, as Moses writeth it, and descended of the race of Cham,) invaded the Isle, conquered the inhabitants, mixed them with his own people, and called them all after his own name Albionees, and the country it self Albion.

Six hundredth and eight yeeres (or thereabouts) after this also, Brutus Julius (as

13

our common historians have it) entred his Island with 324 ships, laden with the remains of Troy, and he likewise, both subdued all the former people that he found here to his own obedience, and also altered their name after his own calling: so that from thenceforth they were named Britains, the terms of Samothæes, and Albionees being quite and clean abolished.

Kent, the first inhabited part of England.

<18>

Now, out of these things thus alledged, I might (as me thinketh) draw probable conjecture, that Kent which we have in hand, was the first inhabited part of all this our Island.

For if it be true, that master Bale in his Centuries confesseth, namely, that Samothēs began his dominion over this realm almost 150 yeeres after such time as he first arrived in that part of France which is called Celtique, and had planted his people there: what can be more likely, then that he came out of France first into Kent?

seeing that part (of all others) was most neer unto him, and only of all the Island might be discerned out of the country where he was. And the self same reason Cæsar useth, to prove, that the borderers on the South Sea side of this land were Advenæ, and brought out of France, although he was perswaded, that the dwellers within the middle parts of the country were (Indigenæ,) as we have already touched. To make it easie also, master

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Twyne telleth us, that long since there was an Isthmus (or bridge of land) by which there was passage on foot to and fro between France and us, although the Sea hath sithence fretted the same in sun-der. But I will proceed in the history.

Four Kings in Kent.

Howsoever that be therefore, Cæsar himself witnesseth, that in the time of his arrivall in this Island, the people were by one common name called Britains: and that Kent was then divided into four petty Kingdomes, which were governed by Caruillus, Taximagul, Cingetorix, and Segonax: who, having severally subject to the dominions certain Cities with the territories adjoining unto them (after the maner of the Dukedomes, or Estates of Italie, at this day) extended their bounds (as it may be gathered) over the whole countries of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, at the least.

<19>

But one King in Kent.

This kinde of Regality, Kent retained not many yeers after: because the Britain Kings, succeeding Cæsars conquest, and yeelding tribute to the Romanes reduced not only these parts, but in manner the whole Realm also, into one intire Monarchy. So that in course of time (and under the reign of King Vortiger) Kent was ruled by a Lieutenant, or Viceroy, called Guorongus, as William of Malmesbury witnesseth.

But it was not long, before these Bri-

15

Britaines were so weakened, partly by intestine dissention amongst themselves, and partly by incursions of their neighbours the Scots, and Picts, that (the periode of this their estate also drawing on) Vortiger their King was compelled to invite for aide the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, three sorts of the Germane nation: who, instead of doing that which they came for, and of delivering the Britains from their former oppression, joyned with their enemies (Thessala fide, as the adage is) and brought upon them a more grievous calamity and conquest, subduing the people, suppressing religion, and departing (in manner)

Hengist, the
Saxon.
<20>

the whole land among themselves. So that now Kent recovered the title of a se=verall Kingdome againe, although not all one, and the very same in limits with the former four, yet nothing inferior in pow=er, estimation, or compasse.

Of this newly revived regiment Hengist the chief leader of the Germaines became the first author and patrone. For he, find=ing himself placed by King Vortiger (for his own habitation) at Thanet in this Shire, and seeing a great part of his power bestowed in garrison against the Scots un=der Ohtha his brother, and Ebusa his sonne in the North Country: and perceiving <m>oreover, that he was arrived out of a <m>ost barren region into this plentifull <ls>land, with the commodities whereof he

16

was inestimably delighted) he abandon<ed> all care of return to his native soile, a<nd> determined to make here a seat for hi<m=>self and his posterity.

For helps hereunto, although he had on the one side, his own prowesse the man=hood of his warlike nation, their number and necessity: and on the other side, the effeminate cowardise and voluptuousnes of King Vortiger, the weaknesse of the Britains themselves, and the advantage of the Scots and Picts their ancient enemies, so that he might with plain force have brought his purpose to passe: yet he chose rather to atchieve his desire by fair means and colour of amity, a way, though not so hastie as the former, yet more speedy then that, or any other.

Espying therefore, that King Vortiger was much delighted in womens companie, and knowing well, that 'Sine Cerere & Li=bero, friget Venus,' he bad him, to a solemn banquet, & after that he had (according to the manner of Germanie yet continuing) well plied him with pots, he let slip before him a fair gentlewoman, his own daugh=ter, called Roxena, or Rowen, which being instructed before hand how to behave her self, most amiably presented him with a goblet of wine, saying in her own lan=guage, 'wæs hæile hlaford cynyng,' Wessaill Lord King, that is to say, be me=ry Lord King: with which her daliance

<21>

The first was=
eling Cup.

17 <sig B>

the King was so delighted, that he not only vouchsafed to pledge her, but desired also to perform it in the right manner of her own country.

And therefore he answered (as he was taught) unto her again, 'drinc hæile,' drink merily. Which when she had done, himself took the cup, and pledged her so

<B1 mislabelled C1>

The issue of an
ungodly marriage.

heartily, that from thenceforth he could never be in rest, untill he had obtained hir to wife, little weighing, either how deeply he had endangered his conscience in matching himself with a heathen woman, or how greatly he had hazarded his Crown by joyning hands with so mighty a forrein Nation.

At the time of this marriage, Hengist (labouring by all means to bring in his own Country-men) begged of the King the territories of Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk, (then known by other names) pretending in word, that he would, in consideration thereof, keep out Aurel. Ambrose (a competitor of the Crown) whose arrivall King Vortiger had much feared, but meaning indeed, to make thereby a key to let into the realm multitudes of Germanes, for furtherance of his ambitious desire and purpose: which thing in processe of time he brought to passe, not only creating himself and his posterity Kings of a large quarter, but also thereby shewing the

<22>

18

way and entry, how others of his nation might follow, and doe the like.

And thus Kent, being once again (as I said) reduced into a Kingdome, continued in that estate, by the space of three hundred threescore and eight yeers, or thereabouts, in the hands of fifteen successours, as the most credible authors doe report: Some others add, Edbert, and Alric, and so make seventeen in all, whose names doe follow.

The Kings of
Kent.

1. Hengist, the first Germane.
2. Oesc.
3. Occa.
4. Hermenric: or Ermenric.
5. Ethelbert, the first christened.
6. Eadbald.
7. Erconbert, the first that commanded the observation of Lent, in this shire.
8. Egbert.
9. Lothar.
10. Eadric.
After his death, Nidred and Wibbard usurped, by the space of seven yeers, and therefore are not registred in the Catalogue of the lawfull Kings.
11. Wightred or Suihard, he built Saint Martines at Dover.
12. Edbert, added by some.
13. Ethelbert.

<23>

19

14. Alric, added also by some.

15. Eadbert Pren, or Edelbert Pren.
16. Cuthred.
17. Baldred.

Now, although it might here seem
 <c>onvenient, before I passed any further,
 <t>o disclose such memorable things, as
 <h>ave chanced during the reigns of all
 these forenamed Kings: yet forasmuch
 as my purpose specially is to write a To=
 pographie, or description of places, and no
 Chronographie, or story of times, (al=
 though I must now and then use both,
 since the one can not fully be performed
 without interlacing the other) and for
 that also I shall have just occasion here=
 after in the particulars of this Shire, to
 disclose many of the same, I will at this
 present, and that by way of digression only,
 make report of one or two occurrents
 that happened under Ethelbert and Ea=
 dric, two Kings of this Country.

Ethelbert the
 King of Kent.

This Ethelbert, besides that he mightily
 enlarged the bounds of his own King=
 dome, extending the same even to the
 river of Humber, was also the first King
 (amongst the Saxons, inhabiting this
 land) that promoted the Kingdome of
 Christ, as to whom it pleased almighty
 God to break the bread of his holy word
 and gospel, through the ministry and
 preaching of Augustine the Monk, that
 was sent from Rome by Pope Gregorie

20

<24>

527.

surnamed the great: amongst the Saxons
 I said, least any man should think, that
 either the faith of Christ, was not here
 at all, or not so purely preached, before
 the coming of that Augustine. For
 it is past all doubt, by the stories of all
 Countries, and by the testimony of Beda
 himself (being a Saxon) that the Britans
 embraced the religion of Christ within
 this Island, many hundred yeers before
 Gregories time: whether in purer sort
 then he sent it hither, or no, let them
 judge that know, that he was called
 (worthily) 'Pater Cæremoniarum,' and
 that may yee see in Beda, and others,
 what trumpery crept into the Church of
 God in his time and by his permission.

Eadric, the
 King of Kent.

Eadric, the other King succeeded in
 Kent, after Lotharius, who, because he
 rather reigned by lust, than ruled by Law,
 incurred the hatred of his people, and
 was invaded by Ceadwalla (King of
 Westsex) and Mull his brother: which
 entring the Country, and finding no re=
 sistance, herried it from the one end to the
 other: and not thus contented, Cead=
 walla, in revenge of his brother Muls
 death, (whom the Country People had

cruelly slain in a house, that he had taken for his succour) entred this Country the second time, and slaying the People, spoiled it without all pity. And yet not satisfied with all this, he suffered the

21

rel to descend to Ina his successor, who ceased not to unquiet the people of this Shire, till they agreed to pay him 30000. Marks in gold, for his desired amends.

<25> These be the matters that I had to note in the reigns of these two Kings: as for the rest, I passe them over to their fit titles, as things rather pertaining to some peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole Shire, and will now prosecute the residue.

827 In the time of this Baldred, that standeth last in the table of the Kings, Kent was united by King Egbert (who last of all changed the name of the people, and called them Englishmen) unto the Westsaxon Kingdome, which in the end became Lady and Masters of all the rest of the Kingdomes also: and it was from thenceforth wholly governed after the Westsaxon law, as in the Map of the tripartite lawes of this Realm hath appeared, untill such time as King Alfred first divided the whole Realm into particular Shires, upon this occasion following.

First name of Englishmen.

Beginning of Shires. The Danes, both in his time, and before had flocked by sea to the coasts of this Land in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword, and fire, wheresoever they might arrive: and sometimes taking with them great booties out of their ships without doing any further harm: which thing (continuing for many

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ny yeers together) caused the husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gave occasion and hardnesse to evill disposed persons to fall to the like pillage, and robbery: The which, the better to cloke their mischief withall, fained themselves to be Danish pirates, and would sometime come on Land in one part, and sometime in another, driving great spoils (as the Danes had done) to their ships before them.

892. <26> The good king Alfred therefore, that had marvelously travailed in repulsing the barbarous Danes espying this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politique Prince to roote out the noisome subject, then to hold out the forreign enemy, by advice of his Councill, and by the example of Moses (which followed the counsel of Ietro, his father in law) divided the whole Realm into certain parts, or Sections

(being two and thirty in number, as I guesse) which of the Saxon word Scyran, signifying to cut, he termed Shires, or (as we yet speak (Shares, and portions: and appointed over every one shire, an Earl, or Alderman (or both) to whom he committed the government and rule of the same.

Lathes. These Shires he also brake into smaller parts, whereof some were called Lath<es,> of the word gelapian, which is to asse<m=> Hundreds. ble together: others, Hundreds, becau<se>

23

Tythings. they contained jurisdiction over an Hun= dred pledges: and others, Tythings, so na= med, because there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof each one was surety and pledge for others good abearing.

He ordained furthermore, that every man should procure himself to be receiv= ed into some Tything, and that if any were found of so small credit, that his neighbours would not become pledge for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least he might doe harm a= broad.

<27> By this device of his it came to passe, that good subjects (the travailling Bees of the Realm) resorted safely to their la= bors again, and the evill and idle Drones were driven clean out of the hyve of the Common-wealth: so that in short time, the whole Realm tasted of the sweet honoy of this blessed peace and tranquility: In= somuch, that (as one writeth) if a man had let fall his purse in the high way, he might at great leasure and with good as= surance have come backe and taken it up again.

The right way to suppress Rogues and Theeves. Some shadow I doe confesse, of this King Alfredes politique institution, re= maineth even till this day in those Courts which we call Leetes where these pledges be yet named 'franci plegii,' of the word freoborgh, which is, a free pledge: But

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if the very Image it self were amongst us, who seeth not what benefit would ensue thereby, as well towards the suppression of busie theeves, as for the correction of idle vagabonds, which be the very seed of robbers and theeves? But leaving this matter to such as bear the sword, I will ply my Pen, and goe forward.

Thus much therefore I thought good, now at the first to open the more at large, because it may serve generally for all Shires, and shall hereafter deliver me from often repetition of one thing. Where, by the way, (least I might seem

Bosholder, and
Tything-man

<28>

to have forgotten the Shire that I have presently in hand) it is to be noted, that that which in the west Country was at that time, (and yet is) called, a Tything, is in Kent termed a Borow, of the Saxon word borh, which signifieth a Pledge, or a suretie: and the chief of these pledges, which the Western-men call a Tything-man, they of Kent name a Borsholder, of the Saxon words borhes ealdor, that is to say, the most ancient, or elder of the Pledges: which thing being understood, the matter will come all to one end, and I may goe forward.

1066.
Kent keepeth
her old customs.

In this plight therefore, both this Shire of Kent, and all the residue of the Shires of this Realm, were found, when William the Duke of Normandy invaded this Realm: at whose hands the commonalty

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<K>ent, obtained with great honour, the continuation of their ancient usages, notwithstanding that the whole Realm besides suffered alteration and change.

For proof whereof, I will call to witness Thomas Spot, sometimes a Monk and Chronicler of Saint Augustines at Canterbury: who, if he shall seem too weak to give sufficient authority to the tale, because he only (of all the Storiers that I have seene) reporteth it; yet forasmuch as I my selfe first published that note out of his History, and for that the matter it self also is neither incredible nor unlikely (the rather because this Shire, even unto this day enjoyeth the custome of give all kin descent, dower of the moytie, freedom of byrth, and sundry other usages much different from other Countries) I neither well may, ne will at all, stick, now eftsoons to rehearse it.

Give all
kynne.

1067.

After such time (saith he) as Duke William the Conquerour had overthrown King Harold in the field, at Battell in Sussex, and had received the Londoners to mercy, he marched with his army toward the Castle of Dover, thinking thereby to have brought in subjection this Country of Kent also. But Stigande, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelsine the Abbot of Saint Augustines, perceiving the danger, assembled the Countrymen together, and laid before them the

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intollerable pride of the Normanes that invaded them, and their own miserable condition, if they should yeeld unto them. By which means, they so enraged the common people, that they ran forth with to weapon, and meeting at Swanscombe, elected the Archbishop and the

Meeting at
Swanescombe.

Abbat for their Captains: This done, each man got him a green bough in his hand, and bare it over his head, in such sort, as when the Duke approached, he was much amased therewith, thinking at the first, that it had been some miraculous wood, that moved towards him: But they, assoon as he came within hearing, cast away their boughs from them, and at the sound of a trumpet bewraied their weapons, and withall dispatched towards him a messenger, which spake unto him in this manner. 'The commons of Kent (most noble Duke) are ready to offer thee, either Peace, or Warr, at thine own choise and election: Peace, with their faithfull Obedience, if thou wilt permit them to enjoy their ancient Liberties: Warr, and that most deadly, if thou deny it them.'

Now when the Duke heard this, and considered that the danger of deniall was great, and that the thing desired was but small, he forthwith, more wisely then willingly, yeelded to their request: And by this mean both he received Dover Castle and the Country to obedience, and they

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27

only of all England, (as shall hereafter appear) obtained for ever their accustomed priviledges.

And thus then hath it appeared (so shortly, as I could) what hath been the state and government of this Country, from the arrivall of Julius Cæsar, (the first Romane that conquered this Realm) even to this present day. Now therefore, I will set before the Readers eye in Table, a plain Particular of the whole Shire, wherein, to the end that with little labour of search, double commodity may be found, I will first divide the Country into Laths, Baliffwicks, Limits, and Hundreds, as it is used for execution of services by the Shiriffs, their Bayliffs, and Justices of the Peace: Secondly, to these Laths and Hundreds, I will add the Parishes, Towns, and Boroughs, setting down against each of them such severall summs of money, as (by report of the Record of the xiii. yeare of her Majesties raign) was levied in the name of a Tenth, and Fifteenth, upon every of the same. Thirdly, I will particularize the Franchyses, Parks, Rivers, Bridges, and other the more publique and notorious parts of the Shire in short Kalender: And lastly; I will adresse me to the Topographie and larger description of such places, as either faithful information by word, or credible History in writing, hath hitherto ministred unto me.

<28>

<31>

The Distribution of the Shire,
for execution of Justice.

Lath.	Bayly= wicks.	Limits for Justice of Peace.	Hundreds & the number of Parishes in them.	Names of the Justices of Peace and their dwelling Pa= rishes: 17. Februar. 1596.
			Blackheath paris. 7.	S. Raph Bouchier, in Leigh. Bryan Annesley, in Lewsham. William Barnes, in Woolwich<e.>
		1. Vpper di= vision.	Broomely & Heknam par. 2.	Jo. L. Bish. Roffen. in Broom= Tymothy Lowe. ley. Edm. Style, in Becknam.
			Little and Lesnes. pa. 4.	
			Axtane par. 16.	Percivall Hart, in Lullingsto<ne.> S. George Cary, in Stone.
1. Sut= ton at Hone.	1. Sutton at Hone.		Rookesley par. 15.	Tho. Walsingham, in Chesylhyrs<l.> Samuel Lennard, in Wyckha<m.>
		2. Nether di= vision.	Godsheath par. 8.	Samson Lenard in Sevenok,
			Westerham par. 4.	Thomas Potter in Westerham.
			Somerdene par. 6.	S. Robert Sydney. in Pens= George Ryvers. hyrst.

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Lath.	Bayly= wicks.	Limits for Justice of Peace.	Hundreds & their num= ber of Pa= rishes.	Names of Justices and their dwelling Parishes.
			Hoo par. 5.	William Lo. Cobham in Cob= Henry Brooke ham.
		1. North di= vision.	Shamele par. 11.	S. Jo. Leveson in Halling.
			Toltingtroe par. 6.	
			Chetham and Gyllinghin par. 3.	
			Wrotham par. 4.	Geo. Chowne. in Wrotham. Jo. Rychers.
			Larkefield par. 15.	William Sedley, in Ayllesford.
			Littlefield par. 3.	Roger Twysden, in Pekham.
			Twyford par. 6.	Sir John Scott, in Netlested. Tho. Fane, in Hunton.
		2. South di= vision.	Lowy of Tun bridge p. 2.	
2 Ayles= ford.	3. Twy= ferd.		Wacheling= stone par. 5.	
			West barn= field, Bren= cheley and Horsmonden par. 3.	
			Marden p. 2	
			Eyhorne par. 13.	S. Ed. Wotton, in Bocton mal= / herbe S. T. Fludde, in Bersted. Edward Fylmer, in Sutton. William Lewyn, in Otterynden. Mathew Hadde, in Frensted Mart. Barnham, in Hollingborne Henry Cutte, in Stocbery.
	4. Eyborno	3. East divi= sion.	Maydstone par. 7.	Lau. Washington, in Maydstone. Will. Beynham, in Boxley.

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Lath.	Bayly= wicks.	Limits for Justice of Peace.	Hundreds & number of Parishes in them.	Names of Justice<s> and the<ir> dwelling Parishes.

5.	Mylton.	Mylton	S. Ed. Hobbye.	in the Isle <of>
		par. 23.	Jo. Askough.	Shepey.
		Tenham p. 4.	William Crowmer,	in Tunsta<l.>
		Feversham	Michael Sondes,	in Throu<gh=>
		par. 17.	ley.	
6.	Scray.	Bocton un=		
		derbleane		
		par. 4.		
		Felboroe p. 5		
		Chart and		
		Lonbirdge	Rob. Edolph,	in Hynxell.
		par. 9.		
3.	Scraye	Wye	S. Moyle Fynch,	in Eastwel<l.>
	alias	par. 5.	Tho. Kempe,	in Wye.
	Shir=	Byrcholt ba=		
	win=	rony par. 1.		
	hope.	Calehyll	Rob. Honeywood.	in C<ha=>
		par. 8.	Nicholas Gilborne.	ring.
		Ashford, villate.	Richard Deering,	in Plukle<y.>
		Blackborne p. 5.		
		Tenterden		port.
		par. 1.		
8.	7 Hun	Barkley p. 1.	Thomas Robertes,	in Cr<an=>
	dreds.	Cranbrooke	brooke.	
		par. 3.		
		Rolvelden	Henry Lynley,	in Rolvende<n.>
		par. 2.		
		Selbrightenden par. 1.		
		East barnfield pa. 1.		
		Newyndene villate.		

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<34>	<La>th.	Bayly=	Limits	Hundreds &	Names of Justices and their
		wicks.	for Justice	numbers of	dwelling Parishes.
			of Peace.	Parishes.	
				Bingesloe	Richard Cryspe,
				p<a>r. 4.	in Thanet
				Blengate	Ins.
				par. 7.	
				Whitstable	
				par. 3.	
	9.	Bredge.		Westgate	Peter M<a>nwood,
				par. 4.	in Haking=
				Downham=	ton.
				ford p. 6.	Sir Henry Palmer,
				Preston	in Bekes=
				par. 2.	borne port.
				Bredge and	William Partrich,
				Petham p. 7.	in Bredge.
				Kingham=	Ric. Hardres,
				forde par. 5.	in upper Hardres.
				Seasalter	Sir Thomas Wylford,
				Boroe.	in King=
					stone.
				Wyngham	Thomas Palmer,
				par. 5.	in Wing=
					ham.
				Eastrye	Richard Fogge,
				par. 11.	in Tylmanstone.
					Ric. Lo. of Dover,
					in Denton.
					Joh. Boys,
					in Betshanger.
					Thomas Payton,
					in Knolton.
					Edward Boys,
					in Nonington.
				Corniloe	
				par. 8.	
				Bewesbrough	
				par. 13	
				Longport	
				Boroe.	

<32>

<35>	Lath.	Bayly=	Limits	Hundreds	Names of Justices and th<eir>
		wicks.	for Justice	and number	dwelling Parishes.
			of Peace.	of Parishes.	
				Folkestane	
				par. 8.	
				Loningboroe	William Harmonde,
				par. 4.	in Acr<ise.>
				Stowtinge	
				par. 5.	John Smith,
					at Stanforde.

	Heane	par. 2.	
5. Shyp= wey.	Byrcholt franchyse	par. 2.	Thomas Scott, in Smeeth.
	Streate	par. 3.	Raph Hayman, in Sellyng.
	Worth	par. 2.	
	Ham	par. 3.	
	Langporte	par. 1.	
12. Shyp= wey.	Saint Mar= tine	p.	
	Newchurch	par. 4.	
	Alowsbridge	par. 6.	
	Oxney	par. 3.	

Note, that Rich. Lee, and Henry Fy<nche,>
dwell in Canterbury: Thomas B<lague>
inhabiteth Rochester: The rest (of <the>
Nobility and others) named in <the>
Commission, are not resident w<ithin>
the Shire.

33 <sig C>

<36>

The Lath of Saint Augustines, otherwise
called the Lath of Hedelinth.

	Borow of Wingham,	67 s. 1 d.
	Borowe of Rolling,	67 s. 1 d.
	Borowe of Nonington,	67 s. 1 d.
	Borowe of Godestone,	67 s. 1 d.
Hundred of Wing ham.	Borowe of Denne,	67 s. 1 d.
	Borowe of Twytham,	33 s. 9 d.
	Borow of Wimplingswold,	33 s. 9 d.
	Borowe of Kelington,	33 s. 7 d.
	Borowe of Gythorne,	26 s. 1 d.
	The Parish of Ashe with the Borow of Widerton.	23 l. 12 s. 3 d.
	Sum,	46 l. 14 s. 10 d.
Hundred of Pre= ston.	Town of Preston,	5 l. 9 s. 10 d.
	Town of Elmeston,	l. s.
	Sum,	7 l. 19 s. 10 d.
	Town of Wood,	4 l. 7 s. 8 d.
	Town of Monketon,	3 l.
	Town of Mynster,	15 l.
	Town of St. Laurence,	17 l. 13 s. 4 d.
Hundred of King= geslowe.	Town of S. Peter,	15 l. 17 s.
	Town of S. John,	23 l. 12 s.
	Town of S. Giles,	15 s.
	Town of S. Nicholas,	10 l. 17 s.
	Town of All Saincts,	4 l. 6 s. 4 d.
	Town of Byr= chingstone,	8 l. 15 s. 3 d.
	Sum,	103 l. 13 s. 7 d.

34

<37>

The Lath of
St. Augustines

Hundred of Down= hamford,	Town of Staple,	4 l. 7 s.
	Town of Adesham,	4 l. 9 s.
	Town of Wykham,	7 l. 14 s. 10 d.
	Town of Litleborne,	7 l. 14 s.
	Town of Well,	6 l. 19 s. 6 d.

		Sum, 31 l. 4 s. 4 d.
	Town of Chillenden,	18 s.
	Town of Berston,	7 s. 2 d.
	Town of Nonington,	20 s.
Hundred of Estrye.	Town of Tylvestone,	6 l. 6 s. 4 d.
	Town of Wodnesborowe,	15 l. 10 s. 10 d.
	Town of Estrye,	14 l. 11 s. 10 d.
	Town of Waldershare,	12 s.
	Sum, 39 l. 6 s. 2 d.	
	Borow of Dorme,	25 s.
	Borow of Kingstone,	3 l. 8 d.
Hundred of Kinghamford,	Borow of Outemeston,	22 s. 4 d.
	Borow of Berham,	42 s. 4 d.
	Borow of Bereton,	23 s. 4 d.
	Borow of Sheluing,	28 s. 6 d.
	Borow of Brethe,	23 s. 4 d.
	Sum, 11 l. 5 s. 6 d.	
Hundred of Petham,	Town of Petham,	7 l. 12 s. 7.
	Town of Chartham,	8 s. 10 d. ob.
	Town of Waltham,	4 l. 2 s. 5 d.
	Sum, 12 l. 3 s. 10 d. ob.	

35

<38>
The Lath of
St. Augustines

	Town of Colred,	39 s.
	Town of Shebertswold,	58 s.
	Town of Popeshal,	50 s.
	Town of St. Margaret,	3 l.
	Town of Oxney,	26 s. 7 d. ob.
	Town of Westclif,	31 s.
	Town of Guston,	34 s.
Hundred of Bewsbrough,	Town of Beawfield,	39 s.
	Town of Charlton,	47 s.
	Town of Hougham,	4 l.
	Town of Bucland,	28 s.
	Town of Reuer,	40 s.
	Town of Ewell,	66 s.
	Town of Leden,	24 s. q.
	Town of Smalhead,	13 s. 4 d.
	Town of Westlangden,	20 s.
	Sum, 32 l, 15 s. 11 d. ob q.	
	Borow of Finglesham,	39 s.
	Borow of Sholdon,	40 s.
	Borow of Marten,	30 s.
	Borow of Eastlangdon,	12 s.
	Borow of Asheley,	40 s.
	Borow of Sutton,	23 s. 5 d. ob.
Hundred of Cornilo,	Borow of Mongeham-magna,	40 s.
	Borow of Rippley,	17 s.
	Borow of Norborne,	23 s.
	Borow of Deale,	13 l. 19 s.
	Borow of Walmer,	4 l. 5 s. 8 d.
	Borow of Mongeham-parva,	17 s.
	Town of Ringwolde,	8 l. 10 d.
	Sum, 40 l. 6 s. 11 d. ob.	

36

<39>
The Lath of
St. Augustines

Hundred of Blen-	Town of Sturey,	12 l. 14 s.
	Town of Chistelet,	12 l. 14 s.
	Town of Reculuer,	12 l. 14 s.

gate,	Town of Herne,	12 l. 15 s.
		Sum, 50 l. 17 s.
	Borow of West=	9 l. 19 s. 2 d. ob.
	gate,	
	Borow of Harbaldowne,	4 l.
Hundred	Borow of Hakington,	4 l. 6 s.
of West=	Borow of Cokering,	3 l. 14 s.
gate,	Borow of Tunforde,	35 s.
	Borow of Rushborne,	28 s. 10 d.
	Borow of Harwich,	57 s. 1 d.
		Sum, 28 l. 1 d. ob.
	Town of Bleane,	7 l. 11 s. 9 d.
Hundred	Town of Whitstaple,	6 l. 15 s.
of Whit=	Town of Nating=	11 s. 4 d. ob. q.
staple,	ton,	
		Sum, 14 l. 18 s. 1 d. ob. q.
	Town of Patricksborne,	3 l. 16 s.
	Town of Bekesborne,	3 l. 18 s.
	Town of Bregge,	15 s.
Hundred	Town of Blackmanbury,	28 s.
of Bregg,	Town of little Harden,	28 s.
	Town of Natindon,	28 s.
	Town of great Harden,	29 s.
		Sum. 14 l. 2 s.
	Town of Seasalter,	3 l. 6 s. 8 d.
	Sum of this whole Lath	436 l. 15 s.
	of Saint Augustines.	

<37>

<40>

The Lath of Shepway.

	Town of Newchurch,	20 s. 3 d.
	Town of St. Maries,	49 s.
Hundred	Town of Hope,	12 l. 7 s. 10 d. ob.
of Saint	Town of St. Martine.	14 s. 2 d.
Martine,	Town of St. Clement,	50 s. 4 d. ob.
	Town of Ivechurch,	68 s. 1 d.
	Town of Medley,	4 s. 2 d.
		Sum, 22 l. 13 s. 11 d.
	Town of St. Nicholas,	16 s.
Hundred	Town of Lyd,	9 l. 2 s. 4 d.
of Lang=	Town of Romney,	13 s. 4 d.
port,	Town of Hope,	29 s.
		Sum, 12 l. 8 d.
	Town of Snargate,	57 s. 11 d.
	Town of Brenset,	4 l. 2 d.
Hundred	Town of Brokeland,	77 s.
of A=	Town of Fairefeld,	44 s. 9 d.
lowes=	Town of Snaue,	32 s. 6 d. ob.
bedge,	Town of Ivechurch,	31 s. 4 d.
	Town of Newchurch,	7 s. 1 d. ob.
		Sum, 16 l. 10 s. 10d.
Hundred	Town of Aldington,	4 l. 10 s. ob.
of Bir=	Town of Mersham,	8 s 10 d.
cholt		Sum, 4 l. 18 s. 10 d. ob.
Fran-		
chesse,		

38

<41> The Lath of Shepway.	Hundred of New= church,	Town of Bilsington,	53 s. 8 d.	
		Town of Newchurch,	33 s. 2 d.	
		Town of Roking,	50 s. 6 d.	
		Town of Snaue,	8 s. 4 d.	
			Town of St. Marie,	34 s. 4 d.
			Sum,	9 l.
	Hundred of Stow= ting,	Town of Elmested,	72 s. 9 d.	
		Town of Scelling,	19 s. 2 d.	
		Town of Waltham,	21 s. 7 d.	
		Town of Stowting,	30 s. 11 d.	
		Town of Horton,	54 s. 8 d. ob.	
			Town of Stanford,	26 s. 10 d. ob.
		Sum,	11 l. 6 s.	
Hundred of Louing= borough,	Town of Eleham,	16 l. 12 d.		
	Town of Acryse,	7 s. 8 d.		
	Town of Hardresse,	29 s. 4 d.		
	Town of Stelling,	30 s. 1 d. ob.		
	Town of Lyming,	9 l. 15 s. 8 d.		
	Town of Pad= dlesworth,	18 s. 3 d. ob.		
		Sum,	30 l. 2 s. 1 d.	
Hundred of Strete,	Town of Limeane,	75 s. 1 d.		
	Town of Aldington,	23 s. 7 d. ob.		
	Town of Selling,	6 l. 11 s. 9 d.		
	Town of Bonington,	12 s. 9 d.		
	Town of Heste.	17 s. 6 d. ob.		
	Town of West= inghanger,	16 s. 11 d. ob. q.		
		Sum,	13 l. 17 s. 8 d. ob. q.	
Hundred of Oxeney	Town of Wittresham,	56 s. 1 d.		
	Town of Stone,	78 s. 4 d.		
	Town of Ebbene,	12 s. 6 d.		
		Sum,	7 l. 6 s. 11 d.	
39				
<42> The Lath of Shepway.	Hundred of Heane,	Town of Saltwood,	6 l. 7 s. 8 d.	
		Town of Lymeane,	5 s. 1 d.	
		Town of Postling,	4 l. 10 s. 11 d.	
			Sum,	11 l. 3 s. 8 d.
	Hundred of Hame,	Town of Warehorne,	52 s. 5 d.	
		Town of Shaddockherst,	5 s. 2 d.	
		Town of Rokinge,	29 s.	
		Town of Snaue,	10 s. 2 d.	
		Town of Orlaston,	9 s. 2 d.	
			Sum,	5 l. 5 s. 11 d.
	Hundred of Worth,	Town of Dymchurch,	61 s. 10 d.	
		Town of Bormersh,	4 l. 8 s. 4 d.	
Town of Newchurch,		6 s. 2 d. ob.		
Town of Estbredg,		40 s. 1 d.		
Town of Blackmanstone,		12 s.		
Town of Westheath,		23 s. 2 d. q.		
Town of Lymen,		29 s. 3 d. ob.		
Town of Aldingweke, and Organsweke,		22 s. 5 d.		
		Sum,	14 l. 3 s. 4 d. q.	
		Town of Lyden,	32 s. 1 d. ob.	
		Town of Swyngfeld,	5 l. 6 s. 9 d.	
		Town of Akkam,	13 l. 17 s.	
		Town of Folkstone,	9 l. 5 s. 5 d. ob.	

Hundred of Folke=	Town of Hawking,	25 s. 6 d.
stone,	Town of Acryse,	19 s. 4 d.
	Town of New=	8 l. 14 s. 4 d. ob.
	ington.	
	Town of Cheriton.	4 l. 2 s. 3 d.
	Sum,	45 l. 2 s. 9 d.

Sum of this whole 203 l. 12 s. 9 d. ob. q.
Lath of Shepway,

40

<43> The Lath of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

Hundred of Chart,	Ashtisforde,	3 l. 9 s.
	Charte,	4 l. 17 s. 4 d.
	Betrisden,	3 l. 2 s. 3 d.
	Hotheffelde,	60 s. 8 d. ob.
	Sum,	13 l. 9 s. 2 d. ob.

Hundred of Long=	Willesbroughe,	53 s. 6 d.
bridge,	Kenington,	3 l. 10 s. 6 d.
	Seuington,	18 s. 7 d. q.
	Kingsnothe,	31 s. 6 d.
	Marsham,	12 s. 10 d. ob.
	Hynxell,	13 s. 6 d. ob.
	Ashetisforde,	52 s. q.
	Sum,	12 l. 12 s. 6 d. ob.

Hundred of Byr=	Westbraborne,	31 s. 5 d.
cholte,	Hastingleyghe,	21 s. 6 d. ob.
	Bircholte,	20 s. 4 d. ob.
	Eastbraborne,	19s. 8 d. ob.
	Sum,	4 l. 13 s. ob.

Hundred of Bough=	Graveney,	5 l. 8 s. 4 d.
ton under	Harnehill,	4 l. 14 s. 10 d.
Bleane,	Sellyng,	9 l.
	Boughton,	9 l. 5 s. 7 d. ob. q
	Sum.	28 l. 8 s. 9 d. ob. q.

41

<44>
The Lath of
Scray or Sher=
winhope.

Hundred of Tene=	Teneham,	9 l. 2 s. 2 d.
ham,	Linstede,	9 l. 9 s. 4 d.
	Eastchurch and	23 s. 4 d.
	Stonepit,	
	Hedcorne,	19 s.
	Dodington,	6 l. 10 s. 2 d.
	Iwade,	11 s.
	Sum,	27 l. 15 s.

Hundred of Calehill.	Nashe,	20 s. 2 d.
	Felde,	33 s. 8 d.
	Hayslathe,	36 s. 10 d.
	Sandpit,	27 s. 6 d.
	Charte,	40 s. 10 d.
	Welles,	18 s.
	Charinge,	46 s. 6 d.
	Sandhill,	26 s. 6 d.
	Acton,	17 s. 10 d.
	Eastlenham,	35 s. 8 d.
	Stanforde,	40 s. 4 d.
	Pluckley,	3 l.
	Edisley,	35 s.
	Halingarse,	45 s. 4 d.
	Sednor,	44 s. 2 d.
	Halmeste,	50 s. 8 d.

Saint Johns, 7 s. 6 d.
 Grenehill, 13 s. 4 d.
 Sum, 29 l. 19 s. 10 d.

42

<45>
 The Lath of
 Scray, or Sher=
 winhope.

	Stone,	38 s.
	Preston,	5 l. 8 s. 11 d.
	Stallisfeild,	41 s.
	Luddenham,	3 l. 6 s. 8 d.
	Ore,	10 s.
	Hartie,	22 s. 11 d.
	Davington,	3 l. 2 s. 8 d.
	Ospringe,	3 l. 2 s. 5 d.
	Feversham,	9 l. 22 d. ob.
Hundred of Fever= sham,	Godneston,	29 s. 8 d.
	Selling,	38 s. 1 d.
	Sheldwiche,	3 l. 7 s. 5 d.
	Throwly,	5 l. 17 s. 8 d.
	Badlesmere,	32 s. 2 d.
	Leveland,	6 s. 10 d.
	Neuenham,	41 s. 5 d.
	Norton,	30 s.
	Boresfield,	13 s. 4 d.
	Boughton Malherb,	11 s. 8 d.
	Eseling,	3 l. 1 s. 1 d.
	Sum,	52 l. 3 s. 9 d. ob.
Hundred of Tenter= dene,	Tenterdene,	12 l. 7 s. 1 d.
	Ebnye,	37 s. 10 d.
	Sum,	14 l. 4 s. 11 d.
Hundred of Rolvin= den,	Rolvinden,	3 l. 11 s. 10 d.
	Benyndene,	58 s. 8 d.
	Sum,	6 l. 10 s. 6 d.

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<46>
 The Lath of
 Scray or Sher=
 winhope.

	Bedyndene,	5 l.
	Benyndene,	39 s.
	Haldene,	6 s.
Hundred of Barkley,	Smardene,	15 s. 2 d. ob. q.
	Hedcorne,	12 s.
	Fryttendene,	7 s. 8 d.
	Cranebrooke,	3 s.
	Sum,	9 l. 2 s. 9 d. ob. q.
Hundred of Black= borne,	Appledore,	45 s. 5 d. q.
	Kenardington,	40 s. 10 d.
	Woodchurch,	5 l. 16 s. ob.
	Warehorne,	16 s. 2 d.
	Shadockesherst,	8 s.
	Haldene,	3 l. 6 s. 10 d.
	Betrisdene,	17 s.
	Sum,	15 l. 10 s. 3 d. ob. q.
Hundred of Bran= field,	Hawkherst,	3 l. 18 s. 4 d.
	Cranebroke,	6 s. 8 d.
	Sum,	4 l. 5 s.
Hundred of Crane= brooke,	Biddendene,	3 s. 6 d.
	Cranebrooke,	5 l. 16 s. 8 d.
	Frittendene,	35 s. 5 d.
	Stapleherst,	28 s.
	Hedcorne,	10 s. 10 d.
	Benyndene,	30 s. 10 d.
	Gowdherst,	23 s. 6 d.

			Sum, 12 l. 8 s. 9 d.
		Newendene,	8 s.
	Hundred	Sandherst,	35 s. 10 d.
	of Selbri=	Hawkherst,	5 s. 8 d. ob.
	tendene,	Benyndene,	21 s. 2 d.
		Sum,	3 l. 10 s. 8 d. ob.
	44		
<47>		Gowdherst,	38 s. 4 d.
The Lath of	Hundred	Stapleherst,	16 s. 9 d.
Scray, or Sher	of Marden,	Marden,	19 s. 8 d.
winhope.		Sum,	3 l. 14 s. 8 d.
		Newendene,	24 s. 11 d.
		The Balywick of Kay, in the	
		Hundred of Mylton.	
		Tong,	43 s. 9 d.
		Rodmersham,	19 s. 6 d. ob.
		Kingsdowne,	6 s. 6 d.
		Borden,	8 s. 6 d.
		Tunstall,	3 l. 3 s. 4 d.
		Bredgar,	9 s.
		Morston,	26 s.
		Sum,	9 l. 6 s. 7 d. ob.
		The Balywick of Shepey, in the	
		Hundred of Mylton.	
		Mynster,	11 l. 9 d.
		Eastchurch,	11 l. 13 s. 10 d. ob.
		Wardon,	3 l. 6 s. 4 d.
		Lesdon,	4 l. 17 s. 9 d.
		Sum,	30 l. 18 s. 8 d. ob.
	Hundred	The Balywick of West, in the	
	of Mylton,	Hundred of Mylton.	
		Raynham,	9 l. 12 s. 6 d. ob.
		Upchurche,	6 l. 10 s. 10 d.
		Hartlyp,	3 l. 12 s.
		Newenton,	4 l. 4 s. 4 d.
		Halstowe,	16 s.
		Stokebury,	20 s. 5 d.
		Sum,	15 l. 16 s. 1 d. ob.
	45		
<48>		The Balywick of Kay, in the	
The Lath of		Hundred of Mylton.	
Scray, or Sher=		Sedingborne,	6 l. 7 s. 2 d.
winhope.		Bapchilde,	4 l. ob.
		Tonge,	47 s. 2 d.
		Rodmersham,	55 s. 5 d. ob.
		Bredgar,	9 s. 6 d.
		Tunstall,	8 s. 6 d.
		Morston,	7 s. 8 d.
		Elmesley,	27 s. 10 d.
		Milstede,	31 s. 8 d.
		Kingsdowne,	21 s. ob.
		Sum,	20 l. 16 s. ob.
	Hundred	The Balywick of Borden, in the	
	of Mylton,	Hundred of Mylton.	
		Mylton,	7 l. 10 s. 7 d. ob.

Stokebury,	20 s.
Bredgar,	3 l. 15 s. 4 d.
Bycnore,	13 d.
Borden,	4 l. 10 s. 11 d.
Sedingborne-parva,	8 s. 6 d.
Tunstall,	15 s. 8 d.
Newington,	41 s. 9 d.
Bobbing,	53 s. 5 d.
Halstowe,	42 s. 4 d.
Iwade,	28 s. 9 d.
Sum,	26 l. 8 s. 4 d. ob.

46

<49> The Lath of Scray, or Sher= winhope.	Hundred of Felbe= roughe,	Cartham,	5 l. 15 s. 4 d.
		Godmersham,	5 l. 9 s.
		Chilham,	10 l. 2 s. 9 d.
		Sum,	21 l. 7 s. 1 d.
		Bewbregge,	6 l. 8 s. 4 d.
		Tremworthe,	51 s.
		Socombe,	4 l. 6 s. 3 d. ob.
		Gotley,	14 s. 9 d.
		Bempston,	10 s. 6 d.
		Wilmyngton,	10 s. 7 d.
		Deane,	10 s. 2 d. ob.
	Hundred of Wye,	Shotenden,	19 s. 3 d.
		Hellyinge,	5 s. ob.
		Eastwell,	55 s. 3 d. ob.
		Towne,	38 s. 9 d. ob.
		Cockliscombe,	46 s. 3 d.
		Brompford,	44 s. 9 d.
		Tokingham nothing, because it is in decay.	
		Sum,	26 l. 12 d. ob.
		The Town of Osprenge,	5 l. 2 s. 2 d.
		The Hundred of Marden,	7 l. 6s. 10 d.
		Sum of this whole Lath of Scray,	412 l. 17 s. 10 d. ob. q.

47

<50>	The Lath of Aylesforde.		
	Half Hun= dred of Chetham,	The Town of Chetham,	8 l. 10 s.
	Half Hun= dred of Gillingham and Greane	Gillingham and Greane,	15 l. 9 d. ob.
		Berstede,	17 s. 4 d.
		Ulcombe,	59 s.
		Otham,	20 s. 6 d.
		Wormesell,	23 s. 8 d.
		Thorneham,	41 <s>. 4 d.
		Hedcorne,	14 s.
		Charte,	35 s. 1 d.
		Boughton Maleherbe,	18 s.
		Boughton Mouchelsey,	44 s. 4 d.
		Hollingborne,	4 l. 13 s. 4 d.
		East-Sutton,	29 s. 4 d.
	Hundred	Frenstede,	10 s.

of Eyhorne,	Leneham,	6 l. 7 s.
	Harryetsham,	64 s.
	Otterinden,	12 s. 2 <d.>
	Sutton valance,	45 s. 11 d. ob. q.
	Leedes,	46 s. 8 d.
	Bromefeld,	4 s. 6 d.
	Stokeberry,	36 s.
	Langley,	15 s. 4 d.
	Wychelynge,	4 s. 11 d.
	Aldington,	25 s. 8 d.
	Bycknore,	10 s. 4 d.
	Sum,	39 l. 18 s. 5 d. ob. q.

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<51>
The Lath of
Aylesforde.

	Maydestone,	19 l. 9 s. 2 d.
	Loose,	34 s. 4 d.
	Lynton and Crookherst,	50 s. 8 d.
Hundred of Mayd= stone,	Westre,	44 s. 2 d.
	Stone,	78 s. 2 d.
	East-Farleyghe,	45 s. 1 d. ob.
	Detlinge,	53 s. 4 d.
	Boxley,	4 l. 3 s. 4 d.
	Sum,	38 l. 18 s. 3 d. ob.

	Chalke,	59 s.
	Hallinge,	12 s.
	Shorne,	4 l. 16 s. 4 d.
	Cowlinge,	39 s. 8 d.
	Higham,	4 l. 11 s. 4 d.
	Denton,	11 s. 6 d.
Hundred of Shamel,	Merston,	8 s. 1 d. ob.
	Frensbury,	4 l. 11 s. 1 d. ob.
	Cookistone,	52 l. 2 s.
	Cobham,	106 s. 8 d.
	Strode,	4 l. 3 s. 7 d.
	Clyffe,	6 l. 13 s. 10 d.
	Stoke,	17 s. 10 d. ob.
	Sum,	40 l. 3 s. 2 d. ob.

The Town of Mallinge, 4 l. 9 s. 8 d.

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<52>
The Lath of
Aylesford.

	Huntington,	15 s.
	Yalding,	77 s. 3 d.
	East Peckham,	68 s. 1 d.
	Netlested,	7 s. 6 d.
Hundred of Twy= ford,	Wattinbury,	7 s. ob.
	West-Farley,	7 s. 4 d.
	Testan,	4 s. 6 d.
	Marden,	8 s.
	Brenchesley,	4 s.
	Tudeley,	17 s.
	Sum,	10 l. 15 s. 8 d. ob.

	Mereworth,	18 s. 4 d.
Hundred of Litle= feld,	East-Peckham,	43 s. 7 d.
	West-Peckham,	27 s. 4 d.
	Of the Baronie of Hadlow,	24 s. 8 d.
	Sum,	5 l. 13 s. 11 d.

Half Hund. of Westbarnfield, 40 s. 1 d. ob.

	Brenchesley,	73 s. 4 d.
	Horsmondene,	111 s. 3 d.

Hundred of Bren= chesley,	Hotbisbrough,	48 s. 11 d.
	Bayham,	24 s. 6 d. ob.
	Lamberherst,	18 s. 4 d.
	Beanecroche,	9 s. 2 d.
	Taperegge,	9 s. 2 d.
	Sum, 14 l. 14 s. 8 d. ob.	

Hundred of Wache= lingstone,	Borden,	54 s. 2 d.
	Spelherst,	30 s. 2 d.
	Stoningley in Pepingley,	36 s. 9 d.
	Sheyborne Ruschall,	42 s. 9 d. q.
	Tudeley,	33 s. 10 d. ob.
	Asherst,	2 s.
	Sum, 9 l. 19 s. 8 d. ob. q.	

50 <sig D>

<53>
Aylesford.
The Lath of

The Lowy of Tun= brigge,	Southe,	3 l. 14 s. 2 d.
	Hilden,	4 l. 5 s.
	Hadlowe,	4 l. 10 s. 10 d.
	Tunbrigge,	43 s. 10 d. ob.
	Sum, 14 l. 13 s. 10 d. ob.	

Hundred of Wro= tham,	Wrotham,	10 l. 3 s. 1 d. ob.
	Stansted,	53 s. 4 d.
	Iteham,	65 s. 3 d. ob.
	Shibborne,	24 s. 10 d.
	Sum, 17sl. 6 s. 7 d.	

Hundred of Larke= feld,	Byrling,	60 s. 6 d. ob.
	Pedelsworth,	23 s. 2 d. ob. q.
	Layborne,	16 s. 11 d.
	S. Leonard,	16 s. 2 d. ob. q.
	Ryash,	26 s. 7 d. ob. q.
	Addington,	19 s. 1 d. ob. q.
	Offam,	13 s. 9 d.
	Trottycliffe,	17 s. 7 d. q.
	Snotheland,	54 s. 9 d. ob.
	Woldham, with the Parish of S. Margaret,	28 s. 10 d. ob.
	Allington,	10 s. 2 d.
	Dytton,	5 s. 7 d.
	Eastmalling,	7 l. 2 s. ob.
	Borham,	43 s. ob.
	Ailesford,	115 s. 5 d. ob. q.
Rugmerhill,	20 s. 4 d.	
Horsmondene,	24 s. 7 d. ob. q.	
Huntington,	7 s. 2 d. ob. q.	
	Sum, 32 l. 6 s. 3 d. ob.	

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<54>
The Lath of
Aylesford.

Hundred of Hoo,	The Town of St. Warburge, alias Hoo,	9 l. 2 s. 8 d.	
	The Town of S. Marie,	4 l. 14 s. 4 d.	
	The Town of All Saints,	106 s. 3 d.	
	The Town of Stoke,	23 s. 6 d. ob.	
	Halsto,	57 s. 10 d. ob.	
	West-Peckham,	18 s. 6 d. ob.	
	Cobham,	29 s. 7 d. ob.	
		Sum, 25 l. 12 s. 10 d.	
		Mepeham,	6 l.

	Luddesdon,	40 s.
Hundred	Yelefield,	42 s. 8 d.
of Tolting=	Gore,	64 s. 7 d.
throw.	Gravesend,	50 s. 6 d.
	Torne,	44 s. 6 d.
	Mylton,	50 s. 6 d.
	Sum, 20 l	12 s 9 d.

Sum of this whole
Lath of Aylesford, 300 l. 16 s. 11 d. ob.

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<55>

The Lath of Sutton at Hone.

	The Town of Rokesley,	19 s. 10 d.
	Bexley,	6 l. 12 d.
	North-Craye,	20 s.
	Orpington,	4 l. 13 s. 10 d.
	Fotyscraze,	17 s. 5 d.
	Chellesfeld,	66 s. 8 d.
	Farneburghe,	45 s. 4 d.
	Codeham,	62 s. 2 d.
Hundred	West-Wickham,	37 s. 4 d.
of Rokesley,	S. Marie Craye,	50 s. 1 d.
	Downe,	52 s. 4 d.
	Hese,	23 s. 8 d.
	Keston,	12 s. 4 d.
	Hever and Lingell,	18 s. 3 d.
	Nokeholte,	15 s.
	Pollescraze,	48 s. 8 d.
	Chesilhurst,	45 s. 4 d.
	Sum, 37 l.	9 s. 3 d.

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<56>

The Lath of
Sutton at
Hone.

	Town of	4 l. 11 s. 6 d. ob.
	Southfleet,	
	Sutton,	111 s. 6 d. ob.
	Fawkeham,	29 s. 2 d. ob.
	Longefeld,	23 s. 6 d.
	Harteley,	30 s. 7 d.
	Ashe,	79 s. 2 d. ob.
	Rydley,	17 s.
Hundred	Kingesdowne,	41 s. 3 d.
of Axton,	Maplescombe,	16 s. 8 d.
	Farmingeham,	5 s. 5 d. ob.
	Stone,	73 s. 9 d. ob.
	Swanescombe,	61 s. ob.
	Darrent,	38 s. 2 d. ob.
	Horton,	4 l. 9 s. 6 d. ob.
	Eynesforde,	37 s. 11 d.
	Lullingstone,	44 s. 2 d. ob.
	Sum, 39 l.	10 s 8 d.

	The Town of Shorham,	78 s.
	Halsted,	14 s. 4 d.
	Otteforde,	22 s. 2 d.
	Woodland,	7 s. 8 d.
<Hu>ndred	Sundrishe,	10 s. 8 d.
<of> Codde-	Sevenocke,	4 l. 15 s.
<she>the.	Kemsynge,	29 s. 10 d.
	Seale,	59 s.
	Cheveninge,	39 s. 8 d.
	Leighe,	13 s.
	Spelherst,	5 s.

Sum, 18 l. 14 s. 4 d.

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<57>
The Lath of
Sutton at
Hone.

	The Town of		
	Chyddingstone,	16 s. 4 d.	
	Spelherste,	22 d.	
Hundred	Covedene,	9 s. 4 d.	
of Somer=	Leighe,	6 s.	
dene,	Penseherste,	5 s. 6 d.	
	Hever, with the Bo=	6 s.	
	row of Tunbridge,		
		Sum, 45 s.	
	Town of Etonbridge,	24 s.	
Hundred	Westram.	41 s. 2 d.	
of Westram	Covedene,	12 s.	
	Brasted upland,	13 s. 4 d.	
		Sum, 4 l. 10 s. 6 d.	
Hundred	Town of Bromley,	8 l.	
of Bromley,	Beckenham,	5 l. 19 s. 6 d.	
and Bec=		Sum, 13 l. 19 s. 6 d.	
kenham,			
	Town of Brasted,	27 s. 5 d. ob.	
	Town of Lewesham,	10 l. 2 s. 2 d.	
	Lee,	41 s. 10 d.	
	Ketbrooke,	28 s. 7 d.	
	Eltham,	7 l. 16 s.	
Hundred	Chesylherst and	43 s. 8 d.	
of Black=	Notingham.		
heath,	Westgrenewiche,	55 l. 10 < .>	
	Charleton,	47 s. 7 d.	
	Wolwyche,	41 s. 10 d.	
	Eastgrenewiche,	7 l. 3 s. 2 d.	
		Sum, 38 l. 10 s. 8 d.	

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Hundred of	Town of Erythe,	14 l. 4 s. 3 d.	
Litle and	Craford,	6 l. 16 s.	
Lesnes.	Plumsted,	7 l. 19 s.	
		Sum, 18 l. 19 s. 3 d.	
The Town of	Dartford,	14 l. 3 s. 7 d.	
Sum of this whole Lath			
of Sutton at Hone.		199 l. 15 s. 3 d.	

For the more easie understanding of this Table of the Fifteen, it is to be noted, that the Laths and Hundreds doe stand together whole and entire, howsoever the Towns and Parishes be divided and broken into parts. And therefore, when one Town, is twice, thrice, or more often, named, be well assured that it hath so many Boroughs (or parts) thereof standing in so many severall Hundreds: but if it be but once set down, then standeth it wholly in that only Hundred where you finde it.

It is to be observed furthermore, that this payment which we commonly at this day doe call the Fifteen, is truly (and was anciently) named, the Tenth and Fifteen. The Tenth, for so much thereof as was

Statut. 18.
E. 3. Brooke
in Quinz.

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payed out of Cities and Borowes in the name of the tenth part of their goods and moveables.

And the Fifteenth, for the residue thereof, which was originally and properly due out of the uplandish and Country Towns or Villages, as a Fifteenth part of their goods or moveables. Of the whole sum,

56

of which Fifteenth and Tenth, there was abated by a generall Commission in the reign of King Henry the sixth, in respect of the poverty of sundry decayed Cities and Towns in every part of the Realm.

To this Tenth did the Hundred of Rochester pay (as it appeareth in the old Books) and to it the Town of Osprange, part of the Hundred of Marden, and all the Hundred of Mylton (except the Baylywick of Kay first named) doe contribute at this present day. And this is the very cause, why the Hundred of Marden, that Baylywick of Kay, and the Town of Osprenge, be twice named in the Lath of Scray, and seem to be twice charged also: whereas (indeed) the first naming of them is for their charge to the Fifteen, & the second for the charge of some parts of them to the payment of the Tenth.

And hereof also it may be probably guessed, that such parts of the Town of Osprenge, and of the Hundred of Marden, as be yet lyable to the Tenth, be of the Liberty of Mylton, the which was anciently the Kings own Town: and that so much of the Baylywick of Kay as beareth now towards the Fifteen, was not at the first any portion of Mylton, though it be now reputed within that Hundred.

These things I have the rather noted, because our latter Books do confound together the payment to the Tenth and Fifteen,

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whereas the ancient Record doth in plain words distinguish and sever them.

<60>

Fraunchises.

Of the Duchie.

Of the Archbishop.

Of the Bishop of Rochester.

Of the Dean of Canterbury.

Of Otforde.

Of Wye.

Of Asheford.

Of Wrotham.

Of Eltham.

Of Osprenge.

Knights fees in old

time 254. and Di.
whereof 27. be=
longed to the
Archbishop, eight
to the Bishop of
Rochester, and the
rest to the King.

Forrests and Parks.

South Frythe, Forest
North Frythe,
three Parks.

Otforde, two: where=
of one disparted.

Knoll.

Gromebridge.

Panthyrst, disparted.

Penshyrst.

Brasted, dis.

Henden, dis.

Heuer, dis.

Broxam, dis.

Wrotham, dis.

Ightam, dis.

Cage, dis.

Postern, dis.

Sutton, dis.

Langley, dis.

Cooling.

Byrling.

Cobham.

Alington, dis.

Mereworth, dis.

Grenewiche.

Eltham, three.

Ashowre.

Southparke.

Lullingstone.

Calehyll.

Leedes.

St. Augustines.

Bedgebury.

Westenhanger, two.

Halden, dis.

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Hamswell.

Hungershall.

Lye, dis.

Folkston, dis.

Shoreland, dis.

Aldington, dis.

Stonehyrst, dis.

Stowting.

Saltwood, dis.

Posting.

At Ashford.

Sissingherst.

Glassenbury.

Oxenhoth, two, dis.

Hills of name.

Shooters Hill

Red Hill.
Gads Hill.
Cockshoote Hill.
Shorne Hill.
Northdownes.
Boxley Hill.
Harbaldoune.
Boughton Hill.
Byrling Hill.
Ryuer Hill.
Raynam Down.
Mill Hill.
Calehill.
Baram Down.
South Downs.

Ryvers.

Thamis.
Rauensborne.
Cray.
Darent.
Medwey.
Rother.
Lymen.
Bewl.
Genlade.
Wantsume.
Stowre.

Bridges at

Depeford upon
Lewsham Rauens.

Crayford, two upon
Cray.

Eatonbridge,
Tunbridge, 5
Brantbridge,
Twyford, upon
Yalding, Med=
Teston, wey.
Farley,
Maydstone,
Ailesford,
Rochester,

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Shorham,
Ainsforde, upon Darent.
Farningham,
Dartford,

Chaforde.
Lamberhirst.
Bewl.
Hetcorne.
Newendene.

Ashforde, upon Stowre.
Canterbury,

Cities.

Canterbury.
Rochester.

Tuesday, at Wrotham, not used.
 Leneham.
 Douor.
 Sandwich.
 Canterbury.
 Gravesend.
 St. Mary Cray.
 Westwell, in old time.

Markets, upon Wednesday, at

Thursday, at Maydstone.

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Friday, at Sandwiche.
 Canterbury.
 Rochester.
 Tunbridge.

Markets, upon Rumney.
 Hythe.
 Dover.
 Sandwiche.
 Feversham.
 Mylton.
 Asheford.
 Cranebrooke.
 Lenham.
 Mallyng.
 Sennock.
 Dartford.

Saturday, at

Faires, at

Apuldore, St. Peters in Summer, long since.

Ashford, 27 July being S. Ruffines day.

Bidenden, on Simon and Judes day.

Bromley, 1 February, being St. Bridgets day: and the 25 of July, being St. James day.

Brastede, on Thursday in Rogation week.

Charte the great, 25 March, being the Anuntiation of the blessed Virgin Marie.

Charing, 23 April, being St. Georges day, 13 October, being St Edwards day, 18 October being St. Lukes day.

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Canterbury, the

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Tuesday in Whitson week. 27 July, be=

ing the seven Sleepers day, 29 Sept. being St. Michaels day: and 29 Decem. being St. Thom. Becketts day.

Cranbroke, 29 May, being St. Corones day: and 24 June, being Midsummer day.

Chilham, 25 July, being S. James day.

Charlton, 18 Octob. being St. Lukes day.

Clyffe, 17 Septemb. being St. Lamberts day.

Dover, 25 July being Saint James day, 24 August, being Saint Bartilmewes day: and 11 November, being St. Martines day.

Feversham, 14 February, being Saint Valentines day: and 1 August, being Lammas day.

Folkstone, 27 June being St. Crescents day.

Gravesend, 25 January, being Saint Pauls day: and 13 of October, being St. Edwards day.

Hertesham, 24 June, being Midsummer day.

Hedcorne, 28 June being St. Leos day.

Hide, 17 November, being Saint Hughes day.

Lenham, 27 May being St. Beedes day: and 21 September, being Saint Matthews day.

Lyde 11 July being St. Benets day.

Maidstone, 1 May, being Philip and Jacobes day: 9 June, being St. Edmunds day: 6 October, being St. Faiths day: and 2 February, being the Purification, or Candlemas day.

Mereworth, 10

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August, being Saint Laurence day.

Malling, 21 September, being St. Matthews day: 1 August, being Lammas day: 6 November, being St. Lennards day.

St. Margarets, near Dartford, 20 July, being St. Margarets day.

Northfleete, the Tuesday in Easter week.

Otford, 24 August, being Saint Bartilmeus day.

Pluckley, 5 December, being Saint Nicholas Even.

Rochester, 19 May being Saint Dunstons day: and 30 November being St. Andrews day.

Roking, on Mary Magdalens day.

Romney, 1 August, being Lammas day.

Reculuer 7 September, being Nativity of the blessed Virgine Mary.

Sittingborn, 21 September, being St. Matthews day.

Strowde, 10 August, being St. Laurences day.

Sandwich, 23 November, being St. Clements day.

Sandhyrst, 7 December, being the Even of the Conception.

Smeethe, on each of the Lady-dayes in Harvest.

Sennock, 6 December, being St. Nicholas day: and 29 June, being St. Peters day.

Tunbridge, Ashwednesday: 24 June, being Midsomer day: and 18 October being

St. Lukes day.
Tenterdene, 26 April being St. Clestes day.
Wye, 13 March, being St. Theodores day.

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Wrotham 23 April,
being Saint Georges day.

Boroughs.

Canterbury.
Rochester.
Maydstone, and the
port Towns.

<66>

Castles.

Canterbury.
Rochester.
Dover, and the Castell at the Key.
Leedes.
Tunbridge.
Mylton.
Gravesend, two.
Quinborow.
Cooling.
Sandowne.
Dele.
Walmer.
Saltwood.
Alington.
Shorham.
Ainsford.
Tong.
Layborne.
Upnore.
Sandgate.
Studfall, or Lym.
Sandwiche.
Sutton.
Billerica, or Court
Atstreat.
Chilham.
Richeborowe.
Godworde, in Thornham.

Honorable Houses,
belonging to the
Prince, at

Grenewiche.
Eltham.
Dartford.
Otford.
Knoll.
S. Augustines.
Dover Castell.
Dele Castell.

To the Archbishop.

Canterbury.
Wingham.
Forde.

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To the Bishop of
Rochester.

Broomley.
Rochester.
Halling.

To men of honor

Berling
Cobham.
Cooling.

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Houses for poor
people, with pro=
vision of living,
at

Grenewiche.
Orpington.
Lullingstone.
Shorham.
Sennock.
Rochester.
Chetam.
Sutton Valence.
Canterhury.
Hackington.
Sandwich.
Dover.
Saint Bartilmews, at
Hythe.

Houses of poor peo=
ple, without pro=
vision.

Dartford.
Whitdiche.
Chesill Hill, by Kayes
Streat.

Religious Houses,
that sometime
were, and their
yeerly values.

Wingham College,
84 l. by yeer.
Minster.
Wye College, 93 l.
Asheford College.
Horton Priory, 95 l.
Bilsington Prio=
ry, 81 l.
Newendene.
Folkstone, 41 l.
Dover Priory, 170 l.
Meason dieu, 120 l.
Hospitall there, 59 l.
Bradsoll Abbay of
St. Radigundes

98 l.
Westlangdon, of Regular Canons, 56 l.

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Boxley, 204 l.
Leedes Priory, 362 l.
Combwell, 80 l.
Feversham, 200 l.
Dauington, alias Aninton Priory there
Maidstone col. 159 l.
Shepey, 129 l.
Motenden, 60 l.

Christ Church,
1421 l. 17 s. 3 d.
S. Augustines.
St. Sepulchres
29 l.

S. Gregories. in Canterbury.
S. Tho. hos. 23 l.
St. James hos.
32 l.
S. Nicholas hos.
109 l.

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St. Maries without
Cant.
Rochester Priory
486 l.
Cobham col. 28 l.
Strood, 52 l.
Malling Abb. 218 l.
Higham Priorie.
Tunbridge Priorie.
Ailesford.
Dartford, 380.
Grenewiche friers.
Meason dieu, at Osprenge
Lesnes Ab.

Schooles, at
Canterburie.
Rochester.
Sandwiche.
Cranbrooke.
Sutton valence.
Bydendene.
Tunbridge.
Maidstone.
Sennock.
Wye.
Dartford.

The Beacons in Kent.

As in Warre celeritie avaieth no less
then force it self; So the right honourable Sir William Brook, Lord Cobham, and Lord Chamberlain of her Majestyes Houshold, who hath been sole Lieu-

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tenant of this Shire, since the first of her Majesties reign) foreseeing how necessarie it was to have the Forces of the Countrie speedily draw together for the encounter of any hostility: and finding that upon the firing of the Beacons (which are erected for that service) not only the common sort, but even men of place and honour, were ignorant which way to direct their course, and thereby (through amasedness) as likely to run from the place affected as to make to the succor of it: caused the true places of the Beacons to be plotted in Card, with directorie lines, so many sundry waies as any of them did respect the other; By which any man, with little labor may be assured where the danger is, and thereof inform his neighbours. For example: Suppose our first Beacon, standing on Shooters Hill, to be light, he that will goe thither may know by the Watchmen from whence they received their light, which must be either from the West neer London or Hamstede, or else from the East, by warrant of the fired Beacon at Stone neer Dartford, or of that which is neer to Gravesende. The like of the rest: and so much for use.

Touching the antiquitie and name, it seemeth they came from the Saxons: for of their word 'Becnian,' which is to call becsigne (or becken, as we yet speake) the becsigne are named Beacons: And I finde tha<t>

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before the time of King Edward the third they were made of great stacks of wood (of which sort I my self have seen some in Wiltshire) but about the eleventh yeer of his reign it was ordeined that in our Shire they should be high Standards with their Pitch-pots.

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And now if any man shall think that this laying open of the Beacons is a point not meet to be made publick: I pray him to give me leave to dissent in that opinion from him. For as the profit to the Realm and Subject is manifest, in that it speedeth the service, where speed is most profitable, so there is no secreet hereby disclosed whereof the enemies may take advantage, seeing that Beacons stand open to the eye, and all men know the end for which they be advanced, though few know the best use and advantage of them. Yea rather the enemies is prevented, when he seeth that we can and doe make so good and readie use of our Beacons. If it be replied, that peradventure the common People shall not be permitted to run to the shore, 'Tu multuaria manu,' as the old manner was; but shall stay till they be called upon, and that the trained companies only shall re=

sort to the places of their appointed Ra=
dezvouz: the answer is, that whatsoever
course be directed, yet the speedie know=
ledge of the danger is all alike profitable,
which without this cannot be discerned.

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And otherwise it must follow, that there
will be no use of the Beacons at all; which
if it be, the Countrie might be well deli=
vered of that continuall and great charge,
which it sustaineth by the watching of
them. But as (no doubt) the necessitie of
them is apparent; so were it good, that, for
the more speedie spreading of the know=
ledge of the enemies comming, they were
assisted with some Horsemen (anciently
called of their Hobies or Nags Hobeliers)
that besides the fire (which in a brig<ht>
shining day is not so well descried) mig<ht>
also run from Beacon to Beacon, and su<ρ=>
ply that notice of the danger at hand.

<map of beacons should be here>

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The names of the Kentish Writers, drawn
(for the most part) out of the Centu=
ries of Master John Bale.

Androgeus, Comes,
Ethelbertus, Rex.
Lotharius, Rex.
Eadricus, Rex.
Wightredus, Rex.
Heddius Stephanus.
Tobias Cantianus.
Neotus Aldulphius.
Serlo.
Fridegodus.
Haimo.
Folchardus.
Osbernus.
Eadmerus.
Ærnulphus.
Elmerus.
Odo Cantianus.
Alexander Cantua=
riensis.
Eadmundus Gryme.
Radulphus Roffensis.
Richardus Pluto.
Richardus Doverensis
Sampson Durover=
nius.
Radulphus Maidston
Gervasius Dorobern=
ensis.
Solitarius Presbyter.
Nigellus Wireker.
Alexander, Theolo=
gus.
Simon Stokius.
Joannes Cantianus.

Haimo de Feversham
Thomas Spottus.
Simon Mepham.
Petrus de Ikham.
Guilielmus Paghham.
Joannes Tanetos.
Thomas Chillenden.
Guilielmus Starn=
field.
Thomas Pontius.
Simon de Feversham.
Martinus de Clyvo.
Thomas de Stureia.
Reginaldus Cantua=
riensis.
Radulphus Strodus.
Thinredus Doverius.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Richardus Maidston.
Guilielmus Gilling=
ham.
Joannes Wrotham.

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Joannes Oldcastle,
Dominus Cobham.
Joannes Langdene.
Guilielmus Whyte.
Guilielmus Beckley.
Joannes Capgrave.
Guilielmus Stapil=
hart.
Joannes Fisher.
Joannes Frithe.
Simon Fishe.
Thomas Wiat, senior.
Leonardus Digs.
Joannes Ponetus.
Richardus Turnerus.
ELIZABETHA,
Regina.
Hitherto (almost al=
together) out of
Master Bale: to
the which these
may be added,
that have written
since.
Joannes Colpeper.
Thomas Digs.
Thomas Harman.
Edovardus Deering.
Thomas Potter.
Reginaldus Scot.
Alexander Neville.
Georgius Harte.
Guilielmus Darrel.
John Twyne.
Francis Thynne.

Hitherto of Kent in particular, and by
way of Card and Table: whereof some
part is drawn out of credible Records, part

is spoken of mine own knowledge, and part is fetched from other men by information. For the first sort, I holde my self sufficiently warranted: but in the other twain, if either by want of memorie I have not taken all, or by too much credulity have mistaken any, I pray pardon for it, and desire the Reader either to correct <or> supplie it by his own discretion or judgement. Now a few words of the Welsh H<i=>

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storie, and then to the division of the Shire and Countrie it self.

<73>

A short counsell as touching the British Historie.

Albeit that I am justly occasioned (before I make mine entry) to speak largely, for confirmation of the credit of our British or Welsh Historie (the faith whereof is by William Petite and Polydore Virgile called into question) for as much as I shall be enforced to use it in some points as a ground worke of my frame and building: yet for that I minde not in any part of this my labor, to handle with many words matters in controversie (being otherwise sufficiently charged with things more incident to my purpose, and no less fit to be known) and because also that matter hath already found more learned and diligent Patrons, I will with few words pass it over, contenting my self, if I shall have added to other mens heaps one small proof or twain, which by chance I gleaned after them, referring such as desire more abundant testimonie, to the reading of John Leland, and Sir John ap Rese, two learned men, that have plentifully written therein.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

The state of the matter in question is <t>his, whether Geffrey of Monmouth be the <A>uthor of the British Storie (as William

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<74>

of Newborow, and Polydore charge him) or the translator thereof only out of the British, as himself in his book professeth. Whereof must needs insue, that if the work be his own, it hath no more credit, then he himself (being the Author) could bring unto it: But if he did only translate that which Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford brought out of Normandie, and delivered unto him, then doth not the estimation depend upon Geffray, but upon some other (whatsoever he were) that first wrote it.

Now that it may appear unto you that he was only the interpreter of that which came out of Normandie, I will call to witness Henrie the Archdeacon of Hunting=

ton, who lived in the time of King Henrie the first, and was somewhat before William Petites daies, who (as himself confesseth) was born in the beginning of the reign of King Stephan, about which time Geffray of Monmouth was alive also.

This Henrie (besides a learned Historie of the Realm) wrote three severall Treatises which I have seen, one intituled 'De miraculis Angliæ,' another 'De serie Regum potentissimorum,' and the third 'De origine Regum Britannorum.' In this latter he saith plainly, that at such time as he travelled towards Rome, he found in an ancient Librarie of the Abbey of Bec an old Book, intituled likewise 'De origi-

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Regum Brittanorum,' the which beginning at the arrivall of Brute, ended with the acts of Cadwalader, and agreed thoroughout (as by collation I collected) with this our Britnish Historie, which I doubt whether Henrie of Huntingdon had ever seen. Now therefore if this were an old Book in his time, it could not be new in the dayes of Petite, that succeeded him: And if the argument were written before in the Britnish tongue, it is very probable that he was not the first Author, but only the translator thereof into Latine. For further likelihood whereof I my self have an ancient Britnish or Welsh Copie, which I reserve for shew and doe reverence for the antiquitie, little doubting but that it was written before the dayes of William Petite, who, as he was first, so upon the matter reckon I him the only man that ever impugned the Britnish Historie. For as touching Polydore (though he were a man singularly well learned) yet since he was of our own time, and no longer since, his forces must of necessitie be thought to be bent rather against the veritie than against the antiquity of that writing: Wherein if he shall seek to discredit the whole work, for that in some parts it containeth matter not only unlikely but incredible also; then shall he both deprive this Nation of all manner of knowledge of their first beginning, and open the way

<75>

Polydore.

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for us also to call into question the origine and antiquities of Spain, France, Germanie, yea and of Italie his own Countrie: in which, that which Livie reporteth of Romulus and Remus, Numa and Aegeria, is as farre removed from all suspicion of truth as any thing whatsoever that Galfride writeth either of Brute, Merlin, or King Arthur himself.

<76>

Seeing therefore that as corne hath his chaff and metal his drosse, and that even so can there hardly any writer of the ancient Historie of any Nation be found out that hath not his proper vanities mixed with sincere veritie: the part of a wise Reader shall be, not to reject the one for doubt of the other, but rather with the fire and fan of judgement and discretion, to trie and sift them asunder. And as my purpose is, for mine own part, to use the commoditie thereof so oft as it shall like me; so my counsell shall be, that other men will, both in this and other, observe this one rule, 'That they neither reject without reason, nor receive without discretion and judgement.

Thus much in my way, for assertion of the Brittish Historie, I thought good to say, once for all, to the end that from henceforth (whatsoever occasion of debate shall be offered concerning either the veritie or antiquitie of the same) I

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neither trouble my self nor tarrie my Reader with any further defence or Apologie.

The Bishops See and Diocess of Canterbury.

He that shall advisedly consider the plot of this Shire, may finde three diverse (and those not unfit) waies to divide it: One, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent; another, by parting it (as Watling-street leadeth) into North and South Kent; And a third, by severing it into two distinct Diocesses of Canterbury and Rochester. Of these three I have determined to choose the last, both because that kinde of division hath as certain limits as any of the former, and for that it seemeth to me the most convenient severance, being wrought both by bound of place and of jurisdiction also: and because the See of Canterbury is not only the more worthie of the twain, but also the Metropolitane and chief of the whole Realm, I have thought good in the first place to shew the beginning and increase of that Bishopruck, and afterward to prosecute the description and historie of the principall parts belonging to the same.

It is to be seen in the British Historie and others, that at such time as King Lucius (the first Christened Prince of this Land) had renounced the damnable darkness of Paganism, and imbraced the glo-

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rious light of the Gospel of God, he changed the Archflamines of London, York, and Caerleon into so many Archbishop and the Flamines of other inferior

The order of this description.

<77>

Flamines turned into Bishops

<78>

places into inferior Bishops throughout his whole Realm. Howbeit this matter is not so clear, but that it is encountered by William Petit, which (in the Proheme of his historie) affirmeth boldly, that the Britons which professed Christian Religion within this Island before the coming of Augustine, were contented with Bishops only, and that Augustine himself was the verie first that ever had the Archbishops Pall amongst us. As touching Bishops, it is evident by Beda himself, that both before and in Augustines time Wales alone had seven at the least: But as for Archbishops, although for mine own opinion I think with William, (the rather for that I suppose, that the simplicities of the Britain Clergie was not as then enamoured with the vain titles of Romane arrogancy) yet to the end that the Reader may be thereby the more justly occasioned to make inquisition of the truth in that point, it shall not be greatly out of his way to send him by Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis, a man (considering that age) excellently well learned, and which lived about the same time with William Petit (or William of Newborow) as some call him. This man, in a Book which he enti-

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tuled, 'Itinerarium Walliæ,' setteth forth most plainly the Archbishops, that in old time were at Caerleon, their translation from thence to Saint Davids, their migration from Saint Davids over the Sea into Normandy, and the whole Catalogue of their succession in each of those places.

But here some man, thinking me more mindfull to direct others, than carefull to keep mine own way, will happily ask me, what pertaineth it (I pray you) to Canterbury, whether there have been Archbishops at London, York, and Carleon, or no? yes (no doubt) it maketh greatly to our treatise of Canterbury: for, not only the forenamed British history, Mathew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury, doe shew manifestly, that Augustine by great injurie spoiled London of this dignity of the Archbishops Chaire, bestowing the same upon Canterbury: but the Epistle of Pope Gregorie himself also, (which is to be read in the Ecclesiasticall Story of Beda) convinceth him of manifest presumption and arrogancy, in that he sticked not to prefer his own fantasie and liking, before the Pope (his Masters institution, and commandement. For Pope Gregorie appointed two Archbishops, the one at London, the other at York, whereof either should have under him twelve

<79>

London, spoiled of the Archbishoprick.

inferiour Bishops, and whereof neither

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should be subject to other: only (for Augustines honour) he willed, that they also should be under him, during his life. But Augustine not so contented, both remained resident during all his life at Canterbury, and before he died consecrated Laurence Archbishop there, least, either by his own death, or want of another fit man to fill the place, the Chaire might happily be carried to London, as Gregory the Pope had appointed.

Matthew of Westminster saith, that Merlin had prophesied, 'Dignitas Londoniæ, adornabit Dorobriniam,' William Malmesbury writeth, that he did it, 'Sedulitate Regis hospitis,' (meaning King Ethelbert) '& charitate civium captus.' But I think verily, that he meant thereby to leave a glorious monument of his swelling pride and vanity: whereunto I am the rather led, by the observation of his stately behaviour used towards the Brittainish Bishops, and some other of his acts, that savor greatly of vain glory, ambition, and insolency. Whatsoever the cause were that moved him thus to apparel Canterbury with the Archbishop of Londons See, at Canterbury hath it continued ever sithence, saving that at one time, Offa the King of Mercia (or middle England) partly of a disposition to honor his own Country, and partly of a just displeasure conceived against Lam-

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bright, (or Janbright, as some copies have it, the thirteenth Archbishop) for matter of treason, translated the honor of the See, either wholly, or partly, to Lichfield: But there it remained not long: for after the death of King Offa, Kenulfus his successor restored Ethelard to his place at Canterbury again.

The increase of the Archbishopricke

The whole Province of this Bishoprick of Canterbury, was at the first divided by Theodorus (the seventh Bishop) into five Diocesses only: howbeit in processe of time it grew to twenty and one, besides it self, leaving to York (which by the first institution, should have had as many as it) but Durham, Carlisle, and Chester only.

Contention for the Primacy.

And whereas by the same ordinance of Gregorie, neither of these Archbishops ought to be inferior to other, save only in respect of the priority of their consecration, Lanfranc (thinking it good reason that he should make a conquest of the English Clergy, since his Master King William had vanquished the whole Nation) contended at Windsore with Tho-

1072.

<81> mas Norman (Archbishop of York) for the primacy, and there (by judgment before Hugo the Popes Legate) recovered it from him: so that ever since, the one is called 'Totius Angliæ primas,' and the other, 'Angliæ primas,' without any further addition. Of which judgment, one (forsooth) hath yeilded this great rea=

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The Archbishops place in the generall Council.

1099. son: that even as the Kentish people, by an ancient prerogative of manhood, doe challenge the first front in each battell, from the inhabitants of other Countries: So the Archbishop of their Shire, ought by good congruence to be preferred before the rest of the Bishops of the whole Realm. Moreover, whereas before time, the place of this Archbishop in the generall Council, was to sit next to the Bishop of Saint Ruffines, Anselmus the Successor of this Lanfranc, (for recompence of the good service that he had done, in ruffling against Priests wives, and resisting the King for the investiture of Clerks) was by Pope Urbane endowed with this accession of honor, that he and his successors, should from thence forth have place in all generall Councils, at the Popes right foot, who then said withall, 'Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.'

Wrestling for the Primacy.

1127. And thus the Archbishops of Canterbury, by the fraude of Augustine, by the power of Lanfranc, and by the industrie of Anselme, were much exalted: but how much that was to the grievous displeasure, and pining envy, of the Archbishops of York, you shall perceive by that which followeth.

King Henry the first, kept (upon <a> time) a stately Christmas at Windsor<e,> where (the manner of our Kings the<n>

81 <sig F>

<82> being at certein solemn times to wear their Crowns) Thurstine of York (having his crosse born up before him) offered to set the Crown upon the Kings head: But William of Canterbury withstood it stoutly, and so prevailed by the favor of the King, and the help of the standers by, that Thurstine was not only disappointed of his purpose, but he (and his Crosse also) thrust clean out of the doors.

1155 William of York (the next in succession after Thurstine, both in See and quarrell) perceiving that the force of his predecessor prevailed nothing, attempted by his own humble means (first made to the King, and after to the Pope) to win the Coronation of King Henry the second, from Theobald the next Archbishop of

Canterbury: But when he had received re= pulse in that sort of suit also, and found no way left to make avengement upon his enemy, he returned home, all wroth, and (mixing poyson in the Chalice, at his Masse) wreaked the anger upon himself.

1178

After this, another hurley burley hap= pened in a Synod assembled at Westmin= ster, in the time of King Henry the second, before Cardinall Hugo, (Pope Alexan= ders Legate) between Richard and Roger, then Archbishops of these two Sees, up= <0>n occasion, that Roger of York comming <0>f purpose (as it should seem) first to the <a>ssembly, had taken up the place on the

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right hand of the Cardinall, which when Richard of Canterbury had espied, he re= fused to sit down in the second room, complaining greatly of this prejudice done to his See: whereupon, after sundry replies of speech, the weaker in disputa= <83> tion, (after the late manner of shrewd School-boies in London streets) descended from hot words, to h<a>stie blows, in which encounter, the Archbishop of Canterbury (through the multitude of his meiney) ob= teined the better: so that he not only pluck= ed the other out of his place, and (tram= pling upon his body with his feet) all to rent and tare his Casule, Chimer, and Ro= chet but also disturbed the holy Synod therewithall in such wise, that the Cardi= nall for fear betook him to his feet, the company departed their businesse undone, and the Bishops themselves moved suit at Rome for the finishing of their contro= versie. By these, and such other successes, on the one side the Bishops of Canterbury following, took such courage, that from thenceforth they would not permit the Bishops of York to bear up the Crosse, either in their presence, or Province: and on the other side, the Bishops of York conceived such grief of heart, disdain, and offence, that from time to time they spa= red no occasion to attempt both the one and the other.

1268

Whereupon, in the time of a Parlia=

83

ment, holden at London in the reign of King Henry the third, Boniface (Arch= bishop of Canterbury) interdicted the Londoners, because they had suffered the Bishop of York to bear up his Crosse, while he was in the City. And much to doe there was (within a few yeers after) between Robert Kylwarby of Canterbury, and Walter Giffard of York, because he of York advanced his Crosse, as he passed through Kent towards the generall Coun=

cell.

<84>
1272

The like happened also, at two other several times, between Friar Peckam (Archbishop of Canterbury) and William Winkewane, and John de Roma (Archbishops of York) in the daies of King Edward the first. And in the sixt yeer of the reign of King Edward the third, when the Parliament was summoned to York, to treat of the Scottish affaires, John Stratford the Archbishop of Canterbury, fearing that he should not be permitted to have his Crosse quietly carried up in that Province, would neither himself come, nor suffer any Bishop of his own Province to appear at that place: and so most pevishly frustrated the Assembly of the King, his Nobility, Commons, and the rest of the Clergy. At the length, the matter being yet once more set on foot between Simon Islepe (the Archbishop of this Country) and his ad=

1352

84

The end of the strife, for bearing up the Crosse.

versary the incumbent of York for that time, K. Edward the third (in whose reign also that variance was revived) resumed the matter into his own hands, and made a finall composition between them, the which he published under his broad Seal to this effect: First, that each of them should freely, and without impeachment of the other, bear up his Crosse in the others Province, but yet so, that he of York and his Successors for ever, in sign of subjection, should within two moneths after their inthronization, either bring or send, to Canterbury, the Image of an Archbishop bearing a Crosse, or some other Jewell wrought in fine Gold, to the value of 40 pounds, and offer it openly there upon Saint Thomas Becketts shrine: then, that in all Synods of the Clergy, and Assemblies where the King should happen to be present, he of Canterbury should have the right hand, and the other the left: Finally, that in broad Streets, and High-waies, their Crosse-bearers should goe together, but yet in narrow Lanes, and in the entries of Doors and Gates the crossier of Canterbury should goe before, and the other come behind, for fear of Justling.

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So that (as you see) the Bishops of Canterbury evermore prevailing by favor and obstinacy, they of York were driven in the end, to give over in the plain field,

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for very despaire, wanhope, and weariness.

But here by the way, I would fain, for my learning, know of these godly Fathers,

<86>

or rather (since themselves cannot now make answer) of some of their ungodly Favorers, whether this their Helena, this cross (for the bearing whereof they contended so long, and so bitterly, that a man might doubt with the Prophet, 'Peccat uter Cruce dignius') whether (I say) it were exalted, as the sign of that Cross whereon Christ triumphed over the Devil, or else but for a flagge and antsign of their own pride, whereby they sought to triumph and insult the one over the other: and again, if it were Christs Cross, then why they did forbid it to be advanced, at any time, by any person, or in any place? Or if it were but their own, then why they did, and yet doe, command us simple soules, not only with great humility, but with divine honor also, to prostrate our selves, and to adore it? I am sure they may be ashamed to affirme it to be the one, and I think they will be ashamed to confess it to be the other. I will cease therefore to urge it any further, and will prosecute the Catalogue of the Archbishops of this See, since the arrivall of Augustine. In the which, the first seaven, be of that number which Pope Gregory sent hither out of Italy: the next twenty three,

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and Stigande, were Saxons: all the residue, Normans and English-men. And because there is some variance as touching the times of their continuance and sitting, I purpose to shew (under one view) the opinion of two sundry Authors, so farre forth as they have spoken thereof, that is to say, William of Malmesbury, and an ancient Chronicler of Coventry (whose name I have not hitherto learned) and in the residue to follow our own late and received Writers.

The beginnings of their Governments, after the Annals of Canterbury.	The years of their continuance in government, after the Opinion of Wil Malm. Chro Coven.	
An. Do.		
599 Augustine, whom our Lo- vanists call, the English A- postle,	16	16
612 Laurence,	5	5
617 Mellite,	5	5
624 Justus,	3	9
626 Honorius,	26	20
653 Deusdedit, or Deodat; the first Saxon Archbishop: his own name was Fritho- na, which for his singular demerites towards his Country was changed to Deus dedit, or a Deo datus.	10	9

<87>

87

	An. Dom.	Malm.	Covent.
	Wighard, which died at Rome before his consecration.		
	668 Theodore a Grecian born, and the last of those that came out of Italie.	22	22
	692 Brightwald.	37	38
	731 Tatwine.	3	4
	737 Nothelinus, or Jocelin.	5	7
	741 Cuthbert the first that was buried in Christs Church, and that obtained Churchyards for England.	17	17
	759 Bregwine.	3	3
	774 Lanbright, or lanbright in his time the See was translated to Lichfield.	17	17
<88>	790 Aethelwardus, he recovered the See to Canterbury again.		23
	Wulfredus, or Wifred.	28	28
	830 Fegeldus, or Swithredus, or Feolagildus.	three moneths.	
	831 Celnothus, or Eilnothus.	41	41
	890 Etheredus, or Etheldredus.	18	18
	Pleimundus, one of the learned men, that instructed king Alfred.	34	34
	925 Athelmus, or Athelinus.	12	13
	947 Wulfhenius, or Wulfhelmus.	13	14
	956 Odo or Odosegodus.	5	20
	958 Elfsius, or Elfsinus, or El-		

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	An. Dom.	Malm.	Covent.
	sinus, which died before his consecration, in his journey towards Rome, in revenge (as they say) because he came in by Simonie, and spurned at the tumbe of his Predecessor.		
	Brithelmus, was elected, but King Edgar rejected him.		
	970 Dunstanus, the famous Jugler.		26
<89>	989 Ethelgarus, or Agelgarus.	1	1
	991 Siricius, by his advise King Etheldred gave to the Danes a great summe of money.	5	5
	996 Alfricus.		
	1004 Aelfegus, he was slain by the Danes.	6	6
	1012 Livingus, or Ethelstanus. Eilwardus.	7	7
	1020 Egelnothus.	18	18
	1038 Eadsius, or Edsinus, who for sickness committed the	11	11

charge to Siwardus the
Abbat of Abingdon, and
after Bishop of Rochester,
which nevertheless vouch=
safed not to finde him ne=
cessaries.

1050 Robertus Gemeticensis, the
first Norman advanced by 12 12

89

An. Dom. Malm. Covent.

K. Edward the Confessor.
1053 Stigandus, deposed by the
Conqueror. 17 17

<90> 1072 Lanfrancus, in his time the
Bishops Sees were first re=
moved from Villages to
Cities. 19 19

1093 Anselmus, in his time Law
was first made to divorce
Priests from their wives. 16 16

1114 Radulfus Roffensis, sur=
named Nugax. 9

1122 Willimus de Corveil, he
crowned Stephan against
his faith given to Maude
the Empress. He builded
the new Church for
Monks in the south part of
Dover. 15

1138 Theobaldus, he was endow=
ed first with the title of
Legatus Natus by Pope
Innocent the second. 23

1162 Thomas Becket, the first En=
glishman after the Con=
quest. 8

Robertus, the Abbat of Bec,
was elected, but refused it.
1173 Richardus, the Prior of Do=
ver. 9

<91> 1183 Baldwinus, the Bishop of
Worcester: he dyed in the 7

90

An. Dom. Malm. Covent.

pedition that King Richard
the first made into Syria,
and was before at great
contention with the
Monks.

Reginaldus, he dyed before
consecration.

1193 Hubertus, who was at once
Archbishop, Chancellor,
and chief Justice of Eng=
land. 13

1205 Stephanus de Langton, the
cause of the trouble of
King John. 21

1228 Gualterus de Evesham, ele=
cted, but refused both by

	the King and Pope, for the insufficiencie of learning.		
	1229 Richardus Magnus.	8	
	1233 Joannes, the Subprior of Christs Church, was elected after the Pope had refused one Ralph Nevel: but this John resigned; in whose place John Blund was chosen, but that election also was repealed.		
<92>	1234 Edmundus de Abingdon, the one and twenty Bishop of Cant. that the Popes had canonized. He departed the Realm, and dyed for anger of a repulse.	7	
	91		
	An. Dom.	Malm.	Covent.
	1244 Bonifacius, Uncle to Eleonor, the wife of Henrie the third.		26
	1270 Wilhelmus de Chillenden, elected; but he resigned to the Pope, who chose Kilwardby.		
	1272 Robertus Kilwardby, Friar Preacher: he builded the Blackfriars in London.		6
	1278 Johannes Burnel, Bishop of Bathe elected; but the Pope refused him, and appointed Friar Peckham.		
	1279 Johannes de Peckham, a Friar Minor, born in Sussex, made Wingham Colledge.		13
<93>	1292 Robertus de Winchelsey, a notable traitor to the King, and true servant to the Pope.		19
	Thomas de Cobham, elected, but refused by the Pope, he was commonly called Bonus Clericus.		
	1312 Walterus Reignold.		14
	1328 Simon de Mepham.	5	Thus far out of the Story of Coventrie.
	1334 Johannes de Stratford, born in Stratford upon Avon, where he founded a Colledge.		29
	92		
	An. Dom.	Malm.	Covent.
	1350 Johannes Offord, or Ufford. Thomas Bradwardine.		
	1350 Symon Islepe, he founded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford.		17
	1367 Symon Langham.		2
	1369 Wilhelmus Witlesey.		5

	1375	Symon Sudbury.	6
	1381	Wilhelmus Courtenay.	15
<94>	1396	Thomas Arundel, attainted of treason by Parliament, in the one and twen= tie yeer of the reign of Ri= chard the second He built a good part of the body of the Church of Trinity in Canterbury. Rogerus Walden, in the exile of Arundell: but deposed: Then made Bishop of Lon= don, and again deposed, and died in the seventh yeer of Henrie the fourth.	18
	1414	Henricus Chicheley, built Alsouls and S. Johns Col= lege in Oxford, and the Col= lege of Higham ferries.	29
	1443	Johannes Stafford.	8
	1452	Joannes Kempe, builded Wye College.	3
	1455	Thomas Bourchier.	33
	1486	Joannes Moorton, builded	14

93

	An. Dom.	Malm.	Covent.
			and repaired much at Knol, Maydstone, Alington park, Charing, Forde, Lambeth, and Canterbury. Thomas Langton, elected; but he dyed before conse= cration.
<95>	1500	Henr. Deane, or Deny. Willielmus Warham, build= ed the most part of Otford house, and made the Iron work upon the coping of Rochester bridge. Tho. Cranmer, he was burn= ed for the truth. Reginaldus Poole. Matthæus Parker.	2 28 3
	1575	Edmund. Gryndal.	
	1583	Joann. Whiteguift.	

Thus have you the succession of seven=
tie and two Archbishops, in the recital
whereof I doe (of purpose) spare to di=
spute the variance arising amongst Wri=
ters, as touching the continuance and true
times of their government: which discre=
pance groweth partly by the default of
the Authors themselves, not observing the
due account of years, and partly by the
<u>nskill of such as have untruly copied out
<t>heir works: I willingly reserve also for
<o>ther places sundrie the histories of their

94

lives and doings, both because I think <it>

fruitless to reconcile such manner of di-
agreements, and also for that (as I said be-
fore of the Kings) I deem it impertinent
to my purpose to speak further of any
thing then the very place in hand shall
justlie give me occasion.

The order of
this description
of Kent.

It followeth therefore, that according
to purpose and promise, I handle such par-
ticular places within this Diocess as are
mentioned in historie; in which Treatie
I will observe this order, first to begin at
Tanet, and to peruse the East and South
shores, till I come to the limits between
this Shire and Sussex: then to ascend
northward and to visit such places as lie
along the bounds of this Diocess and Ro-
chester, returning by the mouth of Med-
way to Tanet again, which is the whole
circuit of this Bishoprick: and lastly to
describe such places as lie in the body and
midst of the same.

<96>

Tanet called in Brytish Inis Rhouochym,
of the shore Rutupi: it is named of some
Writers in Latine (or rather Greek)
Thanatos; of others Toliapis, and Teno:
in Saxon tenet in stead of thænet.

No Snakes in
Tanet.

Julius Solinus (in his description of
England) saith thus of Tanet, 'Than-
tos nullo serpitur angue, & sportata in-
terra angues necat.' There be no Snakes

95

Tanet (saith he) and the earth that is
brought from thence will kill them. But
whether he wrote this of any sure under-
standing that he had of the quality of the
soile, or only by conjecture at the word
<thanatos>, which in Greek signifieth death
or killing, I wote not, and much less dare
I determine, because hitherto neither I my
self have heard of any Region hereabout
(only Ireland excepted) which beareth
not both Snakes and other venomous
wormes, neither am I yet perswaded that
this place borrowed the name out of the
Greek, but that it rather took it of the
proper language of this our Nation and
native Countrie: For thenet in the Sax-
on or old English tongue soundeth as
much as moisted or watered; which deri-
vation how well it standeth with the sci-
tuation of Tanet, being Peninsula and wa-
tered or Isled (in manner) round about,
I had rather without reasoning referre to
every mans judgment then by debate of
many words either to trouble the Reader
or interrupt mine own order. Leaving the
name therefore, I will resort to the thing,
and shew you out of Beda and others, the
content and story of this Ile.

<97>

There lieth (saith Beda, speaking of the
place where King Ethelbert entertained

A hide of land
or a plough=
land be all one

Augustine) in the East part of Kent an
Island called Tanet, containing after the
manner of the English accompt) six hun=

96

The water
Wantsume.

dred Families or Hides of land (as the
Saxon Book of Bede hath) which be in=
deed, after the opinion of ancient Wri=
ters, ploughlands: It is divided from the
continent (or main lande) by the River
called Wantsume, which is about three
furlongs broad, and to be passed over in
two places only.

<98>

Hereunto if you add the opinion of Po=
lydore and Twyne, the description will be
the more evident. It containeth (saith
Polydore) about nine miles in length, and
not much lesse in breadth, and it was
sometime divorced from the continent
by a water, but now it is almost united
again. There be right credible persons
yet living (saith Twyne) that have often
seen, not only small Boats, but Vessels
of good burden, to passe to and fro, up=
on this Wantsume, where now the water
(especially towards the West) is clean ex=
cluded: and there be apparant marks
that Sarre (where they now goe over)
was a proper Haven: all which is hap=
pened, by reason that the fresh is not able
to check the salt water, that cloyeth the
channell.

As touching the History, you may read
in Geffray of Monmouth, that after such
time as the Brittons had deposed Vortiger
their King, for that he brought in th<e>
Saxons, which began soon after their en<=>
trie to shew themselves indeed, such a<s>

97 <sig G>

For (Seax) in
their language
signifieth, a
Sword, an
Axe, or Hat=
chet.

<t>hey were in name, (not Shields against
<t>he Picts and Scots, but Swords to shed
<t>he Brittain blood) Vortimer his Sonne
(whom they placed in his Seat) so
streightned the Saxons in this Isle, (the
which, as William of Malmesbury wri=
teth, Vortiger had given them to inhabite,
at their first arrivall) that for a colour
they sent Vortiger to treat with him of
peace, and in the mean while for fear,
conveied themselves to their Ships, and
sailed home. The same Author repor=
teth, that after this, Cador (the Duke of
Cornewall) by commandement of King
Arthur, chased the Saxons into Tanet,
where he slew Childric, their leader, and
received many of the residue to grace and
mercy.

The Saxons also themselves, after that in
processe of time they had gotten the do=
minion over the Brittans, enjoyed not
the possession of Tanet in much better
quiet then Brittans had done before them.

<99>
853 For (to omit that King Edgar committed the Isle of Tanet to open spoil, for robbing English Merchants in contempt of his commandement, because that was not an act of a raging enemy, but of a just revenging Prince) I will begin with King Athulf, (the Father of Alfred) in whose daies the Danes fought in Tanet, against Ealhere (the Duke, or Captain of Kent) and Huda (the Duke of Surrey)

98

864 and slaying them both, overthrew their powers, and possessed the Isle. After this, in the time of the same King, they so=

980 journed with their Army a whole Winter in Tanet: and lastly (in the reign of King Etheldred) they herried, spoiled, and sacked it in such sort, that the religious persons were constrained to abandon the place: for I finde, that shortly after King Canutus gave the body of Mildred, and all the lands belonging to Minster Abbay (that then was in this Isle) to the Monks of Saint Augustines at Canterbury.

But for as much as good order requireth, that I should tell you of the foundation, before I speak of the fall, you shall hear out of William Thorne (one that made an appendix to the History of Thomas Spot, both Monks of Saint Augustines) the occasion of the first fabulous beginning of this Abbay.

The occasion of the building of Minster Abbay.

596 Certain Servants, or Officers (saith he) of Egbright (the third King of Kent after Ethelbert) had done great injury to a noble woman called Domneua, (the mother of Saint Mildred) in recompence of which wrongs, the King made an Herodian oath, and promised upon his honor to give her whatsoever she would ask him.

The woman (instructed belike by some Monkish Counsellor) begged of him

99

<100> much ground to build an Abbay upon, as a tame Deer (that she nourished) would run over at a breath: hereto the King had consented forthwith, saving that one Tymor (a Counsellor of his) standing by, blamed him of great inconsideration, for that he would upon the uncertain course of a Deer, depart to his certain losse with any part of so good a soil: but the Earth (saith William Thorne) immediately opened, and swalled him alive, in memory whereof, the place till his time, was called Tymorsleape. Well, the King and this Gentlewoman proceeded in their bargain, the Hynde was put forth, and it ran the space of fourty and eight Plough=

lands, before it ceased.

And thus Domneua (by the help of the King) builded at Minster (within that precinct) a Monastery or Minster of Nunns, upon such like discretion (you may be sure) as Ramsey Abbay was pitched, even just where a Bull by chance had scra= ped, and as Rome it self (for whose fa=

For it was cal= led Roma, of Ruma, a Pap or Dugg.

680

vour these follies be devised) was edified, even in the place where the she Wolf gave Romulus and Remus their suck. Over this Abbay of Mynster Mildred (of whom we spake) the daughter of Meruaile (that was Son to Penda, King <0>f Middle-England) became the Lady <a>nd Abbasse: who, because she was of no= le linage, and had gotten together se=

100

venty women (all which Theodorus the seventh Bishop veiled for Nunns) she easily obtained to be registred in our English Kalender, and to be worshiped for a Saint, both at Tanet while her body lay there, and at St. Augustines, after that it was translated thither. And no mar= vell at all, for if you will believe the Au= thor of the work called (Nova Legenda Angliæ) your self will easily vouchsafe her the honor.

<101>

St. Mildreds miracles.

This woman (saith he) was so mightily defended with divine power, that lying in a hot Oven three hours together, she suffered not of the flame: she was also endued with such god-like vertue, that coming out of France, the very stone whereon she first stepped at Ippedsflete in this Isle, received the impression of her foot, and retained it for ever, having besides this property, that whether so= ever you removed the same, it would within short time, and without help of mans hand, return to the former place again: and finally, she was diligently garded with Gods Angell attending up= on her, that when the Devill (finding her at praiers (had put out the Candell that was before her, the Angell forthwith light= ed it unto her again.

Ippedsflete.

And this (no doubt) was the cause<,> that the Religious persons of St. Augu<=> stines, and of St. Gregories at Canterbury<,>

101

fell at great dissention for her, each af= firming, that after the spoil of Tanet, her bones were removed to their Monastery: the one claiming by King Canutus, as we said before, and the other deriving from Archbishop Lanfranc, who (as they af= firmed) at the dotation of their house, bestowed upon it (amongst other things of great price) the translated reliques of

1085

Mildred, and Edburgaes bodies.

<102>
1116
Howsoever that were, they both made marchandize of her myracles, and the Monks of St. Augustines perceiving, that by the dissolution of the Monastery, and the absence of the Saints, their town of Minster in Tanet was fallen to decay, of very conscience, and for pitie sake, by the mean of Hugh their Abbat, procured at the hands of King Henry the first, the Grant of a Market to be holden there, which I wot not whether it enjoyeth to this day, or no.

Ebsfleet.
Thus much of the Isle and Minster Ab= bay: now a word or two touching Ipped= flete, whereof I spake before, and of Sto= nor, within the Isle, and then I will leave Tanet, and proceed in my journey.

This Ippedsflete, now called Ebsfleet, is the place where Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon Captains) came first on land, and <it> is of divers Chroniclers diversly termed, <s>ome calling it Ippinesflete, others Heop= <pi>nesflete, and others Wippedsflete: these

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of the last sort write, that it took the name of one Wipped, (a noble man a= mongst the Saxons) who only was slain on that part, when Aurel. Ambrose (the leader of the Brittans) lost twelve of his principall chieftains in one conflict. In= deed, the name soundeth, the place where Wipped, or Ipped swimmeth, which I could have agreed to be the same, that is at this day called, Wapflete in Essex, (the rather for that Ralph Higden writeth, that the Brittans never invaded Kent, after the battail at Craforde, which was before this overthrow that I last spake of.) Howbeit, since the writer of our holy Le= gend laieth it in Tanet, I am contented to subscribe.

<103>
Stonor.
1090
1104
In this Isle over against Sandwiche lyeth Stonor, sometime a haven town also, known by the name Lapis Tituli: for in the reign of William Rufus, there arose a suit in Law between the Londoners and the Abbat of St. Augustines (then owner of the place) as touching the right of the haven of Stonor, wherein by the favorable aide of the Prince, the Monks (as Tho= mas Spot, their own Chronicler report= eth) did prevaile, and the Citizens had the overthrow. Not long after which time, they obtined of King Henry the first, a Fair to be holden yeerly at th<is> Town, five daies together, before an<d> after the Feast of the translation of S<t.> Augustine.

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Now would I forsooth lead you from

the Isle of Tanet, to the ruins of Rich= borow, saving that the Goodwine is before mine eie, whereof I pray you first harken what I have to say.

The Goodwine, or Goodwie Sands:
Lomea after Twyne.

Earl Godwine,
and his Sonnes

<104>

1050

There lived in the time of King Ed= ward (commonly called the Con= fessor) a noble man, named Godwine, whose daughter Edgitha, the same King, by great instance of his nobility (being otherwise of himself disposed to have lived sole) took unto his wife. By reason whereof, not only this Godwine himself (being at the first but a Cowheards sonne, and afterward advanced to honor by King Canutus, whose sister by fraude he ob= teined to wife) became of great power and authority within this Realm: but his sonnes also (being five in number) were by the Kings gift advanced to large lively= hoods and honorable Offices. For Good= wine was Earl of Kent, Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall: His eldest sonne Swane, had Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somerset: Harold, held Essex, Nor= folk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Hun= tingdonshire: Tosti, had Northumberland: And Gurte, and Leofwine, possessed o= ther places, &c. But as it is hard in great

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<105>

prosperity to keep due temperance (for, 'Superbia est vitium rebus solenne secundis:' pride is a fault that accustomedly follow= eth prosperity:) so this man and his sonnes, being puffed up with the pride of the Kings favor, their own power, policy, and possessions, contemned all other, and forgot themselves: abusing the simplicity of the King by evill Counsell, treading un= der foot the nobility by great disdain, and oppressing the common people by insati= able ravine, extortion, and tyranny. So that immediately, and at once, they pulled upon their heads, the heavy displeasure of the Prince, the immortall hatred of the noble men, and the bitter execration and curse of the common sort. Whereupon the King for a season banished them, the nobles never after liked them, and the poor people not only railed upon them while they lived, but also by devised tales (as the manner is) laboured to make them hatefull to all posterity after their death. And amongst other things, touching God= wine himself, they feigned, that he was choaked at Winchester (or Windsore, as o= thers say, for lyers cannot lightly agree) with a morsell of bread, and that this his land in Kent sunk suddenly into the Sea.

Neither were these things continued in memory, by the mouths of the unlearned people only, but committed to writing also, so, by the hands and pens of Monks,

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and others of the learned sort: so that in course of time, the matter was past all peradventure, and the things believed for undoubted verity.

1100 But whatsoever hath been heretofore thought of these matters, having now just occasion offered me to treat of the thing, I will not spare to speak that which I have read in some credible writers, and which I doe think meet to be believed of all different Readers.

The cause of Godwine Sands.

And first of all, touching this place it self, Silvester Giraldus (in his Itinerarie of Wales) and many others, doe write, that about the end of the reign of King William Rufus, (or the beginning of Henry the first) there was a sudden and mighty inundation of the Sea, by the which a great part of Flaunders, and of the low Countries thereabout, was drenched, and lost; so that many of the inhabitants (being thereby expelled from their seats) came over into England, and made sute to the same King Henry, for some place of dwelling within his dominion. The King pitying their calamity, and seeing that they might be profitable to his Realm, by instructing his people in the art of clothing, (wherein at that time they chiefly excelled) first placed them about Carleile in the North Country, and afterward (upon cause) removed them to Rosse and Haverford in Wales. Now at the same

<106>

The Art of Cloathing.

106

time that this happened in Flaunders, the like harm was done in sundry places, both of England, and Scotland also, as Hector Boëthius the Scottish historiographer most plainly writeth, affirming that (amongst other) this place, being sometime main land, and of the possession of the Earl Godwine, was then first violently overwhelmed with a light sand, wherewith it not only remaineth covered ever since, but is become withall (Navium gurgis, & vorago) a most dreadfull gulf, and Ship swallower, sometime passable by foot, and sometime laied under water, 'in dubio pelagi, terræque;' so as it may be said either Sea, or Land, or neither of both.

This thing, as I cannot but marvell how it hath escaped the pens of our own Country Writers, the rather for that some of them (living about that time) have mention of that harm in the low Coun=

try: so I stick not to accept it for assured truth, considering either the authority of the Writer himself, being a dilligent and learned man, or the circumstances of the thing that he hath left written, being in it self both reasonable, and likely.

<107>

And thus I might well make an end: but because I have already taken occasion to accuse them of forgerie, which affirme Godwine to have been choked at the boord, I trust it shall be no great offence,

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(though beside purpose, yet for declaracion of the truth) to rehearse shortly, what some credible Storiers have reported of that matter, concerning the person of Godwine also. And to the end that the truth may appear by collation of the divers reports, I will first shew what the common opinion and tale of his death is, and then afterward what these other men write concerning the same.

The death of Earl Godwine.

Ealred, the Abbat of Ryuauxe, (who took pains to pen the History of the same King Edwards whole life, and of whom all others (as I think) learned this tale) saith, that while the King and Godwine sate at the table, accompanied with others of the Nobility, it chanced the Cupbearer (as he brought wine to the Board) to slip with the one foot, and yet by good strength of his other leg, to recover himself without falling: which thing the Earle earnestly marking, said pleasantly, That 'there one Brother had well helped another:' 'Marry' (quoth the King) 'so might me mine, ne haddest thou been Earle Godwine:' casting in his dish the murder of his Brother Alfred, which was done to death at Elie by the counsell of Godwine, as hereafter (in fit place for it) shall appear. Hereat the Earl was sore moved, and thinking it more than time to make his purgation, took a morsell of bread into his hand, and praying (with great and

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<108>

vehement obtestation) that it might choak him, if he by any means caused the slaughter, or consented thereto, he put the bread into his mouth, and was immediately strangled therewithall.

i. Cursed bread.

Some write that this bread was before accursed by Wulstane, the holy Bishop of Worcester, after a certain manner then used, and called Corsned, as in the table to the Saxons Lawes is to be seen. But this Ealred affirmeth, that after the words spoken by the Earle, the King himself blessed the bread with the signe of the crosse: and therefore these men agree as well together as blessing and cursing be

one like to another.

But letting that and them pass, hear (I beseech you) what Alfred of Beverley (a learned man that lived in the time of King Henry the first, somewhat before this Abbat Ealred) saith, touching this matter, 'Godwinus gravi morbo ex improviso percussus, ac Regi ad mensam Win-toniæ assidens, mutus in ipsa sede declinavit, ac postea in cameram Regis a filiis deportatus, moritur. Quidam autem dicunt, &c.' Godwine, being suddenly stricken with a grievous disease, as he sate at the Table with the King at Winchester, fell down from his stool, and was carried by his sonnes into the Kings Chamber, where he dyed: but some say he was choaked, &c. And to the same effect writeth Ma-

109

rianus the Scot. Simeon also, the Chanter of Durham, which lived about the time of this Alfred, or rather before him, treating of this matter, hath these words, Godwinus 'gravi morbo percussus, in ipsa sede declinavit, & post horas quinque moritur.' Godwine being taken with a grievous disease, dropped down from the place where he sate, and dyed within five hours after.

<109>

Thus these men report another manner of his death, the one using no mention at all of any accursed bread, and the other reciting it but as a tale. And for the more plain detection of the deceit of this Abbat, he that will read the second book of William Malmes. De Regibus, shall finde that the occasion and introduction of this matter (I mean, the slipping of the Kings Cupbearer, and the speech that proceeded thereof, namely, that 'One brother had well helped another') is word for word stollen from thence: for William (which lived before Ealred) reporteth, that King Ethelstane, by perswasion of one that was his Cup-bearer, had banished Eadwine his own brother, for suspicion of treason, and had committed him to the Seas and windes in an olde, shaken and frail Vessel, without sail, oare, or companion (save one Esquire only) in which exile he perished; and that afterward the King (understanding his brothers innocencie, and sor-

110

rowing his rashness) took occasion by sight of his Cupbearers foot slipping, to be avenged of the fals accusation, even as it is here told of King Edward.

But Ealred, forsooth, was so fully disposed to magnifie King Edward (because he so much magnified the Monkish and single life) that he sticked not at greater

<110>
The visions of
Edward the
Confessor.

Epimenides
did sleep 75
years.

i. Love Lye,
or game for
the whetstone.

matters then this, affirming boldly, that the same King, while he heard Masse at Westminster, saw between the Priests hands Christ blessing him with his fingers: That at another Masse he saw the seven sleepers at Ephesus turn themselves on the one side, after they had slept seventie years together on the other: which, seeing it was within five years of so many as Epimenides slept, Ealred (in my phantasia) is worthie to have the second game at the whetstone: Furthermore, that St. John Baptist sent to King Edward a ring of gold from Jerusalem, which he himself had sometime before given to a poor man that asked almes of him in the name of St. John; And such other matters of like credit, which, both for the vanity of the things themselves (being meet to have place in Philopseudes of Lucian) and for the desire that I have to keep order, I will pretermitt, and return to my purpose.

111

Richborow, in Latine Rutupiæ and Rutupis, Urbs Rutupina, in Saxon (Refaceaster) and Richbery, the name being forged (as I conjectured) of the Bryttish word (Rwyd) which signifieth a net, in token that it stood by fishing: or (as Mr. Camden more likely guesseth) of Rhy<d> Tufith, that is, of the Sand, as Sandwich, and Sandy bay neer unto it.

<111>

Mathew (the Monk of Westminster and Author of the work called Flores Historiarum) taketh the place which Bede, Ptolome, and others call Rutupi, to be Sandwiche, and therefore he applyeth to the one whatsoever he findeth of the other: but because John Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the Realme) affirmeth in his work which he intituled Syllabus in Genethliacon Eadverdi) Rutupi to have been where Richborow now is (to which opinion I rather incline) I think good to give them several titles and to speak of Richborow by it self, leaving till fit place (for Sandwich also) such matter as of right belongeth thereunto.

The whole shoare of Kent therefore that lyeth over against Dunkircke, Calaice, and Boloigne, is of Juvenal, Lucan, Ptolome, Antonius, and others, called Rutupiæ, or Rutupinum littus: and that place of

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England which Bede taketh to be the neerest to the Morines (a people of Gallia Belgica, at this day comprehending Picardie, Boloigne, Artoys, and some part of the Low Countries) is of John Leland

Richeborow
sometime a
Citie.

<112>

interpreted to be Richborow, not past half a mile distant from Sandwich toward the North. The same man also, perswaded partly by the view of the place it self, and partly by the authority of one Gotcelmus, supposeth, that Richborow was of ancient time a Citie of some price, and that it had within it a Palace where King Ethelbert received Augustine. As for the title of a Citie, I doubt not but that if the ruines of the ancient walls yet extant, the matter whereof is flint, long, white and red bricks of the Brittain fashion, and a cement of lime and Sea sand, or the remnants of the Romane coyne, more often found there and in greater plentie then elsewhere, did not at all inforce the likelihood: yet the authority of Beda alone (which calleth it plainly by the name of a Citie) would suffice to win so much: But whether it were that Palace of King Ethelbert, from whence he went to entertain Augustine, he that shall advisedly read the 25 Chapter of Beda his first book, shall have just cause to doubt: for as much as he sheweth manifestly, that the King came (from his Palace) into the Isle of Thanet to Augustine: And Leland saith, that Richbo-

113 <sig H>

S<a>ndwiche is
not Rutupi.

<113>

row was then within Thanet, although that since that time the water hath changed his old course, and so shut it clean out of the Island. But the scituation of the place (being above the water course) will not admit that inclosure of it.

Now, where some men (as I said) have taken it to be Sandwiche, I take them to be greatly deceived.

For Richborow, being corruptly so sounded for Reptsborow, hath remaining in it the very roots (as I may speak it) of Reptchester: And Reptchester (saith Beda) and Rutupi Portus are all one: so then (Chester) being turned to (Borow) which be indeed two words, but yet in manner of one signification and effect) Rept and Riche have some affinitie the one with the other, but neither Riche, Repta, nor Rutupi, can have with Sandwiche any manner of similitude. In which opinion I am the more willing to dwell, because since the first publishing of this Perambulation, I finde my self very learnedly seconded by Master Camden: And I cannot subscribe to John Twyne, who striveth to perswade that Rutupie is Dover, with like successe as he laboureth to prove that Gessoriacum is Calaise, and not Boloigne. Thus much therefore of the name and antiquitie of this poor place, which was in time of the old Romans and Brittons of great price, and the common Port of arri-

vall out of France: whereof we finde no other note in later historie, either because the same was long since (before the coming of the Saxons) neglected, when as the Romans had lost their interest within this Realm: Or else, for that soon after their arrivall it either fell by their force, or else decayed by reason that the water changed his course and left it dry: So that now most aptly that may be said of this town neer to the Isle Thanet which Virgil sometime wrote of Tened it self, saying,

Dives opum, Priami dum regna
manebant,
Nunc tantum sinus, & statio male fida
carinis.

A wealthie land, while Priams state and
Kingdome upright stoade;
But now a Bay, and harbour bad, for ships
to lye at Roade.

Hitherto of Richborow, now will I
make toward Sandwiche, the first of the
Ports (as my journey lyeth) and by the
way speak somewhat of the Five Ports in
generall.

<114>

The Cinque Ports.

The antiquitie of the Ports

I finde in the book of the general survey of the Realme, which William the Conqueror caused to be made in the fourty yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Mathew Paris)

saith) it spared no man but judged all men differently, as the Lord in that great day will doe, that Dover, Sandwiche, and Rumney were in the time of King Edward the Confessor discharged almost of all manner of impositions and burdens (which other towns did bear) in consideration of such service to be done by them upon the Sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appear.

Whereupon although I might ground reasonable conjecture that the immunity of the Haven Towns (which we now call by a certain number the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Charter of King Edward the first after the Conquest (which is reported in our book of Entries) a recitall of the Grants of sundrie Kings to the Five Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conqueror, I will leave my conjecture and leane to his Charter: contenting myself to yeeld to the Conqueror the thanks of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented

<115> (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of King Edwards first Graunt and endowment.

And to the end that I may proceede in some manner of array, I will first shew which Towns were at the beginning taken

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for the Five Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what service they ought and did in times passed: and lastly, what privileges they have therefore, and by what persons they have been governed.

If I should judge by the common and rude verse,

Which be the Five Ports.

Dover, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say that Dover, Sandwich, Rye, Rumney, and Winchelsey (for that is 'Frigmare ventus') be the Five Ports: Again if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then add to these Hastings, and Hydge, for they also have their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not only not shew which were the first Five, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number and doubtfulness. Leaving the verse therefore, for ignorance of the Author and suspicion of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flie to Henrie Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which lived under King Henrie the third, and wrote (about three hundreth years since) learnedly of the Laws of this Realm.

1250

He (I say) in the third book of his work and treatise of the Crown, taking in hand to shew the articles inquirable before the

<116>

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Justices in Eire (or Itinerant as we called them, because they used to ride from place to place throughout the Realm, for administration of Justice) setteth forth a speciall form of Writs, to be directed severally to the Bayliffs of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwiche, commanding them that they should cause twenty and four of their Barons (for so Burgesses or Townsmen, and the Citizens of London likewise were wont to be termed) to appear before the Kings Justices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to doe) there to enquire of such points as should be given in charge. Which done he addeth moreover, that for as much as there was often times contention between them of the Five Ports, and the Inhabi-

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention between Yarmouth and the Five Ports.

tants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Don= wich in Suffolke, there should be several Writts directed to them also, returnable before the same Justices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former Writs summoned the Pleas of the Five Ports to be holden at Shipwey, if any of the same Towns had cause to complain of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, <an>d there to receive according to Law and <Ju>stice.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, <par>tly to shew that Shipwey was before

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<117> King Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Pleas of the Five Ports: partly to notifie the difference and con= troversie that long since was between these Ports, and those other Towns, but purposely and chiefly to prove, that Ha= stings, and Hithe, Dover, Rumney, and Sandwich were in Bractons time account= ed the Five principall havens or Ports, which were endowed with priviledge, and had the same ratified by the great Charter of England.

1268 Neither yet will I deny, but that soon after Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I finde in an olde Re= cord, that King Henrie the third took in= to his own hands (for the better defence of the Realm) the Towns of Winchelsey and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gave therefore in exchange the Man= nor of Chiltham in Glocestershire, and di= vers other lands in Lincolnshire. This he did partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affairs of his Realm, and partly because of a great disobedience and excess that was committed by the Inhabitants of Win= chelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest Son. And therefore, although I can easily be led to think that he submitted th for their correction to the order and g<o=> vernance of the Five Ports, yet I sta<nd>

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<d>oubtfull whether he made them Partners <o>f their priviledges, or no, for that had een a preferment, and no punishment unto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne King Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aid, old Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the now Town builded) was the first that appa= relled them with that preeminence.

<118> By this therefore let it appear, that Hastings, Dover, Hithe, Rumney, and

Winchelsey,
first builded.

1277.

Sandwich, were the first Ports of privilege: which (because they were five in number) both at the first gave, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not only Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principalls, but divers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as parts, limes, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shall be said, as touching the services that these Ports of dutie owe, and indeed have done to the Princes: whereof the one (I mean with what number of Vessels, in what manner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the King at the Sea, upon their own charges) shall partly appear by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall follow in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall be made manifest by examples, drawn out of

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good Histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of King Edward the first in his own Charter.

The book of Domesday before remembered, chargeth Dover with twenty Vessels at the Sea, whereof each to be furnished with one and twenty men for fifteen dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like service. But now whether this (like) ought to be understood of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and service, or of the (like) in respect of service, according to the proportion of their ability onely, I may not hereby take upon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twenty Vessels a peece, then (as you shall anon see) the five Ports were subject to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first laid upon them: and on the other side, if they were only chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how far to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it self, bindeth them to no certainty. And therefore leaving this as I finde it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proof. And first I will have recourse to King Edward the first his Charter, in which I read, That 'at each time that the King passeth over the Sea, the Ports ought to rig up fifty and seaven Ships,

<119>

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(whereof every one to have twenty armed Souldiers) and to maintain them at their own costs, by the space of fifteen dayes together.'

And thus it stood with the Portes for their generall charge, in the sixt yeer of his reign, for then was this Charter sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of each one, I have seen two divers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to have been renewed in the two and twentie year of the reign of the same King, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Dover Castle, in which the particular charge is set down in this manner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three Ships.

<120>

The Lowie of Pevensey, one.
Bulverhithe and Petit Jahn, one
Bekisborne in Kent, seaven.
Grench at Gillingham in Kent, two men
and armour, with the Ships of Hastings.
The Town of Rye, five.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time
of King Henry the sixt.
The Town of Winchelsey, ten.
The Port of Rumney, four.
Lydde, seaven.
The Port of Hythe, five
The Port of Dover, nineteen.
The Town of Folkestone, seaven.

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The Towne of Feversham, seaven.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. five.

These Ships they ought to finde upon forty dayes summons, armed and arraied at their own charge, and in each of them twenty men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise maintain five dayes together at their own costs, giving to the Master six pence by the day, to the Constable six pence, and each other Mariner three pence. And after those five daies ended, the King shall defray the wages.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the Town of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much, or more likelihood and credite: It standeth thus.

<121>

These be the five Ports of our sovereign Lord the King having liberties, which other Ports have not: Hasting, Romenal, Hethe, Dover, Sandwich, the chief Towns.

The Services due by the same.
Hasting shall finde 21. Ships, in every Ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it pertain (as the members of one Town) the Sea-shore in Seford, Pevenshey, Hodeney, Win-

chelsey, Rye, Ihame, Bekesbourne Grengre,
Northie, Bulwerhethie.

Romenal 5. Ships, in every Ship 21. men,

123

and a Garcion: To it pertain, as mem=
bers thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwe=
stone, Dengemareys, old Rumney.

Hethe 5. Ships, as Romenal before. To it
pertaineth the Westhethie.

Dover 21. Ships, as Hasting before. To it
pertain Folkstane, Feversham, and St.
Margarets, not concerning the land,
but for the Goods and Catails.

Sandwich 5. Ships, as Romenal, and Hethe
before. To it pertain Fordwich, Recul=
ver, Serre, and Dele, not for the soil,
but for the goods.

Sum of the Ships, 57.

Sum of the men, 1187. & 57 Garcions.

This service, the Barons of the Five
Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the
King upon summons yearly (if it happen)
by the space of 15. daies together, at their
own costs and charges, accounting that
for the first day of the 15. in which they
shall spread their Sails to goe towards
those parts that the King intendeth: and
to serve so long after 15. daies, as the King
will, at his own pay and wages.

<122>

The good ser=
vice of the five
Ports.

Thus much out of these ancient notes,
whereby your self may easily discern the
difference: but whether the one or the
other, or (by reason of some latter dis=
pensation) neither of these, have place at
this day, I must refer it to them that be

124

privie, and of counsell with the Ports:
and so leaving this also undecided, hold on
the way, wherein I am entred.

This duty of attendance therefore (be=
ing devised for the honorable transporta=
tion, and safe conduct of the Kings own
person or his Army over the narrow Seas)
the Ports have not only most diligently
ever since that time performed, but fur=
thermore also valiantly behaved them=
selves against the enemy from time to
time, in sundry exploits by water, as oc=
casion hath been proffered, or the neces=
sity of the Realm required.

And amongst other feats not unwor=
thy perpetuall remembrance, after such
time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the
French King) had entered the Realm to
aid Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and
the Nobility, in the life of King John, and
had sent into France for new supply of
Souldiers after his death, Hubert of Bo=
rough (then Captain of Dover) follow=

1217

<123> ing the opinion of Th<e>mistocles in the ex=
position of the Oracle of the wood=
den Wals, by the aid of the Port towns,
armed forty tall Ships, and meeting with
eighty sail of Frenchmen upon the high
Seas, gave them a most couragious en=
counter, in which he took some, sunk o=
thers, and discomfited the rest.

King Henry the third also, after that
he came to riper age, had great benefit by

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1278 the service of the Cinque Ports: and
King Edward the first in his Chartre,
maketh their continuall faithfull service
(and especially their good endeavor, then
lately shewed against the Welshmen) the
principall cause, and motive of that his
liberall Grant.

1293 Furthermore, about the midst of the
reign of the same King, a hundred sail of
the Navy of the Ports fought at the Sea
with a Fleet of 200 Frenchmen, all which
(notwithstanding the great ods of the
number) they took, and slew, and sunk
so many of the Mariners, that France was
thereby (for a long season after) in man=
ner destitute, both of Seamen, & shipping.

1406 Finally, and to conclude this part, in
daies of King Henry the fourth, the Navie
of the five Ports, under the conduct of
one Henry Paye, surprised one hundred
and twenty French Ships, all laden with
Salt, Iron, Oyle, and no worse Merchan=
dize.

The privi=
ledges, of the
five Ports.

<124> The priviledges of these Ports, being
first granted by Edward the Confessor,
and William the Conqueror, and then
confirmed and increased by William Ru=
fus, Henry the second, Richard the first,
Henry the third, and King Edward the
first, be very great, considering either the
honor and ease, or the freedome and ex=
emption, that the inhabitants have be rea=
son of the same.

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For they send Burgesses to the Parlia=
ment, which by an honorable name be cal=
led Barons: they bear the four Staves of
the Canapie over the Kings head at the
time of his Coronation, and they dine at
the uppermost table in the great Hall, on
his right hand: they themselves be ex=
empted from all payments of subsidy:
and their Heirs freed from wardship of
body, notwithstadding any tenure. They
be impleadable in their own Towns also,
and not elsewhere: they have amongst
themselves in each Port, their particular
place of Justice: they have power (if Ju=
stice be not done them) to take the inha=
bitants of other Towns and Cities in Wi=

thernam: to govern Yarmouth by their Bayliff for one season of the year: to doe Justice upon criminall offenders: to hold Plea in Actions real and personall: to take Conusance by Fine: to infranchise Villains: and to doe sundry other things, not lying fitly in the way of my purpose, and therefore not to be recounted at large. But I may not pretermit the Court at Shipway, for the generall Assembly of them all, and where both the Lord Warden of the Ports taketh Oath, at his first entry into that Office, and they have five principall points, whereof to enquire there only, and not elsewhere, as you shall hear when we light upon that place. In the mean time, let us see, by what chief

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<125>

Officer the Ports have been governed: Master Camden hath well noted, that our Warden of the Ports, was an imitation of the same Officer which the Romans established for defence of our Coasts, and called, 'Littoris Saxonici,' or 'tractus maritimi, Comitum,' who had the charge of nine Ports, as our Warden had of five. And although there be no doubt but that the Ports were under some speciall government, in the time of the Saxons also, who best knew the necessity thereof: yet because King William the first, was the first (so far as I have observed by reading) that imposed the name of Warden (out of his own language, half French, half Dutch) it shall stand with the best certainty to begin at his time, and set down the succession of the Wardens, in order of time, as I have collected them. But for as much as the Office of the Warden of the five Ports, and the Constablenesship of Dover Castle, have long since commonly been conjoined in one person, and of later daies have been united inseparably, I will not lose the labour in going about to single them again, but will follow that which (in mine opinion) seemeth most likely to point out Warden.

The names of the Wardens, of the five Ports.

John Fynes, created by William the Conqueror, Warden of the Ports, and Constable of Dover, by gift of inheritance.

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James Fynes, his sonne, which died at Folkston.

John Fynes, his sonne.

Walkelm, who delivered it to King Stephan, and immediately after his death, abandoned the charge, and fled into Normandy.

<126>

Allen Fynes, restored by King Henry the

second.

James Fynes, his eldest sonne.

Matthew Clere (as it should seem by
Matth. Par. and William Petite) who
imprisoned Godfrey, the Archbishop of
York in Dover Castle, as under that title
shall appear.

William of Wrotham.

Hubert of Burgh, the Earl of Kent, who
being deposed, Bartram of Cryol suc=
ceeded.

Richard Gray, appointed by the Barons
that warred against King Henry the
third: he was deprived of his Office by
Hugh Bigot, because he let in the Popes
Legate by the Kings licence, and against
the minde of the Nobles.

Henry Braybrooke.

Edward the first, in the life of his Father,
who made Henry Cobham his deputy,
whose sonne and heir (called John)
founded Cobham College, Ann. 36 E. 3.

Henry Mountforde.

Roger Leyborne, in the time of King Hen=
ry the third.

129 <sig l>

Stephan Penchester, in the time of Henrie
the third.

Sir Robert Asheton, buried there 1384.

Simon of Crey, in the time of Edward the
first.

Hugh Spenser, the yonger, in the time of
Edward the second.

Edmund of Woodstock, the Earl of Kent.

Reginald Cobham, in the time of Edward
the third.

Bartholmew Burwhasse, or Burgeherh,
one of the first companions of the or=
der of the Garter.

John Beauchamp, of Warwike.

Sir Ralfe Spigurnel, 44 Edw. 3.

Sir Robert Herle, in the latter end of King
Edward the third.

Edmund the Earl of Cambridge.

Sir Simon Burley, whom Thomas of Wood=
stocke beheaded.

Lord Henrie Cobham, the sonne of Regi=
nald Cobham.

Sir John Enros.

Sir Thomas Beaumont.

Edward, the Duke of Aumarle and York,
whom King Henrie the fourth remo=
ved and substituted in place.

Sir Thomas Erpingham, for a season, but
afterward he gave the office to

Prince Henrie his sonne, who when he was
King in possession bestowed it upon
Humphrey, the Duke of Gloucester.

James Fines, Lord Saie, whom Jack Cade
beheaded.

<127>

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Edmund, the Duke of Somerset.
Humfrey, the Duke of Buckingham.
Simon Mountford, under King Henrie the
sixt.

Richard Nevel, the Earl of Warwick.
William, the Earl of Arundel.
Richard, the Duke of Gloucester, called
afterward King Richard the third.
Sir William Scot.

Henrie, the Duke of Yorke.
James Fines, the Lord Saye.
Henrie in his fathers life, afterward the
eighth king of that name.

<128> Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle Ba=
stard sonne to King Edward the fourth.
Sir Edward Poynings.
Henrie, the yong Earl of Richmond.
Sir Edward Guldeford.
George Boleyne, Vicount Rocheford.
Sir Thomas Cheynie, Treasurer of the
houshold.
Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham, and
Lord Chamberlain of her Maiesties
houshold.

Thus much of the Five Ports in gene=
rall. Now of Sandwich, the first of them
in the order of my journey, and then or=
derly of so many of the residue as lie with=
in the Shire that I have presently in
hand.

131

Sandwich is called in Latine Sabulovicum,
in Saxon Sondwic, that is to say, the
Sandie Town, because the coast there=
about aboundeth with Sand.

<129> This Town (as it appeareth by the re=
port of Leland, and as it may seem
also by the name it self, being meer Saxon)
began by the Saxons after the fall of poor
Richborow, which was in price while the
honour of the Brittons stood upright, and
was either abated by the furie of the Sax=
ons when they won that coast from them:
or else came to ruine by the alteration
and vicisitude of the Sea, which peradven=
ture choaked the haven thereof with light
sand, as it hath since that time done this at
Sandwich also.

Reliques of
great price,
King Canutus gave (as some write) to
Christs church in Canterburie Saint Bar=
tholmews arme, if happily it were not a
changling: for Kings and great men were
oftentimes in those dayes after that sort
deluded, though they in the mean time
bought such reliques deerly, and thought
that kinde of gift most princely.

He gave also a rich Pall, a Crown of
gold, and this haven of Sandwich, toge=
ther with the royaltie of the water on each
side, so far forth as (a ship, being on float
at the full Sea) a man might cast a short

hatchet out of the vessel unto the bank.

132

The ancient estate of Sandwich.

The place it self grew in time to be well peopled, and of worthiness to be one of those Ports that found favour of privilege, in consideration of their service at the Sea.

1064

For it appeareth by the book of Domesday that this was the estate of Sandwich: It lay in a Hundreth belonging to it self, it did to the King such like service by tenure, as Dover did: It was then of the possessions of Christes Church, as I have shewed, and was appointed for the apparel of the Monks of that house, to the which it yeelded fourty thousand Herrings besides certain monie, and had in it three hundred and seven houses inhabited.

<130>

And I finde not but that the Town continued in the like plight along space after the Conquest, untill that Lewes of France brent it in the year 1217, after which it grew up, and was somewhat amended again by the Staple, which King Edward the first for a season removed thither. After all which King Edward the third, in the thirty seventh year of his reign, giving to Christs Church the Manor of Borley in Essex for it in exchange, reunited it to the Crown. But in the dayes of King Henrie the sixt Peter Brice (the Steward of Normandie) landed at Sandwich, and he with fire and sword wasted the Town in maner to ashes, and slew the Inhabitants almost to the last man. Since which time, partly

Sandwich spoiled and brent.

1456

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by the smart of that wound, and partly by the losses that it sustained within two years after, by the maintainers of the civil warres in that Kings reign, but chiefly by the aboundance of the light sand (wherewith the Sea hath of later years glutted the haven) it is declined to great decay, and were like to fall to extreme ruine, were it not presently somewhat relieved by the repair of such as have abandoned their countrie for the freedome of their consciences; whose aboade how long it will be, the Lord only knoweth, for whose cause they suffer banishment.

The School at Sandwich.

There was in this Town before the general suppression a house of Carmelites, whereof I read none other good thing, save that it brought forth one learned man called William Beckley in the reign of King Henrie the sixt. But now lately (to repair the loss of that dissolution) Roger Manwood, a man born in the Town, and advanced by vertue and good learning to the degree first of a Serjeant, then of a Justice at the Law, and lastly to a Knight

<131>

and place of the chief Baron of the Exchequer, hath for the increase of godliness and good letters erected and endowed a fair Free Schoole there, from whence there is hope that the Common-wealth shall reap more profit after a few years, when it received commoditie by the Carmelites since the time of their foundation.

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This only is that which I had to say, either of the present or passed estate of this place: which done, I will proceed to the narration of such other things as long since happened thereabouts, partly for the illustration of the antiquitie of the Town, and partly for the setting forth of the commoditie of the Haven, but chiefly for the observation of the order which I have begun: which is, to pretermitt nothing (worthie note) that I finde in storie concerning the place that I take in hand. But because that which I have to say dependeth altogether (or for the greater part) upon the Historie of the Danes which many years together disquieted this land, it shall be fit, as well for the better explanation of the things presently in hand, as also for the more easie understanding of other matters that must hereafter follow, to disclose (so compendiously as I may) the first beginning, proceeding, and ending of the Danish affairs, wars, and troubles within this Realm.

787

Sum of the history of the Danish doings in England.

About the year after Christ seven hundredth fourscore and seven, three Vessels of the North-east Countymen (whose Ancestors had before, within the compass of one hundred and forty years, sacked Rome in Italie four several times, and whose offspring afterwards wonne Normandie from the French King) shew themselves upon the Western shore of

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England, being sent before hand (as it is supposed) to espie the commoditie of the Havens, the advantage of arrivall, the wealth and force of the Inhabitants, and to the end to prepare the way for greater powers that were appointed to follow.

These had no sooner set some of their men on land, but the Reeve or Officer of Beorhtricke or Bricricke (then King of the West Saxons) had knowledge thereof: who came unto them, and (demanding the cause of their arrivall (would have carried them to the Kings presence; but they in their resistance slew him: whereupon the people of the Countie adjoining addressed themselves to revenge, and assembling in great numbers, beat them

back to their ships, not without the loss of some of their companie.

And this was the first attempt that ever the Danes (for so our histories call by one general name the Danes, Norwaies, Gotts, Vandals, and others of that part) made upon England: after which time what horrible invasions, miseries, calamities, and oppressions followed, and fell upon the Inhabitants of this Countrie, shall appear anon to be no less pitifull for us to remember then it was wofull for them to endure.

795
<133>

For not long after this enterprise, a few ships of them made the like assay in Scotland, and within short space after that

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also, some other of them entred Tyemouth Haven in the North part of England, and taking some small booties, returned to their Vessels.

The Danes enter the Thamise.

Now by this experiment, they had gained sufficient knowledge of that, for which they first came: and therefore thinking it fit time to assay further, they rigged up a great number of Ships, armed more store of chosen Souldiers, entred the River of Thamise with five and thirtysail, landed in despight of the people, fired, spoiled, herried, and prevailed so far, that Egbert (who then had the Monarchie over all England) was fain to come with all his power to the relief and rescue.

< >

But such was the will of God (for the punishment of Idolatry and superstition, which then overwhelmed this Realm) that the Danes instead of being discomfited by the Kings repair, were marvelously encouraged by his misfortune. For, after that they had once gotten the better in the field against him, they were so emboldened thereby, that notwithstanding he afterward, and some other valiant Princes following, by great prowess abated their fury in part, yet, adjoyning themselves to the Britans (that then were in great enmity with the Saxons) and swarming hither out of their own Country in such flights that the number of the

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The continuance of the Danes, in England.
<134>

slain was continually supplied with great advantage, they never ceased to infest the Realm, by the space of three hundred yeers and more, during the reigns of fifteen severall Kings, till at the last they had made Etheldred flie over into Normandy and leave them his Kingdome. During all which time, how mightily their forces increased under Hinguar, Hubba, Halfden, Guthrum, Aulaf, and Hasten, (their

Navy being risen from three Ships, to three hundred and fifty at the least) how pitiously the East, West, South, and North parts of the Realm were wasted (the Towns, Cities, Religious Houses, and Monasteries of each quarter being consumed with flames) how miserably the common people were afflicted (men, women, and children on all sides going to wrack, by their tempestuous fury) how marvelously the Kings were amazed (the arrivals of these their enemies being no lesse sudden, then violent) how barbarously the monuments of good learning were defaced (the same suffering more by the immanity of this one brutish Nation, then by all the Wars and conquests of the Picts and Scots, Romans, and Saxons) and finally, how furiously fire and sword, famine and pestilence raged in every place, God and men, Heaven and the Elements conspiring (as it were) the fatal destruction of the Realm, I may

<138> 238

not here stand to prosecute particularly, but (leaving each thing to fit place) I will proceed with King Etheldred, and so returne to my purpose.

980

<135>

This man above all other, was so distressed by their continuall invasions, that seeing he wanted force to make his longer defence, he thought it best to give money for their continuall peace. And therefore, charging his people with importable tributes, he first gave them, at five severall payes, 113000 pounds: and afterward promised them 48000 yeerly: hoping, that (for as much as they seemed by the manner of their war, rather to seek his coyn, then his Kingdome, to rob, then to rule) at the least this way to have satisfied their hunger. But like as the stone called Syphnius, the more it is moysted, the harder it waxeth: so no gifts could quench the golden thirst of these greedy raveners, but the more was brought to appease them, the more stonie and inexorable they shewed themselves, never ceasing (even against promises, oaths, and hostages) to execute their accustomed cruelty.

The Danes all slain in one night.

Hereupon King Etheldred, having now exhausted the whole treasure of his Realm, and therefore more unable then ever he was, either by power or praier to help himself, or to relieve his subjects, determined by a fine policy (as he thought)

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to deliver both the one and the other from them. For which purpose, by the advise of one Huna (the generall of his

1012
Saint Martins
drunken feast.

<136>

1013
Sweyn, the
Dane.

1014

Army) he wrote Letters to each part of the Realm, commanding, that upon St. Brices day (which is the morrow after St. Martins night) the English men should all at once set upon the Danes, before they had digested the surfeit of that drunken solemnity, and so utterly kill and destroy them. This his commandement was received with such liking, entertained with such secrecy, and executed with such speed and celerity, that the Danes were suddenly, and in a manner wholly, both men, women, and children (like the sonnes in law of Danaus) oppressed at once in one night: only a few escaped by Sea into Denmark, and there made complaint of King Etheldreds butchery.

For revenge whereof, Sweyne their King, both armed his own people, and waged forrein aide, and so (preparing a huge Army) took shipping, and arrived, first here at Sandwich, and after in the North Country: the terror of whose coming was such, that it caused the Country people on all sides to submit themselves unto him, in so much that King Etheldred seeing the cause desperate, and himself destitute, fled over into Normandy with his wife, and children, friends, and family. After which his departure, although both

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himself returned, and put Canutus (the next King of the Danes) to flight, and Edmund his sonne also fought sundry great battails with him: yet the Danes prevailed so mightily upon them, that three of them in succession (that is to say, Canutus, Haroldus, and Hardicanutus) reigned Kings here in England almost by the space of thirty yeers together: so much to the infamous oppression, slavery, and thraldome, of the English Nation, that every Dane was (for fear called Lord Dane, and had at his commandement, wheresoever he became, both man and wife, and whatsoever else he found in the house.

At the length, God, taking pity upon the people, took suddenly away King Hardicanute: after whose death, the Nobility and Commons of the Realm, joined so firmly and faithfully, both hearts and hands, with their naturall and Liege Lord King Edward, that the Danes were once again (and for ever) expelled this Country: in so much that soon after, the name (Lord Dane) being before time a word of great awe and honor, grew to a term and byword of foul despight and reproach, turned (as it yet continueth) to Lourdaine: besides, that ever after, the common people in joy of that delive=

1042
<137>

rance, have celebrated the annual day of Hardicanutus death (as the Romans did

141

Hokday. their feast of Fugalia, or chasting out of the Kings) with open pastime in the Streets, calling it, even till this our time, Hoctyde, instead (as I think) of hucx=tyde, that is to say, the time of scorning, or mocking.

And now thus much summarily being said, as concerning the truth of the Danes being here, who ruled in this land almost thirty yeares, and raged without all rule) above three hundred and fifty, I will return to Sandwich, disclosing therein such occurents of the Danish doings as pertain to my purpose.

851 In the year eight hundred fifty and one after Christ, Athelstane the Sonne of Ethelwolfe, and King of Kent (whom Mathew of Westminster taketh, or rather mistaketh, for a Bishop) fought at the Sea before Sandwich against a great Navie of the Danes, of which he took nine Vessels, and discomfited the residue.

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<138>
Provision of Armor, and Shipping. Against another Fleet of the Danes which landed at Sandwich in the year one thousand and six, King Etheldred made this provision: that every three hundred and ten Hides of land (which Henry Huntingdon, Mathey Paris, and others, expound to be so many Plowlands) should be charged with the furniture of one Ship, and every eight Hides should finde one Jack and Sallet, for the defence of the Realm. By which means, he made

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ready a mighty Navie to the Sea: But what through the injurie of sudden tempest, and by defection of some of his Nobility, he profited nothing. King Canutus also, after that he had received the worse in a fight in Lincoln-shire, withdrew to his Ships that lay in the haven at Sandwich, and there most barbarously behaved himself, cutting of the hands and feet of such as he had taken for hostage, and so departed all wroth, and melancholike, into Denmarke, to repaire his Armie.

The same man, at his return hither, took land with his power at this Town: and so did Hardicanutus his sonue after him.

1060. Furthermore, in the daies of King Edward the Confessor, two Princes (or rather Principall Pirates) of the Danes, called Lochen and Irlinge, landed at Sandwich, and laded their Ships with rich spoil, wherewith they crossed over the Seas to Flaunders, and there made money of it. Thus farre of the Danes; now of others. At this place landed Lewes the French

Kings Sonne that aided the English Nobilitie against King John, as we shall hereafter have cause to shew more at large.

<139>
A Maluicine.

Finally, in the reign of King Richard the second, certain French Ships were taken at the Sea, whereof some were fraught with the frame of a timber Castle (such another, I suppose, as William the Conqueror erected at Hastings, so soone as he

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was arrived) which they also meant to have planted in some place of this Realm, for our annoyance: but they failed of their purpose: for the Engine being taken from them, it was set up at this Town, and used to our great safetie, and their repulse.

Eastrie.

Having somewhat to say of Eastrie, I trust it shall be no great offence, to turne our eye a little from the Shoare, and deal with it in our way to Deale.

It is the name of a Town and Hundred within the Lath of Saint Augustines, and hath the addition of East, for difference sake, from Westrie (commonly called Rye) neer to Winchelsey in Sussex.

Mathew of Westminster maketh report of a murther done at it, which because it tendeth much to the declaration of the ancient estate of the Town, I will not stick to rehearse so shortly as I can.

654.
A Courtly
Sycophant.

After the death of Ercombert, the seventh King of Kent, Egbert his Sonne succeeded in the Kingdome, who caused to be vertuously brought up in his Palace which was then at this Town) two young Noble-men of his kinred (as some say) or rather his own Bretheren (as William of Malmesbury writeth) the one being called Ethelbert, and the other Etheldred:

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these Gentlemen so prospered in good learning, Courtlike manners, and feats of activitie meet for men of their years and parentage, that on the one side, they gave to all well disposed persons and lovers of vertue, great expectation that they would become at the length worthie of much estimation and honour: and on the other side they drew upon them, the fear, misliking, and utter hatred, of the naughty, wicked, and malicious sort. Of the which number there was one of the Kings own household, called Thunner, who (as vertue never wanted her enviers) of a certian develish malice, repyning at their laudable increase, never ceased to blow into the Kings eare most untrue accusations against them: And to the end that he

might the rather provoke the King to displeasure, he perswaded him of great danger towards his estate and person by them. And for as much as the common people (who more commonly worship the Sun rising, then going down) had them in great admiration and reverence, he desired the King, that either he would send them out of the Realm, or be contented to wink at the matter if any of his Friends, for the love of him, and surety of his estate, should procure to dispatch them.

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The King somewhat provoked by fear of his own perill (though nothing desirous of their destruction) even as a little

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water thrown into the fire increaseth the flame, so by a cold denyall, gave courage to the attempt: and therefore, Thunner espying fit time, slew the Children, and buried their bodies in the Kings Hall under the cloth of his estate. But it was not long, before there appeared in the house a bright shining Piller, replenishing each corner with such terrible and fearefull light, that the Servants shrieked at the sight therof, and by their noise awaked the King: who, assoon as he saw it, was touched with the conscience of the murder, whereunto he had a little before in hart consented, and calling in great haste for Thunner, examined him straightly what was become of the Children, and when he had learned the truth, he became most sorrowfull and penitent therefore, charging himself with the whole crime of their deaths, for that it lay wholly in him to have saved their lives. Then sent he for Deodat the Archbishop, and desired to understand by him, what was best to be done for expiation of the fault. This good Father (thinking to have procured some gain to his Church, by veneration of the dead bodies, if happely he might have gotten them thither) perswaded the King to incoffen them, & to commit them to honorable buriall in Christs Church at Canterbury: But (saith mine Author) when the Hearse was ready, it would not be

A right Popish miracle.

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moved by any force toward that Church: as truly (I think) as 'the Cross of Waltham with twelve Oxen and so many Kine, could not be stirred any other way, but toward the place appointed: or as the Imaga^e of Berecinthia, which the Romans had brought out of Asia, could not be removed till the Vestal Virgin Claudia had set to her hand.'

Hereupon the company assaied to convey it to Saint Augustines, but that all in vain also: at the last, they agreed to lead

it to the Monasterie of Watrine, and then (forsooth) it passed as lightly (saith he) as if nothing at all had been within it. The Obsequies there honorably performed, the King gave the place where this vision appeared to his sister Ermenburga, who (of a longing desire to become a veiled Nunne) had a little before abandoned her husbands bed, and choosing out seven or eight other women for her companie erected there a Monasterie to the name and honour of these two murdered brethren. William of Malmesburie added moreover, that the King gave the whole Ile of Thanet also to his Mother, to appease the wrath that she had conceived for the loss of these her deer Children.

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Dele, Dela in Latine, after Leland: I conjectured that it took name of the Saxon thylle, which is a plain floore or levell, by reason that it lyeth flat and level to the Sea. But Master Camden with less violence, out of Nennius, deriveth it from the Bryttish Dole, signifying also a low place or Dale.

The Chronicles of Dover (as Leland reporteth, for I never saw but only some fragments of them) have mention that Julius Cæsar, being repulsed from Dover, arrived at this place: which thing and his trenches upon this coast (called Romesworke) how well they may stand with Cæsars own report in his Commentaries, I had rather leave to others to decide then take upon me to dispute: being very well contented where certainty is not evident, to allow of conjectures not altogether vehement.

1539
King Henrie
the eighth forfeit
his Realm.

Onely of this I hold me well assured, that King Henrie the eight, having shaken off the intolerable yoke of the Popish Tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended for the divorce of Queen Katherine his wife, and that the French King had coupled the Dolphin his sonne to the Popes neece, and married his daughter to the King of Scots, so that he might more justly suspect them

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all then safely trust any one, determine (by the aid of God) to stand upon his own guards and defence: and therefore with all speed, and without sparing any cost, he builded Castles, Platforms, and Blockhouses in all needfull places of the Realm. And amongst other, fearing lest the ease and advantage of descending on land at this part, should give occasion and hardiness to the ene-

Sandowne and
Walmere.

mies to invade him, he erected (neer toge=ther) three fortifications, which might at all times keep and beat the landing place, that is to say Sandowne, Dele, and Wal=mere. All which (together with some others newly built upon the coast of Sus=sex) and their captains he recommended to the surveigh, controllment, and corre=ction of the Warden of the Cinque Ports: as you may read in the Statute purposely therefore made 32 H. 8. cap 48. This spe=ciall matter of Dele, John Leland in Cyg=nea cantione, comprehendeth featly in these two verses.

Jactat Dela novas celebris arces,
Notus Cæsareis locus Trophæis.

Renowned Dele doth vaunt it self,
with Turrets newly rais'd:
For monuments of Cæsars host,
a place in storie prais'd.

Soon after the building, the place was honoured with the landing of the Lady Anne of Cleve. But now since Dover,

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that impregnable Fort and Castle, re=nowned for antiquitie, is not many miles off; let us make unto it, and in sight of the place unfold the singularities of the same.

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Dover, called diversly in Latine Doris, Durus, Doveria, and Dubris: in Saxon, Dofra: all which seem to be drawn from the Britnish words Dufir Water, or Dufirha high or steep, the scituation being upon a high rock over the water, which serveth to either. Some fetch the name from Doo a fore, meaning stopped at the mouth before, which they say Ar=viragus did. One calleth it Dorobrina, differencing it from Canterbury (which he termeth Dorobornia) as if the one were Bourne and the other Bryne, be=cause the one standeth upon the Fresh water and the other upon the Salt.

The treatise of this place shall consist of three speciall members, that is to say, the Town, the Castle, and the Religi=ous buildings.

The Town was long since somewhat estimable, howbeit that which it had (as I think) was both at the first derived from the other two & ever since also continually <c>onserved by them. But whether I hit or <m>iss in that conjecture, certain it is by the <t>estimonie of the Record in the Exche=

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quer commonly called Domesday book, that the Town of Dover was of abilitie in

the time of King Edward the Confessor to arme yeerly twenty Vessels to the Sea by the space of fifteen dayes together, each Vessel having therein one and twenty able men. For in consideration thereof, the same King graunted to the Inhabitants of Dover, not only freedom from payment of Tholl and other priviledges throughout the Realm, but also pardoned them all manner of suit and service to any his Courts whatsoever. The place it self was nevertheless (at those dayes) under the protection and governance of Godwine the Earle of Kent: for I read that it chanced Eustace the Earl of Bolloine (who had married Goda the Kings sister) to come over the Seas into England, of a desire that he had to visit the King his brother, and that whiles his Herbenger deemed himself unwisely in taking up his lodgings at Dover, he fell at variance with the Townsmen and slew one of them: But 'Nocuit temeraria virtus,' force unadvised did harm. For that thing so offended the rest of the Inhabitants, that immediately they ran to weapon, and killing eighteen of the Earls servants, they compelled him and all his meiny to take their feet, and to seek redress at the Kings hands.

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1051

The Town of Dover.

The King, hearing the complaint, meant

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Godwine resisteth the King.

to make correction of the fault: But the Townsmen also had complained themselves to Godwine, who determining unadvisedly to defend his Clients and servants, opposed himself violently against the King his Liege Lord and Master. To be short, the matter waxed (within a while) so hot between them, that either side for maintenance of their cause arried and conducted a great Armie into the field, Godwine demanded of the King that Eustace might be delivered unto him: the king commanded Godwine (that arms laid aside) he would answer his disobedience by order of the Law: and in the end Godwine was banished the Realm by the sentence of the King and Nobility; whereupon he and his sons fled over the Sea, and never ceased to unquiet the King and spoil his Subjects, till they were reconciled to his favour, and restored to their ancient estate and dignitie.

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1295

This Town was so sore wasted with fire soon after the comming in of King William the Conqueror, that it was wholly (save only nine and twenty dwelling houses) consumed and brought to ashes. And in the time of King Edward the first also, whiles two of the Popes Cardinals were here in the treatie of an at=

tonement to be made between England and France, the French men landed at Dover in a night and burned a great part

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of the town, & som of the religious build= ings. So that in those times it was much impaired by those misfortunes. But now in our memorie, what by decay of the Ha= ven (which King Henrie the eighth, with the cost of 63000 pounds upon a pier=, but all in vain, sought to restore) and what by the overthrow of the Religious houses and loss of Calaice, it was brought in man= ner to miserable nakedness and decay.

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Which thing were the less to be pitied had it not been accompanied with the ru= ine of the Castle it self, the fall whereof would be so much the more grievous, as the fame thereof is with our ancient Sto= riers (above all other) most blasing and glorious. This therefore moved the Ma= jestie of our Sovereign Queen that now is, to give gracious eare to the complaint hereof presented unto her: so as she not only bestowed great favours of her own gift, but also took order by Parliament, in the three and twentieth year of her reign, for a generall help upon the Tonneage, towards the relief of this decayed Har= bour.

By which means, and by the industri= ous attendance of **the** Gentlemen of the Countrie and others (put in trust to fur= ther the work) a Pent and Sluyce hath been made, which both open the mouth and scowre the bottome of the Haven, delivering it from that Beache (or bowl=

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derstone) that before choaked it, and is now (as it is said of a Scorpion) convert= ed to the medicine of that maladie which it had brought upon the place, in such sort, as where before was not four foot of wa= ter, a ship of some hundreds may now safely goe in and out.

If the like cure were done upon the fallen walls of the Town towards the Sea, where sometime stood Cougate, Crosgate, and the Boutcherie-gate, advanced with Towers, the pier= were much more both comfortable to the Inhabitants and de= fensible against the enemie. In the mean let us betake us to the Castle.

Dover castle.

The Castle of Dover (say Lydgate and Rosse) was builded by Julius Cæsar the Roman Emperor, in memorie of whom they of the Castell keep till this day cer= tain vessels of old wine and salt, which they affirm to be the remain of such pro= vision as he brought into it. As touching the which (if they be naturall, and not so=

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phisticate) I suppose them more likely to have been of that store which Hubert de Burgh laid in there, of whom I shall have cause to say more hereafter: But as concerning the building, because I finde not in Cæsars own Commentaries mention of any fortification that he **had** made within the Realm, I think that the more credible report of the twain which ascribeth the foundation to Arviragus (a King

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of the Britans) of whom Juvenal the Poet hath mention, saying to the Emperor Nero in this wise,

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus, &c.

Some King thou shalt a captive take,
or else from Bryttish wayne
Shall Arviragus tumble downe,

and of whom others write, that he found such favour in the eye of Claudius the Emperor, that he obtained his daughter to wife. But whosoever were the author of this Castell, Mathew Parise writeth that it was accounted in his time (which was under the reign of King Henrie the third, 'Clavis & Repagulum totius Regni,' the very lock and key of the whole Realm of England.

And truly it seemeth to me, by that which I have read of King William the Conqueror, that he also thought no less of it. For at such time as Harold being in Normandie with him (whether of purpose or against his will, I leave, as I finde it, at large) made a corporall oath to put him in possession of the Crown after the death of King Edward. It was one parcell of his oath, that he should deliver unto him this Castell and the Well within it. The same King also had no sooner overthrown Harolde in the field, and reduced the Londoners to obedience, but forthwith he marched with his armie toward Dover, as

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to a place of greatest importance, and sped in that journey as is already partly declared.

1067.

Not long after which time also, when he had (in his own opinion) peaceably established the government of this Realm, and was departed over into Normandie of purpose to commit the order of that Country to Robert his sonne, divers of the Shire of Kent, knowing right well how much it might annoy him to lose Dover, conspired with Eustace the Earl of Bolloine, for the recovery and surprize of the same. And for the better atchieving of

<151> their desire, it was agreed, that the Earl should crosse the Seas in a night by them appointed, at which time they would not fail with all their force to meet him, and so (joyning hands) suddenly assail and enter it. They met accordingly, and marched by dark night toward the Castle, well furnished with scaling ladders, but by reason that the watch had discried them, they not only failed of that which they intended, but also fell into that which they never feared: for the Soldiers within the Castle, to whom Odo the Bishop of Baieux, and Hughe Mountfort (which then were with the King in Normandie) had committed the charge thereof, kept themselves close, and suffered the assaylants to approach the wall, and then, whiles they disorderly attempted to scale

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it, they set wide open their gates, and made a sudden sally out of the peece, and set upon them with such force and fury, that they compelled Eustace with a few others to return to his Ship, the rest of his company being either slain by the Sword, or destroyed by fall from the Cliff, or devoured by the Sea.

Odo, the Earl of Kent.

The same King also, being worthily offended with the disobedience, avarice, and ambition of Odo (his bastard brother, whom he had promoted to the Bishoprick of Baieux, and to the Earldome of Kent,) for that he had not only by ravine and extortion, raked together great masses of gold and treasure, which he caused to be ground into fine powder, and (filling therewith divers pots and crocks) had sunk them in the bottomes of Rivers, in tending therewithall to have purchased the Papacy of Rome: but also because he refused to render unto him the County of Kent, and was suspected for aspiring to the Crown of this Realm: consulted with Lanfranc (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a professed enemy to Odo) how he might safely, and without offence to the Ecclesiasticall estate (for that he was a Bishop) both contein that treasure within the Realm, and also detein his person from going into Italie, whether ward he both addressed himself with all speed, and gathered for his train great troupes of

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valiant and serviceable men out of every quarter.

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Lanfranc Counsell'd the King to commit him to safe custody, and for his defence armed him with this pretty shift: 'If it be laid to your charge' (quoth he) 'that you have laid violent hands upon a sacred

Bishop, say, that you imprisoned, not the Bishop of Baieux, but the Earl of Kent.' The King liked well the conceit, and causing Odo to be apprehended, cast him into prison, whence he was not delivered during all the time of his reign. That done, he made diligent inquisition for the hourds of gold, and by fear of torture, caused the Bishops servants to bewray the whole treasure.

Fynes, the first Constable of Dover Castle: and the beginning of Castle-guard.

Then also took he new order for the government of this Shire: and because he was perswaded, that nothing within the same was of more importance then Dover Castle, he seised it into his hands, forthwith fortified it, and chose out a noble man called John Fynes, (of whose prowess and fidelity he had made good tryall) and committing unto him not only the custody thereof, but the government of the rest of the Ports also by gift of inheritance, he named him Constable of Dover, and made him Warden of the Cinque Ports.

And to the end that he should be of sufficient ability to bear the charge of the

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defence thereof, he gave him to the number of six and fifty Knights Fees of land and possession, willing him, to communicate some parts of that gift to such other valiant and trustie persons, as he should best like, for the more sure conservation of that his most noble, and precious peece.

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He accordingly called unto him eight other worthy Knights, and imparting liberally unto them of that which he had freely received of the King, bound them by tenure of their land received, to maintain one hundred and twelve Souldiers against them: which number he so divided by moneths of the yeer, that five and twenty were continually to watch and ward within the Castle for their severall stints of time, and all the rest ready at commandement upon whatsoever necessity.

The names of these eight, were, William of Albrance, Eulbert of Dover, William Arsicke, Galfride Peverell, William Maynemouth, Robert Porthe, Hugh Creuequer, (called in the Latine Records, 'Decrepito corde,' that is, Crackt hart) and Adam Fitz Williams. Each of all which, had their severall charges, in sundry Towers, Turrets, and Bulworks of the Castle, and were contented of their own dispencc, to maintain and repaire the same: in token whereof, divers of them bear the names and titles of these

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new chosen Captains, even till this our present time.

And thus Dover, being dispatched of a busie Bishop, fenced by the Kings appointment, furnished, fraught, and planted with a most faithfull Constable, vigilant Captains, and diligent Warders, gained and retained the opinion of a most important, commodious, and necessary peece, not only with the native Princes and Nobility of our own Realm, but also with such forrein Potentates, as had war and contention with us: in so much as in sundry troubles ensuing, at sundry times afterward within this Realm, it did plainly appear, that this Castle was the chief mark, whereat each man directed his shot.

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Estimation of Dover Castle.

For King Stephan, in the contention that arose between him & Maude the Empress about the title of the Crown, thought that no one thing stood him more in hand, then to get the possession of Dover Castle: and therefore he never ceased to sollicite Walkelm (that then had the custody thereof) till he had obtained it.

1137

1217

Lewes also (whom I may call the French Dolphine, because the sonne and heir to the Crown of France, is now so named) which by the instigation of the Pope, and invitation of the Nobility, invaded King John (upon such cause as shall hereafter appear) having gained partly

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by terror, and partly by surrender of the Barons that were of his faction, almost all the Castles and Holds lying on the South part of the Realm, could not yet think himself assured, unlesse he had Dover also. For his Father Philip, hearing that he had the possession of sundry other strong places, and that he wanted Dover, sware by Saint James Arme, (which was his accustomed oath) that he had not gained one foot in England. And therefore, he made thither with all his power, and besieged it streightly: but that noble Captain, Hubert of Borrough, (of whom I lately spake) which was in his time, Constable of the Castle, Warden of the Ports, Earl of Kent, and chief Justice of all England, defended it with such courageous constancy, that it was both a comfort to the English subject, and a wonder to the French enemy to behold it: in so much, as I cannot worthily impute the delivery of this Realm, from the perill of forrein servitude (wherein it then stood) to any one thing so much, as to the magnanimity of this one man. Of whom also (by the way) I think good to tell you this, that in his time of Constablenesship at

Hubert of Brough, a notable Captain.

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1263

Dover, and by his means, the service of Castleward there, which had continued (as I shewed before) from the time of William the Conqueror, was with the assent of King Henry the third converted into a

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payment of money, the land being charged with ten shillings (called Castlewards) for every Warder, that it was bound to finde, and the owners thereby discharged of their personall service and attendance for ever: At which time also he caused the same King to release by his free Charter, the custome of Forrage due to this Castle, and that done, himself instituted new Laws amongst the watchmen, and increased the number of the Warders. Thus stood it with Dover Castle, untill that King Henry the eight by Parliament (in the thirty two yeer of his reign) altered both the place and penalty, of these Castlewards (or rents for Castleguard) ordeining that whereas before time they were payable at the Castle, upon the pain to double them one upon another infinitely for every default, from thenceforth they should be payed in the Eschequer at Westminster, upon forfeiture of the double rent once only, without any further forfeitures, or Sursises, as they were wont to be called. And he moreover bestowed the yeerly Fee of 160 l. upon the Constable of the Castle and Warden of the five Ports, and maintained a great number of Souldiers within the Castle and other his newly advanced fortresses. But now to my purpose againe.

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Simon, Earl of Leycester and leader

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of the Barons war against King Henry the third, even at the first wrested the Castle of Dover out of the Kings possession, and keeping the same during all his life, used to send thither (as unto a place of most assurance) all such as he had taken prisoners.

After his overthrow, Edward (then Prince, and afterward the first King of that name) assailed it with all speed, and (by the aid of the prisoners within, which had taken the great Tower to his use) obtained it: there left he prisoned, Guy the sonne of this Simon, but he escaped soon after by corruption of his keepers.

1266

To make an end, the Nobility of that time were fully perswaded, that both the safety and danger of the whole Realm consisted in this one Castle: and therefore (saith Mathew Parise) that at such time as King Henry the third called over

from beyond the Seas his own brother Richard (then King of the Romans) the Noblemen (who had him in some jealousy) would not agree, that he, or any of his, should once enter within this Castle.

<157> Not without good cause therefore, hath Dover by great preeminence been reported the chief of the five Ports, assigned by Laws of Parliament as a special place for passage and eschange, and by ancient tenure acknowledged for Lady

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and Mistresse of many Manors: to it alwaies some man of great apparance is appointed as Captain and Governor: to, in, or for it sundry Gentlemen of the Shire pay yet their money for the ancient duty of their attendance and service: and to it finally, the Country-men in all times of trouble have an especiall eye and regard.

Reparation of Dover Castle.

As concerning the maintenance of this Castle in fortification and building, I finde not much more in story then I have already opened which happeneth the rather (as I think) for that many private persons within the Shire of Kent were of long time, not only bound by their tenures of Castleguard to be ready in person for the defence, but also stood charged in purse with the reparation of the same. Only I read in John Rosse, that King Edward the fourth, to his great expence, (which others reckon to have ten thousand pounds) amended it throughout. The last recited statute telleth us, that King Henry the eighth was at great charge with it: and it is yet fresh in the memory of us all, that our gracious Queen Elizabeth, hath been at great charge in repairing the defects hereof. These be the memorable matters, that I <ha>d to recount touching this Town and <C>astle. There standeth yet, upon the high <c>liffe, between the Town and the Peer

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<158> (as it were) not far from that which was the house of the Templars some remain <of> a Tower now called Bredenstone, which had been both a Pharos for comfort of Saylor, and also a <propylakē> or (watch house) for defence of the Inhabitants. And now, leaving these, let us pass on to the late Religious buildings.

S. Martines in Dover.

Lucius, the first Christened King of the Britons, builded a Church within Dover Castle to the name and service of Christ, endowing it with the toll or custome of the Haven there: And Edbaldus (the son of Ethelbert, the first Christened King of

725
 Contention between the Religious persons for trifles.
 1234

the Saxons) erected a Colledge within the walls of the same, which Wyghtred (a successor of his) removed into the Town, stored with two and twenty Canons, and dedicated it to the name of S. Martine. This House was afterward suppressed, and a new builded by King Henrie the second (or rather by William Corbeil, the Archbishop in his time) stuffed by Theobald his successor with Benedict Monks, and called the Priorie of S. Martines, though commonly afterward it obtained the name of the new work at Dover. Between this house and Christs Church in Canterbury (to the which King Henrie the second had given it) there arose (as it chanced usually amongst houses of Religio(n)) much contention for certain superioriti(es) of jurisdiction, and for voice and suffra(ge)

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in the election of the Archbishop. For on the one side the Prior and Covent of Dover claimed to have interest in the choice of the Archbishop, which the Prior of Christs Church would not agree unto: and on the other side, the Prior of Christs Church pretended to have such a sovereignty over S. Martines, that he would not only visit the house, but also admit Monks and Novices at his pleasure, which the other could not bear: so that they fell to suing, provoking, and brawling (the ordinarie and only means by which Monks used to trie their controversies) & ceased not appealing and pleading at Rome, till they had both wearied themselves and wasted their monie. Howbeit, as it commonly falleth out, that where respect of money and reward guideth the judgment and sentence, there the mighty prevail and the poor goe to wrack: So the Monks of Canterburie having to give more, and the Pope and his Ministers being ready to take all, poor Dover was oppressed, and their Prior in the end constrained to submission.

And here, because I am fallen into mention of controversie betweene ecclesiastical persons, of which sort our Histories have plentie, the matter requireth that I <to>ch in few words the evill intreaty that <William Longchampe (the jolly Bishop of Ely) & Chancellor of all England) used to

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Longchamp the lustie Bishop of Ely.
 1191

ward Godfrey, the Kings brother and Bishop of York elect, within this Priorie. King Richard the first, being perswaded by the Pope and his Clergie to make an expedition for the recoverie of the holy land, partly for the performance of that which the King his father had purposed to

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doe in person, and partly for satisfaction of his own vow (which he made when he took the cross, as they called it, upon him) set to Portsale his Kingly Rights, Jurisdiccions, and Prerogatives, his Crownlands, Fermes, Customs, and Offices, and whatsoever he had beside, to raise mony withall: and so, committing the whole government of his Realm to William the Bishop of Ely his Chancellor, he committed himself and his company to the winde and Seas.

This Prelate, having now by the Kings Commission the power of a Viceroy, and besides by the Popes gift the authority of a Legate and Vicar, and consequently the exercise of both the Swords, so ruled and reigned over the Clergie and Laity in the Kings absence, that the one sort found him more then a Pope, the other felt him more then a King, and they both indured him an intollerable tyrant. For he not only over-ruled the Nobilitie and outfauced the Clergie, spoiling both the one and the other of their livings and promotion for maintenance of his own ryot, pomp

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and excess: But also oppressed the common people, devouring and consuming wheresoever he became, the victual of the Countrie with the Troops and Trains of Men and Horses (being in number a thousand or fifteen hundred) that continually followed him. Amongst other his practises, having gotten into his hands the revenues of the Archbishoprick of York (whereof Godfrey the Kings brother was then elected Bishop, and busie at Rome for to obtain his consecration) and fearing that by his return he might be defrauded of so sweet a morsell, he first laboured earnestly to hinder him in his suit at Rome; and when he saw no success of that attempt, he determined to make him sure whensoever he should return home. And for that purpose he took order with one Clere (then Sheriff of Kent and Constable of the Castle of Dover, to whom he had given his sister in marriage) that he should have a vigilant eye to his arrivall, and that so soon as the Archbishop did set foot on land, he should strip him of all his ornaments and commit him to safe custodie within the Castle. Which thing was done accordingly: for the Archbishop was no sooner arrived and entered the Church to offer to S. Martine sacrifice for his safe passage (as the Gentils that escaped Shipwrack were wont to doe unto Neptune:) But Clere

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and his companie came in upon him, and doing the Chancellors commandement, violently haled him and his Chaplains to the prison.

Hereat John (then the Kings brother, but afterward King) taking just offence, and adjoyning to him for revenge the utmost aid of the Bishops and Barons, his Friends and Alies, raised a great power, and in short time so straightned the Chancellor, that he not only agreed to release Godfrey, but was fain himself also (abandoning his late pomp and glorie) to get him to Dover, and to lye with his brother Clere, as a poor, private and despoiled person.

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Howbeit not thus able to endure long the note of infamie and confusion, whereinto he was fallen, he determined within himself to make an escape, and by shift of the place to shroud his shame in some corner beyond the Seas: And therefore, shaving his face and attyring himself like a woman, he took a piece of linnen under his arme and a yard in his hand, minding (by that disguising) to have taken Vessel amongst other passengers unknown, and so to have gotten over: But he was not at the first in all his authority more unlike a good man, then he was now in this poor apparel unlike an honest woman: and therefore being at the very first discovered, he was by certain rude fellows openly

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uncased, well boxed about the ears, and sent to the next Justice, who conveied him to John his greatestemie. And thus was all the gay glorie of this Gallant brought to shame, his Pecoocks feathers pulled, his black feet bewraied, his fraud unfolded, his might abated, and himself in the end suffered to sail over with sorrow and ignominie.

Religious Houses in Dover.

Besides this Priorie of S. Martines (which was valued at a hundred fourscore and eight pounds by year) there was lately in Dover also an Hospitall of Saint Maries, founded by Hubert de Burghe Earle of Kent, and rated at fifty nine pounds: Another house of the same sort, called Domus Dei (or Maison Dieu) reputed worth one hundred and twenty pounds: And long since an house of Templers (as they called it) the which (together with all other of the same kinde throughout the Realm) was suppressed in the reign of King Edward the second.

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The order of the Templers when it began.

The foundation of the first which I have not hitherto found out, and therefore cannot deliver thereof any certainty at all: As touching the Temple I may safely affirm, that it was erected after the

time of the Conquest, for as much as I am sure that the order it self was invented after that Godfrey of Bolein had wonne Jerusalem, which was after the coming in of the Conqueror. To these

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also may be added for neighbourhood sake (if you will) the Monasterie of white Chanons of S. Radegundes on the hill, little more than two miles off, valued at fourscore and eighteen pounds by year, & founded by one Hugh first Abbat there.

And now having perused the Town, Castle, and Religious buildings, I would make an end of Dover, save that Mathewe Parise putteth me in minde of one thing (not unworthie rehearsall) that was done in this Temple: I mean, the sealing of that submission which K. John sometime made to Pandulphe (the Popes Legate) wherein he yeilded his Realm tributarie, & himself an obedienciarie and vassal to the Bishop of Rome, And because this was almost the last act of the whole Tragedie, and cannot well be understood without some recourse to the former parts and beginning: and for that some men (of late time) have taken great hold of this matter to advance the Popes authority withall, I will shortly after my manner) recount the thing as it was done, and leave the judgment to the indifferencie of the Reader.

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The Pope and King John fall out for Stephan Langton.

After the death of Hubert (the Archbishop of Canterbury) the Monks of Christs Church agreed among themselves to choose for their Bishop one Reginald the Subprior of their House. King John (having no notice of this election, where

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in no doubt he received great wrong, since they ought to have of him their Conge deslier) recommended unto them John Gray the Bishop of Norwich, a man that for his wisdome and learning he favoured much. Some part of the Monks, taking sudden offence at Reginald (for that he had disclosed a secret of their house) and being glad to satisfie the Kings desire, elected this Gray for their Bishop also, the rest of them still maintaining that former choise. Hereof grew a great suit at Rome between the more part of the Monks on the one side, and the Suffragans of Canterbury and the less number of the Monks on the other side.

The Pope (upon the hearing of the cause) at the first ratifieth the election of John Gray: howbeit afterward he refuseth both the elects, and preferreth Stephan Langton, whom the Monks (because

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the matter was not before litigious enough) elected also. Now King John, hearing that not only the election of Gray (contrarie to the Popes own former determination) was made frustrate, but that there was also thrust into his place a man familiarly entertained by the French King (his great enemy) disliked much of the choice, and forbade Stephan the elect to enter the Realm: The Pope again, who (as Mathew Parise writeth) sought chiefly in this his choice 'Virum stre-

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num,' a stout man, that is (in plain speech) one that could exact of the Clergie, keep in awe the Laity, and encounter the King and Nobilitie) seeing his Champion thus rejected, beginneth to startle and stamp for anger.

First therefore he moveth the King by menacing letters to admit Stephan; and (not so prevailing) he then interdicteth him and his whole Realm: And finally both provoketh all Potentates to make open warre upon him, and also promiseth to the King of France full and free remission of all his sinns and the Kingdom of England it self, to invade him.

This done, he solliciteth to rebellion the Bishops, Nobilitie, and Commons of the Realm, loosing them (by the plenitude of his Apostolike power) from all duty of allegiance toward their Prince. By this means divine Service ceased, the King of France armed, the Bishops conspired, the Nobilitie made defection, and the common People wavered, uncertain to what part to incline: To be short, King John was so pressed with suspicion and fear of domesticall and forreign enemies on all sides, that (notwithstanding he was of great and noble courage, and seemed to have forces sufficient for resistance also, if he might have trusted his Souldiers) yet he was in the end compelled to set his seal to a Charter of submission, whereby he

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acknowledged himself to hold the Crown of England of the Popes Miter, and promised to pay yearly for the same, and for Ireland, 1000. Marks, to the holy Father and his successors for ever.

The golden Bull.

This Charter, because it was afterward with great insultation and triumph closed in gold, was then commonly called, Aurea Bulla, the Bull of gold.

Thus, omitting the residue of this storie, no less tragical and troublesome then that which I have already recited, I report me to all indifferent men, what cause Paulus Jovius, or any other Popish pa-

rasite hath (by colour of this Bull) to claim for the Pope, superiority and dominion over the King of this Realm, since John without the assent of the Estates, (I mean his Nobility and Commons) could not (in such a gift) either binde his Successors, or charge the Kingdome.

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And for plain declaration that his submission proceeded not with their consent, I read in a Treatise of one Simon de Boraston (a Friar Preacher, in the time of King Edward the third) the which he wrote concerning the Kings right to the Crown of Ireland, that in the reign of Henry the third (which next of all succeeded King John) there were sent from the King, the Nobility and the Commons of England, these Noble men: Hughe Bigod, John Fitz Geffray, William Cantlowe, Phillip

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Basset, and a Lawyer named William Powicke, to the generall Councell then assembled at Lions in France, of purpose, and with commission, to require that the said Bull sealed by King John might be cancelled, for as much as it passed not by the assent of the Councell of the Realm: and the same Author writeth, that the Pope for that time did put them off, by colour of more weighty affaires which the Councell had then in hand. But Mathew Parise saith, that it was then reported, that the Bull was by good fortune burned there, in a fire that casually took and consumed the Popes own Chamber. Howsoever it were, I know that it may well be thought needless, to labor further in confuting a Title so weightless: (for it is true that Aristotle saith, 'Stultum est, absurdas opiniones accuratius refellere,') It is but a folly, to labor over curiously, in refelling of absurdities: and therefore I will here conclude the Treatise of Dover, and proceed particularly to the rest of the places that lie on this Shoare.

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Folkstone, in Saxon folcestane. Id est, Populi Lapis, or else, flostane, which signifieth a rock, coaffe, or flaw of stone, which beginneth here: for otherwise, the Cliffe from Dover till you come almost hither, is of Chalke.

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S. Eanswide,
and her mi=
racles.

Amongst the places lying on this Shore, worthy of note next after Dover, followeth Folkestone, where Eadbalde, the Sonne of Ethelbert, and in order of succession the sixt King of Kent, long since erected a religious Priorie of women at the request of Eanswide, his Daughter, and to the honour of St. Peter

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the Apostle, not in the very place where St. Peters Church at Folkstone sometime stood, but south from thence where the Sea many years agoe hath (in manner) swallowed it. And yet, least you should think St. Peters Parish Church to have been void of all reverence, I must let you know out of Nova Legenda Angliæ, that least the Sea should have devoured all the reliques of St. Eanswide the first Prioress of the place, were translated thither. The Author of that work, reporteth many wonders of this woman: as that she lengthened the beam of a building three foot, when the Carpenters (missing in their measure) had made it so much too short: that she haled and drew water o=

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ver the hils and rocks against nature from Swecton, a mile off, to her Oratory at the Sea side: that she forbad certain ravenous Birds the Country, which before did much harm thereabouts: That she restored the blind, cast out the Divell, and healed innumerable folks of their infirmities. And therefore after her death, she was by the pollicie of the Popish Priests, and folly of the common people, honoured for a Saint.

A Popish policie.

And no marvail at all, for it was usuall in Papistry, not only to magnifie their Benefactors of all sorts, but to deifie also so many of them at the least as were of noble parentage, knowing that thereby triple commoditie ensued: the first, for as much as by that mean they assured many great personages unto them: secondly, they drew (by the awe of their example) infinite numbers of the common people after them: And lastly, they adventured the more boldly (under those honorable, and glorious names and titles) to publish their peevish and pelting myrracles. And this surely was the cause that Sexburge in Shepie, Mildred in Tanet, Etheldred at Elye, Edith at Wilton, and sundry other simple women of Royall blood in each quarter, were canonized Saints. For generally the Religious of those times were as thankfull to their Benefactors, as ever were the Heathen Na=

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S. Sexburge, &c.

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tions to their first Kings and Founders: The one sort sanctifying such, as did either build them Houses, or devise them Orders: and the other deifying such as had made them Cities, or prescribed them Lawes and Governments.

For this was it that made Saturne, Hercules, Romulus, and others moe, to have place (in common opinion) with

the Gods above the Starres: and this caused Dunstane, Edgar, Ethelwold, and others, first to be shrined here in Earth, and then to sit amongst the Saints in Heaven. But let me now leave their policie, and return to the History.

The yearly value of the late suppressed Priorie at Folkstone, is already set down in the particular of this Shire, and besides this I have not hitherto found any thing concerning it. Maister Camden gathereth out of Gyldas, that at Folkstone should anciently stand one of those Turrets which the Romans planted by certain distances upon the south Shore of our land against the landing of the Saxons.

<170> Folkstone, in the time of King Edward (next before the Norman Conquest) contained 120. Sulleries, Hydes, Carowes, or Ploughlands: for by all these names is the quantity of a Plowland tearmed in the Book of Domesday: there were in it five Parish churches: it was rated at the yearly value of 110. pounds and then belong=

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1052 ed to the Earl Godwyne, who, and his Sons sore spoiled it, what time they harried that whole Coast for revenge of their banishment, as we have often before remembered: and the greater part thereof was eftsoons burnt and spoiled, by the Scots and French joyning hands against us, soon after the departure of King Edward the third. But the continuall warre, which the Sea maintaineth against it, hath done more detriment than all the rest. For that violently washeth, and by peice-meal wasteth it so, that not only the Nunnerie which stood 28. pearches from the high water-mark is now almost swallowed up, but the Castle, which Eadbald (or as some think, William Albranc, or Avorenche, to whome Folkstone was given) did build, and foure of those five Parish Churches, be departed out of sight also. Only some broken Walles, in which are seen great Bricks (the markes of British building) doe remain, and the names of the Parishes of our Lady and Saint Paul, are not clean forgotten.

John Twyne commendeth (above all others) the Oistres that come from Folkstone, as well for the taste, as for the greatnesse, contending that the same were they, that for Dainties were anciently transported to Rome: and that the Coast there, all along was known to the Roman Poets, Ausonius, Iuvenal, and Lu=

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<171> cane, by the name of Rhutupiæ, Rhutupinus ager, or Rhutupinum Littus, to

which end also Master Camden doth cite them.

Sandgate Castle.

King Henry the eight (whose care, and coste, for the defending of this Realm against forrein invasion, is rightly comparable with any thing that either Eadgar, or Alfred, (Kings before the Conquest) bestowed and meerly incomparable with all that ever any other his predecessors have attempted) did at the same time, and for the same respect, that we have opened in Dele before, defray 5000 l. and above upon this platform, which lyeth within the parish of Folkstone toward Hythe, and he called it (of the sandy place where it is pitched) Sandgate castle.

Castle Hill.

Upon this steep down, or hill (which is also in the parish of Folkstone, somewhat neerer to Hythe then Sandgate is) there are yet extant to the eye, the ruined walls of an ancient fortification: which for the height thereof might serve for a watch Tower to espy the enemy, and for the compasse it might be a suffi-

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cient receptacle for the inhabitants of this Castle. This, (as I conjecture) began to be neglected, after that meeter places for that purpose were builded at Saltwood and Folkstone, on each side of it. The Country people call it, Castle-hill, and many of them have heard the foundation thereof ascribed to King Ethelbert, the first godly King of this Shire.

Saint Nicholas Chappell.

Theophilus (the good Bishop) having obtained authority from the Christian Emperor Theodosius to deface the Idols of Alexandria, thought it expedient neverthelesse (as Socrates in his Ecclesiasticall history reporteth) to reserve undefaced that part of each Idol which was most grosse and filthy, to the end that it might for ever remain a witness to convince those Pagan Idolators with all; who otherwise would (as he feared) in time to come have for shame denied that ever there was any such thing amongst them. If this his good and provident policy had been put in ure by some Theophilus, or such as recieved the like commission from King Henry the eight our English Theodosius, then either should our Paganish (or Popish) Idola-

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ters have now wanted the faces to deny the verity of such things which some of them now already begin to doe: or else we should not have wanted wherewith to make them blush, and to stop their mouthes, were they never so brassie and impudent. And albeit that this thing might have been much more easily performed, whilest each man was guilty of the fault, and had fresh memory thereof: yet neverthelesse, if we had but one or two such good friends to God in this behalf, as Theophilus was, amongst us, it might now yet with no lesse fidelity and credit be conveyed to posterity: seeing that even hitherto there remain many (and the same most credible) eye witnesses of all that manner of doing. I (in the mean season) having undertaken the Chorography of this Shire, could not (as me thought) with good conscience, silently slip over such impieties, being no lesse injurious to God, then dangerous to men, but have therefore (and for a witness against the maintainers thereof) committed to writing some such of them as I have learned, either by the faithfull report of honest persons that have seen and known the same, or else out of such written monuments as be yet extant and ready to be shewed. For, neither doe I profess to open the whole pack of the Idolatries that were within this Country,

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nor yet to discover the most filthy of all the rest, the one requiring more labour then I can afford, and the other more judgment then I have: but I deliver such only, as lying in my way doe offer themselves, and such, as (doing as it were another thing) I have not unhappily lighted upon.

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This old house therefore, standing (as you see) very neer to the Town of Hythe, but being indeed within the parish of Newington, although it may now seem but a base Barn in your eye, yet was it sometime an Imperiall Seat of great estate and Majesty. For it was Saint Nicholas Chappell, and he in Papism held the same Empire that Neptune had in Paganism, and could (with his only beck) both appease the rage and wallowing waves of the Sea, and also preserve from wrack and drowning so many as called upon his name. And therefore, this is one of the places (as the Poet said)

Seruati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant,

Where such as had escapt the Sea,
were woont to leave their gifts:

Insomuch as if any of the Fishermen upon this coast, had hardly escaped the storm, and taken any store, then should Saint Nicholas have, not only the thank of that deliverance, but also one, or mo, of the best Fishes for an offering.

And because our Ports-men traded the

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Sea and lived by quick return, they were not unprovided of an Eolus also that might direct the winde for their desire. For, within memory, there were standing in Winchelsey, three parish Churches, St. Lennard, St. Giles, and St. Thomas (though now St. Thomas alone serveth the Town) and in that of St. Lennard there was erected the Picture of St. Lennard the Patrone of the place, holding a Fanne (or Eolus scepter) in his hand, which was movable at the pleasure of any that would turn it to such point of the Compasse as best fitted the return of the husband, or other friend, whom they expected: and so, after that done, and offering made (for without offering these Idols would be idle) they promised to themselves the desired winde, both speedy, and prosperous. I doubt not, but our Ports men had made these Saints free of the Cinque Ports, even as the Thurians (a people of Italie) sometime did, who, when as Dionysius had armed thirty Ships to the Sea against them, and that suddenly a North-winde arose and knocked them together one against another till they fell in peeces, they (by and by) offered Sacrifice to the North-winde, and made it free of their City. A thing truly, more to be sorrowed then scorned, that men, disabling Gods power, or doubting his good will, or discrediting his promise,

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should thus either leave him wholly, or cleave to these Idols and make them partly coadjutors with him. But I think that you be desirous to hear of Hythe it self, which you have already in eye, and therefore let us make unto it.

Hyde, is written in Saxon hyþe, that is, the Haven: and called of Leland in Latine, Portus Hithinus, in some Records, Hethe.

The name of this place, importing (as it should seem) by the generality thereof, some note of worthinesse, and the long continued privileges thereunto belonging (it self being long since one of the five principall Ports) at the first led me (and happily may hereafter move others also) to think, that it had been of

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more estimation in time past, then by any other thing now apparent may well be conjectured. Howbeit, after that I had somewhat diligently searched the Saxon antiquities, from whence (if from any at all) the beginning of the same is to be derived, and had perused the Book of Domesday, wherein almost nothing (especially that might be profitable) was permitted, and yet found little, or (in manner) nothing, concerning this Town committed to memory: I became of this minde, that either the place was at the

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first of little price, and for the increase thereof indowed with priviledges, or (if it had been at any time estimable) that it continued not long in that plight.

The cause of
the decay of
Havens in
Kent.

And truly whosoever shall consider either the vicissitude of the Sea in all places, or the particular alteration and change that in times passed and now presently it worketh on the Coasts of this Realm, he will easily assent that Towns bordering upon the Sea and upholden by the commoditie thereof, may in short time decline to great decay, and become (in manner) worth nothing at all.

For, as the water either floweth or forsaketh them, so must they of necessitie either flourish or fall, flowing (as it were) and ebbing with the Sea it self. The necessitie of which thing is every where so inevitable, that all the Popish ceremonies of espousing the Sea (which the Venetians yeerly use on Saint Marks day, by casting a golden ring into the water) cannot let, but that the Sea continually by little and little withdraweth it self from their Citie, and threatneth in time utterly to forsake them.

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Now therefore, as I cannot fully shew what Hide hath been in times passed, and must referre to each mans own eye to behold what it presently is: So yet will I not pretermit to declare out of other men such notes as I finde concerning the same.

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The Town of Hythe (saith Leland) although it be now but one Parish, and the same a Chappel to Saltwood, did once extend it self two miles along the shore, and had the Parishes of our Lady, Saint Nicholas, S. Michaell, and of our Lady at Westhythe, which be now destroyed, and he supposeth that this Hythe began to increase after such time as Westhythe and Lymne decayed, by the departure of the Sea from them. And hereof also it came to pass (as I have heard) that whereas Westhythe was long since clean without

the jurisdiction of Saltwood, because it stood without that Honour, this Hythe was subject unto it, as lying within the precinct thereof, untill that our Sovereign Ladie Elizabeth endowed them with a corporation of Major and Jurates.

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From this Town (saith Henrie Huntingdon) Earle Godwine and his sonnes in the time of their exile, fetched away divers vessels lying at roade, even as they did at Rumney also, whereof we shall have place to speak more hereafter. Before this Town in the reign of King Edward the first) a great fleet of French men shewed themselves upon the Sea, of which one (being furnished with two hundred Soldiers) set her men on land in the Haven, where they had no sooner pitched their foot, but the Townsmen came upon them and slew them to the last man, wherewith

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Hyde miserably scourged.

the residue were so afraid, that forthwith they hoysed up saile and made no further attempt. This Town also was grievously afflicted in the beginning of the reign of King Henrie the fourth, in so much as (besides the furie of the pestilence, which raged all over) there were in one day two hundred of the houses consumed by flame, and five of their Ships, with one hundred of their men, drowned at the Sea: By which hurt the Inhabitants were so wounded, that they began to devise how they might abandon the place and build them a Town elsewhere: Whereupon they had resolved also, had not the King by his liberal Charter (which I have seen under his seale) released unto them, for five turns next following (unless the greater necessity should in the mean time compell him to require it) their service of five Ships, of one hundred men, and of five garsons, which they ought of dutie, and at their own charge, without the help of any other member, to find him by the space of fifteen daies together.

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They have at this Hythe Saint Bartilmeus Hospitall (as they call it) which was erected by Hamon of Hythe (sometime Bishop of Rochester, and named of Hythe because it was his native Town) for the continuall relief of ten poor persons, and endowed with twenty marks of yearly profit, or thereabouts.

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The shortest passage between England and France.

Finally, From this Town to Boloigne (which is taken to be the same that Cæsar calleth Gessoriacum) is the shortest cut over the Sea between England and France, as some hold opinion; Others think that to be the shortest passage which

1180 is from Dover to Calaise: and some, that which is from the one Nesse to the other. But if there be any man that preferreth not haste before his good speed, let him (by mine advise) prove a fourth way, I mean from Dover to Withsand: for if Edmund Hadhenham, the penner of the Chronicles of Rochester, lye not shamefully, (which thing you know how farre it is from a Monk) then at such time as King Henrie the second and Lewes the French King were after long warre reconciled to amity, Lewes came over to visit King Henrie, and in his return homeward saluted Saint Thomas of Canterburie, made a Princely offer at his Tombe, and (because he was very fearfull of the water) asked of Saint Thomas, and obtained, that neither he in that passage, nor any other from thenceforth, that crossed the Seas between Dover and Withsand, should suffer any manner of loss or shipwrack. But of this Saint (saving your reverence) we shall have fit place to speak more largely hereafter; and therefore let us now leave the Sea, and look toward Shipwey

Thomas Becket granteth a petition after his death.

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Saltwood.

That Saltwood was long sithence an Honor, it may appear by an ancient Writ directed by King Henrie the second, from beyond the Seas, to King Henrie his sonne, for the restitution of Thomas Becket the Archbishop, to all such goods, lands, and fees, as were taken from him during the displeasure between them: which writ, both for shew of the ancient forme, and because it containeth matter of historie, I will not stick to exemplifie, word for word, as Mathew Parise hath recorded it. 'Sciatis, quod Thomas Cant. Episcopus pacem mecum fecit ad voluntatem meam, & ideo præcipio tibi, ut ipse, & omnes sui, pacem habeant, & faciatis ei habere, & suis, omnes res suas, bene, in pace, & honorifice, sicut habuerunt tribus mensibus, antequam exirent Anglia: faciatisque venire coram vobis, de melioribus & antiquioribus militibus, de honore de Saltwood, & eorum juramento faciatis inquiri, quid ibi habetur de feodo Archiepiscopatus Cant. & quod recognitum fuerit esse de feodo ipsius, ipsi faciatis habere. Valet.' But if this Record of the Kings suffice not to prove the Honor of this place, then hear (I pray you) a word or twain of the honourable (or rather the Pontificall) dealing of William Courtney

The pontificall justice of William Courtney the Archbishop

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the Archbishop and Amplifier of this Castle: who, taking offence that certain poor men (his Tenants of the Manor of Wingham) had brought him rent hay and littar to Canterbury, not openly in Carts for his glorie as they were accustomed, but closely in sacks upon their Horses, as their ability would suffer, cited them to this his Castle of Saltwood, and there, after that he had shewed himself (*Adria iracundiorem*) as hot as a toste with the matter, he first bound them by oath to obey his own ordinance, and then injoynd them for penance, that they should each one march leasurely after the procession, bareheaded, and barefooted, with a sack of hey (or straw) on his shoulder, open at the mouth, so as the stuff might appear hanging out of the bag to all the beholders.

Now I beseech you, what was it else for this proud Prelate, thus to insult over simple men, for so small a fault, (or rather for no fault at all) but 'Laureolam in Mustraceis quærere;' and no better. Before such time as this Castle came to the hands of these Archbishops, it was of the Possession of Henry of Essex, who held it of the Sea of Canterbury, and being accused of Treason by Robert of Mountforde, for throwing away the Kings Standerd and cowardly flight at a fight in Wales, to the great hazard of King Henry the second,

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being then in person thereat, he offered to defend it by his body against Mountfort, and was by him vanquished in the Combate, and left for dead: But the Monks of Reading took him up and both recovered him to life, and received him into their Order, exchanging the Naturall death for that time into a Civill. For this forfeiture Henry the second seised Saltwood, and held it during his life: So did King Richard the first after him: But King John in the first of his reign restored it to the Church again. Thus far only, of the place: Touching Becket, we shall have cause to speak further in Canterbury, and other places following. And Therefore, leaving on our right hand the stately parts of Sir Edward Poynings unperfect building at Ostenhangar, which some, by what warrant I wot not, call Oescinghangar, ascribing the first building thereof to Oesc the second King of Kent, and the restoration to Bartram Croyl, a Warden of the five Ports, Let us hear what is to be said of Shipwey.

Shipwey, or Shipweyham, in the Records: commonly Shipwey Cross.

Between Hyde and Westenhanger
(though not in right line) lieth Ship=
wey, the place that was of ancient time
honested with the plees and assemblies of

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the five Ports; although at this day nei=
ther by good building extant it be much
glorious, nor by any common meeting
greatly frequented.

<183> I remember, that I have read in a book
of the priviledges of the five Ports, that
certain principall points concerning the
Port Towns, be determinable at Shipwey
onely: that is to say, of these five: Trea=
son against the King falsifying of money;
Services withdrawn: false judgement:
and Treasure found. And likely it is, that
the withdrawing of the triall of causes
from theuce to Dover Castle, hath
brought decay and obscurity upon the
place.

1263 Of this place, the whole Last of Ship=
wey (containing twelve Hundreds) at the
first took, and yet continueth the name:
at this place, Prince Edward, the Sonne
to King Henry the third, exacted of the
Barons of the five Ports their oath of fi=
delity to his Father, against the mantai=
ners of the Barons Warre: And at this
place only our Limenarcha (or Lord
Warden of the Ports) receiveth his oath,
at his first entrie into **his** Office.

Lord Warden
of the Ports.

Shipwey,
sometime a
Haven Town

Whether this were at any time a Har=
borow for Ships, (as the Etymology of
the name giveth likelihood of conjecture)
or no, I dare neither affirm nor deny, ha=
ving neither read, nor seen, that may lead
me to the one, or the other: only I remem=
ber,

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ber, that Robert Talbot (a man of our
time, and which made a Commentarie
upon the Itinerarie of Antoninus Augu=
stus) is of the opinion, that it was called
Shipwey, because it lay in the way to the
Haven where the Ships were wont to ride.
And that Haven taketh he to be the same,
which of Ptolomie is called <kainos limēn>,
Novus Portus: of Antoninus, Limanis,
of our Chroniclers Limene Mouth, and
interpreted by Leyland to betoken, the
mouth of the River of Rother, which now
in our daies openeth into the Sea at Rye,
but before time at Winchelsey.

The Haven
Lymene, and
the Town
Lymne.

<184> His conjecture is grounded, partly (as
you see) upon the Etymology of the
name, partly upon the consideration of
some antiquities that be neer to the place,
and partly also upon the report of the
Country people, who hold fast the same
opinion which they have by tradition re=
ceived from their Elders.

Indeed the name, both in Greek and old English (which followeth the Greek) that is to say, Limen, and Limene Mouth, doth signifie a Haven, whereof the Town of Limne adjoyning, and the whole Deanerie, or Limit of the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, in which it standeth (for that also is called Limne) by likelyhood took the name. This Haven (saith he) stood at the first, under a high Rock in the Parish of Limne, under the which there was situate

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a strong Castle for the defence of the Port, the ruines of which building (called Stutfalle) be yet apparant to the eye, and doe environ almost ten Acres of ground. There is extant also, a fair paved Cawsey, called Stony-streat being four or five miles of length, and leading towards Canterbury from the same Port: and they of the Town enjoy the priviledges of the five Ports, and doe reserve a brasen Horn, and a Mace, as Ensignes of Castle Guard, and administration of Justice, in old time exercised there. There be moreover Brittain Bricks, in the Walles of the Church and of the Archdeacons House, as Master Stow, mine old friend observing the same did inform me. Finally, they affirm that (the water forsaking them by little and little) decay and solitude came at the length upon the place.

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For, whereas at the first, Ships were accustomed to discharge at Lymne, the Sea afterward (either hindred by the sands, or not helped by the fresh water) shortened his flood, and caused the Merchants to unlade at Westthithe: Neither did it yet ascende so high any long season, but by continuall decreasinges withdrew it self, and at the length compelled them to lay their Wares on land at this Hith, which now standeth indeed, but yet without any great benefit of the Sea forasmuch as at this day, the water floweth not up

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to the Town by a long distance.

These conjectures, and reports be reasonable, but yet, as I am sure that they be utterly at variance with that opinion which Leyland would plant of the present course of the River of Rother (as we will shew in Newendene, when we shall come to the place) so am I in doubt also, what means may be found to reconcile them with the relations of Asserus Menevensis, and our old Saxon Chronicles, which seem to affirm, that Apledore stood upon the water Lymen: which if it be so, then I see not (the places considered) how this Town of Lymne could ever be situated

Apledore.
The River
Lymen, now
Rother.

upon the same River.

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The words in effect, be these. 'In the year after Christ, 893. the great armie of the Danes, left the east part of France, and came to Boloigne, and from thence with 250. Vessels sailed into the mouth of the River Lymen, in Kent, which floweth from the great Wood that is called Andred: thence they towed up their Boats four miles into that Wood, from the mouth of the River, where they found a Castle half built, and a few cuntry men in it, all which together with the Village, they destroyed, and fortified at a place called Apultree.' By this it may indeed at the first face seem, that the River Lymen led from Apledore to the Sea, and came not by Lymne: but yet

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(that I may say somewhat for Talbot) these words doe not necessarily enforce so much, for that they be not, that they towed their Ships up to Apledore, but four miles into the Wood, and builded at Apledore; which they might well doe, although they had come in at Hithe. To the which sense also the words of Asserus Menevensis (which lived in that very time) doe give somewhat the more place and liberty, when he saith: 'They towed up their Ships four miles into the Wood, where they threw down a certain Castle half built, in which a few Churles of the Country were placed, and the Town also, and they raised another stronger in a place called Apledore.' For these words (another stronger in a place called Apledore) seem to import, that Apledore was not the Town foure miles within the Rivers mouth which they pulled down, but some other: which, as for the distance it might happily be Lymne that we have in hand, so because there is no apparant memoriall of any such course of the river, I will not affirm it to have been the same, but referre the decision of the whole controversie to the learned and inquisitive Reader, that will bestow his labor to trie, and trace out the very truth.

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Courtopstrete, commonly: Court of Strete, truly: and Bellirica (or rather) Belcaire, anciently, that is, Bellocacastum, the Faire Castle.

The opinion of the inhabitants of this place (saith Leland) is, that Courtopstrete hath been some worthy Town: for proof whereof, they shew the ruins of their fair Castle, that stood hard by the Chappell here: and they doe yet re=

serve (Signa prætoriana) that is to say, a Mace and a Horne, assured badges of an incorporation. Howbeit he himself deemeth it to have been but a part of the port of Limne, as it is yet but a member of the same parish.

The enemy of mankinde, and Prince of darknesse, Sathan the Devill, perceiving that the glorious and bright shining beams of Gods holy truth and gladsome Gospell had pearced the misty thick clouds of ignorance, and shewed (not only to the people of Germanie, but to the inhabitants of this Island also) the true way of their deliverance from damnable errour, Idolatry, and Popish superstition: And fearing, that if he did not now bestirre him busily, he was in perill to lose infinite numbers of his Subjects, and consequently no small part of that his spirituall Kingdome: he practised

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most carefully in all places, with Monks, Friars, Priests, Nunns, and the whole rablement of his religious army, for the holding of simple souls in wonted obedience, and the upholding of his usurped Empire in the accustomed glory, opinion, and reverence.

And for this purpose (amongst sundry sleights, set to shew in sundry places, about the latter end and declination of that his reign) one was wrought by the Holy Maid of Kent, in a Chappell at this town, in devise as malicious, indeed as mischievous, and in discovery as notorious, as any whatsoever. But because the midst, and end of this Pageant, is yet fresh in the knowledge of many on live, and manifested to all men in books abroad: and for that the beginning thereof is known to very few, and likely in time to be hid from all, if it be not by some way or other continued in minde: I will labour only to bewray the same, and that in such sort, as the maintainers thereof themselves have committed it to the world in writing.

For not long since, it chanced me to see a little Pamphlet, containing four and twenty leaves, penned by Edward Thwaytes, or I wot not by what doltish dreamer, printed by Robert Redman, intitled 'A marveilous work of late done at Court of Strete in Kent,' and published

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(as it pretendeth) 'To the devout people of that time for their spirituall consolation:' in which I found the very first beginning, to have been as followeth.

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About the time of Easter, in the seven=

teenth yeer of the reigin of King Henry the eight, it hapned a certain maiden named Elizabeth Barton, (then servant to one Thomas Kob, of the Parish of Aldington, twelve miles distant from Canterbury) to be touched with a great infirmity in her body, which did ascend at divers times up into her throat, and swelled greatly: during the time whereof, she seemed to be in grievous pain, in so much as a man would have thought that she had suffred the pangs of death it self, untill the disease descended, and fell down into the body again.

Thus she continued by fits, the space of seven moneths, and more, and at the last, in the moneth of November (at which time also a young Childe of her Masters lay desperately sick in a Cradle by her) she being vexed with the former disease, asked (with great pangs and groaning) whether the Childe were yet departed this life or no: and when the women that attended upon them both in their sicknesse, answered no, she replied, that it should anon: which word was no sooner uttered, but the Childe fetched a great sigh, and withall the soul departed out of the body of it.

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This her divination and foretelling, was the first matter that moved her hearers to admiration: but after this, in sundry of her fits following, although she seemed to the beholders to lye as still as a dead body (not moving any part at all) as well in the trances themselves, as after the pangs passed also, she told plainly of divers things done at the Church and other places where she was not present, which neverthelesse she seemed (by signs proceeding from her) most lively to behold (as it were, with her eye. She spake also, of Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, and of the joyes and sorrowes, that sundry departed souls had and suffered there: she preached frankly against the corruption of manners and evill life: she exhorted repair to the Church, hearing of Masse, confession to Priests, praier to our Lady and Saints, and (to be short) made in all points, confession and confirmation of the Popish Creed and Cathechism, and that so devoutly and discreetly (in the opinion of mine Author) that he thought it not possible for her to speak in that manner.

But, amongst other things, this one was ever much in her mouth, that She would goe home, and that she had been at home, whereas (to the understanding of the standers by) she had never been from

home, nor from the place where she lay:

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whereupon, being (in a time of another trance) demanded where That home was, she answered, Where she saw and heard the joyes of Heaven, where St. Michael wayed Souls, where St. Peter carried the Keies, and where she her self had the company of our Lady at Court of Strete, and had hartily besought her to heal her disease, who also had commanded her, to offer unto her a Taper in her Chappell there, and to declare boldly to all Christian people, that our Lady of Court of Strete had revived her from the very point of death: and that her pleasure was, that it should be rong for a miracle. Which words when her Master heard, he said, that there were no Bells at that Chappell, whereunto the Maiden answered nothing, but the voice that spake in her proceeded, saying, 'Our blessed Lady will shew mo miracles there shortly, for if any depart this life sodainly, or by mischance, in deadly sin, if he be vowed to our Lady hartily, he shall be restored to life again, to receive shrift, and housell, and after to depart this World with Gods blessing.' Besides this, she told them what meat the Hermite of that Chappell of our Lady at Court of Strete had to his Supper, and many other things concerning him, whereat they marveiled greatly.

And from that time forward, she resolved with her self to goe to Court of

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Street, and there to pray and offer to our Lady, which also she did accordingly: And was there delaide of her cure for a certain season, but yet (in the mean time) put in assured hope of recoverie. During which mean while, the fame of this marvailous Maiden was so spread abroad, that it came to the ears of Warham the Archbishop of Canterbury, who directed thither Dr. Bocking, Mr. Hadleighe, & Barnes, (three Monks of Christs Church in Canterbury) father Lewes and his fellow (two observants) his Official of Canterbury, and the Parson of Aldington, with commission to examine the matter and to inform him of the truth.

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These men opposed her of the chief points of the Popish belief, and finding her sound therein, not only waded no further in the discoverie of the fraud, but gave favorable countenance, and joynd with her in setting forth of the same: So that at her next voyage to our Lady of Court of Strete she entred the Chappell with 'Ave Regina Cælorum' in prick-song,

accompanied with these Commissioners, many Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen of the best degree, and three thousand persons besides, of the common sort of people in the Countrey.

There fell she eftsoons into a marvelous passion before the Image of our Lady, much like a bodie diseased of the fall=

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ing Evill, in the which she uttered sundry metricall and ryming speeches, tending to the worship of our Lady of Court of Strete (whose Chappell there she wished to be better maintained, and to be furnished with a daily singing Priest) tending also to her own bestowing in some Religious house, for such (said she) was our Ladies pleasure, and tending finally and fully to the advancement of the credit of such feined miracles, as that author doth report. This done and understood to the Archbishop, she was by him appointed to St. Sepulchres, a house of Nunnes in Canterburie, where she laboured sundrie times of her former disease, and continued her accustomed working of wonderous miracles, resorting often (by way of trance only) to our Lady of Court of Strete, who also ceased not to shew her self mighty in operation there, lighting Candles without fire, moistning womens breasts that before were drie and wanted milke, restoring all sorts of sick ro perfect health, reducing the dead to life again, and finally doing all good to all such as were measured and vowed (as the Popish manner was) unto her at Court of Strete.

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Thus was Elizabeth Barton advanced from the condition of a base servant to the estate of a glorious Nunne: The Heremite of the Court of Strete was enriched by daily offring; St. Sepulchres got

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the possession of a Holy Maiden; God was blasphemed; the holy Virgin his Mother mis-honoured; the silly people were miserably mocked; The Bishops, Priests, and Monks, in the mean time with closed eyes winking; and the Devill and his lymmes with open mouth laughing at it. And thus the matter stood sundrie years together, untill at length the question was moved about King Henries marriage, at which time this holy Maiden (not containing her self within her former bounds of hypocrisie) stepped into this matter also, and feined that she understood by revelation, that if the King proceeded to the divorce of Queen Catherine, he should not be King of this Realm one moneth after. Whereupon her doings

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were once again examined (not by men given over to believe illusions, but by such as had the prudent power of proving spirits) and in the end her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceived People were well satisfied, these dangerous deceivers were worthily executed, and the Devill their Master was quite and clean founded.

Sundry other good circumstances there be of this doing, for the understanding of all which I will referre the Reader to the twelfth chapter of the Statute made in the twenty fifth yeare of King Henrie the

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eighth, wherein the same be no less amply then excellently well disclosed, And by authoritie whereof Elizab. Barton her self, Richard Master, the Parson of Aldington, Edward Bocking, and John Dering, Monks of Christs Church in Canterburie, Henry Golde a Priest, Hugh Rich Warden of the observant Friers in Canterbury, and Richard Risby were (after confession of the whole practise made by Eliz Barton to the Lords of the privy Counsell) attainted of high treason, and John Fisher then Bishop of Rochester, John Adeson his Chaplain, Thomas Golde and Edward Thwaites Gentlemen, Thomas Laurence the Register of Canterburie, and Thomas Abel Priest were attainted of misprision (or concealment) of the same treason.

If these companions could have let the King of the land alone, they might have plaied their pageants as freely as others have been permitted, howsoever it tended to the dishonor of the King of Heaven. But, 'An nescis longas Regibus esse manus?'

<195>

Bylsington.

After the decease of King Edward the third, and against the day of the Coronation of King Richard 2. which succeeded him, John the King of Castile and Lions, Duke of Lancaster, and Earle both of Leycester and Lincolne, claiming, in

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the right of his Earldome of Leycester, to be high Seneschall (or Steward) at that solemnity, and thereby to have the authority of hearing and determining the claims of all such as by their tenure pretended to have any office or fee at the Kings inthronization, amongst other suits received a petition, exhibited by Richard then Earl of Arundale and Surrey, in which the same Earle claimed the office of chief Butler, and recognised himself ready to perform the same.

Butler at the
Coronation.

Whereupon forthwith one Edmund Staplegate, exhibited another petition, and likewise made his claim to this effect. That whereas the said Edmund held of the King (in chief) the Manor of Bylsington in Kent, by the service to be his Butler at the Coronation, as plainly appeared in the book of Fees and Serjeancies in the Exchequer: And whereas also by reason of that tenure, the late King Edward the third, had both seized the lands of that petitioner (for so much as he was in his minoritie at the time of the death of Edmund Staplegate his father) and had also committed the custodie of his body to one Jefferay Chawsier to whom he paid 104 l. for the same) he now proffereth to doe that service, and praied to be admitted to the office thereof, with allowance of the fees that belonged thereunto. These claimes and the replies also, both of the

<196>
Geffrey
Chawsier.

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Earle and of Staplegate being heard and considered, it was then ordered (partly for the shortness of the time, which would not permit a full examination of the matter, and partly because that on the Earls side it was proved that his Ancestors had been in possession of that office, after the alienation of the Manor of Bylsington, whereas on the other part it appeared not that the Ancestors of Staplegate had ever executed the same) that for the present Coronation the Earle should be received, and the right of Staplegate, and all others, should be nevertheless to them saved.

Priorie at
Bylsington.

Thus much of the Manor of Bylsington, (which lyeth here on the right hand) I thought meet to impart with you, to occupie us withall in our way to Rumney: for as touching the Priorie of Black Chanons that there was, I finde of Record that it was first advanced by John Maunsell (Chancellor of England) in the 31 year of King Henrie the third: at which time he gave unto them the Manor of Overbilsington, with a Marsh of 120 acres at Lydd, for the inclosing whereof the Prior had licence of King Edward the third, in the first of his reign. The yearly value you may finde in the particular of the Shire, amongst the rest of the suppressed Houses.

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Rumney, called in Saxon Rumen ea, that is to say, the large watry place, or Marish: It is written in the Records, corruptly, Rumenal and Romual. Twyne doth latine it Romanorum mare, as if it had been Sea in their time.

The participation of like priviledge

might well have moved me to have placed the Ports together, but the purpose of mine order already taken calleth me another way, and bindeth me to prosecute them as they lye in the order of my journey.

There be in Kent therefore two Towns of this name, the Old and the New Rumney: as touching the latter whereof I minde not to speak, having not hitherto found either in Record or Historie any thing pertaining thereunto: but that little which I have to say must be of old Rumney, which was long since a principal Port, and giveth cause of name to the new Town, even as it self first took it of the large levell and territorie of Marish ground that is adjoyning.

This town (saith the Record of Domesday) was of the possession of one Robert Rumney, and holden of Odo (then Bishop of Baieux, Earl of Kent, and Brother to King William the Conqueror) in the which the same Robert had thirteen Bur-

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<198> gesses, who for their service at the Sea were acquitted of all actions and customs of charge, except fellony, breach of the peace, and forstalling It was sometime a good, sure and commodious Haven, where many Vessels used to lie at Road. For 1053 Henrie (the Archdeacon of Huntingdon) maketh report, that at such time as Godwine (Earl of Kent) and his Sonnes were exiled the Realm (upon such cause of displeasure, as hath already appeared in Dover) they armed Vessels to the Sea, and sought by disturbing the quiet of the people, to compell the King to their revocation. And therefore (among sundry other harms that they did on the Coast of this Shire) they entred the Haven at Rumney, and led away all such Ships as they found in the Harborow there.

Both the Town of Rumney, and the Marsh, received great harme in the 8th year of the reign of King Edward the third, by an hydeous tempest that threw down many Steeples, and Trees, and above 300. Mills and Housings there.

1168 Thomas Becket. Thomas Becket (the Archbishop) having by froward disobedience and stubborn pertinacie, provoked King Henry the second to indignation against him, and fearing to abide the triall of ordinarie justice at home, determined to appeal to the Popes favor at Rome, for which purpose he secretly took boat at Rumney,

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mindung to have escaped over: but he was driven back by a contrary winde, and

so compelled to land against his will.

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The Popes
authority was
abolished in
England,
in the time of
King Henry
the second.

The understanding of which matter, so exasperated the King against him, that forthwith he seized his goods, and gave commandement by his writ to the Sheriffs of all coasts, to make arrest of all such as for any cause revolted to the Pope. He caused also his Subjects (from twenty years of age upward) throughout the whole Realm, to renounce by oath all wonted obedience to the See of Rome, & solicited earnestly the Emperour Frederick, and Lewes the French King, to have joyned with him in deposing Pope Alexander, for that he so commonly received Runnages, and such as rebelled against their lawfull Princes.

But such was either the enmity of Lewes the French King against our King Henry the second, or his dull sight in discerning the profit of the whole Christian Common-weal, that he refused to assist the other twain, by means whereof, both Fredric the Emperour was afterward compelled to yeeld him to the Pope, and King Henry the second glad (with all submission) to reconcile himself to the Archbishops favor.

Rumney
Marsh.

Rumney Marsh is famous throughout the Realm, as well for the fertility and quantity of the soil and level, as also for the

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ancient & wholesome ordinance there used for the preservation and maintenance of the banks and walls, against the rage of the Sea.

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It containeth (as by due computation it may appear) 24000. Acres. For the taxation of Rumney Marsh only (not accounting Walland Marsh, Guilford Marsh, &c.) amounteth to fiftie pounds, after the rate of one halfpeny the Acre: and it is at this day governed by certain lawes of Sewers, that were made by one Henry Bathe (a Justice & Commissioner for that purpose) in the time of King Henry 3.

Of which his statutes, experience in time hath begotten such allowance and liking, that it was afterward not only ordered that all the low grounds between Tanet in Kent and Pemsey in Sussex should be guided by the same: But they are also now become a patern and exemplar to all the like places of the whole Realm whereby to be governed. The place hath in it sundry Villages, although not thick set, nor much inhabited, because it is 'Hyeme malus, Æstate molestus, Nunquam bonus,' Evill in Winter, grievous in Sommer, and never good; as Hesiodus (the old Poet) sometime said of the Country where his Father dwelt. And therefore

The three
steps of Kent.

very reasonable is their conceit, which doe
imagine that Kent hath three steps, or de=
grees, of which the first (say they) offe=

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reth Wealth without Health: the second,
giveth both Wealth and Health: and the
third affordeth Health only, and little or
no Wealth. For, if a man, minding to pass
through Kent toward London, should ar=
rive and make his first step on land in
Rumney Marsh, he shall rather finde good
grass under foot, than wholesome aire a=
bove the head: again, if he step over the
Hills and come into the Weald, he shall
have at once the commodities, both 'Cœli,
& Soli,' of the Aire, and of the Earth:
But if he pass that, and climb the next step
of hills that are between him and London,
he shall have wood, conies, and corn, for
his wealth, and (toward the increase of his
health) if he seek, he shall finde, 'Famem
in agro lapidoso,' a good stomach in the
stonie field. No marvell it is therefore, if
Rumney Marsh be not greatly peopled,
seeing most men be yet still of Porcius
Cato his mind, who held them stark mad,
that would dwell in an unwholsome aire,
were the soil never so good and fertile.

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And hereof it came to pass that King
Edward the fourth (in the **h**eginning of
his reign) graunted, and each Prince
sithence have confirmed, that the Inhabi=
tants of all the Towns within the limits
of Rumney Marsh should be incorporated
by the name of Bayliff, twenty four Ju=
rates, and Commonaltie of Rumney
Marsh in the Countie of Kent, having a

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Court from three weeks to three weeks,
in which they hold plea of all causes and
actions, reall and personall, civil and
criminal; having power to choose four Ju=
stices of the Peace yearly amongst them=
selves, besides the Bayliffe, who is armed
with the like Authoritie; having more=
over return of all the Princes Writs, the
benefit of all fines, forfeits and amercia=
ments, the priviledges of Leet, lawday
and tourne, and exemption from tolle
and tare, scot and lot, fifteen and subsidie,
and from so many other charges as I sup=
pose no one place within the Realm hath.
All which was done (as it appeareth in the
Charter it self) to allure men to inhabit
the Marsh, which they had before aban=
doned, partly for the unwholsomness of
the soil, and partly for fear the enemies,
which had often brent and spoiled them.
And whereas this princely policie hath not
found such prosperous success as the like
did in the Citie of Alexandria, builded by

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Alexander the great, and in New-haven, founded by Francis the French King, that is chiefly to be imputed to the incommoditie of the place, the which (besides the inclemencie of the aire it self) affordeth no one good Haven or Creek for enjoying the benefits of the Sea. To conclude, the Court of all this libertie (together with the Records thereof) is kept at Dymchurch, in a place lately built for

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that purpose, and thereof aptly called Newhall.

Neshe, called in Saxon (Nesse) which seemeth to be derived of the Latine Nasus, and signifieth a Nebbe or Nose of the land extended into the Sea.

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This Cape lieth in Walland at Denge Marsh, south from Rumney, and is of the number of those places that Earl Godwine afflicted in the time of his banishment: from hence he passed toward London, and there (by the help of his confederates) shewed such an assemblie, that the Bishops and Noblemen (for very feare) became Petitioners to the King for his peace, and in the end procured it. Before this Nesh lyeth a flat into the Sea, threatening great danger to unadvised Sailers.

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Sea watch,
and Beacons.

And now, having thus viewed such places along the Sea shoare, as ancient Histories have put me in remembrance of, I might readily take occasion both to recommend unto you the vigilant studie of our Ancestors in providing for the defence of the Sea Coasts, and withall shew you a president or two of theirs, containing the assesse of such particular Watch and Ward as they used there in the reign of King Edward the third: In whose time also it was first ordered, that Beacons in this Countrie (as I have told you)

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Pitchpots, and
no wood-piles.

should have their pitch-pots, and that they should be no longer made of wood-stacks or piles, as they be yet in Wilshire and elsewhere. But because some of those assesses were not permanent and alwaies alike (as not growing by reason of any tenure) but arbitrable from time to time at the discretion of such as it liked the Prince to set over the Countrie in time of Warres, And for that also we at this day (God be thanked therefore) have besides the like watchfull indeavor of our present Governors, sundry standing platforms (as you have seen) erected to the very same end, and maintained at the continuall charge of the Prince, I will not here stand upon that matter, but forsaking

The order of
this description

the shoar, betake me northward to pass
along the River Rother which divideth
this Shire from Sussex: where, after that
I shall have shewed you Apledore, Stone,
and Newendene, I will pearce through the
Weald to Medway, and so labor to per=
form the rest of this purpose.

<204>

Apledore, corruptly; for the Saxon Apul=
treo; in Latine Malus, that is, an
Apletre.

In the time of King Alfred, that great
swarm of the Danes which annoyed
this Realm, and found not here where=
with to satisfie the hungrie gut of their

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ravenous appetite, brake their companie
into twain; whereof the one passed into
France, under the conduct of Hasten, and
the other remained here under the charge
of Guthrune.

The Danes doe
spoil France
and England
at one time.

This Hasten with his companie, landed
in Ponteu, ranged over all Picardie, Nor=
mandie, Angeou, Poietou, and passed over
Loire even to Orleance, killing, burning,
and spoiling whatsoever was in his way,
insomuch that besides the pitifull butche=
rie committed upon the People, and the
inestimable bootie of their Goods taken
away, he consumed to ashes above nine
hundred religious houses and Monasteries.

This done, he sent away 250 of his
Ships, laden with rich spoil, which came
hither again, entring into the River of
Rother, (then called, as Leland weeneth,
Lymen, at the mouth whereof old Win=
chelsey sometime stood) and by sudden
surprize took a small Castle that was four
or five miles within the land, at Apultre
(as some think) which because it was not
of sufficient strength for their defence and
coverture they abated to the ground, and
raised a new, either in the same place or
else not farre from it.

<205>

Shortly after cometh Hasten himself
also with eightie sail more, and sailing up
the River of Thamise, he fortieth at
Middleton now Mylton, over against the
Isle of Shepey: Which thing when King

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Alfred understood, he gathered his power
with all haste, and marching into Kent,
encamped between the two hostes of his
Enemies, and did so bear himself that in
the end he constrained Hasten to desire
peace, and to give his own oath and two
of his Sonnes in hostage, for observation
of the same.

But how soon after Hasten forgot his
distress, and how little he esteemed either
his own troth plighted, or the lives of his

Children so pledged, it shall appear when we come to fit place for it: In the mean while I let you know that the book of Domesday (speaking of Apuldore) layeth it in the Hundred of Blackburne, and describeth it to contain eight Carves or Ploughlands.

Stone, in the Isle of Oxney, called in Saxon (Stane) that is, a stone, or (nearer, and as the Northern men yet speak) a Steane.

990
<206> In the daies of King Etheldred, when almost all parts of the Realm felt of the Danish furie, this place also was by them pitiously spoiled and brent: which done, they departed to Sandwich, and did there as hath already appeared. From thence also they passed to Ipswich in Suffolk, and again to Maldon in Essex, where they overthrew Bryhtnod the Alderman (or Earl) of that Countrie, in battell, and

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Money first given to the Danes.
so terrified the people of all these Eastern parts, that they were void of all counsell, either how to resist or to avoid them. At the length Siricius the Archbishop of Canterburie perswaded the King (who in that distress was easily bowed any way) to stop the mouths of these Danes with a morsell of 10000 l. in ready monie, and so to take their promise under oath to be quiet from thenceforth. Which devise of his, how little policie it had in it self, any wise man may see, and how pernicious it proved in sequele, the storie of their acts following doth evidently declare. I doe not forget, that there is another Town of this same name, lying on the contrarie shore of this Shire, not farre from Feversham, to the which if any man shall be disposed to carrie this historie, I will not contend: Onely I tell him that the consideration of the streight course of their journey, moved me to lay it here. This lyeth in the Ile of Oxney, which being about tenne myles in compass, is environed partly with the Salt water, and partly with the fresh, and hath the name of Hox and ea, that is, the foul or myrie Island.

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<207> Newendene, in Saxon Nifeldene, that is, The low, or deep valley: Leland calleth it Nouiodunum, which word is framed out of the Saxon Niwandune, and soundeth as much as, The New hill.

The situation of Newendene is such, as it may likely enough take the name, either of the deep and bottome (as I have conjectured) or of the Hill

and high ground, as Leland supposed. For it standeth in the Valley, and yet clymeth the Hill: so that the termination of the name may be Dene, or Dune, of the Valley, or of the Hill, indifferently. Howbeit, I would easily yeeld to Leland in this matter (the rather, because the common people of that quarter speak much of a fair Town, that sometime stood upon the Hill) saving that both many places thereabouts are upon like reason termed Denes, and that John Bale (who had seen an ancient History of the House it self) calleth it plainly Newen= dene.

The course of the River Ly= men, now Ro= ther.

It is a frontier, and Marchier Town of this Shire, by reason that it lyeth upon the River that divideth Kent and Sussex in sunder there, which water Leland af= firmeth to be the same that our ancient Chronicles call Lymene, though now of the common sort it is known by the

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name of Rother only. It riseth (saith he) at Argas Hill in Sussex, neer to Water= downe Forrest, and falleth to Rotherfield, thence to Hichingham, and so to Roberts= bridge (corruptly so termed, for Rother= bridge) from whence it descendeth to Bodyam Castle, to Newendene, Oxney, and Apultree, and soon after slippeth into the Sea. The place is not notable for any o= ther thing, then that it harboured the first Carmelite Friars that ever were in this Realm. For about the midst of the reign of King Henry the third, that order came over the Sea, arrived in this land, and made their nest at Newendene, which was before a woody and solitary place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much the more fit for Religious persons to in= habite.

<208>

1241
The first Car= melites, in England.

They of that profession were called Carmelites, of a Hill in Syria, named Carmelus, where at the first, a sort of men that lived solitarily, were drawn in= to companies by one Joan (the Patriarch of Jerusalem) in the daies of King Henry the first: and after that, coming into Europe, were by Honorius quartus, the Pope, appointed to a rule and order, by the name of the Brothers of Mary: which title liked themselves so well, that they procured of the Pope (Urbane the sixt) three yeers pardon for all such as would so call them. But certain merry fellows,

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(seing their vanity, and knowing how little they were of kin to Mary the blessed Virgin) called them the brothers of Mary Aegiptiaca the harlot, whereat the Pope

himself was so offended, that he plainly pronounced them Hereticks for their labour.

<209>

I read, that in the reign of King Richard the second, one William Starnefeld was Prior of this House, and that he committed to writing the original and beginning of the same, but hitherto (though to no great losse) it hath not chanced me to see it.

Master Camden, as in every other thing, so in this most probably conjectureth, that the Seat of the old Andres chester was here, the overthrow whereof you may finde in the Weald next following.

The Weald, so named of the Saxon word weald, which signifieth A woody Country. The Britons called it Andred, of which word the Saxons called it by a second name also Andredesleag, in Latine, Saltus Andred, the chase of Andred. This latter name was imposed for the exceeding greatnesse of it: for Anrhesed in Britnish, is as much as great, or wonderfull.

Now are we come to the Weald of Kent, which after the common opi=

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nion of men of our time) is contained within very streight and narrow limits, notwithstanding that in times past it was reputed of such exceeding bignesse, that it was thought to extend into Sussex, Surrey, and Hamshire, and of such notable fame withall, that it left the name to that part of the Realm, thorough which it passed. For it is manifest, by the ancient Saxon Chronicles, by Asserus Menevensis, Henry of Huntingdon, and almost all others of latter time, that beginning at Winchelsey in Sussex, it reached in length a hundred and twenty miles toward the West, and stretched thirty miles in breath toward the North: and it is (in mine opinion) very likely, that in respect of this wood, that large portion of our Island (which in Cæsars time contained four severall Kings) was called of the Britnish word (Cainc) Cancia in Latine, and now commonly Kent: of which derivation, one other infallible monument remaineth even till this day in Staffordshire, where they yet call their great woody Forrest, by the name of (Kanc) also.

Kent, why so called.

On the edge of this wood (in Sussex) at, or neer Newendene, as it is thought, there stood sometime a City, called (after the same) Andredes Chester, which Ella (the founder of the Southsaxon Kingdome) after that he had landed with

his three Sons, and chased the Britains in=
to the Wood, raced, and made equall with
the ground: And in this Wood, Sigbert,
a King of Westsex, was done to death by
this occasion following.

755

About the year after the Incarnation of
Christ seven hundred & fifty five, this Sig=
bert succeeded Cuthred his Cousin in the
Kingdome of the Westsaxons, and was so
puffed up with the pride of his Dominion
(mightily enlarged by the prosperous suc=
cesses of his Predecessor) that he gover=
ned without fear of God, or care of man,
making lust his Law, and mischief his Mi=
nister: Whereupon one Cumbra (an Earl
and Counsellor) at the lamentable suite
of the Commons, moved him to conside=
ration. But Sigbert, disdainig to be di=
rected, commanded him most despitefully
to be slain. Hereat the Nobility and Com=
mons were so much offended, that assem=
bling for the purpose, they with one as=
sent deprived him of his Crown and Dig=
nity, and he (fearing worse) fled into the
Wood, where after a season a poor Hog=
heard (sometime servant to Cumbra)
found him (in a place, which the Saxon
Histories call Prifetsflode) and knowing
him to be the same that had slain his Ma=
ster, slue him also without all manner of
mercy.

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The Historie of this Hogheard, presen=
teth to my minde and opinion, that some

The Weald
was sometime
a Wilderness.

men maintain touching this Weald: which
is, that it was a great while together in
manner nothing else but a Desart, and
waste Wilderness, not planted with
Towns, or peopled with men, as the out=
sides of the Shire were, but stored and
stuffed with heards of Deer, and droves
of Hogs only. Which conceit, though
happily it may seem to many but a Para=
dox, yet in my own fantasie, it wanteth
not the feet of sound reason to stand up=
on. For, besides that a man shall read in
the Histories of Canterbry and Rochester,
sundry donations, in which there is men=
tion only of Pannage for Hogs in Andred,
and of none other thing: I think verily,
that it cannot be shewed out of ancient
Chronicles, that there is remaining in the
Weald of Kent, or Sussex, any one Mo=
nument of great antiquity. And truly,
this thing I my self have observed, in the
ancient Rentals and Surviewes of the
possessions of Christs Church in Canter=
bury, that in the rehearsal of the old rents
and services, due by the Tenants dwelling
without the Weald, the entry is common=

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This Benerth,
is the service
which the Te=
nant doth,
with his
Cart and
Plough.

ly after this form,

De redditu, 7.s.6.d.
De viginti ovis, 1.d.
De gallinis, & benerth, 16.d.
Summa 8.s.11.d. quieti redditus.

225 <sig P>

But when they come to the Tenants in=
habiting within the Wealdy Country, then
the Stile and Intituling, is first,

Redditus de Walda.

Then after that followeth, De tene=
mentis Joanis at Stile in loose. 3.s.4 d.

Without shewing for what ancient ser=
vice, for what manner of custome, or for
what speciall cause, the same Rent grew
due and payable, as in the first stile or en=
trie is expressed.

Whereupon I gather, that although the
property of the Weald, was at the first be=
longing to certain known owners, as well
as the rest of the Country: yet was it not
then allotted into Tenancies, nor Manu=
red like unto the residue. But that even
as men were contented to inhabit it, and
by peecemeal to rid it of the Wood,
and to break it up with the Plough: So
this latter Rent differing from the former,
both in quantity and quality, (as being
<213> greater than the other, and yeelded rather
as a recompence for ferm, then as a quit=
rent for any service) did long after, by
little and little take his beginning.

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The bounds of
the Weald.

And hereout also spingeth the diversi=
tie of opinions, touching the true limits
of this Weald: Some men affirming it to
begin at one place, and some at another:
whereas in (in my fantasie) there can be
assigned none other certain bounds there=
of, than such as we have before recited

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out of the ancient Hystories. For, even
as in the old time (being then a meer soli=
tude, and on no part inhabited) it might
easily be circumscribed: So since (being
continually from time to time made less
by industry) it could not long have any
standing or permanent terms. And there=
fore, whatsoever difference in common
report there be as touching the same, for
as much as it is now (thanked be God) in
manner wholly replenish<e>d with people, a
man may more reasonably maintain, that
there is no Weald at all, than certainly
pronounce, either where it beginneth, or
maketh an end.

And yet, if question in Law should for=
tune to be moved, concerning the limits
of the Weald, (as indeed it may happen,
upon the Statute of Woods, and other=

wise) I am of opinion, that the same ought to be decided by the verdict of twelve men, grounded upon the common reputation of the country thereabouts, and not by any other means.

<214> But, because I wot not, how the naturall and ancient Inhabitants of this Country will bear it, that a young Novess, and lately adopted Denizen, should thus boldly determine at their disputations, I will here (for a while) leave the Weald, and go forth to the residue.

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Farley, in Saxon, farrlega, and may be interpreted, the place of the Boares, or Bulles.

Farley, both the East and West, bordering upon Medway, belonged sometime to the Monks of Christs Church in Canterbury, to whom it yeelded in the dayes of King Edward the Confessor, twelve hundred Eels for a yeerly rent.

Fermes, why so termed.

This I exemplifie to the end that it may appear, that their reservations (in ancient time) were as well in victuall, as in money, and that thereof the lands so leased were called Fermes, of the Saxon word, feormian, which is, to feed, or yeeld victuall. Which Etymologe of the word, although it might suffice to the proof of that matter: yet to the end, that my conjecture may have the more force, I will add unto it the authority of Gervasius Tilberiensis, a learned man, that flourished in the dayes of King Henry the second, who in his Dialogue of the observations of the Exchequer, hath in effect as followeth.

<215> 'Untill the time (saith he) of King Henry the first, the Kings used not to receive money of their lands, but victualls, for the necessary provision of their House. And, towards the paiment of the Souldiers wages, and such like char=

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ges, money was raised out of the Cities and Castles, in the which husbandry and tillage was not exercised. But at the length, when as the King, being in the parts beyond the Seas, needed ready money toward the furniture of his Warres, and his Subjects and Farmers complained that they were grievously troubled by carriage of victualls into sundry parts of the Realm, farre distant from their dwelling houses; then the King directed commission to certain discreet persons, which (having regard of the value of those victuals) should reduce them into reasonable summes of

money: The levying of which summes, they appointed to the Sheriffe, taking order withall, that he should pay them at the Scale, or Beam, that is to say, that he should pay six pence over and above every pound weight of money, because they thought, that the money in time, would wax so much the worse for the wearing, &c.' Thus farre Gervasius.

I am not ignorant, that Gervasius himself in another place of that Book, deriveth the word (Ferme) from the Latine (Firma.) Howbeit, for as much as I know assuredly, that the terme was used here amongst the Saxons, before the coming of the Conqueror, and that the Etymon thereof descended from the Saxon language (whereof happily Gervasius, be-

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ing a Norman, was not much skilfull) I am as bold to leave his opinion for the derivation, as I was ready to cleave to his report for the Historie.

<216>

Maidstone, contractly for Medweys Town; in Saxon Medwegestun, that is, the Town upon Medwey: it is taken by Master Camden to be that which in Antoninus is called Vagniacæ, and in Nennius Megwad. One ancient Saxon book of the Bridgework of Rochester writeth it Mægpanstane, that is to say, the mighty (or strong) stone; a name (belike) given for the Quarreys of hard stone round about on every side of it.

Townes named of the Rivers.

The name of this Town (being framed as the most part doe think, out of the name of the water) might easily move a man to judge, that it had been long since the principal Town upon the River whereon it is situate: The rather for that the Saxons (in imposing the names of their cheif places) used to borrow (for the most part) the names of the waters adjoyning, as Colchester was so by them called of the water Colne: Ciceter (or rather Cyrenchester) of the water Cyren, in Latine Corinthus: Donchaster of the river of Done: Lincoln of Lindis: and (to come to our own Shire) Eilesford of Eile, Dartford of Darent, Crayford of Cray, and such other.

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Howbeit, for as much as I finde not this place above once named in any ancient historie, and but seldome mentioned in any Records that I have seen, I dare not pronounce any great antiquitie of it, but speak chiefly of that which it hath gotten within the compass of later memorie.

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In the Parliament, holden the eleventh

year of King Henry the seventh, the custodie of the weights and measures (then renewed according to the Kings-Standard) was committed to this Town, as to a place most commodiously situate to serve the turn of the whole Shire in that behalf: And in the time of King Edward the sixth the Town, which before had been governed by a Portreve, was newly incorporated and endowed with sundrie liberties, all which soon after it forfeited by joining in a Rebellion moved within this Shire, under the reign of Queen Marie. Nevertheless, of late time the Queens Majestie (that now is) of her great clemencie, hath not only restored the place to a new incorporation, but endowed it also with greater priviledge, apparrelling the Major with the authoritie of a Justice of the Peace, exempting the Townsmen from forrein Sessions, and creating the Town it self a Borough, enabled to have voice in Parliament.

In it were four principall ornaments of

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The College. building, the Colleege, the Bishops Palace, the house of the Brothers of Corpus Christi, and the Bridge: of which, the first was built by Boniface (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Uncle to Eleonor the wife of King Henrie the third) to the honour of Peter, Paul, and Saint Thomas (the Martyr, as they would have it) and endowed with great possessions, by the name of an Hospitall. This had not stood fully one hundred and fourtie years, but that William Courtney (a successor in that See, and a Noble man, as the other was) pulled it down, and erecting a new after his own pleasure, gained thereby the name of a founder, and called it a Colleege of Secular Priests.

The Palace. The Palace, that yet standeth, was begun by John Ufford the Archbishop, but for as much as he dyed before he had brought the work to the midst, Simon Islepe (the next in succession saving one) took this matter in hand, and not only pulled down a house of the Bishops which had long before stood at Wrotham, but also charged his whole Province with a tenth to accomplish it.

The School. I finde in a Record, that Thomas Arundell (another Bishop of the same See) founded a Chanterie at Maidstone, which whether it be the same that was sometime called the house of the Brothers, and but lately converted by the Townsmen into a

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Free-school, or no, I will not boldly affirm, but I think it rather so then other=

wise.

Of the Bridge I finde no beginning, but I suspect that it rose by the Archbishops, which were not only owners of the Palace (hard by, as you see) but Lords and Patrons of the whole Town and Church also. Neither is it unlikely that it received help of Archbishop Courtney, of whom it is recorded that he builded at Maidstone somewhat besides the Colledge.

The River of Medway, and whereof it took the name.

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And thus much only of the Town. As touching the River of Medway, it seemeth to have been so named either because it stood in the middle of the Kentish Kingdom, or else for that it ranne mid betwene the two Bishopricks: For the word (Midweg) signifieth nothing else but midway, as (Middeg) doth noon or midday: unless happily some man would rather have it called (Medsæg) because of the fruitfull Medow that it maketh all along the course of the same.

This River is principally increased by four Brooks that runne into it: whereof (to begin at the West) the first springeth about Croherst in Surrey, not farre from the head of Darent: thence it slideth to Etonbridge, and taking in the way Hever, Penshyrste, and Tunbridge, joyneth with the second at Twyforde in Yealding.

The second ariseth in Waterdowne Fo=

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rest at Frant in Sussex (the very place is called Hockenbury panne) not much more then one mile from Eredge house: thence commeth it down to Beyham, to Lamberhyrst street, and to a place in Scotney ground called Litle Sussex, where it meeteth with the borne Beaul (which nameth Beaulbridge) and with Theise, which breaketh out of the ground at Tysehyrst named of it: so joyn they in journey to Horsmonden, and make the Twyst (or two streams) of the which the one joineth with the first head Medway at Twiford, and the other closeth with the third brook of Medway a little from Stylebridge, and they all concurre at Yealding.

The third Brook taketh beginning about Goldwel in great Charte, and descendeth to Hedcorne and Stylebridge, being crossed in the way by seven other sundry bridges.

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The fourth and last principall Brook issueth at Bygon hoath in Leneham, washeth the walls of Leedes Castle, a little from thence it receiveth the small boorne of Holingboorne, and then that of Thurnham, and in their companie laboureth to Maidstone.

And at this Town the name of Medway deservedly beginneth, as well because the Town is named of it, also for that it

hath there received all the helps of the other streams, and is very neer to the midst of the Shire (which it diversly di=

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videth) in regard either of the length or breadth thereof.

Divers other small pipes of water there be that doe minister secondarie helps to this navigable River, some out of Sussex, and others out of our own Shire, all which I may the better pass over with silence, because they may with more pleasure be seen in the Charde then read here.

Master Simon= sons Map of Kent newly made.

For my good friend Master Philip Simonson of Rochester hath lately published some part of his labor in describing our Shire of Kent, whereby not only the Towns and Hundreds, with the Hills and Houses of men of worth, are more truly seated: but also the Sea coasts, Rivers, Creeks, Waterings, and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and traced then heretofore in this or any other of our land (that I know) hath been performed. Besides the which, he hath observed sundry other things very serviceable, though not meet to be made common. Only I will lay down two or three words concerning one of the succours to Medway, and then pass to Pickenden.

<221>

Loose.

There ariseth neer to the Park and Hothe of Langley a small spring, which at Brishyng (about one mile off) falleth into the ground and hideth it self, being conveyghed under the earth neer to Cocks=hothe by the space of half a mile, and then at a great Pit of the Quarrey, discovereth

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it self again, and runneth above ground to Loose (I wot not, whether so called of this Losse) between which place, and the mouth thereof (which powreth into Medway at Touelle between Maidstone and Eastfarley, and exceedeth not two miles in length) it beareth thirteen Fulling Mills and one for Corn, which are reputed to earn so many hundreds of pounds by the year. This thing I was the rather occasioned to note, by viewing the course of this water in that Mapped, where you may see it broken off, as if it were crossed with a bridge of land, and that purposely, to shew the secrets of this Channell.

Piccendene Hothe, commonly, but anciently written Pinenden, of Pinian, to punish: and so it soundeth the place of execution, or punishment.

The name of Harlot, where= of it began.

Robert, the Duke of Normandie, had issue by a Concubine (whose name,

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as the Annales of Saint Augustines report, was Harlothe, and after whom, as I conjecture, such incontinent women have ever since been called Harlots) three Sonnes, that is to say, William that afterward subdued this Realm, Robert, that was created Earl of Moretone; and Odo that was first consecrated Bishop of Baieux, then Earl of Kent, and lastly

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Odo, the Earl of Kent.

Lieutenaunt (or Vicegerent) of this whole Realm, under William his brother.

Robert, was reputed a man of small courage, wisdom, or learning, and therefore passed his time ingloriously: but Odo, was found to be of nature so busie, greedie, and ambitious, that he moved many Tragedies within this Realm, and was in the end thrown from the Stage, and driven into Normandie, as hereafter in fit place shall be more amply declared.

The ancient manner of the triall of right.

In the mean while, for this present place and purpose, I finde, that during his abode in Kent, he had so incroached upon the lands and priviledges of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and Bishoprick of Rochester, that Lanfranc (being promoted to that See of dignity, and finding the want) complained to the King, and obtained, that with his good pleasure they might make triall of their right with him. To the which end also, the same King gave Commission to Goisfrid then Bishop of Constance in Normandie) to represent his own person, for hearing of the controversie: caused Egelric the Bishop of Chichester (an aged man, singularly commended for skill in the Lawes, and Customs of the Realm) to be brought thither in a Wagon, for his assistance in Councell: commanded Haymo (the Sheriff of Kent) to summon the whole

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County to give in evidence: and charged Odo his brother to be present, at such time and place, as should be notified unto him.

Pinnendene heath (lying almost in the midst of the Shire, and therefore very indifferent for the assembly of the whole County) was the appointed place, and thereunto not only the whole number of the most expert men of this Shire, but of sundry other Countries also, came in great frequency, and spent three whole daies in debate of these Bishops controversies: concluding in the end, that Lanfranc, and the Bishop of Rochester should be restored to the possession of Detling, Stoce, Preston, Danitune, and sundry o=

ther lands, that Odo had withholden: and that neither the Earl of Kent, nor the King himself, had right to claim any thing in any the lands of the Archbishop, saving only these three customes, which concern the Kings high-waies that lead from one City to another: that is to say: 'That if any of the Archbishops Tenants should dig in such a high-way, or fell a tree crosse the same, to the hinderance of common passage, and to be taken with the manner, or convinced therof by Law, he should make amends to the King therefore:

And likewise when he did commit bloodshead, man-slaughter, or any o=

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ther criminall offence, in such wise that he was deprehended doing the fault, that the amends thereof belonged to the King also: but in this latter case, if he were not taken with the manner, but departed without pledge taken of him, that then the triall and the amends pertained to the Archbishop himself, and that the King had not to meddle therewith.'

The Clergy have inroach= ed upon the Prince, in the punishment of Adultery.

On the other side also they agreed, that the Archbishop had many privileges throughout all the lands of the King, and of the Earl: as namely, the amerciamento of bloodshead from such time as they cease to say Alleluia in the Church service, till the Octaves of Easter, the which how long it is, let them see that can turn the Pie and the Portuse: and at the least the one half of every amerciamento, due for the unlawfull begetting of children, commonly called Cyldwite; which last thing, I doe the rather note, to the end that it may appeer, that in those daies the Bishops had not wholly gotten into their hands, the correction of Adultery and Fornication, which of latter times they have challenged from the Laitie, with such pertinacie and stifnesse, and have punished (both in the Laitie, and Clergie) with such lenitie, that not only the Princes commodity is thereby greatly decreased, but also incontineny in

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his Subjects intolerably augmented.

Neither is to be proved by this testimony only, that such was the order in old time, but by the Book of Domesday it self also, where it is plainly said, 'De Adulterio, Rex habebit hominem, Archiepiscopus mulierem.' In case of Adultery, the King shall have the man, and the Archbishop the woman, &c.

But to return to Pinnendene: the com=

<225> moditie of the situation it self, and the example of this notable assembly, have been the cause, that only the Sheriffs use to hold their County Courts, but also to appoint the meeting for choise of Knights to the Parliament, most commonly at this place.

Boxley, may take the name either of the Saxon (Boxealeage) for the store of Box-trees that peradventure sometime grew there: or of (Bucesleag) which is as much to say, as a place lying in Umbilico, in the midst, or Navell of the Shire, as indeed this Boxley somewhat neerly doth.

Abbies doe beget one another.

As touching the foundation of Boxley Abbay, I finde an obscure note in ancient Chronicles of St. Wereburges in Chester, where it is thus reported:

1146 'Anno 1146 fundata est Boxleia in Cancia, filia Clarevallis propria.' In the yeer 1146

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was founded Boxley in Kent, the very daughter of Clarevalle. Which I call obscure, because it appeareth not to me by the word (filia) whether it be meant, that Boxley were erected by the liberality of the Monastery of Clarevalle, or else instituted only after the profession, rule, and order of the same. For the like notes I finde in the same Chronicle of divers other houses within England, to which the same Monastery of Clarevale (and others also) were like good mothers: and (amongst the rest) that not many yeers after, this Monastery of Boxley it self was delivered of such another spirituall childe, called the Abbay of Robertsbridge in Sussex.

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1172. Neverthelesse, I make conjecture, that the Author meant by (filia) daughter, nothing else, but that one Abbay either furthered by exhortation the building of another, or else furnished it after the building with Monks of her own brood. And for more likelyhood that this should be his minde, hear (I pray you) what he saith in another place, 'Comes Cornubiæ fundavit Hayles, filiam Belliloci in Anglia.' The Earl of Cornwall founded Hayles, the daughter of Beaulieu in England, which his words, distinguish plainly between the founder that bare the charge of the building, and the Abbay, after the order & pattern whereof it was instituted.

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But leaving to comment any longer upon that doubtfull text, I will take to witness the Chronicles of Rochester, which (putting the matter out of doubt) say

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plainly, that one William de Ipre (a Noble man, and Lieutenant to King Stephan in his warres against Maude the Empress) founded the Abbay of Boxley, and planted it with a Covent of white Monks. And so have you at once the name of the Author, the time of the foundation, and the rule of the profession at Boxley: whereunto if you shall add the yearly value (which I read in the Record to have been two hundred and four pounds) you have all that I finde written concerning the same.

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But now if I should thus leave Boxley, the favouers of false and feined Religion would laugh in their sleeves, and the followers of Gods trueth might justly cry out and blame me.

For it is yet fresh in minde to both sides, and shall (I doubt not) to the profit of the one, be continued in perpetuall memorie to all posteritie, by what notable imposture, fraud, juggling, and Legierde-main, the sillie Lambs of Gods flock were (not long since) seduced by the false Romish Foxes at this Abbey. The manner whereof I will set down, in such sort only as the same was sometime by themselves published in print for their estimation and

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credit, and yet remaineth deeply imprinted in the minde and memories of many alive, to their everlasting reproach, shame, and confusion.

The ungratious Rood of Grace.

It chanced (as the tale is) that upon a time a cunning Carpenter of our Countrie was taken prisoner in the warres between us and France, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his ransome, and having good leisure to devise for his deliverance) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compass of his own Art and skill, to make himself some money withall: And therefore getting together fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyre, paste, and paper, a Rood of such exquisite art and excellencie, that it not only matched in comlynesse and due proportion of the parts, the best of the common sort; but in strange motion, varietie of gesture, and nimbleness of joints passed all other that before had been seen: the same being able to bow down and lift up it self, to shake and stirre the hands and feet, to nod the head, to rolle the eyes, to wag the chaps, to bend the brows, and finally to represent to the eye both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, express, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde; byting the lipp, and gathering a frowning,

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froward, and disdainfull face, when it

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would pretend offence; and shewing a most milde, amiable, and smiling cheere and countenance when it would seem to be well pleased.

So that now it needed not Prometheus fire to make it a lively man, but onely the helpe of the covetous Priests of Bell, or the aid of some crafty College of Monks, to deifie and make it pass for a very God.

This done, he made shift for his liberty, came over into the Realm, of purpose to utter his Merchandize, and laid the Image upon the back of a Jade that he drave before him. Now, when he was come so farre as to Rochester on his way, he waxed dry by reason of travail, and called at an Alehouse for drink to refresh him, suffering his horse nevertheless to go forward alone along the City.

This Jade was no sooner out of sight, but he missed the streight western way that his Master intended to have gone, and turning south, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driven (as it were) by some divine furie, never ceased jogging till he came at the Abbey Church door, where he so beat and bounced with his heels, that divers of the Monks heard the noise, came to the place to know the cause, and (marvelling at the strangeness of the thing) called the Abbat and his Covent to behold it.

These good men seeing the horse so

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earnest, and discerning what he had on his back, for doubt of deadly impiety opened the door: which they had no sooner done, but the horse rushed in, and ran in great haste to a Piller (which was the very place where this Image was afterward advanced) and there stopped himself, and stood still.

Now while the Monks were busie to take off the lode, in cometh the Carpenter (that by great inquisition had followed) and he challengeth his own: the Monks loth to lose so beneficiall a stray, at the first make some denyall, but afterward, being assured by all signes that he was the very Proprietarie, they grant him to take it with him.

The Carpenter then taketh the horse by the head, and first assayeth to lead him out of the Church, but he would not stirre for him: Then beateth he and striketh him, but the Jade was so resty and fast nailed, that he would not once remove his foot from the Piller: at the last he taketh off the Image, thinking to have

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carried it out by it self, and then to have led the horse after: but that also cleaved so fast to the place, that notwithstanding all that ever he (and the Monks also, which at the length were contented for pities sake to help him) could doe, it would not be moved one inch from it: So that in the end, partly of weariness in wrestling,

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and partly by perswasion of the Monks, which were in love with the Picture, and made him beleeve that it was by God himself destinate to their house, the Carpenter was contented for a peece of money to go his way, and leave the Rood behinde him. Thus you see the generation of this the great God of Boxley, comparable (I warrant you) to the creation of that beastly Idol Priapus, of which the Poet saith.

Olim truncus eram ficulus,
inutile lignum.
Cum faber incertus SCAMNUM,
FACERETNE PRIAPUM,
MALUIT ESSE DEVM, Deus
inde ego furum, &c.

A Figtree block sometime I was,
A log unmeet for use;
Till Carver doubting with himself,
WERT BEST MAKE PRIAPUS
OR ELSE A BENCH? resolvd at last
To make a God of mee:
Thenceforth a God I am, of birds
And theeves most dread, you see.

But what? I shall not need to report how lewdly these Monks, to their own enriching and the spoil of Gods people, abused this wooden God after they had thus gotten him, because a good sort be yet alive that saw the fraud openly detected at Pauls Cross, and others may read it disclosed in books extant and common=

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ly abroad. Neither will I labor to compare it throughout with the Trojan Palladium, which was a picture of wood that could shake a speare, and rolle the eyes as lively as this Rood did: and which falling from heaven, chose it self a place in the Temple, as wisely as this Carpenters horse did: And had otherwise so great convenience and agreement with this one Image, that a man would easily beleeve the device had been taken from thence: But I will onely note for my purpose and the places sake, that even as they fansied that Troy was upholden by that Image, and that the taking of it away by Diomedes and Ulysses brought destruction (by

sentence of the Oracle) upon their City: So the Town of Boxley (which stood chiefly by the Abbey) was through the discoverie and defacing of this Idoll and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwell) according to the just judgment of God, hastned to utter decay and beggerie.

S Rumwald and his miracles.

And now, since I am false into mention of that other Image which was honored at this place, I will not stick to bestow a few words for the detection thereof also, as well for that it was as very an illusion as the former, as also for that the use of them was so linked together, that the one cannot thoroughly be understood without the other: for this was the order.

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If you minded to have benefit by the Rood of Grace, you ought first to be shaven of one of the Monks: Then by lifting at this other Image (which was untrue of the common sort called S. Grumbald for Saint Rumwald) you should make proof whether you were in clean life (as they called it) or no: and if you so found your self, then was your way prepared, and your offering acceptable before the Rood: if not then it behoved you to be confessed anew, for it was to be thought that you had concealed somewhat from your ghostly Dad, and therefore not yet worthy to be admitted 'Ad Sacra Eleusina.'

For none might enter into the Temple of Ceres in Eleusis, but such as were innocent.

Now, that you may know how this examination was to be made, you must understand that this Saint Rumwald was the picture of a pretie Boy Saint of stone, standing in the same Church, of it self short, not seeming to be heave: but for as much as it was wrought out of a great and weighty stone (being the base thereof) it was hardly to be lifted by the hands of the strongest man. Nevertheless (such was the conveyance) by the help of an engine fixed to the back thereof, it was easily prised up with the foot of him that was the keeper; and therefore of no moment at all in the hands of such as had offered frankly: and contrariwise, by the mean of a pinne running into a post

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(which that religious impostor, standing out of sight, could put in and pull out at his pleasure) it was, to such as offered faintly, so fast and unmoveable, that no force of hand might once stirre it. In so much as many times it moved more laughter then devotion, to behold a great lubber to lift at that in vain, which a young boy (or wench) had easily taken up before

him.

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I omit that chaste Virgins and honest married matrons, went often times away with blushing faces, leaving (without cause) in the mindes of the lookers on great suspicion of unclean life and wanton behaviour; for fear of which note and villanie, women (of all other) stretched their purse strings, and sought by liberal offering to make S. Rumwalds man their good friend and favorer.

But marke here (I beseech you) their policie in picking plain mens purses. It was in vain (as they perswaded) to presume to the Rood without shrift: yea, and money lost there also, if you offered before you were in clean life: And therefore the matter was so handled, that without treble oblation (that is to say) first to the Confessor, then to Saint Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Rood, the poor Pilgrims could not assure themselves of any good gained by all their labour: No more then such as goe to Pa-

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risgarden, the Bell-Savage or Theatre, to behold Bear-baiting, Enterludes, or Fence-play, can account of any pleasant spectacle, unless they first pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the Scaffold, and the third for a quiet standing.

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I my self cannot conjecture what reason should move them to make this S. Rumwald the Touchstone of clean life and innocencie, unless it be upon occasion of a miracle that he did, in making two holy Priests lift a great stone easily, which before divers Lay persons could not stirre with all their strength and abilitie: Which thing (as also his whole life and death) to the end that the tale shall want no part of due credit, I will shortly recite, as in the work called Nova Legenda Angliæ, John Capgrave hath reported.

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The nativitie
of S. Rumwald.

A Pagan (or unchristned) King of Northumberland had married a Christian woman, daughter to Penda the King of Middle England, who would not (by any means) be known carnally of her husband till such time as he had condescended to forsake Idolatrie, & to become a Christian with her. The husband (with much to doe) consented to the condition, and she not long after waxed great with childe, and as (upon a time) they were riding toward their Father King Penda, she fell into the travail of childe birth, and

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was delivered by the way (in a fair Meadow at Sutton) of a man childe, which so

soon as he was come out of his mothers belly, cried with a loud voice, three severall times 'Christianus sum, Christianus sum, Christianus sum,' I am a Christian, I am a Christian, I am a Christian. And not ceasing thus, made forthwith plain profession of his faith, desired to be baptized, chose his Godfathers, named himself Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers by to fetch him a great hollow stone that he would have to be used for the Font.

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Hereupon sundry of the Kings servants assaied to have brought the stone, but it was so farre above all their strengths that they could not once move it: when the child perceived that, he commanded the two Priests (his appointed Godfathers) to goe and bring it, which they did forthwith most easily. This done, he was baptized, and within three dayes after (having in the mean while discoursed cunningly sundry mysteries of **the** Popish Religion, and bequeathing his bodie to remain at Sutton one year, at Brackley two, and at Buckingham for ever after) his spirit departed out of his bodie, and was by the hands of the Angels conveighed into Heaven.

I have moreover in my keeping an ancient Deed, under the seal of Armes of a

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Noble Norman, which if I should give in evidence against these Monks of Boxeley, you would not take them to be so white within, as their outward Robe pretended, but would rather note them, with 'Hic niger est,' or take them to be wholly compounded, 'ex fraude & fallaciis, ab imis unguibus ad verticem summum:' 'of fraude and deceit, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head.' 'Et ideo (as Cicero said of Fannius) semper esse capitibus rasis, ne pilum unum boni viri habere videantur:' 'and that therefore they did wear shaven crowns, that they might seem not to have so much as one hair left of an honest man.' But since it pertaineth to the place, and containeth a feat discovery of one of their fraudes, you shall hear the very tenor of it.

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'Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, Hugo Candavena, Comes Sancti Pauli, Salutem: Universitati vestræ notum facio, quod Ballini mei (quos habeo in Anglia) habentes Warrantizam brevis mei cum sigillo meo dependente, ut quicquid de tementis meis facerent, ita stabile foret ac si ego ipse fecissem, fecerunt quandam rationabilem venditionem (sicut eis mandavi litteris nostris) de quodam Essarto meo juxta Terentforde, Canonicis de Lyesnes,

& in Arram centum solidos receperunt, datis fidejussoribus & fide interposita ex parte mea, quod pactio illa stabilis perma=

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An Essart is land rid of the wood: and this piece is noted on the back of this writing to be called Hocholt.

neret. Post hanc autem conventionem sic factam, occulte veniunt ad me in partes transmarinas Monachi Boxeley, priusquam scirem quid egissent Ballivi mei, & conveniunt me super emptione ejusdem Essarti, supprimentes mihi veritatem rei gestæ & pactionis firmatæ cum Conventu de Lyesnes. Corruperunt etiam muneribus & blanditiis Nuntium quendam, qui missus a Ballivis meis mihi veritatem indicare debuerat. Cum igitur ignorarem versutius illorum, feci pactionem cum illis de prædicta venditione: Sed agnita postmodum veritate, & intercepta eorum astutia, retinui cartas meas quas volebant fraudulenter asportare priusquam eas vidissem, vel audissem. Eapropter cassato deceptionis eorum conatu, concilio Curiaë meæ & multorum virorum prudentium confirmavi Carta mea primam conventionem factam Canonicis de Lyesnes per warrantizam brevis mei. Quare volo, ut ipsa conventio stabilis & inconcussa permaneat, roborata confirmatione Domini mei Regis Angliæ, qui terram illam mihi dedit: ne Monachi Boxeley eos in aliquo super hoc vexare possint. Nullatenus enim audiendi sunt, cum nullo modo jus aliquod in prædicta terra vindicare juste possint: Valet.

In English, thus.

'To all the Children of holy Mother Church, Hugh Camden, Earl of Saint Paul, Greeting: I make it known to

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you all, that my Bayliffs (which I have in England) having warrant by my Writ under my Seal, that whatsoever they should doe concerning my Lands, should be as availeable as if I my self had done it, did make a certain reasonable sale (as I had commanded them by my letters) of a certein Assart of mine neer Dartforde, to the Chanons of Lyesnes, and received C. shillings in earnest, giving security and promise on my behalf, that the bargain should be of force. But after this agreement so made, there came to me privily to the parts beyond the Sea the Monks of Boxley, before that I knew what my Bayliffs had done, and they communed with me about the buying of the same Assart, suppressing from me the truth of the thing done and of the bargain assured to the Chanons of Lyesnes. They also corrupted with rewards and flattering words a certein Messenger, whom my Bayliffs had sent to tell mee the truth.

I therefore, being ignorant of their craft, passed a bargain unto them of the same thing formerly sold: but afterward knowing the truth, and meeting with their fraude, I withheld my Writings thereof, which they guilefully would have carried away, before that I had either seen or heard them. Therefore (having frustrated their deceitfull endeavour) by the advise of my Court, and of many

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wise men, I have confirmed by my Charter that first agreement made to the Chansons of Lyesnes by the warrant of my Writ. Wherefore I will, that the same bargain remain in force and unshaken, being strengthened by the confirmation of my Lord the King of England (who gave me that land) that the Monks of Boxeley may not be able in any thing concerning this to unquiet them. For, they are in no sort to be heard, seeing that by no means they may justly claim any manner of right in that land. Fare ye well.'

Mylton, in Saxon Midletun, so called of the situation, for it lyeth in the midst between two places, the termination of whose names be in tun also, that is to say, Newentun, and Marstun.

893
Kemsley
Down.

Even at such time as King Alfred divided this Shire into Laths and Hundreds, the town of Midleton, or Milton (as we now call it, by our common manner of contraction) was in his own hands, and is therefore set forth in our ancient Histories by the name and title of Regia Villa de Midleton: The Kings town of Midleton. In which respect (of like) he gave to the hundred, the name of the same Town, as of a place more eminent than any other within that precinct. Kemsley Down in the Parish of this Mi-

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dleton, is the very place, where in the time and reign of the same King Alfred, Hasten the Dane (that so much annoyed France) arrived and fortified, as we have at full disclosed in Apledore before.

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This Town continued of good estimation untill the reign of King Edward the Confessor, in whose daies, and during the displeasure between him and Earl Godwine, such as were of the devotion of the Earl at home, burned the Kings house at Midleton, while he and his sonnes abroad ransacked, herried, and spoiled, the skirts, and outsides of the whole Shire besides: after which time, I have not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any estimation, or price at all, more then

for the Market only.

The History of Ely taketh it to be called Midleton, because it standeth in the midst of Kent, and telleth us that Sexburga (the Queen, and foundresse of Mynster in Shepey) left her life at the door of Mylton Church.

It seemeth to me, that Mylton was not anciently within the charge of the Sheriff of the Shire: because I finde in a Note out of a Recorde (48 H. 3) by which he granted to Fulc Payferer the custody of the County, together with the Hundred of Mylton.

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Sedingbourne, in Saxon Sætungburna; that is, the Hamlet along the Bourn or small River. One there is that interpreteth it, as if it were, Seethingbourne, Riuus feruens aut bulliens, but how likely, let others see.

For want of pertinent matter, touching either the beginning, increase, or present estate of this place, I am driven to furnish the room with an impertinent Sermon, that a Mytred Father of Rochester long since bestowed upon his auditory there. In the time of King Henry the third, and after the death of Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury (surnamed the great) the Monks of Christ Church were determined to have chosen for their Archbishop, one Ralfe Noville the Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellor to the King: but Gregorie the Pope, fearing that Ralfe would have travailed earnestly for release of the tribute, which his innocent predecessors had gained by King Johns submission (for the story saith, that Noville was a good man, and true harted to his Country) bare the Monks in hand, that he was rash in word, and presumptuous in act, and therefore much unworthy of such a dignity: neverthelesse, because he would not seem utterly to infringe the liberty of their election, he gave them

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free licence to take any other man besides him. Whereupon, the Monks agreed, and chose one John, the Pryor of their own house.

Now, when this man should goe to Rome (as the manner was) for to buy his confirmation, Henry (then Bishop of Rochester) addressed himself to accompany him to his Ship, and when they were come to this Town, the Bishop of Rochester stept into the Pulpit, like a prety man, and gave the Auditorie, a Clerkly Collation, and Preachment, in the which (after ma=

The Popish manner of preaching.

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ny other things) he burst forth into great joy, (as a man that had been rapt into the third Heaven) and said, 'Rejoice in the Lord (my bretheren all) and know ye assuredly, that now of late in one day, there departed out of Purgatorie Richard (some time King of England) Stehpan Langton (the Archbishop of Canterbury) and a Chaplain of his, to go to the divine Majesty. And in that day, there issued no more, but these three, out of the place of pains: and fear not to give full and assured faith to these my words, for this thing hath been now the third time revealed unto me, and to another man, and that so plainly, as from mine own minde all suspicion of doubt is far removed.'

These few words, I have in manner translated out of Thomas Rudburne, and Matthew of Westminster, to the end that

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you might see with what wholsome and comfortable bread the preaching Prelates of that time fed their Auditories, and that you might hereby consider, that, 'Si lux sit tenebræ,' If the Bishops, the great Torches of that time, were thus dimme, 'Ipsæ tenebræ quantæ?' What light was to be looked for at the little Candel, the soul Priests, and silly Sir Johns? Beleeve me, if his Fatherhood had not plainly confessed, that he came to the knowledge of this matter by revelation, I would easily have beleeved that he had been with Anchises in Hell, as Æneas sometime was, where he learned, what Soules should come next to life, and where he heard the livelyest description of the Poeticall, or Popish Purgatory (for all is one) that is any where to be found: Which to the end that you may see what agreement there is between the old and the new Romans, touching this Article of Religion, I will shew it you in a few of Virgils own verses.

Popish Purgatory, is derived out of Poetry.

Lucianus, in luctu, tria habet mortuorum genera, id quod ille cum papanis nostris commune est.

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Lib. 6. Enead.

Quin & supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
 Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes / nes
 Corporeæ excedunt pestes, penitusq; necesse est
 Multa diu concreta, modis inolescere miris.
 Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumq; malorum
 Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
 Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
 Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni:
 Quisq; suos patimur manes: Exinde per amplum
 Mittimur Elysium, & pauci læta arva tenemus:
 Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,

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Concretam exemit labem, purumq; reliquit
 Aetherium sensum, atq; aurai simplicis ignem.

which Thomas Phaer translated af=

ter this manner.

Moreover when their end of life,
and light doth them forsake,
Yet can they not their sinnes, nor sor=
rowes all (poor soules) off shake,
Nor all contagions fleshly from
them voids, but must of need
Much things congedred long, by won=
derous means at last out spread:
Therefore they plagued been, and for
their former faults and sinnes,
Their sundry pains they bide: some high
in aire doe hang on pinnes,
Some fleeting been in floods, and deep
in gulfs, themselves they tire,
Till sinnes away be washt, or clean=
sed clean with purging fire.
Each one of us our penance here
abide, that sent we be
To Paradise at last: we few
these fields of joy doe see.
Till compasse long of time, by per=
fect course hath purged quite,
Our former cloddred spots, and pure
hath left our Ghostly Sprite,
And senses pure of soule, and sim=
ple sparks of heavenly light.

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Now therefore, if this Bishops Poetry
may be allowed for divinity, me thinketh
that with great reason I may intreat, that

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not only this work of Virgils Aeneides;
but Homers Iliades, Ovides Fastes, and
Lucians Dialogues also, may be made Ca=
nonicall: for these all excell in such kinde
of fiction. Since my first acquaintance
with Sittingborne, it hath pleased her Ma=
jesty to bestow a Major and Corporation
upon the place.

Tong Castle, or rather Thong Castle, in
Saxon þwanceastre, in British Kaer=
kerry, of (Thwang and Karry) both
which words doe signifie, a Thong of
Leather.

The British Chronicle, discoursing
the invitation, arrivall, and enter=
teinment of Hengist and Horsa (the Sax=
on Captains) mentioneth, that among
other divises (practised for their own esta=
blishment and security) they begged of
King Vortiger so much land to fortifie up=
on, as the hide of a beast (cut into thongs)
might incompass, and that thereof the
place should be called Thongcaster, or
Thwangcaster: after such a like manner,
as Dido (long since beguiling Hiarbas,
the King of Libia) builded the Castle
Byrsa, containing twenty and two fur=
longs in circuit, of which Virgil spake, say=
ing:

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Mercatique solum, facti de nomine
Byrsam,

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Taurino possint quantum circundare ter=
go &c.

They bought the soil, and Byrsa it cald,
when first they did begin,
As much as with a Bull hide cut,
they could inclose within.

Dan=
caster in
the north
Country.

But Saxo Grammaticus applieth this act
to the time of the Danes, affirming that
one Ivarus (a Dane) obtained by this
kinde of policie, at the hands of Ethel=
dred the Brother of Alfred, to build a
Fort.

And as these men agree not upon the
Builder, so is there variance between writ=
ten story, and common speech, touching
the true place of that building: for it
should seem by Galfrid, Hector Boetius,
and Ric Cirencester, that it was at Donca=
ster in the north Country, because they
lay it in Lindsey, which now is extended
no further than to the north part of Lin=
colnshire. But common opinion (con=
ceived upon report, received of the Elders
by tradition) challengeth it to Tong Ca=
stle in this Shire: Whereunto if a man
doe add that both the first planting, and
the chief abiding, of Hengist and Horsa
was in Kent, and adjoyn thereto also the
authority of Matthew of Westminster,
which writeth plainly, that Aurelius Am=
brose the Captain of the Britans provoked
Hengist to battell at Tong in Kent, he shall
have cause, neither to falsifie the one o=

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pinion lightly, nor to faith the other un=
advisedly.

And as for mine own opinion of Don=
caster (which is now taken to be the same
that Ptolome called Camulodonum) I
think verily, that it was named of the wa=
ter Done whereon it standeth, and not of
Thong, as some fain it. Which derivation,
whether it be not less violent, (and yet
no less reasonable) then the other, I dare
referre to any reasonable and indifferent
Reader. To this place therefore, of right
belongeth the Story of King Vortigers
Wassailing, which I have already exem=
plified in the generall discourse of the an=
cient estate of this Country, and for that
cause doe think it more meet to referre
you thither, then here to repeat it. For
an end therefore I tell you, that the ditch
and ruines of this old Castle doe yet ap=
pear at Tong Mill, within one quarter of
a mile of the Parish Church there, and a=
bout so much northward from the high-

way between London and Canterbury:
where you may see the water drained
from the Castle ditch, to serve the Corn-
mill.

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<246>

Tenham, in Saxon Tynham, that is, the
Town of ten houses: as Eightam was
called of the eight dwellings there.

I would begin with the Antiquities of
this place, as commonly I doe in o=
thers, were it not that the latter and pre=
sent estate thereof farre passeth any that
hath been tofore it. For here have we,
not only the most dainty piece of all our
Shire, but such a Singularitie as the whole
British Island is not able to pattern. The
Isle of Thanet, and those Eastern parts,
are the Grayner: the Weald was the
Wood: Rumney Marsh, is the Medow plot:
the Northdownes towards the Thamyse,
be the Cony Garth, or Warren: and this
Tenham with thirty other Parishes (lying
on each side this Port-way, and exten=
ding from Raynham to Blean Wood) be
the Cherrie Garden, and Apple Orchard of
Kent.

But, as this at Tenham is the parent of
all the rest, and from whom they have
drawn the good juice of all their pleasant
fruit: so is it also the most large, delight=
some, and beautifull of them. In which
respect you may fantasie that you now see
'Hesperidum Hortos,' if not where Hercules
found the golden Apples, (which is rec=
koned for one of his Heroicall labors)
yet where our honest Patriote Richard

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Harrys (Fruiterer to King Henrie the 8.)
planted by his great cost and rare indu=
strie, the sweet Cherrie, the temperate Pi=
pyn, and the golden Renate. For this
man, seeing that this Realm (which want=
ed neither the favour of the Sunne, nor
the fat of the Soil, meet for the making of
good Apples) was nevertheless served
chiefly with that Fruit from forrein Regi=
ons abroad, by reason that (as Vergil said)
'Pomaque degenerant, succos oblita priores:'
and those Plants which our ancestors had
brought hither out of Normandie had lost
their native verdor, whether you did eat
their substance or drink their juice, which
we call Cyder, he (I say) about the year
of our Lord Christ 1533 obtained 105
acres of good ground in Tenham, then
called the Brennet, which he divided into
ten parcels, and with great care, good
choise, and no small labour and cost,
brought plants from beyond the Seas and
furnished this ground with them so beau=

1533

tifully, as they not only stand in most right line, but seem to be of one sort, shape, and fashion, as if they had been drawn through one Mould, or wrought by one and the same patterne.

Within Tenham there was long since some Mansion pertaining to the See of Canterburie: For, in the time of King Henrie the second, there was a great dispute (before the Archbishop, then so=

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1184 journing at Tenham) between the Prior of Canterburie and the Prior of Rochester, not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester, then lately dead, which (as they of Canterbury claimed) ought to lye upon the Altar with them, to be delivered to the next Bishop, but was contradicted by them of Rochester. This point of prioritie was to and fro maintained with such pertinacie, that neither would yeild to other, but in the end they of Rochester put the Crosier into the hands of Baldwine the Archbishop, who forthwith delivered it to the Prior of Canterbury, & of whom Gilbert Glanvile, the next successor, took it. And at this house in the time of King John, Hubert the Archbishop departed this life, as Matthew Parise reporteth: who addeth also that when the King had intelligence of his death, he burst forth into great joy, and said, that he was never King (indeed) before that hour.

1205

It seemed that he thought himself delivered of a shrew, but little foresaw he that a shrewder should succeed in the room; for if he had, he would rather have prayed for the continuance of his life, then joyed in the understanding of his death.

For after this Hubert followed Stephan Langton, who brought upon King John such a tempestuous Sea of sorrow=

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full trouble, that it caused him to make Shipwrack both of his honour, crown, and life also: The storie hath appeared at large in Dover, and therefore needeth not now eftsoons to be repeated. Touching the sickly situation of this Town and the Region thereabout, you may be admonished by the common Rythme of the Countrie singing thus,

He that will not live long,
Let him dwell at Muston, Tenham or Tong.

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Shepey, called sometimes Counos and Conennos; in Latine Insula Ovium, and Ovinia, a Balantum nomine (as one writeth;) in Saxon Sceapige the Ile

of Sheep.

660 Sexburga (the wife of Ercombert a King of Kent) following the ensample of Eanswide, the daughter of King Ethelbald, erected a Monastery of women in the Isle of Shepey, called Minster, which (in the late just, and generall suppression) was found to be of the yearly value of an hundred and twenty pounds.

832 This house, and the whole Isle was scourged thrice within the space of twenty years and a little more by the Danes, whom I may well call as Attila, the leader of the like people, called himself Flagellum Dei, the whip or flail of God. First, by thirty and five sail of them, that

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851 arrived there and spoiled it: Secondly, and thirdly, by the Armies of them that wrintred their Ships within it: Besides
855 all which harms, the followers of the Earl Godwine and his Sonns (in the time of their proscription) landed at Shepey and harried it.

1052. It should seem by the dedication of the name, that this Island was long since greatly esteemed, either for the number of the Sheep, or for the fineness of the fleese, although ancient forrein Writers ascribe not much to any part of all England (and much less to this place) either for the one respect or for the other. But whether the Sheep of this Realm were in price before the comming of the Saxons or no, they be now (God be thanked therefore) worthy of great estimation, both for the exceeding fineness of the fleese (which passeth all other in Europe at this day, and is to be compared with the ancient delicate wooll of Tarentum or the Golden Fleese of Colchos it self) and for the abundant store of flocks so increasing every where, that not only this little Isle which we have now in hand, but the whole Realm also might rightly be called Shepey.

The English Sheep and wooll.

<250>

This Island is also abundantly blessed with corne: But it feeleth some want of wood, which it now adayes buyeth deerly in the continent of the Shire. It hath in

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compass about twenty one miles, and is a Balywick or part of the Hundred of Mylton, as you may see in the particular of the Shire that is already set down.

In it there are at this day two places, the one called Kingsborough, and the other Queenborough, married (if I may so speak) in name, as the chief things of note within the Isle.

<251>

The first was anciently called Cyning=
burh, all one with the present name
Kingsbourghe) and (being situate in the
very midst of the Isle, and thereby most
commodiously for the assembly of the In=
habitants) hath evermore been frequent=
ed for the holding of their generall Court,
whereunto all the Islanders doe resort, as
well for the choise of their Constable that
hath the office of the Peace, as also for
the election of the Bayliffs (or Wardens)
that take the charge of the Kings Ferrie
or passage) by water between the Isle and
the main land of the Shire.

The other was by King Edward the
third at the very first named 'Reginæ Bur=
gus' in Latine, that is, Queenboroughe as
we now speak in English; and not 'Cu=
ningburgh,' as Leland (mistaking it) did
for a time mislead me to think. This stand=
eth at the West end of Shepey, together
with the Castle, and was by the same King
(as himself saith in his Letters patents, da=
ted the tenth day of May in the fourty

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two year of his reign) builded for the
strength of his Realm, and for the refuge
of the Inhabitants of this Island.

1366

During this building William of Wic=
kam (surnamed Perot) a man not so plenti=
fully endowed with good learning, as
abundantly stored with Ecclesiasticall li=
ving, (for he had nine hundred pounds
of yearly revenue fourteen years together,
and was afterward by degrees advanced
to the keeping first of the privie, and then
of the broad Seal) was Surveior of the
Kings works, which is the very cause (as I
conjecture) that some have ascribed to
him the thank of the building it self. This
Castle or Platforme was somewhat re=
paired by King Henrie the eighth, at such
time as he raised Block-houses along the
Sea coasts, for the causes already rehearsed
in Dele.

1536

Of this Castle at Quinborow, Leland
saith thus,

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Castrum Regius editum recipit
Burgus, fulmina dira, & insulanos
Tutos servat, ab impetu vel omni.

A Castle high, and thundring shot,
At Quinbroughe is now plaste;
Which keepeth safe the Islanders,
From every spoile and waste.

Being at this Castle (in the year 1579)
I found there one Mathias Falconar (a
Brabander) who did (in a Furnace that
he had erected) trie and draw very good

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Brimstone and Copperas out of a certain stone that is gathered in great plenty upon the shoare neer unto Minster in this Isle.

Neer unto this Castle the same King Edward did, at the same time also, erect (as I said) the Town of Quinborow, which he created a free Borough, and made the Townsmen Burgesses, giving them power to choose yearly a Major and two Bayliffs that should make their Oath of Allegiance before the Constable of that Castle, endowing them with Counciance of pleas, with the libertie of two Markets weekly, and two Fairs yearly, and benefiting them with freedom of Tholle, and sundry other bountifull priviledges that might allure men to inhabit the place.

<253> Feversham, in Saxon Fafresham and Fafresfeld.

As it is very likely that the Town of Feversham received the chief nourishment of her increase from the religious House: So there is no doubt but that the place was, through the benefit of the water, somewhat of price long time before the building of that Abbey there. For it is to be seen that King Ethelstane held a Parliament and enacted certain Laws at Feversham, about six hundred and fourty years agoe: at which time (I

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think) it was some Manor house belonging to the Prince, the rather, for that afterward King William the Conqueror (to whose hands at length it came) amongst other things gave the advowson of the Church to the Abbey of S. Augustines, and the Manor it self to a Norman, in recompence of service.

1072

But what time King Stephan had in purpose to build the Abbey he recovered the Manor again, by exchange made with one William de Ipre (the founder of Boxley) for Lillychurch: and so raising here a stately Monasterie (the temporalities whereof did amount to a hundred fiftie and five pounds) he stored it with Cluniack Monks.

1140

This house was first honoured with the buriall of Mawde the Queen, his wife: Then with the sepulture of Eustachius his only sonne: and shortly after himself also was there interred by them.

1151

1152

I read none other thing worthy remembrance touching this place, save that in the reign of King John there brake out a great controversie between him and the Monks of S. Augustines, touching the right of the Patronage of the Church of Feversham. For, notwithstanding that King William

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1154

Monks doe contend with the King forcibly.

the Conqueror had given it to the Abbey (as appeareth before) yet there wanted not some (of which number Hubert the Archbishop was one) that whispered

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King John in the eare, that the right of the Advowson was devoluted unto him: which thing he beleeving, presented a Clerke to the Church, and besides commanded by his Writ that his Presentee should be admitted. The Abbat on the other side withstood him, and for the more sure enjoying of his possession, not only ejected the Kings Clerke, but also sent thither divers of his Monks to keep the Church by strong hand.

When the King understood of that, he commanded the Sheriff of the Shire to levee the power of his County, and to restore his Presentee: Which commandement the Officer endeavored to put in execution accordingly: But such was the courage of these holy hoorsons, that before the Sheriff could bring it to pass, he was driven to win the Church by assault; in which he hurt and wounded divers of them, and drew and haled the rest out of the doores by the hair and heeles.

<255>

Now it chanced that (at the same time) John the Cardinall of Saint Stephans (the Popes Legate into Scotland) passed through this Realm, to whom (as he sojourned at Canterburie) the Monks made their mone; and he again both incouraged them to send their Prior to Rome for remedie, and furnished them with his own Letters in commendation of their cause: In which, amongst other things, he told

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the holy father Innocentius plainly, that if he would suffer Monks to be thus intrated, the Apostolique authority would soon after be set at nought, not only in England, but in all other Countries also.

Hereupon the Pope sent out his Commission for the understanding of the matter: But the Monks (being now better advised) took a shorter way, and sending to the King two hundred marks in a purse and a fair Palfrey for his own saddle, they both obtained at his hands restitution of their right, and also wan him to become from thenceforth their good Lord and Patron.

But here (I pray you) consider with me, whether these men be more likely to have been brought up in the School of Christ and Paul his Apostle (who teach 'Ne resistatis malo, & vincatis bono malum,' 'Resist not evill, but overcome evill with good') Or rather to have drawn their divi=

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nitie out of Terence Comedie, where the counsell is, 'Malumus nos prospicere, quam hunc ulcisci accepta iniuria,' 'We had rather look to our selves before hand, than tarrie to be revenged of him when we have taken wrong.' Yea, and out of the worst point of all Tullies Philosophie, where he permiteth, 'Lacessitis injuria inferre vim & injuriam,' 'Those that be provoked by injurie, to doe wrong and injurie again:' seeing they be so ready, not of even ground only, but

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before hand: not to answer, but to offer force and violence, even to Kings and Princes themselves. I wis they might have taken a better Lesson out of Terence himself, who adviseth wise men, 'Consilio omnia prius experiri quam armis,' 'To prove all things by way of counsell, before they take weapon in hand.' And therefore I pitie their beating so much the less. But by this and such other Monkish parts of theirs, you may see, 'Quid otium & cibus faciat alienus,' 'What idleness and cheer, at other mens charge, is able to doe.'

This Town is well Peopled and flourisheth in wealth at this day, notwithstanding the fall of the Abbey; which thing happeneth by a singular preeminence of the situation: for it hath not only the neighbourhood of one of the most fruitfull parts of this Shire (or rather of the very Garden of Kent) adjoining by land, but also a commodious creek, that serveth to bring in and carrie out by the water whatsoever wanteth or aboundeth to the Countrie about it.

Upon the hill at Little-Davington neer to this Town, King Henry the second, about the second year of his reign, raised a Priorie of Black Nonnes to the honour of Mary Magdalene: in emulation (as it may seem) of that which his immediate predecessor, King Stephan had erected at Feversham it self. The name, or value,

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is not read in the Register of the generall suppression of the Religious houses, because (as I have heard) it escheated to the King before that time, or forfeited for not maintaining the due number of Nonnes appointed by the foundation.

Genlade, or rather Yenlade, now sounded commonly Yenlet.

Beda hath mention of a water in Kent running by Reculvers, which he calleth Genlade: this name was afterward sounded Yenlade, by the same misrule, that geard is now Yard, geoc Yoke, gyld Yeeld, gemen Yeomen, and such

other.

Henrie of Huntingdon also reporteth, that King Edward (the Sonne of Alfred) builded at Gladmouth: This place I conjecture to have stood at the mouth of such a water, and thereof to have been called first Genlademouth, and afterward (by contraction, and corruption of speech) Glademouthe.

The names of Towns framed out of the mouthes of Rivers.

For, to compound the name of a Town out of the mouth of a River adjoining, was most familiar with our Ancestors; as Exmouth was framed out of the River Ex: Dartmouth **out** of the water Dert, Stourmouth in this Shire of Stowre, and such other like: And no less common also with us of later time is it, to corrupt

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The corruption of our English Speech.

(by contraction) the true names almost of all places, but especially of so many of the same as consisted at the first of three syllables, or above.

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For, of Medweyes Towne, we make Maidstone: of Eglesford, Ailesforde: of Otanford, Otford: of Sevennock, Sennok: and so forth infinitely, both throughout this Shire and the whole Realme: and that so rudely in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same: For Maildulphesbyrig we call Malmesburie: Eovesham Esham: and Hagustaldham we cut off by the waste, and nicknamed it Hexam.

Neither hath this our manner of abbreviation corrupted the names of Towns and places only, but infected (as it were with a certain contagion) almost our whole speech and language: calling that which in old time was heofod now Head, Kynning King, Hlaford Lord, Sunu Sonne, and innumerable such other, so that our speech at this day (for the most part) consisteth of words of one syllable. Which thing Erasmus observing, merrily in his Ecclesiast. compareth the English Tongue to a Dogs barking, that soundeth nothing else but Baw, waw, waw in Monosyllables.

But if this roving arrow of mine own conjecture have missed the marke of Glademouth whereat I directed my shot,

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yet will I prick at Yenlade with another out of the same quiver, and happily goe neerer to it. Beda speaketh there of the North-east mouth of the flood Genlade: which speech of his were idle if that water had none other mouth but that one: And therefore when I read in Beda's first book (chap 25.) that Wantsume divided the Ile of Thanet from the Continent on both

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sides: and in his fift book (chap 9) that Reculver standeth at the North mouth of the water Genlade, which is the one mouth of Wantsume by his own description: I suppose that by Genlade he meaneth a thing yet well known in Kent, and expressed by the word Yenlade (or Yenlet) which betokeneth an Indraught (or Inlet) of water into the land, out of, and besides the main course of the Sea, or of a River. For that water which now sundereth the Ile of Greane from the Hundred of Hoo hath two such mouths (or Inletts) the one of which, opening into the Thamyse, is called the North Yenlet, (notable for the greatest Oisters and Flounders:) and the other (receiving the fall of Medway) is called Colemouth: and neither of them standeth in the full sweep or right course of those Rivers, but in a diverticle, or by way.

Such another there is also, lying southward within the same Medway, into which it openeth two mouthes, and there=

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of called likewise South Yenlet, notorious also for great Oisters, that be dregged thereabouts. And even such an one is the Yentlet at Reculver, where it openeth that way into the Sea towards the North, and hath the other mouth into Wantsume (or Stowre, as it is now called) towards the South, not in the streight course of that River (which maketh to the Sea between Stonar and Sandwiche) but diverted and led aside.

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As touching the water that runneth between the Continent & the Isle of Shepey, the same is called the Welle, and is not neer to any of these Genlades or Yenlettes. And where the Statute (4 H. 7. cap. 15.) maketh the Major of London to be conservator of the Thamyse from the bridge at Stanes to the water of Yendal and Medway, that must be understood to extend to Colemouth, where Medway and Yenlett doe occurre and meet: and the word 'Yendal' is misprinted for Yenlade or Yenlett in that place of the Statute.

Reculvers, in Latine Regulbium, or (as Twyne saith) Reculfum; in Saxon Ra-culf Mynster, derived (as I ghesse) of the Brittish word Racor, that signifieth forward, for so it standeth toward the Sea

The present estate of Reculvers (as you may see) deserveth not many

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words, as touching the antiquitie thereof and beginning of the place, I read first that Ethelbert, the first King of Kent,

The river called Wantsume.

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having placed Augustine at Canterbury, withdrew himself to Reculver, and there erected a Palace for himself and his successors; the compass whereof may be traced out by the ruines of an old Wall there that are yet to be seen. Furthermore, that Ecgbrighte (the seventh King of Kent in succession after Hengist) gave to one Bassa the land at Reculver to build him a Mynster upon, which stood at the one side of the water Wantsume that ran two sundrie waies into the Sea, and made Tanet an Island: And finally, that not long after the same time, one Brightwald (being Abbat there) was advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and was not the first, as Polydore saith, but the second man of all the Saxon Nation that aspired to that dignitie.

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In which behalf Reculvers (how poor and simple soever otherwise) hath (as you see) somewhat whereof to vaunt it self: As it may also: of the body of Ethelbert the second (a King of Kent) which (as the Annals of Saint Augustines report) remaineth likewise interred there, whose monument is shewed at the upper end of the South Ile of the Church that yet vaunteth it self with two Steeples. The Oisters that be dredged at Reculver are

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reputed as farre to passe those at Whitstable as those of Whitstable doe surmount the rest of this Shire in savorie saltness.

The order of this description.

Thus have I walked about this whole Diocess: now therefore let me cut over to Watlingstreete, which I will use for my way to Rochester, and tell you of the places that ly on each side. But first heare (I pray you) of Stouremouthe and Wyngham, which be in my way to Watlingstreete.

Stouremouthe, in Latine Ostium Sturæ, that is to say, the mouth of the River Stoure.

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King Alfred, having many times (and that with much loss and more danger) encountered his Enemies the Danes, and finding that by reason of the sundry swarms of them arriving in divers parts of his Realm at once, he was not able to repulse them being landed, he rigged up a Royall Navie, and determined to keep the high Seas, hoping thereby either to beat them upon the water, or to burn their Vessels if they should fortune to arrive.

Soon after this it fortun'd his Navie to meet with the Danish fleet at the mouth of the River Stoure, where at the first encounter the Danes lost sixteen saile of their Ships: But (as many times it falleth

out, that securitie followeth victorie) so

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the Kings Army kept no watch, by reason whereof the Danes having repaired their Forces, came freshly upon the English Mariners at unwares, and finding them fast a sleep, gave them a great and bloody overthrowe.

The likeness, or rather the agreement of the names, would lead a man to think, that the true place of this conflict should be Stouremouth in this Shire, the rather for that it is derived of the mouth of the River Stoure, and that by the circumstance of the Storie it appeareth, that King Alfred was in Kent when he made determination of this journey. Howbeit, he that shall advisedly read the Story as it is set down by Asserus, shall confess it to have been in Eastangle, which contained Norfolke and Suffolke, &c. And for the more certainty, I take it to have chanced at the same place which we now call Harwiche Haven. For that River divideth Essex, from Suffolke, and not far from the head thereof in Essex there standeth a Town yet called Sturmere, which (in my fantasie) sufficiently maintaineth the knowledge of this matter.

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Thus much I thought fit to say of the name Stowremouth, least otherwise the Reader (whom I would keep within the limits of Kent) might be shipped in the Boat of this error, and be suddenly conveyed from me. Again, it shall not be a

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misse (for the better understanding of this selfesame History, penned by Henry Huntingdon) to note that in this place, he calleth the Danes, not 'Paganos,' as in the rest of his Book he useth, but by a strange name 'Wicingais,' as the Saxon Chronicles in report of the same matter doe term them.

Which word (I think) he took out of some Saxon Chronicle that he followed, and happily understood not what it signified: For if he had, why should he not rather (since he wrote Latin) have called them 'Piratas,' as the word 'Wicingas' in deed meaneth, and as Asserus in the rehearsal of the same fight had done before him.

The decay of the old English Tongue.

It may be that he was a Norman born: And truly I suppose that the Saxon speech was well nigh worn out of ure, in the reign of King Stephan, (under whom he lived) seeing that even immediately after the coming in of the Conqueror, it began to decline.

For it is plain, that the Normans at their very first entry, labored by all means

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to supplant the English, and to plant their own language amongst us: and for that purpose, they both gave us the Lawes, and all manner of Pastimes, in the French tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conqueror, and consider the terms of Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes, shall easily per=

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ceive: They rejected also the Saxons Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing, as writeth Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland (which came over with them) & as a man may yet see in the book of Domesday it self, which (notwithstanding that it was written within a few years after the arrivall of the Conqueror) yet being penned by Norman writers, it retaineth very few letters of the Saxon Alphabet.

Thus farre, by occasion of Stoure in Suffolk: But now the head and course of our Kentish Stoure, standeth thus: It hath two originals, the one at Streatwell in Leneham, not fully one mile distant from that which riseth at Bygon (as I said) and helpeth Medway: the other at Postlyng Church: and these both doe joyn near to Ashford, where it first craveth the name of Stoure, and from whence assisted with other streams that conspire with it, they all passe in one bottom to Wie, and to Canterbury, and did in times past run to Stouremouth, now somewhat removed: not far from which, it receiveth the water that springeth at St. Edburghes Well, adjoyning to the Churchyard at Lyming, and of which divers Towns that border upon it have Borne for the last syllable of their names. After this, it beginneth to divide it self two waies, and to describe the Isle of Thanet, ceasing

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to be called any longer Stoure, but Yenlade or Wantsume, as even now I told you.

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Wingham.

The Archbishops were well housed.

Besides the stately, and Princelike Palaces at Canterbuy, Maidstone, Otford, Knoll, Croyden, and Lambhythe, which the Archbishops of this Shire kept in their hands, both to perform their set solemnities of house-keeping, and to sojourn at with their whole Trains, when they travelled toward the Court and Parliament, or remained for business about the same: they had also of ancient time divers other Manor-houses, of less cost and capacity, planted in divers parts of this Country, in which they used to breathe themselves,

after their great feasts and affaires finished, and to lodge at, when they travelled the Country to make their visitations.

Of this number (amongst other, were Foord, Charte, Charing, Chartheham, Tenham, and this our Wingham: at the which, Baldwyne (the Archbishop in the reign of King Henry the second) lay, at such time, as he had contention with his Covent of Christs Church, for making a Chappell at Hakington, as in fit place you shall finde more largely disclosed.

In the mean season, I will tell you, that

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(as the Annals of Saint Augustines report) when two of his Monks came to this house on horseback, in great haste to serve the Processe of that Suit upon him, he received the Processe dutifully, but he caused them to dismount, and to walk home on foot fair and softly.

<265>
Provision of
armor.

At this house also, King Edward the first rested for a season, with Robert of Winchelsey (then newly made Archbishop) whilest he took order for the defence of the Sea Coasts, charging both the Spirituality and Commons with horse and armor, according to the quantities of their livelyhoods and possessions.

And here was he advertised, that one of his Family (called Sir Thomas Turberville, whom he had sent into Gascoine with commission) was fallen into the hands of the French King, hisemie, and imprisoned in Paris, and that for his deliverance he had conspired with the French King, and promised to betray the King his Master: Whereupon King Edward caused such diligent watch to be laid for him, that he was taken, and such speedy and severe justice to be executed upon him, that he was forthwith condemned, drawn through London, and hanged alive. Of this man a Poet of that age alluding to his name, made this verse following, and some other.

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Turbat tranquilla clam, Thomas Turbida villa, &c.

Our things now in tranquillity,
Thom. Turbivill troubleth privily.

1225.

And here again King Edward the second lay with Walter Reignold the Archbishop, conferring with him and others concerning his passage into France for the doing of his Homage: but in the end resolved to send over his sonne Edward (afterward called the third King of that name) to whom he had given the Duchie

<267> of Aquitane: with him went the Mother also, where between her and her compli= es was contrived that which, cost her Husband both his Crown, and life also, as all our Histories can enform you.

The names of Lathes and Wapentakes. It is no small token of the ancient esti= mation of this place, that it giveth the name to the whole Hundred in which it is situate: for that is most usuall, both in this Shire, and elsewhere, that the whole Territory (be it Lathe, Wapentake, or Hundred) most commonly beareth the name of some one place, most notable, and excelling other within the same at the time of the name imposed, although hap= pily at this day, some other place doe much exceed it.

To make an end, here was sometime a religious College of six Prebendaries, and some Church-men, the Governor whereof was called a Provost, which some

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1284 doe suppose to have been founded by John Peckam the Archbishop, and I finde to have been valued at fourescore and four pounds of yearly revenue.

Watlingstreete, in Saxon Weatlinga= strete, of one Weatle, whom the prin= ted book of Math. West. calleth untruly, Wading.

The Priviled= ges of High= waies. King Molmutius, the British Solon & first Law-maker, decreed amongst other things, that such as were found praying in the Temple, laboring at the Plough, or travelling in the High-waies, should not be impeached by any Officer, but that they should enjoy peaceable free= dome and liberty, both for their goods and persons. But, forasmuch as he had not (in his life time) described those waies that he would have thus priviled= ged, great contention arose after his death, which waies should be taken for high, and royall, and which not: and therefore, Belinus (his sonne and succes= sor) to cease all controversie, limited in certain, four especiall High-waies: where= of the first was called Ermingstreete, and lead (after the opinion of some) from Southampton to Saint Davids in Wales, or (as others write) to Carlile in the North: The second was named Fosseway, and ex= tended from Cathnes, in the North of

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Scotland, to Totnes, a Cape of Cornwall: The third, Ikeneled (or as others write it) Rekeneld, and reached from East to West (as Huntingdon affirmeth) but as others will, from Tinmouth to Saint Davids, which is from Northeast to Southwest.

Watlingstreet. Watlingstreet, where we now are, was the fourth, and it began at Dover after the opinion of Ralfe Higden) passed through the midst of Kent, crossed the Thamise at the West end of Londor, (howbeit o= thers, to whom I rather incline, think that it ran through London, and left the name to **W**etlingstreete there) from thence to Saint Albons, Dunstable, Stret= ford, Towcester, Lilburne, and Wreken, thence over the river of Severne to Stret= ton, and so through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, and to the bank of the Irish Sea.

<269> And this is the common and received opinion (although indeed there be divers) touching the first beginning and descrip= tion of this way. But Simon the Chaunter of Durham, and he that made the conti= nuation to the History of Asserus Mene= vensis (both very good Authors) ascribe both the beginning and the name also of this way, to the Sonnes of a Saxon King, whom they call Weatle, which their opin= ion, as I doe not greedily receive, because I finde not that name (Weatle) in any Ca= talogue of the Kings that I have seen: So

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will I not rashly reject it, for the estima= tion that I otherwise retain of the Writers themselves, But doe leave the Reader to his free choise, to take or leave the one, or the other.

And, as there is difference concerning the first beginning and name of this way: So all agree not in the trace and true course of the same. For Henry (the Arch= deacon of Huntingdon) affirmeth, that it stretched from Dover to Chester. And this Simon reporteth, that it extendeth it self from the East Sea, to the West. Which third and last opinion, may well enough stand, either with the first, or the se= cond.

<270> But now as touching this priviledge granted by Molmutius, although it con= tinue not altogether in the same plight, yet some shadow thereof remaineth even to this day, as by the Lawes of King Ed= ward the Confessor, which confirmed the protection of the four waies by name, and by the Statute of Marlbridge, which for= biddeth distresses to be taken in any the Kings High-waies or common Streets; and by the Statute (called Articuli Cleri) which commandeth that such as abjured should not be molested while they be in the High-waies, may evidently appear.

Furthermore, I finde in History, that this Watlingstreete, hath heretofore not only served for the free passage of the

people, but that it hath been (at times also) a mark and bounder between some Kings for the limits of their jurisdictions and authority: for so it was between Edmund and Anlaf, Alfred and Guthrum, and others.

The order of this description.

But, because those matters reach further then this Shire extendeth, I will reserve them to fit place, and shew you in the mean while, what I count note worthy on both sides of this way, till I come to the Diocesse of Rochester.

Lyminge.

On the south side of Wætingstreete, and under the Downs, Lyminge is the first that offereth it self: concerning the which, I have found a Note or twain, that make more for the antiquity, then for the estimation of the place.

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For I read in the Annals of Saint Augustines of Canterbury, that Eadbald (the Sonne of King Ethelbert, the first christened King of Kent) gave it to Edburge his Sister, who forthwith clocked together a sort of simple women, which under her wing there took upon them the Popish Veil of Widowhood.

S. Gregories in Canterbury first builded.

But that order in time waxed cold: and therefore Lanfranc the Archbishop, at such time as he builded Saint Gregories in Canterbury (as we have touched in

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1084 Reliques.

Tanet before) reckoning it no small ornament of his dotation to bestow some renowned Relique that might procure estimation to his work, translated the old bones of Edburge from Lyminge to Saint Gregories, and verified in Papistry the old Maxime of Philosophie, 'Corruptio unius, generatio alterius:' 'The corruption of one, is the generation of another.'

Baramdowne, in the Saxon, Barhamdune, That is to say, The Hill where the Bores doe abide.

As this place is of it self very fit (by reason of the flat levell and plainness thereof) to array an Hoste of men upon: So have we testimony of three great Armies that have mustered at it. The one under the conduct of Julius Cæsar, who landing at Dele (as we have before shewed) surveied his Hoste at Baramdowne, and marching from thence against the Britans, so daunted their Forces, that he compelled them to become tributary.

No less infortunate, but much more infamous to this Country, was the time of the second muster here, which happened

<272>
King John
yeeldeth to
the Pope.

in the reign of King John: who hearing that Philip (the King of France) had by incitation of the Pope (as hath already appeared in Dover) prepared a great Armie to invade him, and that he was ready at

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Calaice to take shipping, determined to incounter him upon the Sea, and (if that assay succeeded not) then to give him battail on the land also. For which service he rigged up his Ships of warre, and sent to the Sea the Earl of Salisbury, (whom he ordained Admirall) and calling together fit men from all the parts of the Realm, he found (by view taken at this place) an Army of sixty thousand to incounter his enemies, besides a sufficient number of able and armed souldiers to defend the Land withall.

But now, whilest he thus awaited at Baramdowne to heare further of his adversaries coming, Pandulph (the Popes Legate) sent unto him two Knights of the Order of the Temple, by whose mouth he earnestly desired the King to grant him audience. The King assented, and the Legate came unto him, and said in sum as followeth.

Behold (O Prince) the King of France is in armes against thee, not as against a privateemie to him alone, but as an open and common adversary both to the Catholick Church, to the Popes Holiness, to whole Christendome, and to God himself: Neither cometh he upon opinion of his own power and strength, but is armed with great confidence of Gods favorable aide, accompanied with the consent of many great Princes, furnished

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with the presence of such as thou hast banished out of thy Realm, and assured by the faithfull promises of sundry of thine own Nobility which now are present in person with thee. Consider therefore in what danger thou standest, and spare not to submit thee, while space is: least if thou persist, there be no place left of further favour.

The King hearing this, and being (upon causes known to himself) more distrustfull of Traitors at home, than fearfull of Enimies abroad, agreed to serve the time, and taking the Legate to Dover with him, sealed the Golden Bull of submission, whereby England was once again made a tributary Province to the City of Rome, and that in so much the more vile condition, than it was before, as an usurped Hierarchy is inferior to a noble, lawfull, and renowned Monarchy. For it is truly

said, 'Dignitate domini, minus turpis est conditio servi:' 'It is the less shame to be Servant to a worthy Maister.' Now when the French King on the other side of the Seas, had word hereof, he retired with his Army in a great choler, partly for that he was thus deluded, but chiefly because he had lost his Navie, which the Earl of Salisbury had set on fire in the Haven at Calaiice.

The Barons warre.

Simon Mountfort (the Earld of Leicester) that was elected by the Barons of

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this Realm generall of that Armie which they raised against King Henry the third, arraied thirdly a very great Hoast of men here, at such time as he feared the arrivall of Eleonar the Queen, who being daughter to the Earl of Provence, and then left in France behinde the King and the Earl, (which also had been both there a little before, to receive the French Kings award touching their controversie) ceased not by all possible means to sollicite the King, of France, and to incite other her Friends and Allies, to aide King Henry against the Nobility. But whether it were that presently they could not for their own affaires, or that at all they durst not, knowing that their coming was awaited, they served not her desire: by means whereof, the Lords waxed strong, and soon after gave the King a bataill in Sussex, wherein they both took him, his Brother Richard, and his eldest Sonne, prisoners. But as touching the originall, proceeding, and event of these wars, I willingly spare to speak much in this place, knowing that I shall have opportunity offered hereafter to discourse them. In the Parish of Barham, a little from the side of the Wood, and about six miles from Dover, appeareth yet an entrenched ground with three ditches: which whether it were the place where Cæsar, or (after him) some Saxon, or Danish Cap-

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tain, encamped, I cannot inform you. Now therefore let us consider a few other places, and then haste us to Canterburie. Charteham.

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After such time as King John had made himself the Popes Tenant of the Crown and Realm of England, (as even now I told you) the Clergie of this Countrie was so oppressed with Romish exactions, that they were become not only unable, but thereby unwilling also to relieve the necessitie of the Prince with any prest of money, as in times past they had

accustomed to doe. Whereat the King on the one side taking offence pressed them many times very hard, not ceasing till he had wrung somewhat from them: and they on the other side, appealing to their holy fathers aide, procured (by their great cost) many sharp prohibitions and proud menaces against him. So that sundrie times in the reign of King Henrie the 3. this Ball was busily tossed between the King and the Pope, the Clergie (in the mean while) looking upon, but nothing laughing at the game.

The Popes
revenue in
England.
1246

Amongst other things done for the manifestation of the Popes ravine, the same King at one time commanded a generall surviue to be made of the Popes yearly revenue within this Realm, and found it

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to surmount the yearly receipt of his own Eschequer in very rent, besides innumerable secret gifts and rewards, whereof no account could be made.

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Hereupon the Prince, by advice of his Realm, sent special messengers to the generall Councell that was then holden at Lyons in France, with commission to sue for redress. The like complaint also was at the same time, and for the same cause, exhibited by the King of France: Neither was the state of the Empire then free from the heaue yoke of that Popish oppression: for M. Parise reporteth, that even then the Emperour himself wrote an earnest letter to the King and Nobilitie of this Realm, solliciting them to join with him in withstanding the tyrannie of the Romish See. Howbeit all this could not helpe, but that the Popes (laboring daily more and more with this incurable disease of the Philargyrie) continually pilled the English Clergie, and so encountred King Henrie that in the end he was driven to use the mean of the Popes authoritie whensoever he needed the aid of his own spiritualitye.

After Henrie followed his sonne Edward the first, who being more occupied in martiall affairs then his Father was, and thereby the more often inforced to use the help of his Subjects for the raising of some necessarie masses of money, now

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1295

and then borrowed of his Clergie: till at the length Pope Boniface 8. (treading the path of his predecessors pride) took upon him to make a constitution, 'That if any Clerk gave to a Lay man, or if any Lay person should take of a Clerk, any spirituall goods, he should forthwith stand excommunicate.' By colour of which Decree the Clergie of

England, at such time as the King next desired their contribution towards his warres, made answer with one assent, 'That they would gladly, but they might not safely, without the Popes licence, agree to his desire.'

A Parliament without the Clergie.

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Hereat the King waxed wroth, and calling a Parliament of his Nobilitie and Commons (from which he excluded the Bishops and Clergie) enacted that their persons should be out of his protection, and their goods subject to confiscation, unless they would by submitting themselves redeem his favour.

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It was then a world to see how the wealthie Bishops, fat Abbats, and rich Priors in each quarter bestirred them, each man contending with liberall offer to make his ransome: in so much as the house of Saint Augustines in Canterbury (as the Annals of their own Abbey doe report) gave to the King two hundred and fifty pounds in money for their peace, having lost before (notwithstanding all their haste) two hundred and fifty quar-

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ters of their Wheat, which the Kings Officers had seized to his use and shipped to be sent into Gascoine, for the victualing of his men of warre.

The traiterous behaviour of Robert of Winchelsey, the Archbisshop.

Only Robert of Winchelsey (then Archbishop of Canterbury) refused to aid the King or reconcile himself, in so much that of very stomach he discharged his Familie, abandoned the Citie, and withdrew himself to this Town, the which was first given to his Priorie of Christs Church by one Alfred, a Noble man, about the year after Christ 970; and from thence (as mine Author saith) he roade each Sunday and Holiday to the Churches adjoyning, and preached the word of God.

Polidore was the Popes creature.

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Polidore, in his own opinion, giveth him an apt Theme, writing that he preached upon this text, 'Melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus,' 'It is better to obey God, then men:' which if he will have to serve the turn, he must construe it thus, 'It is better to obey the Pope, then the King,' and so make the Pope a God, and the King no more then a common man.

But Peter the Apostle of God, from whom the Pope would seem to derive, and Polidore the Apostle of the Pope (for he first sent him hither to gather his Peter pence) were not of one minde in this point: for Peter injoineth us plainly, 'Subditi estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, sive Regi, tanquam præ-

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cellenti, &c.' 'Be ye subject to all humane

ordinance, for the Lords sake, whether it be to the king as to the most excellent, &c.' making the King the most excellent under God, who (no doubt) if he command not against God, is to be obeyed before the Pope, concerning whom we have no commandment at all in the Scriptures of God.

Howbeit, since Polidore and the Bishop served one common Master, namely the man of Rome, it is the less marvail if he commend his endeavor in this part, and that also is of the less credit which he writeth of him in another place, where he bestoweth this honourable Elogium upon him, 'Quantum in eo fuit, de Religione juxta atque de Repub. promereri studuit, a qua nunquam discessit, nunquam oculos dejecit: ita officio suo atque omnium commodis sibi serviendum censuit;' 'As much as in him was' (saith he) 'he studied to deserve well, both of Religion and of the Commonwealth, from the which he never departed, ne turned away his eyes: so thought he it meet to serve his own dutie and the profit of all men.' As concerning his desert in Religion I will say nothing, because it may be thought the fault of that age, & not of the person only: but as touching his behaviour toward his Prince and Countrie (wherein also consisteth no small part of Religion and fear of God) since our Law

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alloweth of the trial 'De vicineto,' I will bring you one of his next neighbours to depose for him, a man that lived in the same time with him, I mean the writer of the Annals of St. Augustines, who upon the year 1305 hath this note following.

Eodem an. 7. Kal. Maii, cum sæpe dictus Archiepiscopus Robertus, super multis Articulis enormibus (& præcipue super proditione, quam cum quibusdam comitibus, & proceribus multis, pactus erat in dolo, ut Regem a Regni solio dejicerent, & filium ejus Eduardum, ipsius in throno subrogarent, & patrem perpetuo carceri manciparent) a Rege calumniaretur, & inficiari non posset obiecta: ultra quam credi potest timore percussus, ad Regis pedes pronus cadens in terram, ut eius mereretur assequi clementiam, sese per singula flens & ejulans, Regis subdit voluntati: Sic igitur humiliatus est ille Deo odibilis & superbus qui per totum Anglorum orbem, oris sui flatu, more meretricio, Sacerdotium deturpavit, & Clerum, & in populo tyrannidem exercuit inauditam: Et qui Regem Dominum suum, literatorie ei scribens, nominare renuit superbiendo, nunc humiliatus, & Regem, & Dominum suum facit,

& nominat, obediens factus, sed invitus ei devotius serviendo.

'The same year, the 25 of April, when as the often named Robert the Archbishop was challenged by the King for

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many points of great enormitie, and especially for the treason which he had imagined with certain Earls and Noblemen, to the end that they should displace the King from the seat of his Kingdome, and place his sonne Edward in his Throne, and cast the father into perpetuall prison: and when he could not deny the things objected against him, being stroken with an incredible fear, and falling down prostrate upon the earth at the Kings feet that he might deserve to obtain his favour, with weeping and wailing he submitted himself wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thus was that proud and most hatefull man to God brought low and humbled, the which defiled throughout all England, with the breath of his mouth (like an Harlot) the state of the Priesthood and Clergie, and exercised intollerable tyrannie over the People: and he, which before writing unto the King, refused in his letters for pride to call him his Lord, now being humbled, both acknowledgeth and calleth him his Lord and King, being made obedient, and to serve him with great devotion, but yet against his will.'

Again, when as in the same year he was cited to appear at Rome (upon complaint that he had wastfully spoiled the goods of his Church) and came to the Court to sue

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for licence to pass over the Seas, the King (as soon as he came to his presence & had moved his sute) caused the presence chamber door to be set wide open, willing the standers by to give eare, and spake aloud to the Bishop in this manner, as the same Author reporteth.

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Licentiam transfretandi, quam a nobis postulare venisti, libenter tibi concedimus, revertendi autem licentiam nullam damus, memores doli, ac proditionis quas in Parlamento Lincolniae cum Baronibus nostris in Regiam machinatus es Majestatem, cujus rei litera signo tuo sigillata testis est, & testimonium perhibet contra te evidenter. Sed propter amorem beati Thomae Martyris, & Ecclesiae cui praees reverentiam, vindictam hucusque distulimus, reservantes eam Papae, qui nostras injurias ulciscetur,

utpote speramus. A protectione vero nostra, te prorsus excludimus, omnem gratiam negantes & misericordiam, quia re vera semper immisericors fuisti: Cumque Wintoniensis Episcopus pro eo intercederet, & Archiepiscopum Dominum suum esse diceret, Rex affirmavit se omnium Prælatorum regni, & Regem, & Dominum esse principalem.

'We willingly graunt you licence to pass over the Seas, according as you are come to desire, but to return again we give you no licence at all, being mindfull of the deceit and treason which you

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did practise with our Barons, against our Kingly Majestie in the Parliament at Lincoln: of the which thing your letter signed with your own seal is a witness, and evidently giveth testimony against you: Howbeit, for the love of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and for the reverence of the Church over the which you are set, we have hitherto deferred the revenge, reserving it to the Pope, which (as we hope) will make revenge of our injuries. But we utterly exclude you from our protection, denying you all grace and mercie, because indeed you have alwaies been an unmercifull man. And when as the Bishop of Winchester made intercession for him, and said, that the Archbishop was his Lord, the King affirmed, that he himself was the King and chief Lord of all the Prelates of the Realm.'

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This matter I have exemplified the more at large, both to the end that you may see how great a traitor to his Prince, how unmercifull a tyrant to the common People, and how foul a blemish to the Ecclesiasticall order this Bishop was, quite contrarie to that which M. Polydore affirmeth of him: and also that you may understand what authoritie King Edward the first in plain terms challenged over his Clergie; not such as Anselme offered King William Rufus, when he took Can-

King Edward the first claimed Supremacy over the Clergie.

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terbury of his gift, saying, 'Summo Pontifici debeo obedientiam, tibi consilium.' 'I owe my obedience to the high Bishop, and my counsell to you,' But such as a true subject oweth to his Liege King and lawfull Sovereign, and such as differeth no more from that which we at this day attribute to our Prince, than 'Principalis Dominus,' and 'Supremus Gubernator' doe varie in sunder.

1313

And yet (behold the madnes of the

time) after the death of this Bishop, the common people forsooth resorted to his Tumbe, and would needs have made a Saint of him, had not the Sepulchre been defaced, and their folly stayed by authority and publique ordinance.

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Chilham, in Saxon Cyleham, which soundeth, the cold place: Leyland saith, that some called it the Castle of Josua: and Master Camden writeth, that some call it Julham, of Julius.

That Chylham Castle had anciently the reputation of an Honour, appeareth by a Note, taken out of the Patenttes, (15. Regis Joannis) where it is said, that Thomas Peverel had committed to his charge, the Castle of Chylham with the Honour. For it was a member of the Castle of Dover, and in the allotement of lands for the defence of Dover, it fell to

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the share of Fulbert of Dover, who (in consideration thereof) undertook to finde at his own charge fifteen able Soldiers, whereof three should ward at Dover every moneth, and so maintain it by the continuance of twenty weeks in the year.

I might suspect, that it came afterward to the possession of the Archbishop: for I have read, that upon a time, King John came thither, to treat with Stephan Langton the Archbishop, for reconciliation to be had between them. But I finde that the Scottish Earl of Ashele enjoyed it by marriage with Isabel of Dover, and that he engaged it for money to King Edward the third: and that in the time of his Son (Edward the second) the Lord Bartholomew of Badlesmere (that was Steward of that Kings house, and would fain have been Earl of Kent) possessed the place, and magnificently feasted there the Queen, with many of the Nobility, whom he presented with most liberall gifts and rewards.

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The building (saith Leyland) was not only commodious for use, and beautifull for pleasure, but strong also for defence and resistance: and so continued untill that Sir Thomas Cheynie translated the best materialls thereof, to his house at Shoreland in the Isle of Shepey.

Master Camden, learnedly (as in other

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things) hath collected out of Cæsars own words, that this was the very place where he (in his second attempt against this Island) encamped twelve miles from the Sea shoar, along a Rivers side: and con=

jectureth, that (not without reason) some have thereof called it Julham, the place of Julius: even as others call the Green hillock at Chilham, Jullaber, of Laberius Durus, one of Cæsars Collonels, that was slain by the Britans upon the rising of that his Camp.

Wye, the word (in Byttish) signifieth an Egge.

What time King William the Conqueror endowed his Abbey of Battell in Sussex, he gave thereunto (amongst other) his Manor of Wye containing at that time seven hydes or plough lands, and being (before that time) of the Demeasnes of the Crown.

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The Chronicles of Battell Abbey affirm that there were sometimes two and twenty Hundreths subject to the jurisdiction of this Manor: which if it be true, then (as farre as I can reach by conjecture) the territorie of Wye was the very same in compass that now the Last of Scray (or Sherwinhope) describeth, that is to say, the fift part of this whole Shire, consisting of two and twenty Hundreths in number.

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The old and new manner of wreck at the Sea.

The same King graunted to his Monks of Battell, wreck of the Sea falling upon Dengemarish, a portion of Wye, and willed further by his Charter of donation, that if any fish (called a Craspeis, that is, Crasse pisse, a great or royall fish, as Whales, or such other, which by the Law of Prerogative pertained to the King himself) should happen to be taken there, that then the Monks should have it wholly: And if it fortun'd to arrive in any other mans land (lying betweene Horsmede and Withburne) that yet the Monks should enjoy the whole tongue, and two third parts of the rest of the body.

Now, in the reign of King Henrie his Sonne it fortun'd that a Ship laden with the Kings own goods was wrecked within the precinct of this libertie, which his Officers would have seized and saved to his use: But Geffray (then Abbat of Battell) withstood them, and that so stoutly that the matter by complaint came to the Kings own hearing: who (to make known how much he valued his Fathers Graunt) yeelded the matter wholly into the Abbats own courtesie.

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The same Storie observeth a thing touching Wrecke (or rather Varech, as the custome of Normandie from whence it came, calleth it) not unworthie the recall, that is, that of ancient time if a Ship were cast on shoar, torn with tempest, and

not repaired by such as escaped alive within a certain time, that then this was taken for Wreck, and so used along the Coast. But Henrie the first (saith the book) disliking the injustice of that custome, ordeined, That if from thenceforth any one thing (being within the Vessell) arrived alive, then the Ship and Goods should not be seized for Wreck.

This Decree had force during all his reign, and ought of congruence to have endured for ever: Howbeit, after his death, the owners of land on the Sea shoare, shewing themselves more carefull of their own gain, then pitifull of other mens calamities, returned to the old manner. Which their unmercifull covetousness (as I suppose) provoked King Edward the first, by the Statute (that we call Westminster the first) to make restitution of King Henries Law: which even to this day remaineth in force, nothing so heavy against poor men (afflicted by misfortune of the Sea) as that former evill usage was, but yet (as the matter is commonly used) neither so easie as Christian charitie would, nor so indifferent as the Laws of other Countries doe afford. And therefore I will leave it as a thing worthy (amongst other) of reformation when God shall give time.

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But to Wye againe: King Edward the second (after the buriall of his father, and before his own Coronation) held the so=

1308

lemnitie of a whole Christmas in the house of this Manor: And as for the Town of Wye it is yet a well haunted market.

The College.

There was also at this Town a College valued in the Records at 93 pounds of yearly revenue: the which (as I finde in certain notes of Kent taken by John Leland, and given with others to me by my friend John Stow of London, that diligent searcher of Antiquities) was founded by John Kempe the Archbishop of Canterburie: who being at the first the Childe of a poor Husband-man in Wye, became afterward a Doctor in both Laws and Divinitie, then attained successively to the Myters of Rochester, Chichester, and London; after that aspired to the Crosses and Palls of York and Canterburie, and with all obtained the Cardinall hats of Saint Balbines and Saint Ruffines, as by this verse, made concerning him, it may appear:

Bis Primas, ter Pæsul eras, bis
Cardine functus.

Twice Primate, Bishop thrice, and

Cardinall twice thou wast.

1450 This man, in the twenty fourth year after his translation to Yorke, and not three years before his translation from this life, converted the Parish Church of Wye to the title of a Colledge, the head whereof was called a Prebendarie, and the residue were Ministers for Church service.

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The speare or steeple of which Church was fired by lightning, and consumed even to the stone work thereof.

<288> Asheforde, which name is written in some old Records Esshetisford, and may be interpreted, the ford or passage over the water Eshe or Eshet.

Even as the body or bulk of a tree is compact of many roots, the which at the first (and where they draw from every side the juyce of the earth) be very small, and then doe waxe bigger by little and little, untill at the last they be united into one trunk or body able to receive all their sappe and moisture: So also the greater Rivers (which fall not out of standing Lakes) have their increase from many small Wells (or Springs) the which creep at the first out of the earth, and be conveyed in slender quills, then afterward (meeting together in course) doe grow by little and little into bigger pipes, and at the last doe emptie themselves into some one bottome, and so make up a great stream or channell.

One example whereof you have seen at Maidstone before, and another is now offered to your eye here at Asheford: a good market Town, seated upon a water which hath before received the confluence and help of sundry small brooks or

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boorns, whereof some doe lie on the South-east side of his course, and the others on the North-west.

<289> Of the first sort those two be the chief which come out the one from the Town of Brook (so called of that water) and the other from the parts about Postlyng. Of the second sort be first those two, which begin at the Towns of Estwell and Westwell (which likewise take their names of those very wells or springs) and then those other two also, whereof the one breaketh out of the ground about Stallesfield, and the other neer Leneham. And these last couple I take to be the same which the Chronicler of Christeschurch did mean, when he said, that Kenulph the King gave to Walfred the Archbishop and to

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Christeschurch a piece of land called Bynne lying (inter duos genitales rivos fluminis Stowre) between two of those brooks which doe ingender the river Stowre. Nevertheless I am of the opinion, that this River is not rightly to be called Stowre (but Eshe or Eshet) untill that it have passed this Town, as both in the title hereof, and in Stouremouthe before, I have already conjectured.

There was at this Town a fair College, consisting of a Prebendarie as head, and of certain Priests and Chorists as members: the which was founded by Sir Fogge a Knight of this Shire, and controller of

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the Houshold to King Edward the fourth.

The Manor of Asheford pertained to the Dean and Chanons of the free Chappell of St. Stephans at Westminster, that was founded by Edward the third; for to them did King Edward the fourth, in the fifth year of his reign, give a Fair to be holden at Asheford four daies yearly, beginning on the even of S. John Port Latine, by the suit (as it seemeth) of the same his Controller for the amendment of the Town, to which his house at Ripton was neighbour.

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Canterbury, is called in Saxon Cantwabyrig, that is to say, the Citie (or Court) of the men of Kent, which also agreeth with the Brittish word Caer Kent, signifying the Citie of Kent. It is termed in Latine diversly, of some Dovernum and Darvernum, of others Durovernum; of some Dorobernia, and of some corruptly Dorobrinia. All which names Leland conjectureth to proceed either of the River called Stoure (as we have shewed) or else of the Brittish word Dour, which signifieth water, because the Countrie thereabouts is plentifully stored therewith. One other late Writer taketh it to be called Darvernum, as if it were Dour at guerne, that is, the water neer the Fen or Marsh.

To the end that (confusion avoided) each thing may appear in his proper place, it shall not be amiss to part the treatise of this Citie into twain, whereof the first shall contain the beginning, increase, and declination of the Citie it self: The second shall set forth the erection and overthrow of the Religious houses and buildings within the same.

The Citie,
when it began.

The Author of the Brittish storie affirmeth, that one Rudhurdibras, or (as

890 some Copies write it) Lud Rudibras (a King of the Britons, almost nine hundred

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<291> years before the Incarnation of Christ) builded a Citie, which he called Carlem, or (as Henrie of Huntingdon in his recitall of the auncient Britnish Cities nameth it) Caer Kent, that is to say, the Citie (or rather) the chief Citie of Kent.

For in the process of the same History it appeareth indeed, that at such time as Vortiger King of the Britons entertained the Saxon Captains Hengist and Horsa, he sojourned at Canterburie, the head Citie of all that Countrie: and that prerogative it retained in the time of the Saxons themselves also. For by the testimonie of Beda and Mathew of Westminster, when Augustine arrived in Kent, Canterbury was 'Caput Imperii, Regis Ethelberti,' the chief place in all the Dominion of King Ethelbert.

605 To this Augustine the said King gave (after a manner, as I conjecture) the Lordship or Royaltie of the same Citie: For I read (as I have before shewed) that he gave him his owne Palace, and builded another for himself at Reculver and it is to be seen in the ancient Saxon Laws, that of old time the Archbishops had their Coynage within the Citie.

I find it also in the book of Domesday, that King Edward the Confessor had only one and fifty Burgesses which yeelded him rent within this Citie, and two hundred and twelve other persons owing him

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<292> suit, and that the Castle of Canterbury and the residue of the Inhabitants were subject to the Bishop and to the Religious houses. Howbeit, the Bishops were never absolute owners hereof till the time of King William Rufus, who (as the Annals of Saint Augustine say) 'Dedit Civitatem Cantuariæ Anselmo ex solido, quam Lanfrancus tenuerat ex beneficio:' 'Gave the Citie of Canterburie to Anselme wholly, which Lanfranc before held but of courtesie.'

King Henrie the third at his comming to full age, graunted unto the Citizens sundry liberties, ordained their government under two Bailiffs, and made them his fee Fermors thereof, under the reservation of threescore pound by year.

This Citie (since the union of the Kentish Kingdome to the West-Saxon) hath been chiefly maintained by two things: First, by the residence and Hospitalitie of the Archbishop and Religious persons, and then by the liberalitie and expence of such

as either gadded to Saint Thomas for help and devotion, or travelled towards the Sea side for their private affairs and business.

Amongst the Bishops, Theodore, a Grecian born, and the seventh and last of those that came out of Italy: Lanfranc, the first Norman, advanced by the Conqueror: and Simon Sudburie, that lived under King

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Edward the third, have been the most beneficiall unto it.

The old School at Canterburie.

Of the which, Theodore, by licence of Vitelianus (then Pope) founded within the Citie a School (or Colledge) wherein he placed Professors of all the liberall Sciences, which also was the very patern to that School which Sigbert the King of Eastangle afterward builded: but whether that were at Cambridge or at some other place besides within this Kingdome, I leave to Doctor Caius of Cambridge, and Master Key of Oxford, to be disputed, & to indifferent Readers to be adjudged.

<293>

The late Reverend father Mathew, Archbishop of Canterburie (whose care for conservation of learned Monuments can never be sufficiently commended) shewed me the Psalter of David and sundrie Homelies in Greek, Homer also, and some other Greek Authors, beautifully written in thick paper, with the name of this Theodore prefixed, to whose Librarie he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shew of great antiquitie) that they sometime belonged.

The other two, Lanfranc and Simon of Sudbury, did cost upon the gates and walls, bringing thereby both strength and beauty to the Citie. And of these, Simon raised the wall (and towre) from the West gate to the North. Howbeit the Citie was not wholly walled by their time:

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For King Richard the second gave 250 marks (saith Thorne) towards the ditching and inclosing thereof: and for want of walls Simon Burley (Warden of the five Ports) advised that the Jewels of Christes Church and Saint Augustines should for more safetie be removed to Dover Castle.

Such was then the first beginning and increase of Canterburie: Let us now see also what harms it hath sustained, and to what decay it is fallen. Besides sundry particular harmes done to divers of the Religious places, the Town it self hath often received detriment by casualtie of fire. For the author of the additions to the Chronicle of Asserus Menevensis

<294>

754

1011 affirmeth, that about the year after Christ seven hundred fiftie and four it was sore wasted with fire. Again in the year nine hundred and eighteen, Aelfleda (the mighty Lady of Mercia) besieging and burning the Citie it self, spoiled, killed, and expulsed the Danes that then possessed it: In revenge whereof they afterward, about the end of the reign of King Ethelred, did not only besiege, take, and burn this Citie, but also put to most barbarous and cruel death Alphegus the Archbishop, for that he refused to charge his Farmors and the Citizens towards his ransome above their abilitie: and they slue of the

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1009 Monks, Townsmen, and other common people, the whole nines throughout the multitude, reserving alive the tenth man only: so that they left of all the Monks but four, and of the Lay people four thousand and eight hundred. Where (by the way) it is to be noted, that this City, and the Country thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time very populous, having to loose (upon this accompt) forty three thousand and two hundred persons: in which behalf, there want not some (I wot well) which doe affirme, that it had then more store of buildings than London it self. And truly it is well known, that they were very rich at Canterbury also: for not long before (by the advice of Sircius, their Archbishop) they bought their peace at the hands of the Danes, with <295> thirty thousand pounds of ready money. But let me proceed: fourthly, in the daies of King Henry the second, even the same year in which Thomas Becket was elected the Archbishop, this City of Canterbury was wholly consumed with fire: And now lately and lastly, in the reign of King Henry the eighth, it was in some parts blasted with flame, wherein (amongst other things) divers good books, which a Monk of Saint Augustines had brought from beyond the Seas, were brought to ashes.

I had almost forgotten a storie in Beda,

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where he maketh Mellitum mendacium (mention of Mellitus, I should have said) and reporteth, that when as (upon a time) a great part of this City was touched with fire, and that the flame hasted toward the house of this Mellitus (then Archbishop there) he commanded, that they should bear him against it, even into the greatest fury thereof: and that whereas before it could not be quenched by any

water (though never so plentifully poured upon it) forthwith at his presence the winde turned about, and at the vehemencie of his prayer the fire not only ceased to goe any further, but also immediately went out and was extinguished.

I wote well, this writer is called Venerabilis: but when I read this, and a number of such, which make the one half of his work, I say with my self as sometime did the Poet,

Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi:

What ever thing thou shewest me so,
I hate it as a lye.

<296>
The decay of
Canterbury,
and other
places.

To proceed therefore in my former course, and to tell the truth: little had all these casualties of fire and flame been to the decay of this Town, had not the dissolution and finall overthrow of the religious houses also come upon it. For, where wealth is at commandement, how easily are buildings repaired? and where

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opinion of great holiness is, how soon are Cities and Towns advanced to great estimation and riches?

And therefore, no marvail, if wealth withdrawn, and opinion of holiness removed, the places tumble headlong to ruine and decay.

In which part, as I cannot on the one side, but in respect of the places themselves, pittie and lament this general decay, not only in this Shire, but in all other places of the Realm also: So on the other side, considering the main Seas of sinne and iniquity, wherein the world (at those daies) was almost wholly drenched, I must needs take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our age delivered us, disclosed Satan, unmasked these Idols, dissolved their Synagogs, and raced to the ground all monuments of building erected to superstition and ungodliness.

And therefore, let every godly man cease with me from henceforth to marvail, why Canterbury, Walsingham, and sundry such like, are now in these our daies become in manner waste, since God in times past was in them blasphemed most: And let the Souldiers of Satan and superstitious Mawmetrie, howle, and cry out with the heathen Poet,

<297>

Excessere omnes, a ditis, arisque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.

321 <sig X>

The Gods each one, by whose good aide

this Empire stood upright,
Are flown: their entries, and their al=
tars eke, abandond quite.

For, seeing God in all ages hath not spa=
red to extend his vengeance, not only up=
on the persons, but upon the places also
where his name was dishonored, striking
the same with solitude and exterminion,
as we read of Sodome, Jerusalem, and o=
thers: How then should he forbear these
harborowes of the Devill and the Pope?
which in horrible crimes contended with
Sodome, in unbelief matched Jerusalem,
and in folly of superstition exceeded all
Gentility. By the just judgement of
God therefore, Canterbury came sudden=
ly from great wealth, multitude of Inha=
bitants, and beautifull buildings, to ex=
treme poverty, nakedness, and decay: ha=
ving at this day Parishes, more in number,
then well filled, and yet in all not above
twelve or fourteen: in which plight, for
pitty I will leave it, and (referring you to
the Statutes 32. and 33. of Henry the
eight, provided for the reedifying of de=
cayed houses, as well in this City, as also
in Rochester, Feversham, and the five
Ports) I will turn me to the History of the
religious buildings.

Continuall
contention
between the
two great
houses in
Canterbury.

There was in Canterbury, within the
time of late memory (besides others) two
houses of great estimation and lively=
322

hood: the one being called Christs
Church, and the other Saint Augustines:
the Monks of the which places, were as
far removed from all mutuall love and so=
ciety, as the houses themselves were near
linked together, either in regard of the
time of their foundation, the order of
their possession, or the place of their situ=
ation: And therefore in this part it might
well be verified of them, which was wont
to be commoly said,

<298>

Unicum Arbustum, non alit duos Arithacos.

One Cherry tree sufficeth not two layes.

For indeed, one whole City, nay rather
one whole Shire and Country, could
hardly suffice the pride and ambitious a=
varice of such two irreligious Synagogs:
The which, as in all places they agreed to
enrich themselves by the spoil of the Lai=
ty: So in no place agreed they one with
another: but (each seeking every where,
and by all waies, to advance themselves)
they moved continuall (and that most
fierce and deadly) warre, for lands, pri=
viledges, reliques, and such like vain
worldly preeminences: insomuch as he
that will observe it, shall finde that uni=

versally the Chronicles of their own houses, contain (for the most part) nothing else, but suing for exemptions, procuring of reliques, struggling for offices, wrangling for consecrations, and pleading for lands and possessions. For proof whereof,

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I might justly alledge innumerable brawls, stirred between the religious houses of this City, wrastling sometime with the Kings, sometimes with the Archbishops, and oftentimes the one with the other, all which be at large set forth by Thomas Spot the Chronicler of Saint Augustines. But for as much as I my self delight little in that kinde of rehersall, and doe think that other men (for the more part of the wiser sort) be sufficiently perswaded of these their follies, I will lightly pass them over, and labor more largely in some other thing. And because that the Monastery or Priory of Christs Church was of the more fame, I will first begin with it.

Christs
Church in
Canterbury.

After that Augustine (the Monk which was sent from Rome) had found such favor in the sight of King Ethelbert, that he might freely preach the Gospell in his Country, he chose for assembly and prayer, an old Church in the East part of this City, which was long time before builded by the Romans, and he made thereof (by licence of the King) a Church for himself and his successors, dedicating the same to the name of our Saviour Christ, whereof it was called afterward Christs Church.

After his death, Laurence his successor, brought Monks into the house, the head whereof was called a Prior, which word (howsoever it soundeth) was indeed but

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<300>

the name of fecond Officer, because the Bishop himself was accompted the very Abbat. For in old time, the Bishops were for the most part chosen out of such Monasteries, and therefore most commonly had their Palaces adjoyning, and governed as Abbats there: by means whereof it came to pass, that such Abbies were not only much amplified in wealth and possessions, but also by favour of the Bishops, their good Abbats, overlooked all their near neighbours, as hereafter in further course shall better appear.

1099

I find not, that from that time any great cost was done upon this Church, till Lanfranc's daies, who not only builded it almost wholly of new, and placed Benedict Monks therein, the number of which he advanced from thirty, to one hundred and forty, but also he restored 25. Manors

which had been withholden from this house, he erected certain Hospitals which he endowed with one hundred and forty pounds by year, and he repaired the Walls of the City it self.

988 And here by the way, it is to be noted out of Mathew Westminster, that there were Monks in this house, ever since the time of Laurence the second Archbishop, against the opinion of some, which report that Elfricus was the first that expulsed the Secular Priests, and brought the Monks into their place.

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1130 Not long after Lanfrancs time succeeded William Corboile, during whose government this lately advanced building was blasted with flame, but he soon after reedified it of his own purse, and dedicated it with great pompe and solemnity, in the presence of the King and his Nobles. After him followed Theobaldus, whom Pope Innocent the second honoured with the title of Legatus natus: and then cometh Thomas Becket, the fift in order after Lanfranc, by whose life, death, and buriall, the estimation of this Church was advanced beyond all reason, measure, and wonder.

Thomas Becket, the Archbishop, and his history.

<301> For, notwithstanding that it had been before that time honored with the arme of Saint Bartholmew, a Relique that King Canutus gave: with the presence of Augustine that brought in Religion: with the buriall of eight Kentish Kings, that succeeded Wightred, and of a great number of Archbishops after the time of Cuthbert: Likewise afterward with the famous assembly at the homage done by the Scottish King William, to King Henry the second, and at the Coronation of King John: with the severall Marriages also of King Henry the third, and King Edward the first: and finally with the interments of that noble Edward (called commonly the black Prince) and of King Henry the fourth: yet the death of this

725

1202

1236

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1299 one man not martyred (as they feign; for the cause only, and not the death, maketh a Martyr) but murdered in his Church, brought thereunto more accesse of estimation and reverence then all that ever was done before or since.

1376 For after his death, by reason that the Pope had canonized his soul in Heaven, and that Stephan Langton had made a golden shrine for his body on earth, and commanded the annual day of his departure to be kept solemn, not only the Lay and common sort of people, but Bishops,

1413

1228 Noble men, and Princes, as well of this
Realm as of forrein parts resorted on
Pilgrimage to his Tumbe, and flocked to
his Jubile for remission: In so much,
<302> that every man offering according to his
abilitie, and thronging to see, handle, and
kiss, even the vilest parts of his Reliques,
the Church became so rich in Jewels and
ornaments, that it might compare with
Midas or Cræsus, and so famous and re=
nowned (every pillar resounding S. Tho=
mas his miracles, prayers, and pardons)
that now the name of Christ was clean
forgotten, and the place was commonly
called Saint Thomas Church of Canter=
bury.

I pass over the stately buildings and
monuments (I mean, Churches, Chappels,
and Oratories) raised to his name: the
lewd books of his life, and jests, written

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by four sundrie persons to his praise: the
blasphemous Hymnes and Collects, devi=
sed by Church-men for his service: and
sundrie such other things, which, as they
were at the first invented to strike into
the heads of all hearers and beholders
more then wonderfull opinion of devoti=
on and holiness: So now (the truth be=
ing tryed out, and the matter well and
indifferently weighed) they ought to work
with all men an utter detestation, both of
his, and all their, hypocrisie and wicked=
ness.

For, as touching himself (to omit that
which truly might be spoken in dispraise
of the former part of his life, and to begin
with the very matter it self whereupon his
death insued) it is evident, both by the te=
stimony of Mathew Parise (a very good
Chronicler that lived under King Henry
the third) and by the four Pseudo Evan=
gelists themselves that wrote his Jestes, that
the chief cause of the Kings displeasure
towards him grew upon occasion, that he
opposed himself against his Prince (Gods
lawfull and supreme minister on earth) in
maintenance of a most vile and wicked
murther. The matter stood thus.

<303>
1146 Within a few of the first years of King
Henrie the seconds reign, the Clergie of
the Realm had committed above a hun=
dred several murthers upon his subjects,
as it was informed him: for remedie of

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1164 which outrage, the King (by assent of his
Nobilitie and Bishops, of which number
Thomas Becket himself was one) took or=
der at Clarendowne, that if any Clerk from
thenceforth committed felony or treason,
he should first be dgraded, and afterward

delivered to the Lay power, there to receive as to his offence belonged.

<asyloi>, that is, privileged for their holyness.

Not long after it chanced one Philip Broic a Chanon of Bedforde) to be apprehended for murther, and to be brought before the temporall Justice, where he not only shewed no remorse of the wicked fact, but also (in hope of Ecclesiasticall exemption, for the Popes Church men would be <asyloi> for all manner of mischiefs) gave very evill language to the Judge: the Judge complained thereof to the King: and the Chanon (belike) had made means to the Archbishop also: For the King no sooner endeavored to put his Law in execution, but the Archbishop (both forgetfull of his dutie to God and Prince, and unmindfull of his own oath) set himself against it, affirming plainly, that he neither could, ne would, suffer it so to be.

<304>

Hereupon the Prince waxed wroth, and by little and little his indignation was so kindled (by matter that the obstinacie of the Bishop daily ministred) that in the end it was too hot for Becket to abide it. Then speedeth he himself to Rome, and

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powreth into the Holy Fathers bosome complaint of most grievous oppression extended against the Clergie: The Popes Holiness, sory to discourage so good a Soldier as the Bishop was, and withall loth to lose so mighty a friend as King Henry was, by letters and Legates praieth, commandeth, perswaded, and threatneth reconciliation and attonement, which (after great adoe) by the means of the French King, and other his instruments, was in a sort brought to pass between them.

Then Thomas Becket returneth with the Kings favour into the Realm, from whence he had six years before departed without licence, and therefore without (or rather against) Law, and immediatly seeketh to revenge himself upon such the Bishops as had in his absence assisted the King in his enterprise. Which when the King (being then in Normandie) understood, it chanced him (in great grief of minde) to cast out some words that gave occasion and hardiness to Reginald Beere, William Tracy, Hugh Morvill, and Richard Bryton (four of his Gentlemen) to address themselves for his revenge. These four therefore passed the Seas, came to Canterbury, found out the Bishop, followed him into his Church, and upon the staires of the same did him very cruelly and despitefully to death.

This shortly is the chief substance, and

<305>

circumstance of all this Tragedie, drawn out of our own Countrimen, and Thomas his favourers howsoever Erasmus (led by some sinister information) hath otherwise reported it, as shall hereafter appear in Otford, when we come to the place.

Wherein, as I cannot on the one side allow this murther (executed, not by any publique Minister of Justice, but by a private and injurious arme:) So on the other side I report me to all indifferent and godly Readers, whether such a life deserved not such a death, and whether these Popish Parasites that have painted forth this mans praises, make not themselves thereby partners of all his pride and willfull rebellion.

I might here rest long upon divers other things concerning the King and this Archbishop: namely, how that he suffered the King to hold his stirup twice in one day in Normandie, but in 'Prato proditorum,' as Mathew Parise very pretily twiteth it: How the King came with bare and bleeding feet to Canterburie, to purge himself of the murther: How he bared his body to the Monks of this house, and received of every religious person three four or five stripes: In which self year (by the way) their whole Church was consumed with fire: and some other matters besides, which make manifestly for the proof of great presumption in the Clergie, and of

<306>

vile abjection of the Princes of those dayes. But, because that I am fearfull that I grow too long, I will leave Saint Thomas himself, and after (a few words more of his Church) step over to Saint Augustines.

1395

After Thomas this Church and See found three or four especiall maintainers of the building: Stephan Langton, which made up the great Hall in the Bishops Palace, and the fair Horologe in the south crossed Ile of the Church William Courtney, which by his testament bequeathed one thousand Marks towards the amendment of the bodie of the Church, the walls, and the Cloister: Thomas Arundell, which erected one of the Bell Towres, gave five Bells, and Christened them after the Popish manner: And Henrie Chicheley, who both repaired the library with books and building, and did great cost upon one of the Bell Towres also.

1400

Saint Augustines.

Now then to Saint Augustines. Augustine, having thus established a See for himself and his successors, obtained further of King Ethelbert for the better furthe=

rance of the service that he had in hand) a Church that then stood between the walls of the Citie and Saint Martines, wherein the King himself used before to make his praiers, and to offer sacrifice to his Idols. This Church he purged from prophane abuse and name (as they say)

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603 and dedicated it to the service of God, and to the honour of Saint Pancrace. Neither ceased he thus, but shortly after intreated the same King to build a Mo= nasterie in the soile adjoyning, which he also appointed to the honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and placed Monks there= in. This Monasterie, in memorie of his benefit, lost the first name, and was ever after called Saint Augustines.

<307>
The dead in old time were buried out of the Cities.

725 Now whereas the true meaning, both of the King and Augustine was, that this Church (for so much as both then, and long after, it was not the manner to bu= rie their dead within the walls of any Ci= tie, a thing forbidden of old by the Law of the twelve Tables) should be from thence= forth a common Sepulchre to all their Successors, as well in the Kingdome as in the Archbishoprick: yet such was the favour of the Bishops following Augu= stine towards their own Church, that in the process of time Saint Augustines was defrauded of the Sepultures, both of the one and of the other.

746 For in Brightwaldes daies the buriall of the Kings was taken from it: and Cuth= bert the Archbishop in his life begged of King Eadbert, that for the advancement of Saint Johns (a new church that he had erected for that purpose, and for the exe= cution of judgements by the Ordale, and which was afterward fired with the flame

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<308> of Christes Church, whereunto it was neer adjoining) the Bishops also might from thenceforth be buried there. And for the more suretie to attain that his de= sire hee took order in his life (by oath of all his Covent) that they should suffer his corps to lye three daies in the ground after his death, before any Bell should be roong or other open solemnitie used, that might notifie his departure to the Monks of Saint Augustines. Only Jeanbright the fourteenth Bishop (whom other copies call Lambright) was conveyed to the ground at Saint Augustines by this occa= sion.

After the death of Bregwine (the Arch= bishop) this Jeanbright (then being Ab= bat of Saint Augustines, and fearing that he should be deceived of the body of

Bregwine, as Aldhun his predecessor had been beguiled of Cuthberts before) he came appointed with armed men, determining to take it away by force, if he might not by fair means obtain it. But the craftie Monks of Christes Church had buried the bodie before he came, so that he was driven to depart home frustate of his desire, and to seek his amends by action in the Law.

Notwithstanding, because they perceived hereby, that he was a man of good courage, and therefore very meet in their opinion to be made their Captain, they

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shortly after chose him Archbishop, in hope that he would have maintained their quarrell: but he nevertheless took such order, that he was buried in Saint Augustines with the rest of his predecessors.

Popish brawls.

Thus you see, how soon after the foundation, these houses were at dissention, and for how small trifles, they were ready to put on armes, and to move great and troublesome tragedies: Neither doe I finde, that ever they agreed after, but were evermore at continuall brawling within themselves, either suing before the King, or appealing to the Pope, and that for matters of more stomach, than importance: As for example, whether the Abbat of Saint Augustines should be consecrate or blessed in his own Church, or in the others: whether he ought to ring his Bells to service, before the others had rong theirs: whether he and his Tenants ought suit to the Bishops Court: and such like, wherein it cannot be doubted, but that they consumed inestimable treasure, for maintenance of their most Popish pride and wilfulness. If any man delight to know the particulars, let him read the writings of Thorne and Spot, their own Chroniclers, as for my selfe, I think it too long to have said thus much in generall, and therefore will haste me to the rest.

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After the death of king Ethelbert,

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618
S. Maries in
Canterbury.

Eadbaldus (his sonne) at the instance of Laurence the Archbishop, builded a fair Church in this Monastery, which he called Saint Maries. In which place many years after (if at the least you will beleeeve Thomas Spot) Saint Dunstane sensibly heard and saw our Lady, Saint Adrian, and a sort of Angels singing and dancing together.

1017

After Eadbaldus, King Canute (the great Monarch of this Realm) Egilsine (the Abbat that fled for fear of the Con=

1059 queror) Scotlandus (whom the same King
 put in Egilsines place) Hugo de Florai
 1070 raico
 (that was of kinred to King William Ru=
 fus, and by him made Abbat) were the
 1099 persons that chiefly increased the building:
 some bestowing Churches and Chapels:
 some Dorters and dyning places, and o=
 thers other sorts of edifices. The Saints,
 whose dead bodies and reliques brought
 to this Church great veneration and gain,
 were these specially, Adrian, Albin, John,
 &c. religious persons: Eadbald, Lothar,
 Mull, and Wightred, sometime Kings:
 Saint Sexburge, and Saint Mildred of
 Thanet, (whose body was given them by
 King Canute) And Saint Augustine their
 first Friend and Founder.

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 The Saints
 and Reliques,
 at Canter=
 bury.

S. Augustines. Of this last man (to let slip a many of
 others) this one myracle they report: that
 at such time as the Danes entred Kent,
 1011 and (spoiling this City) ransacked almost

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every corner thereof, this house of Saint
 Augustines (only of all other) was never
 touched, by reason (say they) that when a
 Dane had taken hold of Saint Augustines
 Pall (or Cloke) wherewith his Tombe
 was covered, it stack so fast to his fingers,
 that by no means possible he could loose
 it, till he came and yeelded himself to the
 Monkes, and made sorrowfull confession
 of his fault.

Much like to this, it is written, that at
 the overthrow of Carthage, the hand of
 one that would have spoiled the God A=
 pollo of his Mantel, was found amongst the
 fragments. This our good fellow was not
 so cunning (belike) as Dionysius was: for
 he took a golden Cloke, from Jupiter, and
 had no hurt at all thereby. But either this
 our Pall was weaved, 'Ex auro Tholosano,'
 or else (which I rather beleeeve) this Can=
 terbury tale was forged 'Arabula Ro=
 mano.'

Besides all these, the Monks seeing how
 little their Reliques were esteemed, in
 comparison of Thomas Becket, and be=
 leeving (as the Romans sometimes did of
 Dea Pessenuntia) that their house should
 be highly advanced, if they might get thi=
 ther so glorious a God as he was, they
 made a foul shift for a peice of him also.

There was a Monk of Christs Church,
 called Roger, who had in charge to keep
 the Altar where Becket was slain. This

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man they chose to their Abbat, in hope
 (saith mine Author) that he would
 bring somewhat with him: in which do=
 ing they were not altogether deceived;
 1176 for he conveyed to them a great part of

Thomas Bec=
ket had two
heads.

Thomas his blood that was shed, and a peece of his Crown that was pared off.

But here by the way mark (I beseech you) the gross juggling that these slow bellied Sirs used to delude the world withall. Erasmus (in his Colloquies) writeth, that the whole face of Saint Thomas, being sumptuously set in gold, was religiously kept within a Chappel, beyond the high Altar, and that they told him the rest of the body lay in a shrine of gold and of great Majestie, which they shewed besides.

But the truth is that at such time as the late Godly and most Christian Archbishop Cranmer, and the wise and noble Counsellor Cromwell, were at Canterbury in commission for defacing of this Shrine, they found an entire body, and complete in all his parts within the same, as some lately alive and then present did testifie: so that either this their great God was a Bishop Biceps, and lacked but one head more to make him Cerberus or Chimæra, or else (which is most certain) these Monks were marveilous and monstrous magnifiers of such deceivable trumperie, and wanted nothing at all

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to make them Cretenses or Cecropes.

But to my purpose again: as touching the priviledges, possessions, estimation, and majestie of this house, it were too much to recite the one half, and therefore I will only let you know, that of ancient time the Abbat had allowance of a Coynage (or Mynt) within himself, by graunt of King Ethelstane: That he had place in the generall Councell, by gift of the Pope Leo: That the house had five Covents, containing in all sixtie five Monks: And finally, that (besides jurisdiction over a whole Last of thirteen Hundreds) it had possession of livelyhood to the value of eight hundred and eight pounds by year.

1056

S Gregories
in Canterbury.

1145

S. Laurences
Hospitall.

S. James
Hospitall.

S. Sepulchres.

1207

White Friers.

Now, besides these two great houses, there were in Canterbury some other also of less note: as S. Gregories (a Church of Chanons, belonging to the Hospitall that Lanfranc built) which was fired in the time of King Stephan, and was valued in the Records, at thirty pounds by the year: The Hospitall of Saint Laurence, edified by Hugh (the Abbat of Saint Augustines) for his sick Monks, and rated at twenty pounds yearly: S. James Hospitall, erected by Eleonor, the wife of King Henry the third: Saint Sepulchres, a house of Nonnes, prepared (belike) to serve the necessitie of the hoat Monks, esteemed at twelve pounds by year: The White Friers, translated by one John Digge to

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S. Mildreds.

the Isle of Bynwhite, lately the house of one Rolph: And Saint Mildreds in the South side of the Citie, long since (but not lately) an Abbey.

The Bishops
Palace.

There is extant in Canterbury also, the ancient and stately Palace of the Archbishops, not that which King Ethelbert first gave to Augustine at Staplegate, for it was but a mean dwelling, answerable to his small companie and first beginnings, but the very same which he secondly bestowed on him (when he left Canterbury and went to Reculver) which was his own, and his predecessors, the Kings stately Court and Palace.

1193

This House, by that time Hubert the Archbishop had aspired to the See, was decayed either by age or flame, or both: Who therefore pulled down the most part of it, and in place thereof laid the foundation of that great Hall, and other the offices that are now to be seen: But by reason that himself wanted time (prevented by death) and some of his followers lacked money (having otherwise bestowed it lavishly) to perform the work, it rested unperfect till the daies of Boniface, who both substantially and beautifully finished the whole: and yet (as some think) Stephan Langton had accomplished the great Hall thereof before him.

1250
S. Martines
was a Bishops
See.

Lastly, a little without the East wall of the Citie stood Saint Martines, where

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was sometime an ancient Church erected by the Romans, in which (before the coming of Augustine) Bertha, the wife of King Ethelbert, having received the Religion of Christ before him, was accustomed to pray. In this small Oratorie Augustine (by the Kings permission) celebrated divine service, and administred the Sacraments, untill that by further taste of the Kings favour, he obtained larger room to build his Monasterie upon. And this Church was long time after, even untill the coming in of the Normans, the See of a Bishop, who (alwaies remaining in the Countrie) supplied the absence of the Metropolitane, that for the most part followed the Court: and that, as well in governing the Monks, as in performing the solemnities of the Church, and in exercising the authoritie of an Archdeacon.

Godwine was the last which sate in that chair, after whose death Lanfranc (being as jealous of a partner in his spiritual Hierarchy, as ever was Alexander in his temporall Empire) refused to consecrate any other, affirming plainly, that 'two Bishops

were too many for one Citie.' Nevertheless, because he needed the help of a substitute, he created in place thereof one of his own Chaplains Archdeacon of Canterbury.

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Hakington, alias Saint Stephens, in Saxon Hagaingtun, that is, the Low Town, where Haws, (or White-thornes) doe grow.

S. Stephens by
Canterbury.

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Baldwine (an Archbishop of Canterbury under the reign of King Henry the second) minding to advance the estimation of Thomas Becket his lately murdered Predecessor, and withall to make himself memorable to posteritie, thought this one way the best for obtaining his double desire; namely to build some stately Church Monument, and to match in the patronage thereof Thomas that Traitor and rebell to his Prince, with Stephan the Protomartyr and true servant of Almighty God.

For which purpose, and to the end that this act might have the more countenance and credit, he obtained a licence from Pope Urban, in this form, as Mathew Paris reporteth it: 'Præsentium tibi auctoritate mandamus, ut liceat tibi Ecclesiam in honorem beatorum Stephani & Thomæ martyrum, constituere, & idoneis eam ordinare personis, quibus beneficia quæ ad eorum sustentationem constitueris, canonice debeas assignare. Item mandamus, ut quarta parte oblationum, reliquiis Sancti Thomæ monachorum usibus concessa, quarta parte fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pau-

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peribus deputata, quartam portionem reliquam liceat, tibi in alios usus, pro tua voluntatis arbitrio, erogare, &c.'

The Monks
contend with
the Archbisho-
p, and doe
prevail.

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This done he pulled down an old timber Chappel that stood at Hakington, and began to raise in place thereof a fair Church of hewed stone. But, for as much as not only the charge to furnish that present building was fetched from Saint Thomas offering at Canterbury (much to the decay of the Monks gain) but also the yearly maintenance thereof was to be drawn from the same Hanaper, and to be bestowed upon certain Secular Chanons (a sort of religious persons that Monks ever maliced) who yet might happily in time to come be made equall with the Monks themselves in the election of the Archbishop, to the generall discredit of their holy order, and utter violation of their former priviledges: therefore the Covent of Christes Church, thinking it fit to withstand such beginnings, complained

hereof to Pope Innocents holyness (for Urban was then dead) and were so well heard in their suit, that the Archbishops building was countermanded, and he (with forced patience) constrained to cease the work.

Nevertheless, having hope, that if the thing were by great distance of place removed out of the Monks eye, he might with better quiet bring his desire to the

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wished effect, he attempted the like platform at Lambhite, his own house, near London: But before he had finished that work, he went into the holy Land with King Richard the first, and died without return, in which mean while, the Chappel of Hakington, being destitute of her Patron, was quite and clean demolished.

Hubert succeeded Baldwine in the See, and put his hand to perform the building at Lambhithe that his Predecessor had begun, but the Monks, (fearing still the former inconvenience) intercepted the whole profits of Saint Thomas offering, renewed their suit at Rome, and (feeding the Pope with that which should have maintained the building, made his holy ears so attentive, that he became wholly of the Monks devotion) and compelled Hubert at his own dispencc, and to his great despight (mauger his Myter) to race that Chappell also, and to make it equall with the ground.

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And thus you may see how the envious Monks hindred the felicitie of Hakington, which otherwise by this kinde of spirituall robbetrie) might in time have proved as famous as Boxley, Walsingham, or any other Denne of Idolatrie, whereas then it was with much adoe and great difficultie obtained, that a poor Chappell (served with a single Sir John, and destitute both of Font and Church-yard) might remain

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standing in the place. Howbeit since that time (by what grace I wot not) it is become the Parish Church for the Inhabitants there, and in memorie of that which it would fain have been, is yet commonly called Saint Stephens. The parsonage house there hath met with three good benefactors, Warham the Archbishop, and Warham the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Sir Roger Manwood the late learned Arch or Chief Baron of the Escheaquer, which last man procured some amendment to the Ministers living, and left maintenance for certain poor persons there.

I finde in a Note (given unto me by my good friend Master Francis Thyn) that

King Edward the third, at his return from doing his homage to the French King, held an exercise at the Tilt in this Hackington.

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Harbaldowne by Canterbury, in Saxon Herebelæwdune, that is, the Hill where **there** armie was betrayed.

The vanity of Man, and the subtilty of the Devill be the cause of Idolatrie.

Such hath been the nature of man, even from that time (in which not contenting himself to abide man, but aspiring by knowledge of good and evill to become God, he defaced the Image of his Creator, to the similitude of whom he was created) that he hath continually ever since, and that in matters concerning God,

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more trusted his own wit then the wisdom of God himself, better liked his own invention then Gods holy institution, and preferred will worship, devised of his own brain, before reverent Religion enjoined by the mouth of the Almighty. And such also hath been the continuall craft of Sathan, his sworn enemy, that (seeing him thus addicted to vanitie and rebellion) he hath laboured from time to time to feed his evill humor, suggesting innumerable (and those most subtile) sleights to withdraw him from God, and draw him to Idolatrie and Superstition: So that in time, by policie of the one and proneness in the other, it was by degrees brought to pass, that not only the excellent and glorious Creatures of God, the Angels and men (I mean) the Sun and Moon, the Starrs and Elements, were worshipped as Gods; But also divine honor & reverence was transferred from the highest God to the most inferior and basest parts of all his workmanship, the world at the length becomm^{ing} so mad, that it would crouch and kneel, kiss and knock, bow, bend, and make all signes of honour and reverence, not only to stocks and stones (that represented the bodies of mortal men) but to whatsoever trifle, trumperie, or baggage besides, that the Divell or his Ministers would have preferred as a monument or relique of them.

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And therefore, no marvaile was it, if God (seeing the world to abuse it self after a most froward and perverse kinde of superstition) did by his just vengeance bereave unbelievers of all understanding and judgment, so that (without any further doubt, or inquisition) they sticked not to embrace devoutly, whatsoever was commended, were it never so lewdly.

For example hereof, behold here at

S. Thomas
Becket's Relique.

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Harbaldowne (an Hospitall builded by Lanfranc the Archbishop, for reliefe of the poor and diseased) the shamefull Idolatry of this latter age, committed by abusing the lips (which God hath given for the sounding forth of his praise) in smacking and kissing the upper leather of an old shoe, reserved for a Relique, and unreverently offered to as many as passed by.

Erasmus, setting forth (in his Dialogue intituled, Peregrinatio religionis) ergo under the name of one Ogygius, his own travaile to visit our Ladie of Walsingham and St. Thomas Becket, sheweth that in his return from Canterbury towards London, he found (on the highway side) an Hospitall of certain poor folks, of which, one came out against him and his company, holding a holy water sprinkle in the one hand, and bearing the upper leather of an old shoe (fair set in Copper and Christall) in the other hand.

This dotting father, first cast holy wa-

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ter upon them, and then offered them (by one and one) the holy shoe to kisse: whereat as the most part of the company (knowing the manner) made no refusall: So amongst the rest one Gratianus (as he faineth) offended with the folly, asked (half in anger) what it was, Saint Thomas Shoe, quoth the old man: with that Gratianus turned him to the company, and said: 'Quid sibi volunt hæ pecudes, ut osculemur calceos omnium bonorum Virorum? Quin eadem opera porrigunt osculandum sputum, aliaque corporis excrementa?' 'What mean these beasts, that we should kisse the shoes of all good men? why doe they not, by the same reason offer us their Spittle, and other excrements of the body to be kissed?' This to the wiser sort, and such as have any light, may suffice for the understanding of Erasmus opinion and judgment touching such unreverent Reliques: but yet lest some blinde and willfull worshipper should think it but merely spoken of him, and in another mans person (as indeed Erasmus had many times 'Dextrum pedem in calceo, sinistrum in pelui,' according to the old Proverbe) I will likewise add a few words, used in the end of his Book, for explication of his own full minde in that matter. 'Notantur, qui reliquias incertas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, & qui quæstum ex his sordide faciunt.' 'In

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this Dialogue all such are taxed, which shew unto the people uncertain reliques, for true and certain: or which doe ascribe unto

them more then of right is due: or which doe raise filthy gain and lucre by them.'

But peradventure the authority of D. Erasmus is now (since the late Tridene Councell) of no weight with them, since by the sentence of the same his works without choice be condemned as Hereticall. Truly, that Councell shewed it self more hastie to suppress all the good works of godly men, then ready to correct or abolish any of their own fabulous Books or superstitious follies. And therefore let indifferent men judg, whether the opinion of any one true speaking man, be not worthily to be preferred before the determination of such a whole unadvised Synode. And as for such as in this light of the truth, will shew themselves maintainers of such Mawmetrie, I deem them like the Sabees, whose senses (as Strabo writeth) are offended with sweet smelling savours, and delighted with the filthy smoak of burned Goats-haire, and therefore I say unto them, 'Sordescant adhuc,' and so will leave them.

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Norwood, that is to say, the Northwood.

In the daies of King Edward the Confessor, one hundred Burgesses of the

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City of Canterbury ought their suit to the Mannor of Norwood, as in that part of the Book of Domesday, which concerneth Kent may yet most evidently appeer.

The building is now lately demolished, but the Mannor was long time in the possession of certain Gentlemen of the same name, of which race, one lieth buried in the body of the Church at Adington, in the yeer a thousand four hundred and sixteen. And of another you shall finde mention hereafter, in the latter end of the Text of the Kentish customes.

The old manner of naming men.

And hereby it is probably (as mee thinketh) to be conjectured, that in ancient time, men were usually named of the places of their dwelling. For, whereas before the coming in of the Conqueror, places (for the most part) had their appellations, either of their situation, or of some notable accident, or noble man: as Northwood in regarde of Southwood, Anglesford by reason of the flight of the Englishmen, and Rochester because of Rof: and whereas persons also, had their callings (most commonly) either of some note of the body, as Swanshalse, for the whitenesse of her neck: or for some property of the minde, as Godred, for his good Counsell: and that by one single surname only and no more: now, immediately after the arrivall of the Normans

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(which obtained those lands, and which

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first brought into this Realm, the names of Thomas, John, Nicholas, Fraunces, Stephan, Henry, and such like, that now be most usuall) men began to be known and surnamed, not of their conditions and properties, but of their dwellings and possessions.

So the Norman that was before Thomas, & had gotten the Township of Norton, Sutton, Inglefielde, or Combe, was thenceforth called, Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, of Inglefielde, of Combe, or such like, all which be (undoubtedly) the names of places, and not of persons. Neither did the matter stay here, but in further processe of time, this Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, or of Combe, was called Thomas Norton, Thomas Sutton, or Thomas Combe, leaving out the particle (of) which before denoted his dwelling place.

And thus (the Norman manner prevailing) the ancient custome of the Saxons and Englishmen vanished quite out of ure.

This whole thing is best discerned by ancient evidences, and by the names of our Cheshyremen yet remaining. For, old writings have commonly Joannes de Norton, Wilhelmus de Sutton. For such as we call now, John Norton, and William Sutton: and amongst the Gentlemen of Cheshyre (even to this day) one is called (after their manner) Thomas a Bruer-

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ton, another John a Holcroft, and such like, for Thomas Bruerton, John Holcroft, &c. as we here use it. Thus much shortly of mine own fantasie I thought not unmeet to impart, by occasion of the name of Norwood, and now forward again.

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Lenham: in Latine, Durolenum, that is, the Water at Lenam.

Master Camden (removing the corruption of writing Duroleuum, for Durolenum) hath (as in many other) brought much light to the understanding of this place: most strongly proving, both by the remains of the old name, by the situation at the water, and true distance from other places, that it is the same, which Antoninus in his Itinerarie, termeth Durolenum.

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Kenulfe the King of Mercia, and Cured the King of Kent, by their joynt guift bestowed it upon the Abbay of Saint Augustines (more truly of Peter and Paul) in Canterbury: which Ethelwulfe King of Kent and of Westsexe afterwards

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confirmed: and thirdly Edgive the wife of Edgar ratified the same in the time of Dunstane the Archbishop. I finde noted, by William Byholte, a Monk of that house, that long since it had market upon the Tuesday, which even to this day it enjoyeth.

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Leedes, in Latine of some Lodanum, of others Ledanum Castrum.

Robert Crevequer, was one of the eight that John Fynes elected for his assistance in the defence of Dover Castle (as we have already shewed) who, taking for that cause the Mannor of Leedes, and undertaking to finde five Warders therefore, builded this Castle, or at the least, another that stood in the place. For I have read, that Edward (then Prince of Wales, and afterward the first King of that name) being Warden of the five Ports and Constable of Dover in the life of Henry the third his Father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministry he used, as a substitute in both those offices) to rase the Castle that Robert Crevequer had erected, because Crevequer (that was then owner of it, and heir to Robert) was of the number of the Nobles that moved and maintained warr against him. Which whether it be true, or no, I will not affirm, but yet I think it very likely, both because Badlesmere (a man of another name) became Lord of Leedes shortly after (as you shall anone see) and also for that the present work at Leedes pretendeth not the antiquity of so many yeeres, as are passed since the age of the conquest. But let us leave the build-

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ing, and goe in hand with the story.

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Maude the
Empress true
Heir to the
Crown.

King Henry the first, having none other issue of his body then Maude first married to Henrie the Emperour, whereof she was called the Empress, and after coupled to Geffray Plantaginet the Earl of Angeow) and fearing (as it hapned indeed) that after his death trouble might arise in the Realm about the inheritance of the Crown, because she was by habitation a stranger and farre off, so that she might want both force and friends to atchieve her right: And for that also Stephan (the Earl of Boloine, his sisters sonne) was then of great estimation amongst the Noble men, and abiding within the Realm, so that with great advantage he might offer her wrong: he procured (in full Parliament, the assent of his Lords and Comons that Maude and her Heirs should

succeed in the Kingdome after him. And to the end that this limitation of his might be the more surely established, he took the fidelitie and promise by oath both of his Clergie and Laytie, and of the Earle of Boloine himself.

Howbeit, immediatly after his decease, Stephan (being of the opinion, that 'Si jus violandum est, certe regnandi causa violandum est,')

If breach of Laws a man shall undertake,
He may them boldly break for kingdoms sake)

Invaded the Crown, and by the advice of

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William the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had first of all given his faith to Maude) by the favour of the common People (which adhered unto him) and by the consent of the holy father of Rome (whose will never wanteth to the furtherance of mischief) he obtained it: which nevertheless (as William of Newborowe well noteth) being gotten by perjurie, he held not past two years in peace, but spent the residue of his whole reign in dissention, warre, and bloodshed, to the great offence of God, the manifest injurie of his own Cousin, and the grievous vexation of this Countrie and People.

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For soon after the beginning of his reign sundry of the Noble men, partly upon remorse of their former promise made, and partly for displeasure conceived because he kept not the oath taken at his Coronation) made defection to Maude, so soon as ever she made her challenge to the Crown: So that in the end (after many calamities) what by her own power and their assistance, she compelled him to fall to composition with her, as in the storie at large it may be seen.

Now during those his troubles, amongst other things that much annoyed him, and furthered the part of Maude his adversarie, it was upon a time sounded (by his evill willers) in the ears of the common sort, that he was dead: And therewith=

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all suddenly divers great men of her devotion betook them to their strong holds, and some others seized some of the Kings own Castles to the behalf of the Empress: Of which number was Robert (the Earl of Gloucester, and bastard brother to Maude) who entred this Castle of Leedes, minding to have kept it. But King Stephan used against him such force and celeritie, that he soon wrested it out of his fingers.

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King Edward the second, that for the love of the two Spensers incurred the ha=

Bartholmewe
Badelesmere.

1321

Thomas
Colpeper.

tred of his Wife and Nobilitie, gave this Castle (in exchange for other lands) to Bartilmew Badelesmere (then Lord Steward of his Houshold) and to his heirs forever: who shortly after (entring into that troublesome action, in which Thomas, the Duke of Lancaster, with his complices, maugre the King, exiled the Spencers) both lost the Kings favour, this Castle, and his life also: For, whilest he was abroad in aid of the Barons, and had committed the custodie thereof to Thomas Colpeper, and left not only his chief treasure in money, but also his wife and children within it for their securitie: It chaunced that Isabell the Kings wife, minding a Pilgrimage towards Canterburie, and being overtaken with night, sent her Marshall to prepare for her lodging there. But her officer was proudly denied by the Captain, who sticked not to tell

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him, that neither the Queen, ne any other, should be lodged there without the commandement of his Lord the owner.

The Queen, not thus answered, came to the gate in person, and required to be let in, But the Captain most malapertly repulsed her also: in so much that she complained grievously to the King of the misdemeanor, and he forthwith levied a power, and personally summoned and besieged the peice so straightly, that in the end, through want of rescue and victual, it was delivered unto him.

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Then took he Captain Colpeper and hung him up: The Wife and Children of the Lord Badelesmere, he sent to the Towre of London: The treasure and munition he seised to his own use: and the Castle he committed to such as liked him.

But, as the last act of a Tragedie is alwaies more heavie and sorrowfull then the rest: so (calamitie and woe increasing upon him) Badelesmere himself was the year following, in the companie of the Duke of Lancaster and others, discomfited at Borowbrig by the Kings Army, & shortly after sent to Canterbury and beheaded.

I might here justly take occasion to rip up the causes of those great and tragicall troubles that grew between this King and his Nobilitie, for Peter Gaveston and these two Spencers; the rather, for that the common sort of our English Storiars

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doe lay the whole burthen of that fault upon the King and those few persons: But because the matter is not so plain as they make it, and withall requireth more words for the manifestation thereof, then

I may now afford, and for that also there is hope of a speciall Historie of that reign (penned by S. Thomas Delamore, which lived in the very time it self) may be hereafter imprinted and made common, I will only exhort the Reader (for his own information in the truth, and for some excuse of such as be overcharged) to peruse that work, wherein (I assure him) he shall finde matter both very rare and credible.

The Priorie
at Leedes.

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As touching the Priorie at Leedes (which was a conventual house of Regular Chanons dedicated to the name of the blessed Virgin and S. Nicholas, and valued in the Records of the late suppression at three hundred three score and two pounds of yearly revenue) I finde that one Robert Crevequer (the author of the Castle peradventure, for this was done in the reign of Henrie, sonne to the Conqueror) and Adam his sonne and heir, first founded it. Which thing might probably have been conjectured, although it had never been committed to Historie.

For in ancient time, even the greatest personages, held Monks, Friars, and Nunnes, in such veneration and liking, that they thought no Citie in case to flou=

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rish, no House likely to have long continuance no Castles sufficiently defended where was not an Abbey, Priorie, or Nunnerie, either placed within the walls, or planted at hand and neer adjoyning.

And surely (omitting the residue of the Realm) hereof only it came to pass, that Dover had S. Martines, Canterbury Christes Church, Rochester S. Andrews, Tunbridge the Friars, Maidstone the Chanons, Grenewiche the observants, and this our Leedes her own Priorie.

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Howbeit, I finde in a Heralds note (who belike made his conjecture, by some coat of Armes lately apparant (that one <Le>ybourne, an Earl of Salisburie, was the founder of it. Indeed it is to be seen in the Annals of Saint Augustines of Canterburie, that a Noble man (called Roger Leybourne) was sometime of great authoritie within this Shire, notwithstanding that in his time he had tasted of both fortunes: for in the dayes of King Henrie the third, he was first one of that conjuration which was called the Barons warre, from which faction Edward the Kings sonne wonne him by fair means to his part, and made him the bearer of his privie purse.

Afterward they agreed not upon the reckoning, so that the Prince (charging him with great arrearage of account) seised his Living for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion; Roger once more

became of the Barons devotion: but after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones received to favour, and was made Warden of the Five Ports, and Lieutenant of this whole Shire. Now, though it cannot be true, that this man was the builder of this Priory (for the same Annals say, that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marry the Heire, he might truly be termed the Patron or Founder thereof: for by that name, not only the builders themselves, but their posterity also (to whom the glory of their deeds did descend) were wont to be called, as well as they.

<332> Motindene, or rather Modindene, in Hedcorn: it may be derived of Mod, and dene, that is, the proud Valley: a name given (as I gesse) for the fertillity thereof.

The Crouched Friars. I have read, that the order of the Crossed (or crouched) Friars did first crosse over the Seas, and came into England, about the middle part of the reign of King Henry the third.

These had their name of the Crosse, which they bare in their uppermost garment, in token that they were ready to fight for the holy Crosse, as they called it. For indeed all the sorts of these Crossed companions, took themselves to be the

Knights, (or Champions) of Christendome against the Infidels and they all professed, either openly to make, or by means to maintain the warre upon them.

Now I conjecture, that this suppressed house of crouched Friars at Motindene, was some slip of that tree, which one James, (that conquered the Isles, named Balears) did first plant in Spain, about the year after Christ 1212.

For they were called, 'Fratres, Sanctæ Mariæ, de redemptione Captivorum:' the brothers of Saint Mary, of the redemption of Captives, or prisoners: their attire was a white Garment, with a black crosse upon it: and their office was, to procure money for the ransome of such Christians as were taken in the warres by the Turks.

<333> Ours here also, had either the same apparell, or another not much different: neither varied they greatly in the name and profession it self.

For confirmation whereof, I will make you partaker of a Popish Indulgence (or pardon, as they termed it) made under the Seal of the brotherhead of this house,

in the year of our Lord God 1475. which it chanced me to see, and which began after this manner: 'Frater Ricardus, minister domus de Motinden, provincialis, & Vicarius Generalis Ordinis sanctæ Trinitatis in Anglia, & redemptionis captivorum

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qui sunt incarcerati pro fide Jhesu Christi a Paganis, &c.' Friar Richard, minister of the house of Motinden, provincial and Vicar General of the Order of the holy Trinitie in England, and of the redemption of the Captives which be imprisoned by the Pagans for the faith of Jesus Christ, &c. You see, that in substance their titles were all one, saving that those beyond the Seas were our Ladies Knights, and ours here were souldiers to the whole Trinitie; and that was the cause, as you shall hear anon, that Trinitie Sunday was no small feast with them.

The procession at Motindene.

For some lately alive in this Shire, have been eye witnesses, and did right well remember, that yearly (upon Trinitie Sunday) the religious persons of this house did use to muster themselves in a most solemn march, and pompous procession: wherein, albeit there wanted neither Coape nor Canapie, Cross nor Candlestick, Flagge nor Banner, Light nor Incense, Piping nor Chanting, neither yet any other delightfull glittering that might with the glory thereof amaze the silly beholder, and ravish him (as it were) into a certain Popish Heaven: yet to the end that this Pageant of theirs might be the more plausible (in that it had some thing peculier to it self) their fashion was, to make the Devill himself to beare a part in this play with them.

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Holy water chaseth the Divell.

For, as they passed along in this array, the manner was, that some one (berayed like a Divell) should offer to invade the company, as though he would take the holy Cross by force from them: Then on the other side, out stepped some other bolde man (appointed for the nonce) with a holy-water Sprinkle in his hand, and he with all his might flang holy water at him: herewith, this counterfait Divell must fearfully start backward, for doubt of scalding, and notwithstanding that he would many times after fare in shew as though he would have flown in their faces, yet might he never be so bold indeed as to approach or come within the fall of any one drop of this water: For you remember by the old Proverb, how well the Divell loveth holy water.

And thus (forsooth) the vertue of holy

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water (in putting the Divell to flight) was confirmed at Motindene by a demonstrative argument. Which if it be so, then greatly was Saint Paul deceived in the 6. of his Epistle to the Ephesians, where he goeth about to arme us from top to toe against the assaults of the Divell: for what needed he, good man, to recite Sallet, Shield, Sword, and so many other parts of defensive and invasive furniture, when the Holy-water-stick alone would have served the turn? Or, at the least, what meant he to omit that, being a thing

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Holy water came from the Gentiles.

so serviceable, and easily provided? But we must give these good fellowes leave (after their wonted manner) to set the Holy Ghost to schoole: and yet, by the way, I let them weete, that they cannot, 'Leonem larva terrere,' make a Lion afraid] with a visor: It is not their 'aqua lustralis,' their holy water (which they have fetched from Apolloes port, and not from the fountain of Gods word) that can make this ramping Lion to turn his back in earnest. Nay rather, let them beware of this his stratagem, and let them consider, that even in worldly warfare men be never in more danger of the enemie, than when he feigneth to flie before them.

But I doe not well to keep you so long from the Diocesse of Rochester, since I shall have cause to hold you long when I shall have brought you thither.

To conclude therefore, these procurators were not so carefull for the captives, as that in the mean while they kept no care of themseves: for this small company had raked together threescore pounds land of ancient revenue, and I finde it noted, that Robert Rokesley founded this house, in the year 1224.

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The description and history of the See and Diocesse of Rochester.

The learned in Astronomie be of the opinion, that if Jupiter, Mercurie, or any other Planet, approach within certain degrees of the Sun, and be burned (as they terme it) under his beams, that then it hath in manner no influence at all, but yeeldeth wholly to the Sun that overshineth it: and some men beholding the nearnesse of these two Bishopricks, Canterbury and Rochester, and comparing the bright glory, pompe, and primacie of the one, with the contrary altogether in the other, have fansied Rochester so overshadowed and obscured thereby, that they reckon it no See or Bishoprick of it self,

but only the place of a meer Suffragan,
and Chaplain to Canterbury.

But he that shall either advisedly weigh
the first institution of them both, or but
indifferently consider the state of either,
shall easily finde, that Rochester hath not
only a lawfull, and canonicall Cathedrall
See of it self, but the same also more ho=
nestly won and obtained, than ever Can=
terbury had.

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For, as touching Rochester, Augustine
(whom the Monks may not deny to be
the English Apostle) ordained Justus Bi=
shop there, Ethelbert (the lawfull King

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of Kent) both assenting thereto by his
presence, and confirming it by his liberall
beneficence.

By what
means the
Archbishops
Chaire came
to Canterbury.

But, how Canterbury came to have an
Archbishops Chaire, if you think that it
hath not in that title already so sufficient=
ly appeared, as that it therefore needeth
not now eftsoones to be rehearsed, then
read (I pray you) Gervasius Tilberiensis,
and he (in his Book 'De otiis Imperiali=
bus') will tell you in 'Sanguine sanctorum
Dorobernensis ecclesia primatiam obtinuit,'
The Church of Canterbury (saith he) ob=
tained the primacie, by the shedding of the
blood of Saints: meaning, the overthrow
of the religious Brytons of Bangor Col=
lege, whereof you may read in Beda at
large.

Rochester moreover, hath had also a con=
tinuall succession of Bishops, even from
the beginning, which have governed in a
distinct Diocesse containing foure Dean=
ries, and therefore wanteth nothing (that
I know) to make it a compleat and abso=
lute Bishopruck.

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Indeed, the yeerly value is but small,
the slendernesse whereof (joined with
some ceremoniall duties to the Archbi=
shop) happily have been the cause of a=
basing the estimation thereof.

But for all that, let us not stick with
ancient Beda, and others, to say, that the
Bishops See at Rochester was at the first

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instituted by Augustine, that a Cathedrall
Church was builded there by King Ethel=
bert, to the name of St. Andrewe, and
that he endowed it with certain land for
livelyhood, which he called Priestfeild, in
token (as I think) that Priests should be
sustained therewithall.

This Bishopruck may be said to be severed
from Canterbury D*>*ocesse (for the most
part) by the water of Medway, & it consi=
steth (as I said) of four Deanries, namely,
Rochester, Malling, Dartford, and Shorham:

howbeit, with this latter (containing about thirty benefices) the Bishop medleth not, the same being a peculiar (as they term it) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who holdeth his prerogative wheresoever his lands doe lye, as in this Deanrie he hath not only had of old time certain Mansion houses with Parks and De=meanes, but divers other large territories, Rents, and Revenues also. In it therefore are these Churches following.

The Deanrie
of Shorham.

Shorham, with the Chappell of Otford.
Eynesford, with the Vicarage there.
Dernth, and the Vicarage there.
Fermingham, and the Vicarage.
Bexley, and the Vicarage.
Eareth, alias Eard.
Eard, alias Crayforde.
Northfleete, and the Vicarage.
Mepham, and the Vicarage.
Clyve.

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Grean, with the Vicarage.
Farleigh, with the Vicarage.
Huntington, alias Hunton.
Peckam, with the Vicarage.
Wrotham, with the Chappell of Stan=sted and Vicarage.
Eightam.
Seuenocke, with the Vicarage.
Penshyrst.
Chydingstone.
Heuer.
Gillingham, with the Vicarage.
Brasted.
Sundriche.
Cheuening.
Orpington, with the Chappell of Farn=borowe, and Vicarage.
Hese.
Kestan.
Halstede.
Woodland, united to the Vicarage of Wronham, 1572.
Eastmalling, with the Vicarage.
lfeild.

A Popish mi=racle.

As touching the Bishops of this See, Justus (one of the same that Pope Gregorie sent hither from Rome) was the first that sate in the Chaire, who was afterward translated to Canterbury, and of whom they report this for a singular miracle: that when his body (many yeers after the interment) was to be removed, it yeilded a most pleasant savour in the

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senses of all that were present: which thing, how marveilous it was, when they had (after the common manner then used) before his buriall embalmed his body

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with most precious, delectable, and odoriferous spices, I dare make any man Judge, if he be not more then a poor blinde Papist, given over to believe all manner (being never so grosse, and beastly) illusions.

In the whole race of the Bishops succeeding Justus in this See, three amongst others be read of most notable, Paulinus, Gundulphus, and Gilbertus: of which, the first after his death was there honoured for a Saint: the second, was in his life the best benefactor that ever their Church found: the third, was so hatefull and injurious to the Monks, that they neither esteemed him while he was alive, nor wailed him at all after that he was dead. But of all these, we shall have place to speak more largely, when we shall come to the Church and Monastery.

In the mean time therefore, it shall be fit to shew, with what courage this Church upheld her rights and priviledges, not only against the Monks of Canterbury (which laboured much to bring it under) but also against the See of the Archbishops it self, which was (for the most part) the chief patron and promoter of it.

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1227
Monks contend for the election of the Bishop.

In the reign of King Henry the third, and after the death of Benedict (the Bishop of Rochester) the Monks made choise of one Henry Sanford (that great Clerk, which afterward preached at Sedingburne) whereof when the Monks of Christs Church had gotten understanding, they resisted the election, challenging that the pastorall staffe (or crosier) of Rochester ought of very right to be brought to their house after the decease of the Bishop, and that the election ought to be made in their Chapter.

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The Monks of Rochester maintaining their own choise, and so (the matter waxing warm between them) it was at the length referred to the determination of the Archbishop: he again posted it over to certain delegates, who hearing the parties, and weighing the proofs, gave sentence with the Monks of Rochester, and yet left (as they thought) good love and amity among them: but (as the Poet saith) 'Male sarta gratia, nequicquam coit, & rescinditur:' 'Friendship, that is but evill peeced, will not join close, but falleth asunder again:' and therefore this their opinion failed, them, and their cure was but patched: for soon after the sore brake out of new, and the Canterbury Monks revived their displeasure with such a heat, that Hubert of Borrow (the chief Justice

of the Realm) was driven to come into

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the Chapter house to cool it, and to work a second reconciliation between them.

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Neither yet for all that (as it may seem) was that flame clean extinguished: For not long after, the Monks of Christs Church, seeing that they themselves could not prevaile, intituled their Archbishop Edmunde, with whom also the Rochester Monks waged Law at Rome before the holy Father, (as touching the election of one Richarde Wendene, or Wendeover, whom they would have had to Bishop) by the space of three whole yeers together, and at the length, either thorow the equity of their cause, or the weight of their purse, overthrew him upon Saint Cuthberts day: in joy whereof they returned home with all haste, and enacted in their Chapter house, that from thenceforth for ever, Saint Cuthbertes feast (as a Tropheum of their victory) should be holden double, both in their Church and Kitchin.

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Saint Cuthbertes feast, why holden double.

And not thus only, but otherwise also, hath the See at Rochester well holden her own: for during the whole succession of threescore and three Bishops, which in right line have followed Justus she hath continually maintained her Chaire at this one place, whereas in most parts of the Realm besides, the Sees of the Bishops have suffred sundrie translations, by rea=

Bishops Sees, are translated from Villages to Cities.

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son that in the Conquerors time order was taken, that such Bishops as before had their Churches in Countrie towns and Villages, should forthwith remove, and from thenceforth remain in walled Towns and Cities: which ordinance could not by any means touch Rochester, that was a walled Citie long time before King Williams government.

But now, to the end that I may pursue the order that I have prescribed, I will set forth a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rochester by name, referring the recitall of their acts and doings to their peculiar and proper places, as I have done in Canterbury before.

The Catalogue of Rochester Bishops.

Justus.
Romanus.
Paulinus.
Ithamarus.
Damianus.
Putta.
Cuchelmus.
Gibmundus.

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Tobias.
Aldulphus.
Duime, or Duno.
Eardulphus.
Diora.
Permundus, alias Wermundus.
Beornmodus. After him, these be inserted in a Catalogue that standeth before the Chronicle of Ro-

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chester. Tathnodus, Batenodus, Cuthwulfus, Swithulfus, Buiricus, Chuelmundus, & Kyneferdus.
Burhricus.
Aelfstanus.
Godwinus.
Godwinus, the second.
Siwardus, before, and at the time of the Conquest.
Arnostus.

1077 Gundulphus.

1108 Radulphus.

1114 Aernulphus.

Joannes, After whom, in the former Catalogue, one other Joannes followeth.

Ascelimus, or Anselimus: and hitherto they were all Monks.

Guelterus.

Gualerannus.

Gilebertus Glanville.

Benedictus.

Henricus.

Richardus Wendene, or Wendeover.

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1250 Laurentius de Sancto Martino.
Gualterus de Merton, Chancellor of England.

Joannes de Bradfield.

Thomas de Inglethorpe.

1291 Thomas de Wuldham.

Hamo de Heth, or at Hethe, Confessor to King Edward the second.

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1352 Joannes de Scepey, or Shepey.
Wilhelmus Witlesey.

1363 Thomas Trelege, or Trilleke.

1372 Thomas Brynton, or Brenton.

Richardus Barnet, elected, and not consecrated.

Wilhelmus de Botelesham.

Joannes de Botelesham, elected only.

Chelyndon, elected only.

Richardus Young: he made the windows at Friendsbury, and there is to be seen in picture.

1418 Joannes Kemp.

Joannes Langdon.

Thomas Broune.

Willielmus Wellis.

Joannes Lowe.

Richardus Peckam, elected only.
 Thomas Rotheram.
 Joannes Alcocke.
 Joannes Russell.
 Eadmundus Audeley.
 Thomas Savage.
 Richardus Fitz James.
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 1504 Joannes Fisher.
 Joannes Hylsey.
 1539 Nicholaus Hethe.
 1544 Henricus Holbeache.
 1547 Nicholaus Rydley, Burned for wit=nessing the Gospell.
 1549 Joannes Ponet.
 1550 Joannes Skorey.
 Mauritius Griffin.

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1559 Eadmundus Allen, Elected only.
 1559 Eadmundus Gest.
 1571 Eadmundus Freake.
 1576 Joannes Piers.
 1578 Joannes Young.

The order of
 this description

And thus much shortly being said touching the See and Bishops of Rochester in generalitie, it followeth that I enter in=to the particular description of the Dio=cess, wherein I mean to follow the order that I have taken in Canterbury before: Namely, to begin at the Northeast corner, and from thence (first descending along the banks of Medway, and then passing by the Frontiers of Sussex and Surrey, and lastly returning by the Thamise shore to the same point) to environ the whole Bi=shoprick: which done, I will peruse what it containeth in the inner parts also, and then betake me to rest.

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The Harborow
 of the Navy
 Royall.

Gillingham.
 Even at our first entrie into the Dio=cess of Rochester, on the Northeast part thereof, the Station or Harborow of the Navie Royall at Gillingham and Che=tam presenteth it self, a thing of all other most worthie the first place, whether you respect the richness, beautie, or benefit of the same. No Town nor Citie is there (I dare say) in this whole Shire compara=ble in right value with this one Fleete:

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Nor Shipping any where else in the whole world to be found, either more artificially moalded under the water, or more gor=geously decked above: And as for the benefit that our Realm may reap by these most stately and valiant Vessels, it is even the same that Apollo by the mouth of Ari=stonice promised to Greece, when his Ora=cle was consulted against the invasion of Xerxes and that his wonderfull Armie

(or rather World of men in armes) say=
ing,

Jupiter e ligno dat mœnia facta Minervæ,
Quæ tibi sola tuisque ferant invicta salutem.

High Jove doth give thee walls of wood,
appointed to Minerve,
The which alone invincible,
may thee, and thine, preserve.

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And therefore, of these such excellent
ornaments of peace, and trustie aids in
warre, I might truly affirm, that they be
for wealth, almost so many rich treasures
as they be single Ships: for beauty, so
many princely Palaces, as they be severall
peeeces: and for strength, so many mo=
ving Castles, as they be sundrie sayling
Vessels.

They be not many (I must confess and
you may see) and therefore in that behalfe
nothing answerable either to that Navie
which fought against Xerxes at Salamis,
or to many other ancient Fleets of for=
rein Kingdoms, or of this our own Island:

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howbeit, if their swiftness in sailing, their
furie in offending, or force in defending,
be duly weighed, they shall be found as
farre to pass all other in power, as they be
inferior to any in number. For look what
the armed Hawk is in the aire amongst
the fearfull Birds, or what the courageous
Lion is on the land amongst the cowardly
Cattell of the field, the same is one of
these at the Sea in a Navie of common
Vessels, being able to make havock, to
plume, and to pray upon the best of them
at her own pleasure. Which speech of
mine, if any man shall suspect as hyper=
bolicall, let him call to minde how often
and how confidently (of late years) some
few of these Ships (incertain of their en=
ertainment) have boarded mighty Prin=
ces Navies of a great number of Sail, and
then I doubt not but he will change his
opinion.

But what doe I labor to commend
them, which not only in shew and all rea=
son doe commend themselves, but also
are like in deeds and effect to performe
more then I in word or writing can pro=
mise for them.

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The benefits
that God hath
given this
Realm in the
reign of Queen
Elizabeth.

Yea rather, I am provoked at the con=
templation of this triumphant spectacle,
first to thank God our mercifull Father,
and then to think dutifully of our good
Queen Elizabeth, by whose vigilant mi=
nistrie, care, and providence (drawing, as

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it were, the net for us whilest we sleep)

not only the dross of superstition and base monies were first abolished, the fear of outward warre removed, rustie armor re=jected, and rotten Shipping dispatched out of the way: But also, in place thereof, religion and coyn restored to puritie, the domesticall and forrein affairs of the Realm managed quietly, the land furnished with new armor, shot, and munition abundantly, and this River fraught with these strong and serviceable Ships sufficiently. Which so apparent and inestimable benefits, the like whereof this Realm never at any one time (and much less so long time together) hath enjoyed, if any man perceive not, he is more then blockish: if he consider not, he is exceeding careless: and if he acknowledge not, he is too too unkinde, both to God, to her Majestie, and to his own Countrie.

But here again, for as much as it neither standeth with my present purpose to depaint her Majesties praises, neither it lyeth at all in my power to set them forth in their true colours (for it requireth an Apelles to have Alexander well counterfeited) I will contain my self within these narrow terms, and tell you the names of these Ships that, at one time or other, doe ride here.

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Estate of the Navie Royall.
December 1596.

Elizabeth Jonas.
Tryumph.
White Beare.
Merhonora.
The Victorie.
Arke Rawliegh.
Dew Repulse.
The Garlande.
Wast Spyte.
Mary Rose.
The Hope.
Bonadventure.
The Lion.
Non Pareille.
Vant garde.
Rainebowe.
Defiance.
Dreadnaught.
Swiftsure.
Antelope.
Swallowe.
Foresight.
Adventure.
Ayde.
The Crane.
Quittaunce.
Aunswere.

Advantage.
Tiegre.
Tramontane.
Scowte.
Achates.

Gally Bonavolia.
Rowe= Gally Mercury.
boates Brygandine.
Frigate.

The Charles.
The Moon.
Advice.
Spye.
Marlion.
Sunne.
Cygnet.

Hoyes George Hoy.
Prymerose Hoy.

<350> Amongst all these (as you see) there is but one that beareth her Majesties name, and yet all these hath she, since the beginning of her happy reign over us, either wholly built upon the stocks, or newly re-edified upon the old moalds. Her Highness also knowing right well, that,

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Non minor est virtus, quam querere,
parta tueri:

Like virtue it is, to save that is got,
As to get the thing, that earst she had not,

did in the third year of her most happy reign, erect a Castle (called Upnour, of a street in Friendsbury thereto adjoining) for the better defence of this Navie, as the Inscription it self doth testifie, in these words, amongst other:

Who gave me this shew, to none other end,
But strongly to stand, her Navie to defend.

Thus much of the Navie: as touching the Harborow it self, I have heard some wish, that for the better expedition in time of service, some part of this Navie might ride in some other Haven, the rather because it is many times very long before a Ship can be gotten out of this River into the Sea.

I remember that I have read in Vegetius, that the Romans divided their Navie, and harboured the one part at Miseno (near Naples) upon the Tyrrhene Sea, and the other part at Revenna, upon the Sea Adriatique, to the end, that when occasion required, they might readily sail to any part of the world without delay, or wind-lassing: 'Because' (saith he) 'in affaires of warre, celerity doth as good service, as force it self.'

But for all that, whether the same or=

der be necessary for us, or no, who though

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<351> we have the use of sundry Seas, as they had, yet we enjoy not so large and distant Dominions as they held, it is not our parts to dispute, but their office to determine, who for their great wisdom and good zeal, both can, and will provide things convenient, as well for the safety of the Navie, as for the service of the Realm. And therefore leaving all this matter to the consideration of them that are well occupied at the helme, let us apply our oares, that we may now at length leave the water, and come to the land at Gillingham.

1042 After the sudden departure of King Hardicanutus the Dane (which died of a surfeit of drink, taken at a Noble mans marriage in Lambhith) the English Nobility thought good to take hold of the opportunity then offered, to restore to the Royall dignity the issue of King Ethelred, which he in his life had (for fear of the Danes) conveyed into Normandie. For which purpose, they addressed messengers to Richard then Duke of Normandie, requiring him to send over Edward the only sonne (then left) of King Ethelred, and promising to doe their indeavour to set him in his Fathers Seat, So that he would agree to come accompanied with a small number of strangers: The which condition was devised, both for their own excuse, and

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1036 for the young Princes safety.
For before this time, and after the death of King Canutus, they had likewise sent for the same Edward, and Alfred (his elder brother that then was alive) putting them in like hope of restitution: to which request the Duke their Grandfather assented, and for the more honorable furniture of their journey, gave them to company, divers young Gentlemen of his own Country, whom he meant to make from thenceforth Partners of their prosperitie, as they had before time been companions of their misfortune.

<352> But when they were come into the Realm, the Earl Godwine (who sought more the advancement of his own house to honor, than the restitution of the English blood to the Crown) perceiving that by no means he could make a marriage between Alfred (the elder of the two) and Edgith his daughter, and yet having hope, that Edward the younger would accept the offer, if he might bring to pass to set the Garland upon his head, he quarrel=

A barbarous cruelty, executed upon strangers.

led at the company which came over with them, insinuating to the Peeres of the Realm, that Alfrede meant (so soon as he should obtain the Crown) to place in all rooms of honor, his Norman Nobility, and to displace the English, his own country men.

This suspicion, he beat so deeply into

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the heads of many of the Noble men, and especially of his nearest Friends and Allies, that forthwith, (at his perswasion) they fell upon the strangers at Gillingham, and first killed nine throughout the whole number of the company, reserving alive each tenth man only: & afterward (thinking the remainder too great) tythed that number also, slaying in the whole, about six hundred persons. As for Alfred (the elder of the young Princes) they apprehended, and conveyed him to the Isle of Ely, where first they put out his eyes, and afterward most cruelly did him to death.

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But this Edward, fearing their fury, escaped their hands and fled into Normandy: howbeit, being now eftsoons (as I said) earnestly solicited by Godwine, and more faithfully assured by the Noble men, he once again adventured to enter the Realm, and taking Godwines daughter to wife, obtained the Crown and enjoyed it all his life long.

I am not ignorant, that Simeon of Durham, and divers other good writers, affirmed this slaughter to have been committed at Guylford in Surrey, and some other (of late time, and of less note) at Guild downe, a place near Lamberhirst in the edge of this Shire: but because I finde it expresly reported by Thomas Rudborn, and also the Authour of the Chronicle of Coventrie, to have been done at Gilling-

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ham, 'Juxta Thamesim,' I stick not (being now come to that place) to exemplifie it, giving nevertheless free liberty to every man, to lay it at the one, or the other, at his own free will and pleasure. Onely my desire is to have observed, that in this one storie, there doe lie folded up, both the means of the delivery of this Realm of England from the thraldome of the Danes, and the causes also of the oppression and conquest of the same by the Normans.

For, as touching the first, it pleased the Almighty (now at length) by this manner of King Hardicanutus death, (which I have shewed) to break in sunder the Danish whip wherewith he had many years together scourged the English Nation,

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Ecessive
drinking, and
how it came
into England.

and by the means of drink (the Danish delight) to work the delivery of the one people, and the exterminion of the other, even in the midst of all their security and pleasance.

In which behalf, I cannot but note the just judgement of God, extended against those deep drinkers, and in their example, to admonish all such as doe in like sort most beastly abuse Gods good creatures, to his great offence, the hurt of their own soules and bodies, and to the evill example of other men. For, whereas before the arrivall of these Danes, the English men (or Saxons) used some temperance in

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drinking, not taking thereof largely but only at certain great feasts and cheerings, and that in one only wassaling Cup (or Boll) which walked round about the Board at the midst of the meal, much after that manner of entertainment which Dido sometime gave to Aeneas, and which is expressed by Virgil in these verses.

Hic Regina gravem, auro gemmisque poposcit
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus & omnes / nes
A Belo soliti: tum facta silentia tectis,
Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
Et vos O cœtum Tyrii celebrate faventes,
Dixit: Et in mensam laticum libavit honorem,
Primaque libato summo tenus attigere ore, &c.

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The Queen commands a mighty Bole,
Of gold and precious stone
To fill with wine: whom Belus King
And all King Belus line
Was wont to hold: then through them all
Was silence made by signe,
O Love (quoth she) for thou of hostes
And gestic both great and small
(Men say) the lawes haste put: give grace
I pray, and let us all
O you my Moores now doe our best,
These Trojans for to cheer:
Thus said she, and when grace was done,
The Bole in hand she clipt,
And in the liquor sweet of wine
Her lips she scantly dipt.

But now, after the coming in of the Danes, and after such time as King Edgar

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had permitted them to inhabit hete, and to have conversation with his own people, quaffing and carousing so increased, that Didoes sipping was clean forsaken, and Bitias bowsing came in place, of whom the same Poet writeth,

Ille impegger hausit
Spumantem pateram & pleno se proluit auro.

And he anon,
The fomie Bolle of gold up turnd,
And drew till all was gon.

<356> So that King Edgar himself, seeing (in his own reign) the great outrage whereunto it was grown, was compelled to make law therefore, and to ordain drinking measures by publique Proclamation, driving certain nails into the sides of their Cups, as limits and bounds which no man (upon great pain) should be so hardie as to transgress.

But this vice in that short time had taken such fast root, as neither the restraint of law, nor the expulsion of the first bringers in thereof, could wholly supplant it.

Great troups of Serving-men came in with the Normans.
For William of Malmesbury (comparing the manners of the English men and Normans together) complained that in his time the English fashion was, to sit bibbing whole houres after dinner, as the Norman guise was, to walk and jet up and down the streets, with great trains of idle Serving-men following them.

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<357> And I would to God, that in our time also we had not just cause to complain of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Bolling: which whether it be sprung up out of the old root, or be newly transported by some Danish enemy to all godly temperance and sobriety, let them consider that with pleasure use it, and learn in time (by the death of Hardicanute, and the expulsion of his people) to forsake it: which if they will not, God in time either grant us the Law of the Helvetians (which provided that no man should provoke oth^r in drinking) or else, if that may for courtesie be permitted, because (as the proverb is) 'Sacra hæc non aliter constant,' yet God (I say) stirre up some Edgar, to strike nailes in our Cups, or else give us the Greekish <oinoptas> 'Potandi arbitros,' 'Cup Censors,' as I may call them, that at the least we may be driven to drink in some manner of measure: for it is not sufferable in a Christian Country, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the mastery (as it were) to offend God, in so willfull waste of his gracious benefits.

The cause of the Conquest of England.
In this History is couched also (as I have already told you) the first cause of the displeasure conceived by the Normanes against this Realm, and consequently the cause of their invasion succeeding the same. For, whereas (after

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this crueltie, executed by the instigation of Godwine) it happened Harold (his sonne) to arrive at Pountiou, against his will, by occasion of a sudden perry (or contrary winde) that arose while he was on Sea-board, whether for his own disport only (as some write) or for the execution of the Kings message (as others say) or of purpose to visite Wilnote and Hacun, his brother and kinsman (as a third sort affirm) or for whatsoever other cause, I will not dispute. But upon his arrivall, taken he was by Guy the Earl of Pountiou, and sent to William the Duke of Normandie: where, being charged with his fathers fault, and fearing that the whole revenge should have lighted upon his own head, he was driven to devise a shift for his deliverance.

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He put the Duke in remembrance therefore, of his neer kinred with Edward the King of England, and fed him with great hope and expectation, that Edward should dye without issue of his body, by reason that he had no conversation with his wife: So that, if the matter were well and in season seen unto, there was no doubt (as he perswaded) but that the Duke through his own power, and the ayde of some of the English Nobility, might easily after the Kings death obtain the Crown: for the atchieving whereof, he both vowed the uttermost of his own

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help, and undertook that his brethren, his friends, and allies also, should doe the best of their indeavour.

Harold, the King.

The wise Duke, knowing well, 'Quam malus sit custos diuturnitatis metus,' 'How evill a keeper of continuance, fear is,' and therefore (reposing much more surety in a friendly knot of alliance, then in a fearful offer proceeding but only of a countenance) accepted Haroldes oath for some assurance of his promise, but yet withall, for more safetie, affied him to his daughter, to be taken in marriage: and so, after many princely gifts, and much honorable entertainment, bestowed upon him, he gave him licence to depart.

But Harold, being now returned into England, forgotteth clean that ever he was in Normandie, and therefore so soon as King Edward was dead, he (violating both the one promise and the other) rejecteth Duke Williams daughter, and setteth the Crown upon his own head.

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Hereof followed the battail at Battel in Sussex, and consequently the conquest of this whole Realm and Country. In contemplation whereof, we have likewise to accuse the old <azenian> (or rather

The uncurtesie
of the English
nation, toward
strangers.

<miso xenian>) the inveterate fiercenesse, and
canerued crueltie of this our English na=
tion against forreins and strangers: which
joyning in this butcherly sacrifice with
bloody Busyris, deserved worthily the re=

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Busyris, was a
Tyrant that sa=
crificed stran=
gers: and was
therefore slain
by Hercules.

vening club of heavenly Hercules: which
fearing (without cause) great harm that
these few might bring unto them, did by
their barbarous immanity give just cause
to a great Armie to overrun them: and
which, dreading that by the arrivall of
this small troop of Norman Nobility,
some of them might lose their honourable
rooms and offices, provoked the wrath
of God, to send in amongst them the
whole rabble of the Norman slavery, to
possesse their goods and inheritances.

It were worthy the consideration, to
call to memory, what great Tragedies
have been stirred in this Realm by this our
naturall inhospitality and disdain of stran=
gers, both in the time of King John, Hen=
ry his sonne, King Edward the second,
Henrie the sixt, and in the daies of later
memory: but, since that matter is parer=
gon, and therefore the discourse would
prove tedious and wearisome, and I also
have been too long already at Gillingham,
I will rather abruptly end it, only wishing,
that whatsoever note of infamie we have
heretofore contracted amongst forrein
writers by this our ferocity against Aliens,
that now at the least (having the light of
Gods Gospell before our eyes, and the
persecuted parts of his afflicted Church,
as guests and strangers in our Country)
we so behave our selves towards them, as
we may both utterly rub out the old ble=

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mish, and from henceforth stay the heavy
hand of the just Jupiter Hospitalis, which
otherwise must needs light upon such
stubborne and uncharitable churlishnesse.

Chetham.

Our Lady, and
the Roode, of
Chetham, and
Gillingham.

Although I have not hitherto at any
time, read any memorable thing re=
corded in history touching Chetham it self,
yet, for so much as I have often heard
(and that constantly) reported, a Popish
illusion done at the place, and for that
also it is as profitable to the keeping under
of fained and superstitious religion, to re=
new to mind the Priestly practises of old
time (which are now declining to obli=
vion) as it is pleasant to retein in memo=
ry the Monuments and Antiquities of
whatsoever other kinde, I think it not a=
misse to commit faithfully to writing,
what I have received credibly by hearing,

concerning the Idols, sometime known by the names, of our Lady and the Roode, of Chetham, and Gillingham.

It happened (say they) that the dead Corps of a man (lost through shipwrack belike) was cast on land in the Parish of Chetham, and being there taken up, was by some charitable persons committed to honest buriall within their Church-yard: which thing was no sooner done, but our Lady of Chetham, finding her self offend=

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ed therewith, arose by night, and went in person to the house of the Parish-Clerk, (which then was in the Street a good distance from the Church) and making a noise at his window, awaked him: this man at the first (as commonly it fareth with men disturbed in their rest) demanded somewhat roughly, who was there? but when he understood by her own answer, that it was the Lady of Chetham, he changed his note, and most mildely asked the cause of her good Ladiships coming: she told him, that there was lately buried (neer to the place where she was honoured) a sinfull person, which so offended her eye with his gastly grinning, that unlesse he were removed, she could not but (to the great grief of good people) withdraw her self from that place, and cease her wonted miraculous working amongst them. And therefore she willed him to goe with her, to the end that (by his help) she might take him up and cast him again into the River.

The Clerke obeyed, arose, and waited on her toward the Church: but the good Ladie (not wonted to walk) waxed wearie of the labor, and therefore was inforced, for very want of breath, to sit down in a bush by the way, and there to rest her: And this place (forsooth) as also the whole track of their journey (re=

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maining ever after a green path) the Town dwellers were wont to shew.

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Now after a while they goe forward again, and comming to the Churchyard, digged up the body, and conveyed it to the water side, where it was first found. This done, our Lady shrank again into her shrine, and the Clearke peaked home to patch up his broken sleep, but the corps now eftsoons floated up and down the River, as it did before. Which thing being at length espied by them of Gillingham, it was once more taken up and buried in their Church-yard. But see what followed upon it, not only the Rood of Gilling=

ham (say they) that a while before was busie in bestowing miracles, was now deprived of all that his former vertue: but also the very earth and place where this carcass was laid, did continually for ever after settle and sink downward.

This tale, received by tradition from the Elders, was (long since) both commonly reported and faithfully credited of the vulgar sort: which although happily you shall not at this day learn at every mans mouth (the Image being now many years sithence defaced) yet many of the aged number did lately remember it well, and in the time of darkness, 'Hæc erat in toto notissima fabula mundo.' But here (if I might be so bold as to add to this Fable, his <epimythion>, (or 'Fabula significat') I

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would tell you that I thought the morall and minde of the tale to be none other, but that this Clerkly <mythoplastes>, this Talewright (I say) or Fableforger being either the Fermer or owner of the offrings given to our Lady of Chetham, and envying the common haunt and Pilgrimage to the Rood of Gillingham (lately erected 'Ad nocumentum' of his gain) devised this ap= partition for the advancement of the one and defacing of the other.

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For (no doubt) if that age had been as prudent in examining spirits as it was prone to beleeeve illusions, it should have found that our Ladies path was some such green trace of grass as we daily behold in the fields (proceeding indeed of a natural cause, though by old wives and superstitious people, reckoned to be the dancing places of nightspirits, which they call Fay= ries:) And that this sinking grave was no= thing else but a false filled pit of Master Clearks own digging.

The man was to blame, thus to make debate between our Lady and her Sonne; but since the whole religion of Papistrie it self is Theomachia, and nothing else, let him be forgiven, and I will goe forward.

Horsmunden.

Alfred of Beverley, and Richard of Cicer, both following Beda, have mention of a place in East Kent, where Horsa (the brother of Hengist) was buried, and which even till their dayes did continue the me=

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morie of his name. And we have in this Shire a Town called Horsmundene, which name (resolved into Saxon orthographie) is Horsgemyndene, and soundeth as much as, the Valley of the monument (or memoriall of Horsa.

Horsted, the new and the old.

But for as much as that place lyeth in the south part of this Countrie toward

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Sussex: and I read that Horsa was slain at Ailesford (as you shall see anon) in that incounter wherein he joyned with his brother Hengist again the Brittons which at that time inhabited Kent, It is more proveable to affirm, that he was buried at Horsted here, which word properly signifieth, the Place of Horsa: after the which name also certain lands (lying in this Parish on the part towards Ailesford) be yet called, namely, new Horsted, and the old in the confines of the territorie made subject to Rochester.

This Horsa and his brother Hengist (both whose names be Synonuma, and doe signifie a horse) were the Chieftains of those first Saxons that came into this Land to the aid of Vortiger and the Brytons, as we have before shewed: and after the killing of this Horsa his brother Hengist never ceased to follow the warre upon the Brytons, untill such time as he had driven them out of Kent, and created himself King thereof; as hereafter in fitter place we shall further declare.

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Saint Bartilmews Hospitall.

In this Parish standeth yet a poor shew of that decayed Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew, the foundation whereof, as you shall finde in Rochester, was laid by Gundulphus the Bishop.

King Henrie the third calleth it the Priorie of brothers and sisters of the Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew of Chetham, in a certain confirmation which he made unto them of forty shillings by year, the which Roger Fitz Stephen of Northwood had given unto them before. Besides the which, King Edward the third and Henrie the sixth made generall confirmations unto them, and Henrie the sixth exempted them from all Taxes and Tallages. Their Revenue consisted of the Tythes of Kyngsdoune, Henhyrst, and Rode, chiefly; the rest being patched up out of the offerings of the Altars of Saint James and Saint Giles.

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Sir Joh. Hawkins Hospitall.

In the confines of this Parish, towards Rochester also, was now lately builded a receptacle for ten or more aged or maimed Mariners and Shipwrights, which (after the founders name) her Majestie our Sovereign in her Letters Patents of the incorporation, dated 27 August. 36 of her Reign, would be called, The Hospitall of John Hawkins Knight, in Chatham.

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Frendsbury, in some Saxon copies Freondesbyrig, that is, the Friends Court: in others, Frinondesbyrig.

A religious skirmish between the Monkes of Rochester and the Brethren of Stroud.

It befell in the reign of King Edward the first (by occasion of a great and long drought of the aire) that the Monks of Rochester agreed among themselves to make a solemn procession from their own house through the Citie, and so to Frensbury on the other side of the water, of a speciall intent and purpose to pray to God for rain.

And because the day of this their appointed journey happened to be vehemently boistrous with the winde, the which would not only have blown out their lights and tossed their banners, but also have stopped the mouths of their singing men, and have toiled themselves in that their heaue and masking attire, they desired lycence of the Master of Stroud Hospitall, to pass through the Orchard of his house, whereby they might both ease their companie and save the glorie of their shew, which otherwise through the iniurie of the weather must needs have been greatly blemished.

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The Master assented easily to their desire, and (taking it to be a matter of no great consequence) never made his brethren of the house privie thereunto. But

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they, so soon as they understood of this determination, called to minde that their Hospitall was of the foundation of Gilbert Glanville (sometime a Bishop of Rochester) between whom and the predecessors of these Monks there had been great heats for the erection of the same: and therefore, fearing that the Monks (pretending a procession) intended to attempt somewhat injuriously against their priviledges (as indeed all orders in Papistrie were exceeding jealous of their prerogatives) they resolved with all might and main to resist them.

And for that purpose (not calling their Master to counsell) they both furnished themselves and procured certain companies also (whom the historie calleth Ribaldes) with clubs and bats to assist them, and so (making their ambush in the Orchard) they awaited the Monks comming.

It was not long, but the Monks (having made all things readie) approached in their battell array and with banner displayed, and so (minding no harm at all) entred boldly into the house, and through the house passed into the Orchard, merrily chanting their latine Letanie: But when the Brethren and their Ribalds had espied them within their danger, they issued out of their lurking holes and ran upon them, and made it rain such a showre of clubs and coulstaves upon the Monks

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Copes, Cowles and Crowns, that for a while the miserable men knew not which way to turn them.

After a time the Monks called their wits and spirits together, and then (making vertue of the necessitie) they made each man the best shift for himself that they could: some, traversing their ground, declined many of the blows, and yet now and then bare off with head and shoulders: others used the staves of their crosses: and, behaving themselves like prettie men, some made pikes of their Banner poles: And others (flying into their adversaries) wrested their weapons out of their hands: amongst the rest, one (saving his charity) laid load upon a married Priest, absolving him (as mine author saith) 'A culpa,' but not 'A pæna:' another drave one of the Brethren into a deep ditch: and a third (as big as any Bull of Basan) espied (at the length) the postern (or back dore) of the Orchard, wherea the ran so vehemently with his head & shoulders, that he bare it cleandown before him, and so both escaped himself and made the waie for the rest of his fellows, who also with all possible haste conveied themselves out of the jurisdiction of the Hospitall, and then (shaking their ears) fell a fresh to their Orgia, I should have said to their former Orisons.

After this storm thus blown (or rather

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born) over, I doe not marvail if the Monks (as the reporter saith) never sought to carrie their procession through Stroud Hospitall for avoiding of the winde, for indeed it could not lightly blow more boistrously out of any quarter. And thus out of this tragical historie arose the byword of Friendsbury Clubs, a tearm not yet clean forgotten. For they of Friendsbury used to come yearly after that upon Whitson-Monday to Rochester in procession with their Clubs, for penance of their fault, which (belike) was never to be pardoned whilest the Monks remained.

Friendsbury Clubs.

For albeit I read not of any that was slain in the affray, as peradventure these Monks had the priviledge of those that performed their Sacrifice, 'Fustuaria pugna,' in which none could be killed, as Herodotus in his Euterpe writeth of the Egyptians report: yet I doubt not but that they were so well blissed with Friendsbury Batts, that they had good cause to remember it many a year after.

The land of Friendsbury was long since given by Offa the King of Middle Eng=

Eslingham. land to Eardulph then Bishop of Rochester, under the name of Eslingham 'cum appendiciis,' although at this day this other beareth countenance as the more worthy of the twain: The benefice of Frensbury (together with that of Dartford) was at the suit of Bishop Laurence, and by

Appropriations of benefices.

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graunt of the Pope, converted to an appropriation, one (amongst many) of those monstrous births of covetousness, begotten by the name of Rome in the dark night of superstition, and yet suffered to live in this day light of the Gospell, to the great hindrance of learning, the empoverishment of the ministry, decay of Hospitality, and infamie of our profession.

Rochester, is called in Latine, Dorobreuuum, Durobreuum, Durobrouæ, and Durobreuis: in British Dourbryf, that is to say, a swift stream: in Saxon Hrofesceatre, that is, Rofi civitas, Rofes City, in some old Charters, Rofi breui.

Some men (desirous belike to advance the estimation of this City) have left us a far fetched antiquity concerning one peece of the same, affirming that Julius Cæsar caused the Castle at Rochester (as also that other at Canterbury, and the Towre at London) to be builded of common charge: But I having not hitherto read any such thing, either in Cæsars own Commentaries, or in any other credible History, dare not avow any other beginning of this City (or Castle) than that which I finde in Beda: least if I should adventure as they doe, I might receive as they have, I mean, 'The just note of more

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The City.

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reading and industry, than of reason or judgement.'

And although I must (and will freely) acknowledge, that it was a City before that it had to name Rochester (for so a man may well gather of Beda his words) yet seeing that by the injurie of the ages between the monuments of the first beginning of this place and of innumerable such other, be not come to our hands, I had rather in such cases use honest silence, than rash speech, and doe prefer plain unskill and ignorance, before vain lying and presumptuous arrogance.

For (trust me) the credit of our English History is no one way so much empared, as by the blinde boldness of some, which taking upon them to commit it to writing, and wanting (either through their own slothfulness, or the iniquity of

the time) true understanding of the original of many things, have not sticed (without any modesty or discretion) to obtrude new fantasies and follies of their own forgery, for assured truths, and undoubted antiquity.

As for examples of this kinde, although there be at hand, many in number, and the same most fond and ridiculous in matter, yet because it should be both odious for the Authors, tedious to the Readers, and grievous for my self, to enter into them, I will not make enumeration

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of any: But staying my selfe upon this generall note, I will proceed with the treatise of the place that I have taken in hand, the which may aptly (as me thinketh) be broken into four severall portions: The City it self, the Castle, the Religious buildings, and the Bridge.

The Citie of Rochester, took the name (as Beda writeth) of one Rof (or rather Hrof, as the Saxon Book hath it) which was sometime the Lord and owner of the place.

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This name, Leland supposeth, to have continuance in Kent till this our time, meaning (as I suspect) Rolf, a family well enough known. Whatsoever the estate of this City was before the coming in of the Saxons, it seemeth, that after their arrivall, the maintenance thereof depended chiefly upon the residence of the Bishop, and the religious persons: And therefore no marvail is it, if the glory of the place were not at any time very great.; since on the one side the ability of the Bishops and the Chanons (inclined to advance it) was but mean, and on the other side the calamity of fire and sword (bent to destroy it) was in manner continuall.

For I read, that at such time as the whole Realm was sundred into particular Kingdomes, and each part warred for superiority and enlarging of bounds with the other, Eldred (then King of Mercia)

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invaded Lothar the King of this Country, & finding him unable to resist, spoiled the whole Shire, and laid this City waste.

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The Danes also, which in the daies of King Alfred came out of France, sailed up the river of Medway to Rochester, and (besieging the Town) fortified over against it in such sort, that it was greatly distressed and like to have been yeilded, but that the King (Pæonia manu) came speedily to the reskew, and not only raised the siege, and delivered his Subjects, but obtained also an honorable booty of

i. a healthfull hand.

<372> Horses and Captives, that the Besiegers had left behinde them.

999 The same people, having miserably vex=
ed the whole Realm in the daies of King Ethelred, came at the last to this Citie, where they found the Inhabitants ready in armes to resist them: but they assailed them with such fury, that they compelled them to save themselves by flight, and to leave the place a pray to their enemies: The which was somewhat the lesse worth unto them, because King Ethelred him=
986 self (not long before) upon a displeasure conceived against the Bishop, had besie=
ged the City, and would by no means de=
part thence, before he had an hundred pounds in ready money paid him.

And **whose** harmes Rochester received before the time of King William the Con=
queror, in whose reign it was valued in

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the book of Domesday at 100. s. by the year, and after whose dayes (besides sun=
dry particular damages done to the City, during the sieges laid to the Castle, as shall appear anon) it was much defaced by a great fire that happened in the reign of
1130 King Henry the first, the King himself, and a great many of the Nobility, and Bishops being there present, and assem=
bled for the consecration (as they call it) of the great Church of Saint Andrewes, the which was even then newly finished.

And it was again in manner wholly con=
1177 sumed with flame, about the latter end of the reign of King Henry the second, at which time that newly builded Church was sore blasted also: But yet after all these calamities, this City was well re=
<373> pared and ditched about, in the reign of King Henry the third.

1225 The Castle. As touching the Castle at Rochester, al=
though I finde not in writing any other foundation thereof, than that which I al=
763 ledged before, and reckon to be meer fa=
bulous, yet dare I affirm, that there was an old Castle above eight hundred years agoe, in so much as I read, that Ecgbert (a King of Kent) gave certain lands within the walls of Rochester Castle, to Eardulfe, then Bishop of that See: And I conje=
cture that Odo (the bastard brother to King William the Conqueror) which was at the first, Bishop of Baieux in Norman=
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die, and then afterward, advanced to the office of the chief Justice of England, and to the honour of the Earldome of Kent, was either the first Author, or the best Be=
nefactor to that which now standeth in sight.

And hereunto I am drawn, somewhat by the consideration of the time it self, in which many Castles were raised to keepe the people in awe: and somewhat by the regard of his authority, which had the charge of this whole Shire: but most of all, for that I read, that about the time of the Conquest, the Bishop of Rochester received land at Ailesford, in exchange for ground to build a Castle at Rochester upon.

<374>
1088

Not long after which time, when as William Rufus (our English Pyrrhus, or Redhead) had stepped between his elder Brother Robert and the Crown of this Realm, and had given experiment of a fierce and unbridled Government: the Nobility (desirous to make a change) arose in armes against him, and stirred his Brother to make invasion: And to the end that the King should have at once many irons (as the saying is) in the fire to attend upon, some moved warre in one corner of the Realm, and some in another; but amongst the rest, this Odo betook him to his Castle of Rochester, accompanied with the best, both of

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the English and the Norman Nobility.

This when the King understood, he solicited his Subjects, and specially the Inhabitants of this Country, by all fair means and promises to assist him, and so (gathering a great armie) besieged the Castle, and straightned the Bishop and his complices, the defendants, in such wise, that in the end, he and his company were contented to abjure the Realm, and to lead the rest of their life in Normandie.

And thus Odo, that many years before had been (as it were) a Viceroy, and second person within this Realm, was now deprived of all his dignity, and driven to keep residence upon his benefice, till such time as Earl Robert (for whose cause he had incurred this danger) pitying the cause, appointed him Governor of Normandie his own Country.

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After this, the Castle was much amended by Gundulphus, the Bishop: who (in consideration of a Manor given to his See, by King William Rufus) bestowed three-score pounds in building that great Towre, which yet standeth. And from that time, this Castle continued (as I judge) in the possession of the Prince, untill King Henry the first, by the advice of his Barons, granted to William the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors, the custody, and office of Constable over the same, with free liberty to build a Towre,

1126

for himself, in any part thereof at his pleasure. By means of which cost done upon it at that time, the Castle at Rochester was much in the eye of such as were the authors of troubles following within the Realm, so that from time to time it had a part (almost) in every Tragedie.

1215 For, what time King John had warr, with his Barons, they got the possession of this Castle, and committed the defence thereof to a noble man, called William Dalbinet, whom the King immediately besieged, and (through the cowardise of Robert Fitz Walter, that was sent to rescue it) after three moneths labour, compelled him to render the peece.

The next yeer after, Lewes (the French Kings Sonne) by the aide of the English Nobility, entered the same Castle, and took it by force.

1264 And lastly, in the time of King Henry the third (who in the tenth of his Reign commanded the Sheriff of Kent to finish that great Tower which Gundulph had left unperfect) Simon Mountforde, (not long before the battaile at Lewes in Sussex) girded the City of Rochester about with a mighty siege, and setting on fire the wooden Bridge, and a Tower of timber that stood thereon, wan the first gate (or ward) of the Castle by assault, and spoiled the Church and Abbey: but, being manfully resisted seven daies together,

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by the Earl Warren that was within, and hearing suddenly of the Kings coming thitherward, he prepared to meet him in person, and left others to continue the siege, all which were soon after put to flight by the Kings Army.

This warr (as I have partly shewed before) was specially moved against strangers, which during that Kings reign, bare such a sway (as some write) that they not only disdained the naturall born Nobility of the Realm: but did also (what in them lay) to abolish the ancient Lawes and Customes of the same. Indeed, the fire of that displeasure was long in kindling, and therefore so much the more furious, when it burst forth into flame: but amongst other things, that ministred nourishment thereto, this was not the least, that upon a time it chanced a Torneament to be at Rochester, in which the Englishmen, of a set purpose (as it should seem) sorted themselves against the strangers, and so overmatched them, that following the victory, they made them with great shame to flie into the

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St. Andrewes
Church in Ro=
chester.

Town for covert. But I dwell too long
(I fear) in these two parts: I will there=
fore now visit the Religious building, and
so passe over the bridge to some other
place.

The foundation of the Church of St.
Andrewes in Rochester, was first laid by

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604

1080

Priests had
Wives in Eng=
land, of old
time.

King Ethelbert (as we have touched be=
fore) at such time as he planted the Bi=
shops Chaire in the City, and it was oc=
cupied by Chanons, till the daies of Gun=
dulphus, the Bishop: who because he was
a Monk, and had heard that it was some=
times stored with Monks, made means to
Lanfranc (sometimes a Monk, but then
Archbishop) and by his aide and autho=
rity, both builed the Church and Prio=
ry of new, threw out the Chanons, and
once more brought Monks into their
place: following therein the example,
that many other Cathedrall Churches of
that time had shewed before.

And this is the very cause, that Willi=
am of Malmesbury ascribeth to Lanfranc,
the whole thank of all that matter: for
indeed both he and Anselme his successor,
were wonderfully busied in placing
Monks, and in divorcing Chanons, and
Secular Priests from their wives, the which
(in contempt) they called, Focalia, no
better then White kerchiefs or kitchen=
stufte: although both the Law of God
maketh the accouplement honourable a=
mongst all men, and the Law of this
Country had (without any check) al=
lowed it in Priests, even till their own
time.

1102

For Henrie of Huntingdon writeth
plainly, that Anselme in a Synod, at Lon=
don, 'Prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores, ante

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non prohibitas,' Forbad Priests their wives,
which were not forbidden before. And
William of Malmesburie affirmeth, that
he there decreed, 'Ne inposterum filii pres=
byterorum sint hæredes ecclesiarum patrum
suorum,' 'That from thenceforth Priests
Sonne should not be heirs to their Fathers
Benefices.'

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Which I note shortly, to the end
that men should not think it so strange a
matter (in this Realm) for Priests to have
wives, as some pevish Papists goe about
to perswade.

But to return to Gundulphus, from
whom I am by occasion digressed, he (as
I said) reedified the great Church at Ro=
chester, erected the Priory, and whereas
he found but half a dozen secular Priests
in the Church at his coming, he never

ceased, till he had brought together at the least threescore Monks into the place.

1087 Then removed he the dead bodies of his predecessors, and with great solemnity translated them into his new work: and there also Lanfranc was present with his purse, and of his own charge incoffened in curious work of clean silver the body of Paulinus, the third Bishop of Rochester, who had left there the Palle of the Arch=
bishoprick of Yorke, that was not reco=
vered long after, to the which shrine there was afterward (according to the super=
stitious manner of those times) much con=

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course of people, and many oblations made.

Besides this, they both joyned in suit to the King, and not only obtained resti=
tution of sundry the possessions with=
holden from the Church, but also pro=
cured by his liberality and example, new donations of many other Lands and Pri=
vileges.

<379> To be short, Gundulphus (overliving Lanfranc) never rested building and begging, tricking and garnishing, till he had advanced this his creature, to the just wealth, beauty, and estimation of a right Popish Priory. But God (who mode=
rating all things by his divine providence) shewed himself alwaies a severe visitor of these irreligious Synagogues) God (I say) set fire on this building twice
1138 within the compasse of one hundred yeers after the erection of the same: and fur=
thermore suffered such discord to arise
1177 between Gilbert Glanville, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Monks of this house, that he for displeasure bereaved them, not only of all their goods, ornaments, and writings, but also of a great part of their lands, possessions and priviledges: and they, both turmoiled themselves in suit to Rome for remedie, and were driven
1212 (for maintenance of their expences) to coin the silver of Paulinus Shrine into ready money.

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Which act of theirs turned both to the great empoverishing of their house, and to the utter abasing of the estimation and reverence of their Church: for that (as indeed it commonly falleth out amongst the simple people, that are led by the sense) the honor and offering to this their Saint, ended and died together with the gay glorie and state of his Tumbe.

By this means therefore Gilbert became so hated of the Monks, that when he dyed they committed him obscurely to the

1214

ground without ringing of Bell, celebra=
tion of Service, or doing of any other fu=
nerall Obsequies.

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1215

But to these their calamities was also
added one other great loss, susteined by
the warres of King John, who in his siege
against the Castle of Rochester, so spoiled
this Church and Priorie, that (as their
own Chronicles report) he left them not
so much as one poor Pix to stand upon
their Altar.

It was now high time therefore to de=
vise some way whereby the Priorie and
Church of Rochester might be, if not alto=
gether restored to the ancient wealth and
estimation, yet at the least somewhat re=
lieved from this penurie, nakedness, and
abjection. And therefore Laurence of
Saint Martines, the Bishop of Rochester,
perceiving the common People to be
somewhat drawn (by the fraud of the

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1256
Saint William
of Rochester.

Monks) to think reverently of one Willi=
am that lay buried in the Church, and
knowing well that there was no one way
so compendious to gain, as the advance=
ment of a Pilgrimage, procured at the
Popes Court the canonization of that
man, with indulgence to all such as would
offer at his Tumbe: underpropping by
mean of this new Saint, some manner of
reverent opinion of the Church, which be=
fore, through defacing the old Bishops
shrine, was almost declined to naught.

But to the end that it may appear to
what hard shift of Saints these good Fa=
thers were then driven, and how easily the
People were then deluded, you shall hear
out of Nova Legenda it self what a great
man this Saint William of Rochester was.

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He was by birth a Scot, of Perthe (now
commonly called Saint Johns Town) by
trade of life a Baker of bread, and thereby
got his living: in charitie so abundant,
that he gave to the poor the tenth loaf of
his workmanship: in zeal so fervent, that
in vow he promised, and in deed at=
tempted, to visit the holy land (as they
called it) and the places where Christ was
conversant on earth: in which journey,
as he passed through Kent, he made Ro=
chester his way: where after that he had
rested two or three dayes, he departed to=
ward Canterbury.

But ere he had gone farre from the

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Citie, his servant that waited on him, led
him (of purpose out of the high-way, and
spoiled him both of his money and life.

This done, the servant escaped, and the
Master (because he dyed in so holy a pur=

pose of minde) was by the Monks conveyed to Saint Andrews, laid in the Quire, and promoted by the Pope (as you heard) from a poor Baker to a blessed Martyr.

Here (as they say) he moalded miracles plentifully, but certain it is, that mad folks offered unto him liberally, even untill these latter times, in which, the beams of Gods truth shining in the hearts of men, did quite chase away and put to flight this and such other gross clouds of will worship, superstition and Idolatrie.

Besides this Priorie (which was valued by the Commissioners of the late suppression, at 486 pounds by year) there was none other religious building in Rochester. But I remember, that about the 21 year of the reign of our now Sovereign Lady, one Richard Wattes of the Bolly hill at Rochester, by his Will devised certain lands to the Major and Commonaltie there, for the nightly entertainment and relief, with four pence for every of six lawfully travelling men, in a poor Almeshouse within the Citie: which devise, being very unskillfully conceived, had thorow the manifold imperfections thereof come to naught, had not Master Thomas Pagitte (an Appren-

Almeshouse in Rochester.

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tice at the Law of the Middle Temple) labored to reform and rectifie it: by whose means the place is now assured of sixtie pound lands by year, and is drawn to order, as well for that first purpose, as also for procuring of Hemp and Flax in stock, whereby to set the poor on work.

Now therefore am I come to the Bridge over Medway, not that alone which we presently behold, but another also, much more ancient in time, though less beautifull in work, which neither stood in the self place where this is, neither yet very farre from it.

For that crossed the water over against Stroud Hospitall: and this latter is pitched some distance from thence toward the South, and somewhat neerer to the Castle wall, as to a place more fit, both for the fastness of the soil, and for the breaking of the swiftness of the stream to build a Bridge upon.

That old worke (being of timber building) was fired by Simon the Earl of Leicester in the time of King Henrie the third, as hath already appeered: and not fully twenty years after, it was borne away with the Ice, in the reign of King Edward his sonne. Wherefore, lest that as the Frost and Flame hath already consumed the thing it self: So the canker of time should also devour all memorie thereof, I have thought meet to impart

Rochester Bridge, both the old and the new.

1282

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such antiquities, as I have found concerning that Bridge, whereof the one was taken out of a book (sometime) belonging to the late worthy and wise Counsellor Doctor Nicholas Wotten, and which he had exemplified out of an ancient monument of Christs Church in Canterbury bearing this Title.

Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi, &c.

1. Episcopus Roffensis debet facere

417 <sig 2D>

leg unam sull.

418

ham, i. sull.

419

& plantare 4. virgat.

. & de omnibus hominibus in eadem valle,

The other antiquitie I found in an old volume of Rochester Librarie, collected by Ernulfus the Bishop, and intituled 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi:' in which, that which concerneth this purpose, is to be read both in the Saxon (or ancient English) tongue, and in the Latine also, as hereafter followeth:

<386> This is the Bridgeworke

420

worke the land peere:

421

of Mallinge, and

422

Acclesse, and of Horstede,

423

four yards to planke,

424

bishops, that is

Hæc descriptio demonstrat aperte,

425

peram de terra: deinde

426

& de toto illo læsto

. plancarum, & omnium desuper transeuntium rerum.

By these it may appear, that this ancient Bridge consisted of nine Arches, or Peres, and conteined in length, about

twenty and six roddes, or yards, as they be here termed, toward the reparation and maintenance whereof, divers persons, parcels of lands, and townships (as you see) were of duty bound to bring stuffe, and to bestow both cost and labour in laying it.

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This duty grew, either by tenure, or custome, or both: and it seemeth, that according to the quantity and proportion of the Land to be charged, the carriage also was either more or lesse.

For here is expresse mention, not of Towns and Mannors only, but of Yokes and Acres **and** also, which were contributary to the aid of carrying, pitching, and laying of Piles, Plankes, and other great timber.

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And here (by the way) it is to be observed, that so much of the work as ariseth of stone and earth, is called, Pera, of the Latine word, Petra, that the great ground Postes, Plates, or Beames, be termed (Sullivæ) of the old Saxon word (Sylle) which we yet every where know by the name of a Ground Sille: and that the Tables, or Boords, which are laid over them, are named (Plancæ) or Plankes, as we yet also in our vulgar language doe sound it.

But, by reason that divers Lands are sithence properly given to maintein the new Bridge, al this ancient duty of reparation was quite and clean forgotten, although by a statute (21 Rich. 2.) the forenamed lands remain liable thereunto as before: yea, the new Bridge it self also (for want of the execution of that, or some other such politique way of maintenance) hath lately lacked help, and was like shortly (if remedy in time had not

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been applied) to decline to great decay and utter ruine: which thing was so much the more to be foreseen, and pitied, as that the work is to the founder a noble monument, to this City a beautifull ornament, and to the whole Country a most serviceable commodity, and easement.

Sir Robert Knolles, a valiant Captain.

Of this latter work (being not much above eightscore yeers of age) Sir Robert Knolies (a man advanced by valiant behaviour, and good service under King Edward the third, from a common Souldier, to a most commendable Captain) was the first Author: who after that he had been sent Generall of an Army into France, and there in despite of all their power) had driven the people like sheep before him, wasting, burning, and destroying, Towns, Castles, Churches, Monasteries,

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and Cities, in such wise and number, that long after in memory of his Act, the sharp points and Gable-ends of overthrown Houses and Minsters, were called Knolles Miters: he returned into England, and meaning some way to make himself as well beloved of his Country-men at home, as he had been every way dreaded and feared of Strangers abroad, by great policy mastered the River of Medway, and of his own charge made over it the goodly work that now standeth, and died full of years in the midst of the Reign of King Henrie the fourth.

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At the east end of the same Bridge, Sir John Cobham erected a Chappell, and was not wanting to the principall work it self, either in purse or gift of lands. And afterwards Archbishop Warham added to the coping of the Bridg work, those iron Barres which doe much beautifie the same, intending to have performed it throughout: But either wanting money by the loss of his prerogatives, or time by prevention of death, he left it in the half, as you may yet see it.

Neither is the Princely care of the Queens Majesty less beneficiall to the continuance of this Bridge, then was the cost and charge of the first Authors to the first erection of it: as without the which, it was to be justly feared, that in short time there would have been no Bridge at all.

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For, besides that the lands contributarie to the repaire thereof were not called to the charge, even those lands proper were so concealed, that very few did know that there were any such to support it: the revenue being so converted to private uses, that the Country was charged both with Tolle and Fifteen, to supplie the Publique want, and yet the work declined daily to more and more decay. At such time therefore as her Majestie (in the fifteenth year of her reign) made her Princely progress into Kent, she was informed

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hereof by Sir William Cecill, then pricipall Secretarie, now Baron of Burghley and Lord Treasurer, that Noble Nestor, and most worthy States man: at the contemplation whereof she was pleased to grant Commission to certain Lords, to him, and to divers Knights and Gentlemen of the Country, to enquire as well of the defects and causes thereof, as of the means for remedy. In which part, the laborous endeavour of the late Sir Roger Manwood, chief Baron of her Majesties

Eschequer, deserved special commendation: who, passing through all difficulties, first contrived a plot of perfect reformation; and then within three years after, procured that Statute of the eighteenth year of her Highness reign, and lastly that other Act of the twenty seventh year: By the carefull execution of which, not only the present estate of the Bridge is now much bettered, but also the revenue of the lands proper is so increased (I might say tripled) that there is good hope for ever to maintain the defence of the Bridge only therewithall, and without the help of the lands contributarie, which nevertheless stand liable, if any unlooked for necessity shall so require.

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Stroode: of the Saxon, Strogd, that is, strowed, or scattered: because it consisted then of a few scattered houses, without the City.

About the beginning of the reign of King Henry the third, Gilbert Glanville (the Bishop, of whom you have heard) founded the Hospitall at Stroude (called Neworke) dedicating his cost to the honor of the blessed Virgin Marie, and indowing it to the yearly value of fifty two pounds.

The Manor of Stroude (to which the Hundred of Shemele belonged) was granted to the Templers, by the name, 'Magistro, & fratribus Militia Templi Solomonis,' in the eleventh year of the same King Henry the third. And after the suppression of that most rich and stately Order, it was bestowed by King Edward the third (in the twelfth of his reign) upon Mary the Countess of Penbroke, who within six years after gave it to the Abbess and Sisters Minorites, of the profession of Saint Clare, of Denney in Cambridgeshire, to which place she had removed them from Waterbeche, where they were first planted by her. But seeing that 'Non omnes arbusta juvant, humilisque Myricæ,' let us look higher.

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Polydore Virgil (handling that hot con-

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tention, between King Henry the second, and Thomas Becket) saith, that Becket (being at the length reputed for the Kings enimie) began to be so commonly neglected, contemned, and hated, 'That when as it happened him upon a time to come to Stroude, the Inhabitants thereabouts (being desirous to dispite that good Father) sticked not to cut the tail from the horse on which he road, binding

Thomas Becket.

themselves thereby with a perpetuall reproach: for afterward (by the will of God) it so happened, that every one which came of that kinred of men which plaid that naughty prank, were born with tails, even as brute beasts be.'

Such another like tale did Alexander Essebye sometime write of Augustine, Becket's predecessor (or rather founder) in that See: who, as he saith, when fish tails were despitefully thrown at him by certain men of Dorsetshire, was so furiously vexed therewith, that he called upon God for revenge, and he forthwith heard him, and strake them with tails for their punishment. This later fable, doth John Maior the Scot (by what warrant, God woteth) translate from Dorsetshire to Rochester in Kent, and so maketh the way open for Polydore, both by like Poeticall or Popish licence, to carry it to Stroude, and also to honor his great God Saint Thomas with it. But Hector Boetius (another

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Scot) looking better upon the matter, sendeth it home to Dorsetshire again, and saith that it chanced at Miglington there.

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These reports (no doubt) be as true as Ovid's historie of Diana, whom he feigneth in great furie to have bestowed upon Actæon a Deers head with mighty brow Anthlers. But, as Alexander Essebye and his followers might easily have been restrained to tell so fond a tale of Augustine, both by the silence of Bede, who writing of set purpose Augustines doings, and being nothing dainty of vain miracles, reporteth yet no such thing of him; and also by the plain speech of William Malmesbury, who setting forth the same reproachfull dealing against Augustine at Cerne in Dorsetshire (a third place, for false witnesses doe seldome agree) hath yet never a word of any such revenge, but saith plainly that the people afterward were sorrie for it, and that Augustine pardoned the offence: Even so Polydore might well have spared to magnifie Becket with this lie, so farre off for the time, so incredible for the matter, and so slanderous for the men, unless he had brought his Talesman with him, seeing that neither the Quadriloge of Becket's life, nor the Legend (though never so full of lies) nor any other ancient Historian (so far as I can hitherto observe) hath once repor-

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ted it before him. Let the Westernmen therefore (if they will) think themselves pleased by Polydore, who taking (as you

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see) the miracle from Augustine applyeth it to Becket, and so (removing the infamous revenge from them) layeth it upon our men of Kent. But I dare pronounce, that Dorsetshire, Kent, and each other part of the Realm, is little beholden to Alexander and the rest, but least of all to Poldore, who have amongst them brought to pass, that as Kentish men be here at home merily mocked, so the whole English Nation is in forein Countries abroad earnestly flowted, with this dishonorable note, in so much that many beleve as verily that we be Monsters and have tails by nature, as other men have their due parts and members in usuall manner. Behold here one of the fruits of their spitefull miracles.

But yet, least any should think that I did wrong, to charge another with untruth, and not to set down the truth my self, to the end that all men might judge of us both, hearken (I pray you) what the Quadriloge (or four mans tale, of Becket's life and death) and the new Legend also have left us of this matter.

'A few daies (say they) before the Christmas, in which the Archbishop was slain, he road to London with a great troupe (minding to have visited his Pro-

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vince) where albeit that he was joyfully received of the common sort and of the Citizens also, yet the Kings sonne straightly enjoyned him to proceed no further, but to return to Canterbury again, the which also he did accordingly. Afterward one Robert Brock (a man of the Clergie, and dwelling in Canterbury) meeting by chance with a Horse of the Archbishops that carried certain stuffe, of his Kitchen (or Scullerie) did cut off the tail of the beast in despite of the Master: who (upon the understanding thereof) stepped the next day (which was Christmas day) into the Pulpit at Canterbury, and there, 'ferus, indignabundus, ardens, & audens' (the very words of the Quadriloge) all fierce, wroth, fierie, and bold, excommunicated Brock for his labor, as he did sundry others also (by name) that had grieved him in his absence out of the Realm. And this excommunication (say they) was of such force, that the very Dogs under the table whereat Brock sate, would not once touch, and much less taste, any bread that he had fingered, no not although it were mingled with other bread that never came in his hands: But of any tailes, or other revenge, not one word have these men.'

And truly, albeit this which they say be
a good deal more than I may with any

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reason desire you to beleeve (unless hap=
pily I would have you think, that their
excommunication is meeter punishment
for dogs than for men, since Brock, so
far as they tell, never forbare his meat for
it, (whatsoever the dogs did) yet could
not Polydore be contented so to exempli=
fie it, but he must needs lash out further,
and contend to outly the lowdest Legen=
daries. Whereof if you yet doubt, con=
ferre (I pray you) his report with theirs,
and it shall resolve you.

He saith, that Becket was contemned of
the common sort: they say, that he was
much made of: he saith, that such as
dwelt about Stroude, did the shrewd
turne, they say that Robert Brock, which
dwelt at Canterbury, committed it: he
speaketh of many, they but of one: he tel=
leth us of the common people, they of a
Clergie man, their own anointed: he af=
firmeth it to be done at Stroude, they a=
bout Canterbury: he will have it of pre=
pensed purpose, they of sudden chance:
he saith it was the horse that the Arch=
bishop road upon, they, that it was a poor
beast which carried spits, dishes, or drip=
ping-pannes: So that (omitting other
contrarieties) either many must be one,
the common sort must become the Cler=
gie, Stroude must be Canterbury, deter=
minate device must be sudden hap, and fi=
nally the Archbishop must be but kitchin-

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stuff, or else Polydore must be attainted of
lying by these five witnesses.

It seemeth that he himself was afraid
that Issue might be taken upon this mat=
ter, and therefore he ascribeth it to certain
Families which he nameth not: and yet
(to leave it the more incertain) he saith,
that they also be long since worn out, and
sheweth not when: and so, affirming he
cannot tell of whom, nor when, he goeth
about (in great earnest) to make the
world beleeve he cannot tell what.

But (will some man say) although he
misse in the manner and circumstances of
the thing done, whereof he might think it
no great necessity to be much carefull:
yet he may hit in the matter and substance,
that is to say, in the plague ensuing, which
is the very mark whereat he aimed.

Truly there is no cause to trust him in
the sequele, that is found untrustie in the
premises: nevertheless, for mine own part
I think for all this that he had said well, in
telling us that the posteritie born of such

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as curtailed S. Thomas horse, were afterward plagued with tails for it: and this forsooth may be the mysterie. It is commonly said, and not without good cause beleev'd that 'Maidens children, and Bachelers wives be ever well taught and nurtured:' and no marvell, for neither hath he one sort any children, nor the other any wives at all. After the very same Fi-

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gure and Phrase, may Polydores speech be verified also. For (as you see well) Brock alone did this great act, who (being one of the Clergie) could have no wife, and then (if he lived without a concubine) he could leave none issue behinde him: and so Polydore might safely say, that all they which came of him, had not only tails like Beasts, but also feet like Fowls, scales like Fishes, or whatsoever other unkindly parts, that might make up a fit picture for Horace and his friends to be merry withall.

But (in earnest) I doe not think, that he meant thus, and much less doe I beleieve that he did but seek for a by-word that might be a match or fellow for (Coglioni di Bergamo) the Coollions of Bergamo, that scoffe of Italy, his own Country: nay rather, it is plain that he had another purpose in it. For (as the Proverbe is) 'Cauda de Vulpe testatur,' the tail is enough to bewray the Fox; and his words 'Bonum patrem,' the good Father) do evidently shew that he would not stick to strain a point, so that he might glorifie Saint Thomas thereby. He had forgotten the law whereunto an Historian is bounden, 'Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat,' that he should be bold to tell the truth, but yet not so bold as to tell an untruth: neither did he remember that he himself had told the King in his Preface to his book, tha-

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sincere truth, and old wives tales, doe not agree.

I doe gladly grant, that his History is a worthy work, whether you will respect the Stile and Method thereof, or the Story and matter, excepting the places blemished with such and some other follies: the which, since he inserted many times, without all choice or discretion, he must be read of the wiser sort, and that not without great suspition and waryness. For, as he was by office Collector of the Peter pence to the Popes gain and lucre: So sheweth he himself throughout by practice, a covetous gatherer of lying Fables, faigned to advance, not Peters, but the Popes own Religion, Kingdome, and Mi-

ter.

Halling, in Saxon Haling, that is to say, the wholesome lowe place, or Medowe.

Many Kings at once in Kent.

I have seen in an ancient book (containing the donations to the See of Rochester, collected by Ernulphus the Bishop there, and intituled 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi') a Charter of Ecgbert (the fourth christened King of Kent) by the which he gave to Dioram the Bishop of Rochester ten Ploughlands in Halling, together with certain Denes in the Weald, or common Wood. To the which Charter, there is (amongst others) the subscription of Jean-

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bert the Archbishop, and of one Heahbert, a King of Kent also, as he is in that book tearmed. Which thing I note for two speciall causes, the one to shew, that about that age there were at one time in Kent, moe Kinges than one: The other, to manifest and set forth the manner of that time in signing and subscribing of Deeds and Charters: a fashion much different from the insealing that is used in these our daies. And as touching the first, I my self would have thought, that the name King, had in that place been but only the title of a second magistrate (as Prorex or Vice-roy) substituted under the very King of the Country, for administration of justice in his aid or absence; saving that I read plainly in another Charter, of another donation of Eslingham (made by Offa the King of Mercia, to Eardulfe, the Bishop of the same See) that he proceeded in that his gift, by the consent of the same Heahbert, the King of Kent, and that one Sigaered also (by the name of 'Rex dimidiæ partis Provinciæ Cantuariorum') both confirmed it by writing, and gave possession by the deliverie of a clod of earth, after the manner of Seison that we yet use. Neither was this true in Heahbert only, for it is evident by sundry Charters, extant in the same Book, that Ealbert the King of Kent, had Ethelbert (another King) his fellow, and partner: who also

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Liverie of Seisine.

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in his time was joyned in reign with one Eardulfe, that is called 'Rex Cantuariorum,' as well as he. So that, for this season, it should seem, that either the Kingdom was divided by discent, or else, that the title was litigious and in controversie, though our histories (so farre as I have seen) have mention of neither.

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The old manner of Signing and Sealing of Deeds.

This old manner of signing and subscribing, is (in my fantasie) also not unworthy the observation: wherein we dif-

fer from our ancestors, the Saxons, in this, that they subscribed their names (commonly adding the sign of the crosse) together with a great number of witnesses: and we, for more surety, both subscribe our names, put to our seals, & use the help of testimony besides. That former fashion continued throughout without any sealing, even untill the time of the Conquest by the Normans, whose manner by little and little at the length prevailed amongst us. For the first sealed Charter in England, that ever I read of, is that of King Edward, the Confessors to the Abbey of Westminster: who (being brought up in Normandie) brought into this Realm, that, and some other of their guises with him: and after the coming of William the Conqueror, the Normans, liking their own Country custome (as naturally all Nations doe) rejected the manner that they found here, and retained their own,

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<405> as Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland, which came in with the Conquest, witnesseseth, saying: 'Normanni, cheirographorum confectionem, cum crucibus aureis, & aliis signaculis sacris, in Anglia firmari solitam, in ceræ impressionem mutant, modumque scribendi Anglicum rejiciunt.' The Normans (saith he) doe change the making of writings, which were wont to be firmed in Englande with Crosses of Gold and other holy signes, into the printing with wax: and they reject also the manner of the English writing. Howbeit, this was not done all at once, but it increased and came forward by certain steps and degrees, so that first and for a season, the King only, or a few other of the Nobility besides him, used to seal: then the Noblemen (for the most part) and none other: which thing a man may see in the History of Battell Abbay, where Richard Lucy chief Justice of England, in the time of King Henrie the second, is reported to have blamed a mean subject, for that he used a private seal, when as that pertained (as he said) to the King, and Nobility only. At which time also (as John Rosse noteth it) they used to engrave in their seals, their own pictures and counterfeits, covered with a long coat over their arms. But after this, the Gentlemen of the better sort took up the fashion, and because they were not all warriors, they

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1218

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made seals of their severall coats or shields of armes, for difference sake, as the same author reporteth. At the length, about the time of King Edward the third, seals

became very common, so that not only such as bare arms used to seal, but other men also fashioned to themselves signets of their own devise, some taking the letters of their own names, some flowers, some knots and flourishes, some birds, or beasts, and some other things, as we now yet daily behold in use.

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I am not ignorant, that some other manner of sealings besides these, hath been heard of amongst us, as namely that of King Edward the third, by which he gave.

To Norman the Hunter, the Hop & the Hop / Town,

With all the bounds up side down:

And in wisse that it was sooth.

He bit the wax with his fong tooth:

And that of Alberic de Veer also, containing the donation of Hatfielde, to the which he affixed a short black hafted knife, like unto an old halfpenny white, in stead of a seal: and such others, of which happily I have seen some, and heard of moe. But all that notwithstanding, if any man shall think, that these were received in common use and custome, and that they were not rather the devises and pleasures of a few singular persons, he is no lesse deceived, then such as deem every

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Charter and writing that hath no seal annexed, to be as ancient as the Conquest: whereas (indeed) sealing was not commonly used till the time of King Edward the third, as I have already told you.

1184

Thus farre, by occasion of this old Charter, I am strayed from the history of Halling, of which I finde none other report in writing, save this, first that in the reign of King Henrie the second, Richard the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immediate successor to Thomas the Arch-traitor of this Realm, ended his life in the mansion house there, which then was, and yet continueth, parcell of the possessions of the See of Rochester: the circumstance and cause of which his death and departure, I will reserve till I come to Wrotham, where I shall have just occasion to discover it.

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Then, that Hamon of Hothe (Bishop of Rochester, and Confessor to King Edward the second) raised from the ground that Hall and high Front of the Bishops place which now standeth, reedified the Mill at Holboroe neer unto it, and repaired the rest of the buildings here, as he did at Trosclif also, which is another Mannor house belonging to the same See. At this place of the Bishop in Halling, I am drawing on the last Scæne of my life,

where God hath given me 'Liberorum
Quadrigam,' all the fruit that ever I had.

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As touching that Holboroe (or rather
Holanbergh) it lieth in Snodland, per=
teining likewise to the same Bishop, and
took the name of beorh, or the Hill of
buriall, standing over it: in throwing
down a part whereof (for the use of the
Chalk) my late neighbour, Master Tylgh=
man discovered in the very center thereof,
'Urnam cineribus plenam,' an earthen pot
filled with ashes, an assured token of a
Roman Monument: the like whereof (as
Twyne writeth) was in the reign of King
Henrie the eight digged up at Barham=
downe, by Sir Christopher Hales, sometime
Master of the Rolles.

And now, for want of a Bridge at
Halling, we may use the Ferry, and touch
at Woldham, given by Ethelbert King of
Kent, to Erdulph Bishop of Rochester in
the yeer 751. and yet parcell of the pos=
sessions of the Cathedrall Church there.
It is the same indeed, that it hath in name
wolde, a faire downe (or hill) without
bush, or wood, opposite to wealde, which
is a low woody region: of the same rea=
son, those large champaigns of Yorkswold,
and Cotswolde, took their appellation also.
But since here is none other thing worthy
note, let us make towards Ailesforde: for
there may you see the most assured mark
of great Antiquity, that we have within
the Shire of Kent.

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Ailesforde, or Eilesforde, called in Brit=
tish (as Master Camden citeth out of
Nennius) Sassenaighai Bail, of the over=
throw of the Saxons, called in some Sa=
xon copies, Egelesford, that is, the
Foorde, or passage over the River Egle,
or Eile: or rather the passage at Eccles
which is a place in this parish: in others
Angelesford, which is, the passage of
the Angles or English men. It is falsly
tearmed of some, Alencester, of some
Allepord, and of others Aelstrea, by de=
pravation of the writers out of the sundry
copies as I suspect.

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Within a few yeers after the arri=
vall of the Saxons, the Britons
(perceiving that Vortiger their King was
withdrawn by his wife from them, and
drawn to the part of their enemies) made
election of Vortimer his sonne, for their
Lord and leader: by whose manhood and
prowesse, they in short time so prevailed
against the Saxons, that (sleying Horsa,
one of the Chieftains, in an encounter

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given at this place, and discomfiting the residue) they first chased them from hence, as farre as Tanet (in memory of which flight, happily this place, was called Anglesford, that is, the passage of the Angles or Saxons) and after that compelled them to forsake the land, to take Shipping to=

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ward their own Country, and to seek a new supply: howbeit, as in warr and battle, the victory is commonly deer bought and paid for: so in this self conflict (otherwise very fortunate) the death of Horsa was recompensed with the losse of Categern, one of the brothers of King Vortimer. And truly, had not the untimely death of King Vortimer himself also immediately succeeded, it was to be hoped, that the Saxons should never after have returned into this Island.

But the want of that one man, both quailed the courage of the Britons, gave new matter of stomack to the Saxons to repaire their forces, and brought upon this Realm an alteration of the whole Estate and Government. The Britons nevertheless in the mean space followed their victory (as I said) and returning from the chase, erected to the memory of Categerne (as I suppose) that monument of four huge and hard stones, which are yet standing in this parish, pitched upright in the ground, covered after the manner of Stonage (that famous Sepulchre of the Britons upon Salisbury plain) and now tearmed of the common people here Citscotehouse. For I cannot so much as suspect, that this should be that, which Beda and the others (of whom I spake in Chetham before) doe assigne to be the Tumbe of Horsa, which also was there slain at the

Citscotehouse in Tottington ground.

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same time: partly because this fashion of monument was peculiar to the Britons, of which Nation Categerne was, but chiefly for that the memorie of Horsa was by all likelihood left at Horsted, a place not far off, and both then and yet so called of his name, as I have already told you.

893

There landed within the Realm in the time of Alfred, two great swarms of Danish Pyrates, whereof the one arrived neer Winchelsey, with two hundred and fifty saile of Ships, and passing along that River fortified at Appledore, as we have shewed before: The other entred the Thamise in a fleet of eighty sail, whereof part encamped themselves at Midleton on the other side of Kent, and part in Essex over against them.

These latter King Alfred pursued, and

pressed them so hardly, that they gave him both oaths and hostages to depart the Realm, and never after to unquiet it. That done, he marched with his Armie against those other also.

And because he understood that they had divided themselves, and spoiled the Countrie in sundrie parts at once, he likewise divided his Armie, intending (the rather by that mean) to meet with them in some one place or other: which when they heard of, and perceived that they were unmeet to incounter him in the face, they determined to pass over the Thamise,

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Fernham.

The Danes compelled to take the Thamise.

and to joyn with their Countymen in Essex, of whose discomfiture they had as yet received no tydings. But when they came at a place in this Parish called (both now and anciently) Fernham, that is, the Ferny Town, or dwelling, one part of the Kings power couragiously charged them, and finding them given to flight, followed the chase upon them so fiercely, that they were compelled to take the Thamise without boat or bridge, in which passage there were a great number of them drowned, the residue having enough to doe to save their own lives and to convey over their Captain, that had received a deadly wound.

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The Danes are chased from Otforde.

Earl Eadric an infamous traitor.

No less notable was that other chase, wherein (many years after) Edmond Ironside most fiercely pursued the Danes from Otforde to this Town: in which also (as some write) he had given them an irreplicable overthrow, had he not (by the fraudulent and traitorous perswasion of one Eadric, then Duke of Mercia (or middle England) and in the Saxon speech surnamed, for his covetousness, Streona, that is to say, the Getter or gatherer) withdrawn his foot and spared to follow them.

No doubt but that it is many times a part of good wisdome and warlike policy not to pursue over fiercely thine enimie that hath already turned his back towards

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thee, lest thou compell him to make vertue of that necessity, and he (turning his face again) put thee in danger to be overcome thy self, which before hadest in thine own hand assurance to overthrow him: In which behalf it was well said of one, 'Hosti fugienti, pons aureus faciendus;' If thine enimie will flie, make him a bridge of gold. Nevertheless, for as much as this advice proceeded not from Eadric of any care that he had to preserve King Edmonds power out of perill, but rather of fear lest

A noble exam
ple of King
Edmunde
Ironside.

the whole Armie of Canutus should be overrun and destroyed, he is justly taxed for this, and other his treasons, by our ancient historians, who also make report of the worthy reward that in the end he received for all his treachery.

For this was he (as William Malmesbury writeth, though some others ascribe it to his sonne) that afterwards (when these two Kings had by composition divided the Realm between them) most villainously murdered King Edmond at Oxford, and was therefore done to death by King Canutus: who, in that one act, shewed singular arguments, both of rare justice, and of a right noble heart: Of justice, for that he would not wink at the fault of him, by whose means he obtained the Monarchy of the whole Realm: and of great Nobility of minde, in that he plainly declared himself to esteem more of

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his own honor then of another mans Crown and Scepter, and to have digested quietly that impatiencie of a partner in Kingdome, which great Alexander thought as intolerable as two sunnes in the world at once: and which Romulus could in no wise brook, since he would not suffer one Kingdome to content him and Remus, whom one belly had contained before.

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There was at Ailesforde a house of Carmelite and preaching Friars, the foundation whereof is, by a Record, ascribed to Richard the Lord Gray of Codnor, in the time of King Henrie the third, upon whom the same King had bestowed the Manor it self, which (in assurance that it was sometime of the demeanes of the Crown) is yet known to be ancient Demesne. I finde nevertheless, that in the time of King John (father to this Henry) one Osbert Gipford gave him forty marks, 'pro habendo recto de Manerio de Elleisforde, quod Willmus de Caen, ei defarciat. (Rotul. fin. 9. Joannis)' which I note for two reasons; the one to shew that it was aliened from the Crown before the dayes of Henrie the third; the other, for proof of the antiquitie of Fines payed upon the purchase of Writs Original.

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Malling, in Saxon Mealing, of Mealu in<g,>, that is, the Low place flourishing with Meal or Corne, for so it is every where accepted.

This Town was first given to Burhricus, the Bishop of Rochester, by King Edmund the Brother of Athelstane,

under the name of three plough lands in Mealinges.

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The Abbey.
<414>

About one hundred and fifty years after which time Gundulphus (a successor in that See, as you have read before) having amplified the buildings, and multiplied the number of the Monks in his own Citie, raised an Abbey of women here also: which (being dedicate to the name of the blessed Virgin) during all his life he governed himself, and lying at the point of death he recommended to the charge of one Avice (a chosen woman) to whom notwithstanding he would not deliver the Pastoral staff, before she had promised Canonically obedience and fidelitie to the See of Rochester, and had protested by oath, that there should neither Abbess nor Nonne be from thenceforth received into the house, without the consent and privitie of him and his successors.

1106
The Solaces
of Sole life.

Now whether this 'Rus propinquum,' and politique provision, were made of a blinde zeal that the man had to advance super=

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<415>
The terminations of the names of Towns.

stition, or of a vain glorie to increase authoritie in his succession, or else of a foresight that the Monks (which were for the most part called Monachi, of Sole living by the same rule that Montes have their name of removing) might have a convenient place to resort unto, and where they might ('Caute,' at the least) quench the heats kindled of their good chear and idleness, God knoweth, and I will not judge: But well I wote, that this was a very common practise in Papistrie: for as S. Augustines had Sepulchres; S. Albans Sopewell; Shene Sion; the Knights of the Rodes, the Nunnes of Clerkenwell; all adjoyning, or subject to such obedience: even so Sempringham, and some other of that sort had both Male and Female within one house and wall together, the world being (in the mean while) born in hand, that they were not men but Images, as Phryne said sometime of Xenocrates. The house was valued in the Recorde at 218 pounds of yearly revenue. The name hath (as you see) his termination in (ing) which betokeneth plainly that it hath a low scituation: for (ing) signifieth a low ground, or Meadow, and so remaineth known in the North Countrie of England till this present day: of which reason also the names <of> Halling, Berlyng, Yalding, and others <he>re at hand, were at the first framed to <en>d in (ing) as this doth. For, as a Name

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is nothing else but a word appointed <by> consent of men to signifie a thing: Even <so>

the Saxons our Ancestors endeavored <to> fashion their names of places after a certain natural force and reason, taken from the scituation of the place it self (most commonly) 'Ut fons, ut nemus, ut campus placuit,' as Tacitus saith of the old Germans.

And hereof it falleth out, that a man (but meanly exercised in their language) may (for the most part) as readily understand the scite or soil of their Towns by the only sound of the name, as by the very sight of the place it self.

For proof whereof, let us (if you will) take some of those names (or rather terminations of names) that be most usuall in this Shire.

Ford. Crayford, Dertford, Ailesford, Ashford, and such like, ending in (ford) doe manifestly bewray, that they be passages over those Rivers by which they doe stand. For (Ford) in old English is the same that (Vadum) is in Latine, the one being derived of (faran) and the other of (Vado) both signifying to goe, or to wade, over.

dene and dune.
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Dene with them, betokeneth a Valley, and Dune a hill: and hereof the low Towns in the Weald, as Mardene, Smardene, Bydendene, Haldene, Tinterdene, and others, doe bear their name of the one:

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And among high placed Villages, as Kingsdowne, Luddesdowne, and the Boughdownes, (though commonly called and written Brughtons) doe retain their calling of the other.

Hyrst. Of hyrst, signifying a Wood, Ashehyrst, Spelhyrst, Lamberhyrst, Gowdhyrst, Hawkhyrst, and the names of many other woody Parishes have gotten their last Syllable: And of Steð, denoting the bank of a river, Plumstede, Brastede, Chepstede, Netlestede, and their fellowes have gained the like.

Ea. Ea, which meaneth water, and which we now sound (ey) closeth up the names of many marrish grounds and waterish places, as of Hartey, Sturrey, Oxney, and (besides others) of Rumney it self: The like may be affirmed of leah, a pasture, which we now likewise call (ley) being the last particle of Tudeley, Langley, Pluckley, and of many other good pastures and feedings.

Leah. I must purposely omit a number, that end in Brook, Boorne, Bridge, Land, Field, Hill, Dale, Clif, Worde, and such like, whereof no English man can doubt, that understandeth his mothers tongue.

Neither may I stand here to boul out the whole Etymologie (or reason) of e=

very Towns name: For to speak of the first sort, it were altogether needless, seeing that every man perceiveth what they

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mean as well as I: And to attempt the latter, it were utterly endless, since they carry (almost) so many divers matters as they be severall names; some of them being drawn from the proper callings of men, some from the nature of the soile, some from the coast and manner of the scite, and some from some other causes, which it were not only infinite to rehearse, but also impossible to disclose at this day.

And therefore, as I meant at the first to give you but a taste of this matter: So, for an end thereof, I will reave you one note, which may not only lead you along this Shire, but also guide you (in manner) throughout the whole Realm, to discern (probably) of the degrees and dignity that Towns and dwelling places had during the time of the ancient Saxons here, howsoever since their daies the same be changed, some to the better, some to the worse, and some from all manner of habitation.

H<o>w to discern of Towns by the ending of their names.
Bye,
tun,

Such therefore, as were then numbred in the inferior sort and degree, are commonly found to have their names to end, either in Bye, Tun, Wic, Ham, or Stede. Bye, signified a dwelling, as Byan, did to dwell: Tun, which we now sound (Ton) and (Town) was derived of their word (Tynan) to tyne, or inclose with a hedge: Wic and Wice (for they both be

wic,

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one) was used for a place upon the edge of the Sea or River, and was borrowed of the latine word (Vicus) though it be spoken Wic: for the Saxons (having to single v consonant in all their Alphabet) used to sound it as double w: making of Vinum, Ventus, and Via, Wine, Winde, and Way.

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ham,

Ham, properly signified a Covering- and (by Metaphore) a house that covereth us: This word, we here call (Home) but the Northern men (not swarving so farre from the Originall) sound it still (Heam.)

Sted,

Finally, by (Sted) they ment a seat, or standing by a River, deriving it (happily) from the Latine word (Status:) and by Thorpe, or Dorpe, a Village, yet used in the lower Germanie.

Again, such Towns and Dwellings as then were of greater price and estimation (either for the worthiness of the owner, or for the multitude of the Inhabitants, or for the strength or beauty of the build-

ing it self) had their names shut up commonly with one of these five Particles, Ceaster, Byry, Burgh, Heale, or Weorth: Chester, denoted a walled or fortified place, being the same both in word and weight that the Latine (Castrum) is: Bury, or Biry (then birig) was used for a Court, or place of assembly: Burh (now also Burgh, and sometimes Burrough) is none other in sound or substance, than

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<pyrgos> in Greek, which we now call a Towre, of the Latine name (Turris) Heale, or (as we now speak it) Hall, is all one with the Latine Aula, or Greek <aulē>: Weorth (which also is now spoken, Woorth) signified Atrium, a base Court, or yard, such as is commonly before the better sort of houses. And thus much generally, and for this purpose, may suffice: For, to deal thoroughly herein, belongeth rather to a peculiar Dictionarie, than to this kinde of treatie and discourse.

<419> Bockinfolde commonly: but truly Bucenweald, that is, either the Wood of Bucks, or of Beeches: for the Mast of Beech is called Bucke also.

King Edward the second, being (in the 19. year of his reign) upon the way towards France, for the doing of his Homage, due for his Dutchie of Aquitaine, suddenly drew back his foot, and withdrew himself to this place, where he reposed him some while, and caused many to be endited for their unlawfull Huntings. The same time, his Ghostly Father (or Confessor) Hamon the Bishop of Rochester, sent him thither a Present of his drinkes, and withall both wine and grapes of his owu growth in his Vineyard at Halving, which is now a good plain Medowe.

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Combwell: that is, the Spring in the place between two Hilles.

<420> Robert of Thurnham was the Author and Founder of the Abbay of Combwell and Friers there, in the reign of King Henry the second, for the honor (as he thought) of Saint Mary, and therefore bestowed his lands upon it. And King Henry the third, not only confirmed that gift of his, but moreover vouchsafed to the Prior and Chanons there his own graunt of a Fair by two daies together, on the feast and morow of Saint Mary Magdalene yearly. The yearly revenue hath appeared before, and more I had not to speak of this place.

The Rood of Ashyrst was a growing Idol.

Ashyrst, in Saxon, Acsehyrst, that is, the Wood of Ashes.

In the Southeast corner of this Shire, toward the confines of Sussex and Surrey, lieth Ashyrst, a place now a daies so obscure (being little better than a Town of two houses) that it is not worthy the visiting: but yet in old time so glorious for a Rood which it had of rare property, that many vouchsafed to bestowe both their labor and money upon it.

It was beaten (forsooth) into the heads

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of the common people (as what thing was so absurd, which the Clergie could not then make the world to beleieve?) that the Rood (or Crucifix) of this Church, did by certain increments continually wax and grow, as well in the bush of haire that it had on the head, as also in the length and stature of the members, and body it self. By means whereof it came to pass, that whereas before time the fruits of the Benefice were hardly able to sustain the Incumbent, now by the benefit of this invention (which was in Papistrie, 'Novum genus occupii') the Parson there, was not only furnished by the offering to live plentifully, but also well aided toward the making of a rich Hoord.

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But as Ephialtes, and Oetus, the sonnes of Neptune, who (as the Poets feign) waxed nine inches every moneth, were so heaved up with the opinion, and conceit of their own length and hautiness, that they assaulted Heaven, intending to have pulled the Gods out of their places, and were therefore shot thorow, and slain with the arrowes of the Gods: Even so, when Popish Idolatry was grown to the full height and measure, so that it spared not to rob God of his due honor, and most violently to pull him (as it were) out of his seat, even then this growing Idol and all his fellowes, were so deadly wounded, with the heavenly arrowes of

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the word of God ('Qui non dabit gloriam suam sculptilibus,' which will not give over his glorie to any graven workmanship) that soon after they gave up the ghost, and left us.

Tunbridge, called (after Mathew Par.) Thunebrugge, corruptly, for tonebrycge, that is, the Bridge over Tone: but if it be truly written tunbrycge, then it signifieth the Town of Bridges, as in deed it hath many.

The Castle.
<422>

Although I finde no mention of Tunbridge in that copie of Domesday book (which I have seen) concerning the description of this Shire: yet read I in historie, that there was a Castle at Tunbridge soon after the Conquest, if not even at the same time when that book was compiled.

1088

For, omitting that which Hector Boetius writeth concerning a battel at Tunbridge wherein the Conqueror (as he saith) should prevail against Harolde, because it is evidently false and untrue, unless he mean it of the continuance of the chase after the fight even to Tunbridge, I have read, that at such time as Odo (joyning with others of the Nobilitie) made defection from William Rufus to Robert his elder brother, the King besieged at Tunbridge one Gil-

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1163

bert, then keeper of the Castle, and compelled him to yeild it. Happily this Odo (being the Kings Uncle, and of great authority within the Shire, as we have before shewed) had erected this Castle, and given the charge to Gilbert: but howsoever that were, certain it is, that the Castle was long time holden of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and continued many years together in the possession of the Earls of Clare, afterwards called of Gloucester.

For, in the dayes of King Henrie 2. Thomas the Archbishop required homage of Roger then Earl of Gloucester for his Castle of Tunbridge, who, knowing the King to be half angry with the Archbishop, and wholly on his own side, shaped him a short answer, affirming stoutly, that it was none of his, but the Kings own, as a lay fee.

1215
<423>

Falcasius (a hired Souldier that was entertained by King John during the warres with his Nobilitie) took by force this Castle from the Earl of Gloucester, and kept it for a season to the Kings behoof.

1231

King Henrie the third also, after the death of Gilbert the Earl of Gloucester, seized the Wardship of his Heir, and committed the custodie of this Castle to Hubert of Burgh: But Richard the Archbishop (surnamed the great) being offended thereat, came to the King in great haste, and made his claim, by reason, that the Earl Gilbert died in his homage: The

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King gave answer, that the whole Earldome was holden of him, and that he might lawfully commit the custodie of the lands to whomsoever it liked himself. Hereat the Bishop waxed warm, and told the King plainly, that since he could not

The Clergie
was lawless.

have right within the Realm, he would not spare to seek it abroad; and forthwith hasted him to the holy Father at Rome, where he so used the matter that he obtained judgment for his part: but he, for all that, never had execution, by reason that he dyed in his return toward home. Yet you may here see, by the way, that in those dayes there was no Law in England to rule the proud Prelacie with all, no not so much as in things meer Lay and temporal.

1259

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The same King Henrie graunted to Richard Clare, Earl of Glocester and Hereford, licence to wall and embattell his Town of Tunbridge, by these words in that Charter, 'Claudere muro, & kernella re:' which latter word, being made Latine out of the French 'Charneaux,' signifieth that indented form of the top of a wall which hath Vent and Creast, commonly called Embattelling, because it was very serviceable in fight to the defendant within, who might at the loops (or lower places) annoy the enemy that assailed him, and might withall shroud himself under the higher parts as under the favour of a shield.

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This manner of warlike wall was evermore prohibited within this Realm, for fear of inward Sedition, and was therefore (amongst many other Articles) inquirable before the Escheator by the words, 'De domibus carnellatis,' which I the rather note, because I have known many to stumble at it.

Concerning this intended wall at Tunbridge, either the Earl did nothing therein, or that which he did is now invisible and come to naught. But the same King Henrie, within four years after, and not long before the Battell at Lewys in Sussex, having burned the Citie of Rochester, suddenly also surprised this Castle at Tunbridge, wherein he found (amongst other) the Countess of Glocester: But it was not long before he stored the Castle with men of warre, and restored the Ladie to her former libertie.

The Priorie
at Tunbridge.

1558

<425>

There was sometime neer to this Castle a Priorie, whereof the Earls of Glocester and their heirs were reputed the first Authors and Patrons. And in our memorie there was erected a fair Free School by the honest liberalitie of Sir Andrew Judde, a Citizen and Major of London, which submitted the same to the order and oversight of the company of Skinners there, whereof himself had been a Member. Neither may I with silence slip over the great stone causey, raised at the end of the

Towne in the high way towards London, by the charitable charges of John Wilforde, another citizen of London, almost thirty years before.

The Lowy of Tunbridge.

Round about the Town of Tunbridge lieth a territorie or compass of ground commonly called the Lowy, but written in the ancient Records and histories Leuca=ta, or Leuga, and being (indeed) a French league of ground, which (as I finde in the Chronicles of Normandie) was allotted at the first upon this occasion following. There was in Normandie a Town (and land thereunto adjoyning) called Bryon=nie, which was of the ancient possession of the Dukedome, and had continually re=mained in the hands of the Dukes there, till such time as Richard (the second Duke of that name) gave it, amongst other Lands, to Godfrey his natural brother, for his advancement in living.

This Godfrey enjoyed it all his life, and left it to one Gislebert his sonne (which happily was Gilbert the Captain of Tun=bridge Castle, of whom we had mention before) who also held it so long as he li=ved. But after the death of Gislebert, Ro=bert (the Duke of Normandy, and eldest Sonne to King William the Conqueror) being earnestly labored to bestow it upon one Robert Earl Mellent (whose off=spring were sometimes Earls of Leycester within this Realm) seized into his own

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hands, pretending to unite it to the Duke=dome again. But when Richard (the sonne of Gislebert) understood of this, he put to his claim, and making his title by a long continued possession (even from Godfrey his Grandfather) so encountered the suit of Earl Mellent, that to stop Ri=chards mouth withall it was by the device of the Earl and by the mediation of Duke Robert (which he made to his brother Wil=liam Rufus) brought to pass, that Richard should receive in recompence the Town of Tunbridge in England, and so much land about it as Bryonnie it self contained in circuit.

And to the end that the indifferencie of the dealing might appear, and his full sa=tisfaction be wrought, they caused Bry=onnie and the land about it to be measured with a line, which they afterward brought over with them into England, and apply=ing the same to Tunbridge and the land adjoyning, laid him out the very like in precinct and quantitie: in so much that long time after it was a common and re=ceived opinion in Normandie that the

leagues of Bryonnie and Tunbridge were all one in measure and compass.

1264
42 Hen. 3.

This, together with the Town and Castle, came at the length (as you have seen) to the hands of the Earls of Gloucester, between whom, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, there arose oftentimes conten-

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tion, both for the limits of this league, and for the preeminence of their priviledges. At the last Boniface the Archbishop (next but one in succession after Richard, of whom we spake before) and Richard the Earl (and heir to Gilbert) agreed in the reign of King Henrie the third upon a perambulation to be made between them, and so the strife for their bounds was brought to an end.

But as touching their priviledges, and jurisdiction in the place, it fell out by inquisition in the time of King Edward following, that the Archbishop had nothing to doe within the league, that the Earl had return of Writs, creation of certain Officers, an especiall Sessions in Eire, &c. most of which things the Town hath not these many years enjoyed.

But yet it was agreed, after the perambulation so made between Boniface and the Earl Richard, that the Earl and his heirs should hold the Manors of Tunbridge, Vielstone, Horsmund, Melyton, and Pettys, of the Archbishop and his successors, by the service of four Knights fees, and to be high Stewards and high Butlers to the Archbishops at the great feast of their inthronizations, taking for their service in the Stewardship seven competent robes of Scarlet, thirtie gallons of wine, thirtie pound of wax for his light, liverie of Hay and Oates for fourscore horse by

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<428>

two nights, the dishes and salt, which should stand before the Archbishops in that Feast, and at their departure the diet of three daies at the costs of the Archbishops at four of their next Manors, by the four quarters of Kent, wheresoever they would, 'Adminuendum sanguinem,' so that they repaired thither, but with fifty horses only: and taking also for the Office of Butlership, other seven like robes, twenty gallons of wine, fifty pound of waxe, like livery for threescore horses by two nights, the cup wherewith the Archbishops should be served, all the empty hogsheads of drink, and (for six tun of wine) so many as should be drunk under the bar also.

The Archbishop, hath an Earl to his Butler.

The Articles of which their composition, were afterward accordingly per-

1295 formed: first between Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, and Robert Winchelsey the Archbishop: next between the same Earl, and the Archbishop Reignoldes: then betweene Hugh Audley the Earl of Gloucester, and the Archbishop John Stratford: after that, between the Earl of Stafford (to whom the Lordship of Tunbridge at the length came) and Simon Sudbury Archbishop in that See: and lastly between William Warham the Archbishop, and Edward the late Duke of Buckingham, who also executed the Stewardship in his own person, and the Butlership <by>

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1504 his deputy Sir Thomas Burgher Knight: the whole pompe, and ceremonie whereof, I have seen at greater length set forth, and described, then is meet for this time and place to be recounted.

Depeforde, in Latine, Vadum profundum, and in ancient evidences, West Greenewiche.

<429> This Town, being a frontier between Kent and Surrey, was of none estimation at all, untill that King Henrie the eight, advised (for the better preservation of the Royall Fleet) to erect a Storehouse, and to create certain Officers there: these he incorporated by the name of the Master and Wardens of the Holie Trinity, for the building, keeping, and conducting, of the Navie Royall.

The Masters of the Navie Royall.

There was lately reedified, a faire wooden Bridge also, over the Brook called Ravensbourne, which riseth not farre off at Hollowoods hill, in the parish of Kestane, and setting on work some Corn Mills, and one for the glasing of Armour, <sl>ippeth by this Town into the Thamyse, <c>arrying continuall matter of a great <s>helf with it.

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Greenewiche, in Latine, Viridis sinus: <in> Saxon grenawic, that is to say, the Gre<ene> Towne. In ancient evidences, Ea<st> greenewiche, for difference sake from Depford, which in old Instruments is called Westgreenewiche.

In the time of the turmoiled King Ethelred, the whole Fleet of the Danish Army lay at road two or three yeeres together before Greenewich: and the Soldiers, for the most part, were incamped upon the Hill above the Town, now called Blackheath.

1011 During this time, they pearced this whole Country, sacked and spoiled the City of Canterbury, and brought from

Ælphrey the
Archbishop
was cruelly
slain.
<430>

thence to their Ships, Aelphey, the Arch-
bishop. And here a Dane (called Thrum)
whom the Archbishop had confirmed in
Christianity the day before, stroak him on
the head behinde and slew him, because he
would not condescend to redeem his life
with three thousand pounds, which the
people of the City and Diocesse were con-
tented to have given for his ransome:
neither would the rest of the Souldiers
suffer his body to be committed to the
earth, after the manner of Christian de-
cency, till such time (saith William of
Malmesb.) as they perceived that a dead
stick, being annoited with his blood,

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waxed suddenly green again, and began
the next day to blossome. Which by all
likelihood was gathered in the Wood of
Dea Feronia: for she was a Goddesse,
whom the Poets doe phantasie to have
caused a whole Wood (that was on fire)
to waxe green again: of whom Virgile
said,

Et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

But, referring the credit of that, and
such other unfruitfull miracles (where=
with our ancient Monkish stories doe
swarm) to the judgement of the godly
and discreet Readers, most assured it is,
that about the same time, such was the
storm and fury of the Danish insatiable
ravine, waste, spoile, and oppression, with=
in this Realm, besides, that of two and
thirty Shires (into which number the
whole was then divided) they herried and
ransacked sixteen, so that the people be=
ing miserably vexed, the King himself (to
avoide the rage) first sent over the Seas his
wife and children: afterward compound=
ed, and gave them a yeerly tribute: and
lastly for very fear forsook the Realm, and
fled into Normandie himself also.

32. Shires in
England.

1013

<431>
Great summs
of money paid
to the Danes.

They received (besides daily victuall)
fourty eight thousand pounds in ready
coyn of the Subjects of this Realm, whi=
lest their King Swein lived: and twenty
one thousand after his death under his
Sonne Canutus: upon the payment

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whereof, they made a corporall oath, to
serve the King (as his feodaries) against
all strangers, and to live as Friends and
Allies without endamaging his Subjects.

1015

But how little they performed promise,
the harms that daily followed in sundry
parts, and the exalting of Canutus their
own Countryman to the honour of the
Crown, were sufficient witnesses.

In memory of this Camp, certain places

within this parish, are at this day called Combes, namely Estcombe, Westcombe, and Midlecombe almost forgotten: for Comb and Compe in Saxon (being somewhat declined from Campus in Latine) signifieth a field or Campe for an Army to sojourn in: and in memory of this Archbishop Aelpheg, the parish Church at Greenewiche (being at the first dedicated to his honour) remaineth known by his name even till this present day.

Thus much of the antiquity of the place: concerning the latter history, I read, that it was soon after the Conquest parcell of the possessions of the Bishop of Lysieux in France, and that it bare service to Odo, then Bishop of Baieux, and Earl of Kent: after that, the Manor belonged to the Abbat of Gaunt in Flaunders, till such time as King Henrie the fift, seising into his hands (by occasion of warr) the Lands of the Priors Aliens, bestowed together with the manor of Lewsha

<432>

1416

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The Priorie of Shene.

and many other Lands also, upon the Priorie of the Chartrehouse Monks of Shene, which he had then newly erected: to this it remained, untill the time of the reign of King Henrie the eight, who annexed it to the Crown, wherunto it now presently belongeth.

The Frierie.

1480

1509

The observant or gray Friers, that sometime lived at Greenwiche (as John Rosse writeth) came thither about the latter end of the reign of King Edward the fourth, where they obtained by the means of Sir William Corbrige (as some think) a Chauntrie with a little Chappell of the holy Crosse, a place yet extant in the Town: and (as Polydore and Lilley say) King Henrie the seventh builded for them that House adjoyning to the Palace, which is there yet to be seen. But, least I may seem to have said much, of small matters: and to have forgotten the principall ornament of the Town: I must (before I end with Greenewiche) say somewhat of the Princes Palace there.

The Palace.

Humfrey therefore the Duke of Gloucester, and Protector of the Realm (a man no lesse renowned for approved vertue, and wisdom, then honoured for his high estate and parentage) was the first that laid the foundations of the fair building in the Town, and Tower in the Park, and called it his Manor of pleasance.

After him King Edward the fourth be-

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stowed some cost to enlarge the work: Henry the seventh followed, and beautified the house with the addition of the

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brick front toward the water side: but King Henrie the eight, as he exceeded all his progenitors in setting up of sumptuous housing, so he spared no cost in garnishing Greenewiche, till he had made it a pleasant, perfect, and Princely Palace.

1516

Marie his eldest daughter (and after Queen of the Realm) was born in this house: Queen Elizabeth his other daughter, our most gracious and gladsome Governor, was likewise born in this house: and his deer sonne King Edward (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his life in the same house.

One accident touching this house, and then an end: it happened in the reign of Queen Marie, that the Master of a Ship, passing by whilest the Court lay there, and meaning (as the manner and duty is) with sail and shot to honour the Princes presence, unadvisedly gave fire to a peece, charged with a pellet instead of a tampion, the which lighting on the Palace wall, ran through one of the privy lodgings, and did no further harm.

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Blackheath, of the colour of the Earth, or blæcheap, of the high and cold situation: for bleak signifieth cold also.

<434>

Adjoyning to Greenewiche, lieth the plain, called (of the colour of the soil) Blackheathe, the which, besides the burthen of the Danish Campe (whereof we speak even now) hath born three severall rebellious assemblies: One in the time of King Richard the second, moved (as it shall appear anon in Dartford) by John Tyler, whom William Walworth, then Major of London, slew with his Dagger in Smithfield: in memorie whereof, the Citie had given them (for increase of honor) a Dagger, to be borne in their shield of armes for ever.

The Rebellion of John Tyler.

1380

The rebellion of Jack Cade.

Jack Cade (that counterfeit Mortimer) and his fellowes, were leaders of the second: who passing from hence to London, did to death the Lord Say, and others, in the time of King Henry the sixt.

These two (besides other harmes, that usually doe accompany the mutiny and uprore of the common and rascal sort) defaced foully the Records and Monuments, both of the Law, and Armoury: the parts of Rolles remaining yet half burnt, doe witness the one: and the Heralds unskill (comming through the want

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of their old books) is sufficient testimony of the other.

The rebellion
of the black
Smith.

The third insurrection was assembled by Michael Joseph (the black Smith) and the Lord Audley under the reign of King Henry the seventh: at which time, they and their complices received their just desert, the common number of them being discomfited and slain, and the leaders themselves taken, drawn, and hanged.

Of this last there remaineth yet to be seen upon the Heath, the place of the Smiths Tent, called commonly his Forge: And of all three, the grave hills of such as were buried after the overthrow.

<435>
Grave hills,
or hillocks.

These hillocks in the west Country (where is no small store of the like) are called Barowes, of the old English word burghes, which signifieth Sepulchres, or places of burying, which last word Burying (being a spring of that old stock) we doe yet retein alive.

The first and last of these commotions, were stirred of grief that the common people conceived, for the demand of two subsidies, of which the one was unreasonable, because it was taxed upon the Polls, and exempted none: The other was unseasonable, for that it was exacted, when the heads of the common people were full of Parkin Warbeck.

The third and midlemost, grew upon a grudge, that the people took for yeel=

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ding up the Duchie of Angeow, and Maynie, to the King of Sicil: The comming in of whose daughter (after that the King would needs have her to wife, notwithstanding his precontract made with the Earl of Armenac) was not so joyfully embraced by the Citizens of London upon Blackheath, wearing their red Hoods, Badges, and blew Gowns: as in Sequele, the Marriage, and whole Government it self, was known to be detested of the Country Commons, by bearing in the same place, Harness, Bowes, Bills, and other Weapons.

But because I cannot (without pain and pitie) enter into the consideration of these times and matters, I will discourse no further thereof now, but cross over the next way to Lesnes, and (prosecuting the rest of the boundes of this Bishopricks) take some other time and place for it. Leaving you nevertheless to know, that Blackheath hath born some other gorgeous and more pleasant spectacles: as that of King Henry the fift, when he received Sigismund the Emperor: and that also of King Henry the eight, when he brought in the Lady Anne of Cleve.

<436>

1415

1539

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Lesnes, mistaken (as I think) for Leswes (Leswes) which signifieth Pastures.

I could easily have beleaved, that the name Lesnes, had been derived out of the French, and that it had been first imposed at the foundation of the Abbay, saving that I finde the place registred in the book of Domesday, by the very same, and none other calling. And therefore I am the rather led to think that the name is Saxon, and there miswritten (as many other be, by reason that the Normans were the Penners of that Book) Lesnes, for Leswes, the which word (in the Saxon tongue) signifieth Pastures, and is not as yet utterly forgotten, forasmuch as till this day Pastures be called Lesewes in many places.

<437>

This is my fantasie touching the name, wherein if I fail, it forceth not greatly, since the matter is no more weighty: concerning the history of the place, I finde, that after such time as King Henry the second had not only purged himself by a corporall oath, that he was neither aiding nor consenting to the slaughter of Thomas the Archbishop: but had also submitted himself to perform such penance as it should please Pope Alexander to lay upon him: Then triumpheth the holy Father for joy of his victorie, and taking his own

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pleasure in all the matter, first sendeth the deed-doers down to the Devill with his black curse, and then in open Councill cannonizeth Becket for a shining Saint, and alloweth him place in Heaven above. This being once done, what remained (I pray you) but that Altars should be raised, Incense burned, Gifts offered, Prayers Powred out, religious Orders invented, and divine worship exhibited, to this our new found Godlyng: The which thing, that it might with the more countenance and credit be brought to pass, and that the example also might invite others to follow and doe the like, the Lord Richard Lucy (then chief Justice of England, and thereby the second Person in this Realm) offereth himself to goe before and lead this holy daunce. He therefore commeth out of Essex, and taking his patern from King Henry the first (which had builded a conventuall Church at Colchester to the honour of Saint John the Baptist) laieth here at Westwoode in Lyesnes, the foundations of such a like work, and dedicateth it in like sort to the name of Saint Thomas the Martyr.

1179

Now truly, if he thought that he had espied any resemblance between Saint

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John the Baptist, and this shrewd Bishop, it is a plain token, that he looked no further than to the uttermost Visare, which if he had pulled off, and had viewed the

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very visage it self, he should easily have found that there had been no cause at all to resemble them. For, albeit that Becket was slain by the Kings Servants for that he encountered with King Henry their Master, even as John the Baptist was beheaded because he boldly reprehended King Herodes fact to his own face: yet if the cause make the Martyr (as no doubt it doth) then is this but a visare: for John was the forerunner of our Lord Christ, and Becket was a wilfull follower of the Pope, which by all scripture and good Interpreters, is very Antichrist: John withstood King Herode for his wicked adultery, and Becket withstood King Henry in the execution of godly justice: John preached to all men repentance of former misdoing, and Becket proclaimed to his Shavelings, immunitie of condigne punishment, even in a case of most wicked murthuring: and this is the lively visage indeed, both of the one and the other.

But loe, this great man may stand for one good proof, that the wisdom of this world, is foolishness with God, &c.

And by this work and such other every man may understand, with what cost of buildings, variety of Sects, plenty of Possessions, and care of great Personages, Perie was in times past provided for, and apparelled. No corner almost (you see) which had not some one religious house,

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or other: Their sundry Suits and Orders are hardly to be numbred: to behold their lands and revenues, it was half a world: and he lived withot glorie, and died without fame, that endeavored not by one means or other to amend them. I dare affirm, that the cleer yearly extent of the religious houses within this one Shire, amounted to five thousand pounds at the least; the Bishopricks, Deanries, Archdeaconries, Parsonages, Vicarages, Frieries, Chaunteries, Heremitages, Saints offerings, and such others, not accounted. And this I doe the rather note, to the end that you may see how just cause is given us at this day, both to wonder at the hot zeal of our Ancestors in this spirituall fornication, and to lament the coldness of our own charity towards the maintenance of the true Spouse of Christ. For, if ever, now most truly, is that verified which the Poet long since said, 'Probitas laudatur, &

The value of the religious houses in Kent.

alget, Vertue is praised, but starveth for cold: God (in his good pleasure) blow upon our hearts with his holy spirit, and kindle in us a new and true fire to warm it again.

After this done, not only Reignold and Godfrey (two of the Sonnes of the said Richard, and of whom the latter was Bishop of Winchester) added somewhat to their Fathers gift, but also King John by his Charter (dated at Dover in the seventh

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year of his reign) confirmed whatsoever had been done, and gave many immunities and favours unto the place by the words, 'Deo, & Ecclesiæ beati Thomæ Martyris de Westwood in Lyesnes, & canonicis ibidem.' These Chanons were of the order of the Augustines: and as they were devoted to Thomas Becket, so were they devoured by Thomas Wolsy, being of that number which he suppressed for his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

<440>

The Marshes at Lyesnes.

The Annals of Saint Augustines doe report, that in the year after Christ 1279. the Abbat and Covent of Lyesnes inclosed a great part of their Marsh in Plumsted, and that within twelve years after they Inned the rest also to their great benefit. And this continued untill about the year 1527. at which time the River of Thames made irruption in two places, the one at Plumstede and the other at Earyth, which (through the untowardness of some owners and occupiers) was not recovered of long time after, notwithstanding the Statute made 22 of Henry the eight, for the speedie payment of the Taxes and Scotcs imposed upon the same: in so much as if the King with his treasure, and Sir Edward Boughton with his industrie had not interposed themselves, that whole level of rich land had been utterly surrounded and lost. Some parts were recovered, but the quantitie of two thousand

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acres lay still under water, whereof the owners had none other profit but only by fishing and cutting of Reed.

At the length, in the reign of our Sovereign that now is, certain Gentlemen and Merchants undertook the Inning of the whole, for the one half to be had to themselves: and for assurance to them, and furtherance of the enterprise, sundry acts of Parliament have passed in the 14. 23. and 27. years of her Majesties reign by means whereof, first the lesser breach was stopped, and therewith about five hundred acres rescued from the River: after that, in the year 1587. there was an Inning of

<441>

one thousand acres more, whereof the Inners (by the benefit of the last Statute) enjoyed the one half, and an eighth part of the other half, leaving only the residue to the owners. The great breach is not yet made up, whereby five hundred acres (or thereabouts) next to Lyesnes, are still mastered by the water: but so, as it daily giveth way, and filleth up the land with his residence (or bottome) which maketh hope that the same also within short time, and with no great cost may be made sound and sweet land again.

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Earethe, derived (as I guesse) of ÆErrehyðe, that is, the old Haven.

The ancient manner of the trial of right to Lands.

For plain example that our Elders before the Conquest had their trials for title of land, and other controversies in each Shire before a Judge then called Alderman or Shireman, of whom there is very frequent mention in the Laws of our Ancestors the Saxons, the which some years since were collected and published in one volume: and for assured proof also, that in those dayes they used to proceed in such causes by the oaths of many persons (testifying their opinion of his credit that was the first swearer, or partie) after the manner of our daily experience, as in the oath yet in ure, and called commonly Wager of Law, is to be seen: I have made choice of our Historie, containing briefly the narration of a thing done at this place by Dunstane the Archbishop of Canterbury, almost a hundred years before the comming of King William the Conqueror.

<442>

970

A rich man (saith the text of Rochester) being owner of Cray, Eareth, Ainesford, and Woldham, and having none issue of his body, devised the same lands, by his last will made in the presence of Dunstane and others) to a Kinswoman of his own for life, the remainder of the one half thereof,

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after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other half to Saint Andrewes of Rochester, for ever: He died, and his Wife took one Leofsun to Husband, who (overliving her) retained the land as his own, notwithstanding that by the form of the Devise his interest was determined by the death of his Wife.

The Office of a Shyreman.

Hereupon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the Scyreman, or Judge, of the Countie (as the same book interpreteth it) before whom both Dunstane the Archbishop, the parties themselves,

Wager of Law. <443> sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the Lay People appeared, all by appointment at Eareth: and there, in the presence of the whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a cross in his hand) made a corporall oath upon the book of the Ecclesiastical Laws unto the Shyreman (which then took it to the Kings use, because Leofsun himself refused to receive it) and affirmed, that the right of these lands was to Christes Church, and to Saint Andrewes.

For ratification and credit of which his oath, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East and West Kent, Eastsex, <M>idlesex, and Sussex,) took their oaths <al>so upon the Cross after him.

And thus, by this manner of judgement, <C>hrists Church and Saint Andrewes were

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brought into possession, and Leofsun utterly ejected for ever.

The Town of Eareth is an ancient corporation, either by reputation or Charter; but whether it hath been at any time of greater accompt, I finde not: and therefore, having already declared in manner whatsoever it hath note worthie, I will set down this one thing and leave it.

1457 Toward the latter end of the reign of King Henrie the sixt, there were taken at this Town four very great and rare fishes, of which one was then named to be Mors Marina, another a sword Fish, and the rest were supposed to be Whales.

Crayforde (alias Earde) in Saxon Crecanford, that is, the Ford (or passage) over the water, then called Crecca, now Cray.

Hengist and Horsa. <444> After the death of Horsa (of whom we have spoken in Ailesforde before) the Saxons made his brother Hengist their only King and leader. And he, minding forthwith to shew himself worthy of his newly attained honour, and willing to supply in himself the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gave them sundry great encounters: in divers of which, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting

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457 with them at Crayforde, he slew four of their chief Captains, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abandoned this Country, and with great fear fled to London before him.

The very beginning of the Kentish Kingdome. After this fight, the Britons not only never invaded Hengist (as Ralfe Higden writeth) but fled him like fire, as the

Orpington, and
the course of
Cray water.

Saxon History reporteth: so that even then, and not before, it might truly be said, that he had gained the possession of the Kentish Kingdome. The place is named of the water Cray, which beginneth at Newell in Orpington (untruely so termed for Dorpendun, which signifieth the head, or spring of the Hill water) runneth by Saint Marie Cray, Poules Cray, Fotescray, and Crayford (to all which it likewise giveth name) and cometh at length to Dartford, where it mingleth with the River Darent, and so openeth into the Thamise.

Caves, under
the ground.

There are to be seen, as well in the open Heath neer to this Town, as also in the closed grounds about it, sundry artificiall Caves, or Holes, in the Earth, whereof some have ten, some fifteen, and some twenty fathoms in depth: at the mouth (and thence downward) narrow, like to the Tonnell of a Chimney, or passage of a Well: but in the bottome large, and of great receipt: insomuch as some of them have sundry rooms (or partitions) one

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within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with Pillars of Chalk.

And, in the opinion of the inhabitants, these were in former times digged, as well for the use of the Chalk towards building, as for to marl (or amend) their arable Lands therewith. But I suppose, that they were made to another end also, by the Saxons our Ancestors, who (after the manner of their Elders) used them as receptacles, and places of secret retract, for their wives, children, and portable goods, in the times both of civill dissention, and forein invasion. For, Cornelius Tacitus, treating of the manners of the old Germanes (the very Syres of these Saxons) writeth thus: 'Solent & subterraneos specus aperire, & si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem & defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt quod quærenda sunt.' 'They use to digg' (saith he) 'certain Caves under the ground: and if the enemy come he spoileth all that is abroad: but such things as be thus hidden, either they lie unknown, or otherwise they deceive him in that he is driven to seek after them.' If these be not found in other places, it is to be imputed to the soil, which in Chalk only will afford this workmanship. Besides that many beasts have tumbled into some of these: it happened a late noble person in following his Hawk, not without great perill of his life, to fall

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into one of them, that was the least

twelve fathoms deep.

<446> Upon the water of Cray. was lately builded a Mill, for the making of plates, whereof Armour is fashioned.

Dartforde, in Saxon, Derentford, in Latine, Derenti vadum: it signifieth, the ford, (or passage) over the River Derent.

Mesopotamia signifieth a Country encompassed with Rivers. Now be we returned into Mesopotamia, for so me thinketh that this Country lying between the Rivers of Derent and Medwey, may not unaptly be termed.

And here you must call to minde that which you heard in Rochester before: namely, that King John wan the Castle of Rochester from William Dalbyney, through the faint heart and cowardize of Robert Fitzwalter, whom the Nobility had sent of purpose to rescue it: and now (the place so requiring) you shall understand the whole manner of the thing, and how it happened.

Rochester Castle besieged. The noble men, that maintained the warr against King John, understanding that he laid siege to the Castle at Rochester, and fearing that William Dalbiney (or Dalbinet) the Captain thereof, could not long defend it without supply of such things as he wanted, and they could not

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<447> well minister: determined to give some adventure to raise the siege. And for that purpose, made Robert Fitzwalter general of a great Army. This man, when he came to Dartforde, met with a Gentleman of the order of the Temple, of whom he demanded sundry questions for intelligence of the number of the Kings Camp: who (finding him to be afraid) told him of set purpose, that the Kings Army was much greater then his, whereas indeed his power was thrise so bigg as the Kings: hereupon Robert, (being with this false terror stricken into an exceeding great fear, whose companion is flight, as Homer well saith) without further inquisition, sought to save himself by the swiftnes of his feet, and so through a faint heart left Rochester to the uttermost adventure.

If King John had followed, I think it would have become of this man, as it sometime chanced of a certain white livered fellow: who hearing great praise of Hercules strength, forthwith conveyed himself into a Cave, and when he had spied him (by chance) passing that way, he died out of hand for extreme fear.

1335 I read, that in the time of King Henry the third, Frederic the Emperor sent hither the Archbishop of Colein, accom=

Princes, may
woo by Pi=
cture, and
marry by
Proctor.

panied with sundry noble personages, to
demand Isabell the Kings Sister to be gi=
ven him in marriage: the which (foras=

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much as the Embassadors liked the young
Lady well) was (after such a solemniza=
tion as in absence may be performed)
married unto him at this Town, and then
delivered to the Orators to be carried
over.

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The Abbay.

Whereby I make conjecture, that al=
though there be not in story, mention of
any great building at Dartforde, before
the time of the Abbay, which was raised
long after this marriage; yet there was
some faire house of the Kings, or of some
others, even at this time there: For other=
wise, I know not how to make it a meet
place for so honorable an appointment.
But leaving all conjecture, certain it is,
that afterward King Edward the third a=
bout the 24 year of his Reign, founded
there a fair Monastery consisting of a Pri=
oresse, (who was a Recluse) and of 39
Sisters, that were after the Order and rule
of the Friars preachers of Saint Augustine,
dedicating their Service to Saint Mary
and St. Margaret, the Virgins. And be=
cause some imperfections were found in
divers of his graunts, King Edward the
fourth in the seventh year of his Reign
vouchsafed them a new patent of confir=
mation and amendment. The reveue of
this house, at the generall dissolution, was
found to be three hundred and eighty
pounds by yeer, and of it King Henry the
eight (not without great cost) made a

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fit house for himself and his successors.

The old man
ner of Tour=
neament.

1331

The same King Edward the third, at
one time in his return from France, pro=
claimed a generall Torneament (or Justs)
to be holden at Dartforde, which he and
his Nobles performed most honorably.

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This manner of exercise, being then u=
sed, not at the Tilt (as I think) but at Ran=
don, and in the open field, was accomp=
ted so dangerous to the persons having to
doe therein, that sundry Popes had for=
bidden it by Decree, and the Kings of
this Realm (before King Stephan) would
not suffer it to be frequented within their
land: so that, such as for exercise of that
feat in armes, were desirous to prove
themselves, were driven to pass over the
Seas, and to perform it in some indiffe=
rent place in a forrein Country. But af=
terward, King Stephan in his time per=
mitted it: and then after him, King Rich=
ard the first not only allowed it, but also
encouraged his Nobility to use it: and so

by little and little, the danger being sufficiently provided for, and the men waxing expert, it grew in the time of the Kings that followed (especially in the reign of this Edward the third) to a most pleasant, usuall, and familiar pastime.

But, to return to Dartforde again: The first motive of that rebellious assembly of the Common people of this Shire, which chanced in the time of King Richard the

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second (whereof you heard somewhat in Blackheath before) was given at this Town, by this occasion.

1381
The occasion
of John Tylars
rebellion.

The Parliament holden at Northampton in the third year of King Richards reign, had assessed a great subsidie for the maintenance of his warres beyond the Seas: namely, half a mark upon the head of every religious and ecclesiasticall person, both man and woman: and one shilling (though Polydore being deceived himself, and deceiving such as follow him, say that it was but a groat) upon the head or polle of every lay man and woman, married or unmarried. The collection of which Taxe, was at the first committed to such, as had pitie of their poor neighbours, and spared them: So that when the money was come into the Treasury, certain Cormorants of the Court found fault with the smalness of the summe, and therefore, offering unto the King a great piece of money for that which (as they said) was uncollected, they praied Commission from him to ask and levie it. The young Prince that had not yet read in the old Poet, that he was the Shepheard of his people, and that it was his part to fleece, but not to flea his flock, assented to their desire: and they forthwith came downe into the Country, made their pety Collectors in every quarter, and with great extremities raked much money

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from the miserable people. Amongst the rest, one naughty fellow dishonestly intrated a young Damosell, daughter to one John Tyler that dwelt in Dartford: which thing when the Father heard, he fell at words with the Officer, and from words to worse, so that in the end he slew him.

This done, the Common people of the Town, partly for grudge at the imposition, and some other things, which shall follow anon, partly for maintenance of that which they thought well done: and partly to eschew the punishment that by execution of justice might fall upon them, assembled their neighbours, and growing

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to some number, made this Tyler their Captain, named him Jack Strawe: and did, and had further, as you in part have heard before, and may at large read almost in every English Chronicle. The narration whereof, I doe the rather pass over, because I am here to note another matter, no less pertinent to mine own purpose, and more beneficiall for the advertisement of such as it shall like to read that historie. Polydore Virgil, in the report of this matter, cannot abide that there should be alleaged any other cause of this commotion than that Taxe of money whereof I have before spoken, and saith plainly, that they doe but serve the Princes eares that seek any further. But as I

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have been hitherto contented to joyn with him in laying it forth as the present occasion of the sturre: So he must now give me leave to leave him, since he will have it also the only cause and fountain of all that hurling, as they tearmed it.

For it is plainly true, not only by Thomas Walsingham, which lived in that very age, but also by the Records of the Parliaments of the time it self, that the Bound-men, Land-tenants, and other the common and inconstant people, did run to weapon on heaps, purposing no less to deliver themselves from the servitude of body and land which they endured before, than to be acquitted of that Taxe that was by Parliament then newly laid upon them.

Cap. 6.
Cap. 6.

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The beginning and end of all which thing is to be seen in the Acts of the first and fift years of King Richard the second: of which two Statutes, the first being made two years before the generall insurrection was ripe, taketh order for the punishment of such as did then riotously assemble in many parts of the Realm, threatening as it were a rebellion at hand, and sought by force, some to be enfranchised, and some to get Releases from their Lords of their Rents, Customes, and wonted Servises: the latter Law maketh void all such Manumissions, Bonds, and Releases, as they had by might and manacing wrested from

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their Lords during the time of this very rebellion it self. The midst also (which containeth the whole history of their proceeding in that uprore) is largely set forth by Thomas Walsingham, who not only sheweth, that the demands of those seditious persons concerned chiefly villenage, and custumarie servises, but reciteth also (word for word) the Records of the

Proclamations, Rescripts, and Pardons of the Prince in that behalf: which things being laid together, doe make mine assertion so full and manifest, that no man shall need to doubt thereof, if he will vouchsafe but once to read them.

I gather therefore, that even as a Pistol that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a man doe but touch the Seare; and as the evill humor in a natural body (being ejected into the outward parts, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily break, if it be never so little prickt or lanced: so the commons of some parts of the Realm, being at that time full swoln with rancor that they had before conceived against their Lords, lay now in await for some opportunity to cast out their venome: and therefore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them all, they flocked together by and by, and laboured under that covert to pull their necks clean out of the Collers.

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I might here also use the authority of

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this last named Author, to controll Polydore withall in one or two other points of this self historie: But because my purpose is, not to reform his writing, but to inform mine one Reader, I wil spare to speak any further thereof at this time.

This place (as Crayford before) hath the name of the water running thorow it, commonly called Derent, but more cunningly (as Leland saith) Dorquent, which in the British noteth the Clear water. It riseth from two fountains, the one appearing near the edge of our Shire at Squyreys in Westram (the Town where John Fryth, that learned Confessor, and most constant Martyr, was born) the other at Tittesey in Surrey; so watereth it Otforde, Aynesford, and Darnt (whereto it giveth the name) thence falleth to this Town, and in company of Cray water, offereth some help to the river of Thamise.

Upon this Derent also, have been lately erected two Mills of rare devise (or rather singular, within our Realm) the one employed for the making of all sorts of Paper: the other exercised for the drawing of Iron into Wyres, and bigger lengths and fashions, as well for the readier making of Nails of all kindes, as for the easier dispatch of Barres for Windowes, and other Services.

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The Brent, or Dartfordes Brent.

The sight of this ground not only reduceth to my remembrance that

The dissention between the houses of York and Lancaster.

deadly and dolefull division of the houses of York and Lancaster (or rather of this whole Realm in their behalf and quarrel; But also induceth me, by a manner of necessity, to make rehearsall of that long and wofull historie it self, least otherwise I be not understood of my reader, whilest I shall labor to set down such parts thereof as belong to the place now presently come to my hand. Take it therefore thus wholly, and withall so truly and shortly as I can.

The reign and troubles of King Richard the second.

King Edward the third had issue (amongst others) these five sonnes: First Edward, the noble Prince of Wales, commonly tearmed the Black Prince: Then William of Hatfield, which dyed in his childhood: Thirdly Lionel, the Duke of Clarence: after him, John, the Duke of Lancaster, surnamed of Gaunt: and fiftly Edmund, that was born at Langley, and was first made Earl of Cambridge, and afterward created Duke of York. Prince Edward, the eldest, died in the life of his father, and left behinde him Richard his sonne, which at eleven years of his age succeeded his Grandfather in the Kingdome, and was called the second of his name.

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This mans government was after a time greatly misliked, both of his own near kinsmen, and of sundry others of the Nobility, in so much, that (either for his fault, or of their own ambition, or both) they not only discommended it boldly to his face, but also forcibly compelled him to summon a Parliament in the eleventh year of his reign, and, against his own liking, to punish some by exile, and others by death, whom they charged to have misled him.

But so farre off was it that any good came thereby either to the King, to themselves, or to the estate, that he continually from thenceforth sought after revenge; they (for the most part) smarted for it, and all things in the Common-wealth declined from evill to worse.

And first he caused the head of his own Uncle Thomas of Woodstock (the sixt son of King Edward) whom the common People in honour of his virtue, used to call the Good Duke of Glocester, to be striken off, because he had been a principall actor in that Parliament. Afterward he beheaded the Earl of Arundale, banished the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Earl of Warwick, and adjudged some others to perpetuall imprisonment. Furthermore, he confined his Nephew Henrie of Bolinbrooke (the Duke of Hereford, and eldest son to John of Lancaster)

upon a very light and slender accusation, and after the death of Duke John his father he withheld his proper inheritance (the Duchie of Lancaster) from him.

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King Richard the second loseth the hearts of his Subjects.

By which his fierce dealing, the hearts of his Nobilitie were quite estranged: yea the common People also began to be offended, partly for grief of Duke Thomas his death, partly for pitie of Henries exile and injurie, and partly for the Kings indirect proceeding in the Parliaments at London and Shrewsbury, where he both repealed his former pardons given to his Subjects, and falsified some Rolls of the Parliament it self, but principally because he charged at once seventeen several Shires of his Realm with high treason, for assailing the Duke of Glocester in that Parliament whereof I spake, and had not only constrained every man in them to swear unto him the oath of Fidelitie of new, but enforced each man also to confess himself a traitor under his own hand writing, and withall to subscribe a blank Bill of debt, whereby he might be afterward charged with whatsoever summe it should please the King himself to insert and lay upon him.

Henry the 4. invadeth the Crown.

Hereupon Henrie of Bolinbrooke, perceiving that all men could like of a change, and being secretly assured of his own welcome, awaited the opportunity, and whilest the King was busie in Ireland, he returned

into this Realm, invaded the Crown, and within fourty dayes after, and without any bloodshed or blow given, obtained it.

King Richard the second is murdered in prison.
<457>

And so Richard wh*ilest* he sought unjustly to gain another mans Duchie, was by the just vengeance of God deprived of his own Royaltie and Kingdome. The remnant of his dayes he spent in prison, where after a while he was violently made away, and left none issue behinde him.

Thus took Henrie the Regalitie upon him, and so did his sonne, and his sonnes sonne, two other Henries, called the fift and the sixt after him, which three Princes, for as much as they were lineally descended from John of Gaunt, (the Duke of Lancaster) were called of the house of Lancaster, and gave to their friends and followers, a red Rose for their badge or conusance.

The White Rose and the Red, with their Pedigrees and Titles.

Against these the bearers of the White Rose, that is they of the Familie of Yorke, became competitors of the Crown, and strived for chief place in the Garland: whether rightfully, or no, let that be tried

by this Pedigree following.

Lionell the Duke of Clarence, and third sonne to King Edward the third (for of his first, second, and fourth sonnes, I have told already) had issue Philip (his daughter and heir) which was married to Edmund Mortimer (Earl of the Marches of

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Wales) who also, for the better establishment of the succession, was therefore in the life of King Richard the second openly declared Heir apparent to the Crown, if it should happen that King to die without issue of his bodie. Edmund and Philip had issue one Roger Mortimer: and he left issues, Edmund, Roger, Anne, and Eleonore: of which four, three died without any issue, but Anne was given in marriage to Richard the Earl of Cambridge (a younger sonne to Edmund of Langley) the fift sonne (as I first told you) of King Edward the third, and which was the first Duke of Yorke, of which honor all the race following were surnamed of the house of York also.

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This Earl of Cambridge had issue by Anne, Richard Plantagenet the Duke of Yorke, who also (besides eleven other Children) begat Edward, that was afterward King, and named the fourth of that calling.

Hereby you see, that after the death of King Richard the second, none of the house of Lancaster could succeed him as next heir, so long as any of Duke Lionels race did remain; unless you will say that the fourth brother ought to inherit before the third, and consequently the yonger sonne before the elder. Which absurditie, when King Henrie the fourth (having caught the Crown) did well enough see,

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and knew withall that thousands (even then alive) could have witnessed the truth of all this matter against him, he thought it best to mount higher, and by fetching his title above the memorie of any man, to make it, if not plausible, yet at the least more colourable and likely.

And therefore, when as at the time of his Coronation it was of set purpose openly pronounced, that King Richard had resigned the Crown, and that thereby the Kingdome was vacant, he arose out of his Throne, and in plain speech challenged it to himself, as descended of the blood Royall from King Henrie. Now what he meant thereby, I will but touch the matter and tell you.

King Henrie the third (for him he meant) had two sonnes, Edward and

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The Title and Claim of the House of Lancaster was but feigned.

Edmund: of which two, Edward (as all histories of the time doe without controversie agree) being the elder by three and twenty yeers and above, was first Prince of Wales, and then the first King of his name, and (for his tall personage) by-named Longshank.

Edmund, the younger was Duke of Lancaster, and (for the bowing of his shoulders) surnamed Crouchbacke. This oddes of their ages notwithstanding, it was long after feigned (in favour of the house of Lancaster) that Edmund was the first born of the twain, and that he was re-

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jected for his deformitie, and Edward preferred (as the more worthy) to the inheritance of the Crown. And therefore, as King Henrie the fourth had derived his Duchie from his Mother Blaunch, the daughter and heir of Henrie Duke of Lancaster, and descended of that Edmund: Even so would he have deduced the Kingdome by the same line of descent, and thereby disprove at once (as meer usurpations) all the former regiments of Edward the first, Edward the second, Edward the third, and Richard the second, which Kings, (with allowance of all men) had rightfully reigned more than 126 years before him.

And truly, as he was now ready through great ambition, to have maintained this new broched title with his sword: So wanted there not afterward some, that through servile flatterie laboured in word and writing to recommend it as true and ancient. Of which number (a learned Judge and Chancellor to the Prince that was sonne to King Henrie the sixt) was one; who wrote a whole Treatise (which I once saw) in confirmation of that his Masters right and title.

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But let King Henrie the fourth and his Posteritie stand here invested with the royal Diadem, and let us a while behold with what quiet he and they kept it, & for how long season the third heir enjoyed the same.

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Troubles moved in the time of King Henry the 4 by the house of York, for recovery of the Crown.

Not long after the deposition of King Richard, and during the time of his imprisonment, his brother the Duke of Excester, associated with the Duke of Aumarle, the Earls of Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and with others moe, conjured to oppresse the person of King Henry in a mummerie at Windsore: but as their intention was discovered, and themselves executed therefore, so also King Richard was forthwith made out of the way, least his life should afterward give occasion of

1399

the like attempt to any other.

1400 Soon after, Sir Roger Claringdon, the
Prior of Laund, and certain Friars went
about to stirre up the Subjects, by per=
swading the World that King Richard
was yet living: at which time Owen Glen=
dore was for his part very busie in Wales
also.

1401 In the next yeer after that, Sir Thomas
Percy (the Earl of Worcester) gave the
King a Battaile at Shrewsbury. And in
1405 the sixt yeer of his reign, Richard Scrope
the Archbishop of Yorke, Thomas
Mombray (the Earl Marshall) and
one Plumton put themselves in Armes a=
gainst him.

<461> Not past two yeers after which time
also, Henry Percy (the Earl of Northum=
berland, which had married Elizabeth,
1408 a daughter to Edmund Mortimer) ad=
joined himself to the Lord Bardolfe and

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certain Scots, and taking weapon in hand
renewed the warr upon him.

So that King Henry the fourth, albeit
he kept the Saddle in all this leaping and
flinging, yet (as you see) he was exceed=
ingly tossed with domesticall warr almost
three parts of his whole reign.

At the last, having gotten a few Hal=
cion daies, or rather cares, he departed this
life, sory (as some say) for that which he
had done.

1414
King Henry
the fifts Rign
and conquests.

Another at=
tempt by the
house of York.

Henry the fift (a martiall man also)
succeeded his Father in the Kingdome,
whose life was likewise in great danger
the seconde yeer of his Reign. For Ri=
charge (the Earl of Cambridge, and hus=
band to Anne the right heire of the
Crown) perceiving that the former as=
saies of his friends had taken no successe,
took the matter into his own hands, and
allying himself with Henry Scrope the
Lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Graye,
purposed to have slain the King at Hamp=
ton even when he was ready to embarke
towards Normandie. But when his device
was deciphered, and himself assured to
suffer therefore, he chose rather to say,
that he did it as corrupted with the mo=
ney and crowns of France, then to be ac=
knowen that he had directed his shot at
the Crown of England, least if that had
been espied, he might together with the
losse of his own life, have deprived his

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posterity of all hope to recover their de=
sired right.

<462> King Henry, when he had bereaved
them of life that sought his death, passed
over into France, and there spent the

time in such prosperous warr and conquest, that he was made Regent of that Realm in the life of King Charles, and declared King after his death. But by reason that Charles of France overlived him, that honour descended to his Sonne King Henry the sixth, who was Crowned in Paris, within eleven yeers after.

King Henry the sixth and his government.

Now, during a great part of the Reign of this latter King Henry also, the Nobility, both of this faction, and of our whole Nation, was so exercised with the French warrs abroad, that they had no leisure to attend their private quarrels at home: so that for the first thirty yeers almost of this King Henries government, nothing was attempted against him in the behalf of the house of Yorke, unlesse that be true of Eleonor Cobham, and Roger Bolinbrooke (otherwise called Onley) who are charged by some with a conspiracy to bewitch him, whereof others make doubt and question.

The causes of his woe.

But afterward, when this King began to lose that, which his Father had gained in France, and when he had not only married the King Scicles daughter against his own precontract made with the Earl of

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Armenac, and against the advice of his chief Nobility: but had also suffred his deer uncle Humfrey (that renowned Duke of Gloucester) to be treacherously murdered and made away, and himself to be altogether ruled by Queen Margaret his wife, and William the Duke of Suffolke, the very artificers of Duke Humfreyes destruction, then Richard Plantagenet (the Duke of Yorke) at whom also Queen Margaret and her complices had privily pricked, took occasion by the forehead, and (as a coal out of the ashes) began by little and little to peep out and bewray himself. And although both many of the Nobility, and most of the common sort, were weary of the present estate and government: yet he, being made wise by his Fathers fall, would neither plainly disclose his purpose, ne take the matter straightway upon himself, but sought rather to atchieve his desire by other mens cost, then at his own perill.

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Further assaies of the house of York.

Jac Cades Rebellion.

And therefore, as in a heard of the great Bucks, when there is noise abroad, will beat forward the Rascal: so he, first set Jac Cade of Ireland on work (as it is to be thought) causing him to call himself Mortimer (which name waxed then plausible again, in hatred of King Henrie) and so to move the unsteady multitude, that murmured much, and gaped daily for a change. But when he saw that assembly

soon scattered, and yet not so much by any power of the Prince, or love of his people as by the Counsell and credite of the Duke of Somerset, a man of great valour, and (as things then stood) the only stop in his way to the Crown whereunto he secretly aspired, he determined before all other things, and with all his might and main to lift at that block and impediment.

<464> And therefore, backing himself with the Earl of Devonshire and the Lord Cobham, and charging the Duke of Somerset as author of all the evils in the Commonwealth, he gathered a great Army in the marches of Wales, and so making forward took the field at the Brent where we now be.

The Brent at
Dartforde.
Blackheath.

The King on the other side arraid a strong battaile also, and came to Blackheath ready to have foughten with him: but through the mediation of certain noble men, some Lords and Bishops were sent with commission, both to demand for what cause he had put on Armour, and also to enter into conditions of atonement with him. He required only, that the Duke of Somerset might first be committed to safe custody, and then be compelled by order of Law to answer to such crimes as he had to object against him: which being done, he promised to disarm himself, and to dismisse his company. The

King assented, and for a colour, cause the Duke of Somerset to withdraw himself out of sight: but when the Duke of Yorke came to the Kings campe, he found the Duke of Somerset, not only set at full liberty, contrary to the Kings and his Commissioners promise; but armed also with such authority, that he arrested him of Yorke, and made him to be led as a prisoner in triumph before the King, against his own expectation.

<465> Neverthelesse, when they had considered that they had but a Wolf by the eares, whom they could neither well hold, nor might safely let goe, they yet resolved at the last to restore him to liberty, somewhat because he came in upon safe conduct of the Kings word, but more because it was then noised that his Sonne Edward, the Earl of Marche, was marching towards them, with a great power to rescue him.

By this mean, on the one side the Duke of Somerset waxed every day more deer and secret to the King, and was forthwith honoured with the Captainship of Ca=

1456
King Henry
the sixt, is ta=
ken in the field
at St. Albans.

laice: and on the other side, the displea=
sure and fury of the Duke of Yorke was a
great deal the more incensed: so that
thirsting after revenge, he with the aide
of his friends encountered the King and
the Duke of Somerset in a fight at Saint
Albons, where also he slew the one, and

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The Duke of
York, is made
Protector.

took the other. The Duke he left to be
buried there, the King he brought with all
outward shew of reverence to London
with him, and there by a forced Parlia=
ment such as had the chief Rooms before
were removed, himself was declared Pro=
tector of the Realm, Richard Nevile the
Earl of Salisbury made Chancellor and
President of the Councill, and his Sonne
Richard Nevile the Earl of Warwicke, ap=
pointed Captain of Calaice and leader of
the warr.

<466>

Thus have I shewed you (by occasion
of the place where we be) the cause of
this great strife and partiality, and
brought you by the hand (as it were) both
to the first step of that privie stair which
they of the House of Yorke made for re=
covery of their right, and to the first act
of open hostility in that quarrell: and
now both mine own former order, and
the haste that I have to make an end, doe
require that I should leave the matter
here: But yet, partly for my promise sake,
partly because I am loth to mangle and
maim the history, which if it stand whole
is so much the more worthy of the read=
ing, and partly also for that it hath in the
sequele some things that belong to this
Shire, I will break square for this once, and
tell you out both the course and conclu=
sion of all this tragicall history.

Queen Margaret, (which had before

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time ruled all, and could not now bear
to be directed by any) seeing well enough
that the Duke of Yorke had already got=
ten the Sword, and that the King her Hus=
band h<a>d but only the Crown left him,
whereat also the Duke secretly aimed, she
never ceased to sollicite the King, till this
new Protector and Chancellor were dis=
charged of their Offices: and not so con=
tented, she practised with her Husband
to send for them and the Earl of War=
wicke to Coventrie, where (having before
laid the trap) she had almost taken them.

This device of hers, as it had made an
end of the controversie if it had taken
place: so, being discovered, it greatly a=
mended the quarrell of her adversaries,
and gave them good colour to fall to
Armes again for their just defence.

1458

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A feigned re=
conciliation
between these
two houses.

The matter therefore being now like to grow to open war and enmity, it was eft= soon thought meet, that the King should pretend a vehement desire of reconcilia= tion: and for that purpose, they met shortly after at London on all hands, and from the teeth forward departed good friends again: but indeed envious ran= cour so boiled in the brest, that it not only belched, but also brake forth immediately. And that was the cause, that soon after the Kings own household assaulted the Earl of Warwicke at Westminster, and the Lord Audeley set upon his Father the Earl

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of Salisbury at Bloreheath, each so fiercely, that the Earls with much adoe escaped their hands.

From thenceforth therefore the hatred waxed deadly, and the strife seemed to be now, not who should lead and reign, but rather who should live and remain: inso= much as forthwith there was on both parts open conference of warre, the men were mustered, and the Armies ranged, being ready over night to have joyned in the morning, when (loe) the Duke and his Complices, partly upon sight that they were the weaker, and partly for the de= fection of some which had bewrayed their counsells, suddenly forsook the field, and fled, some into Ireland, and the residue unto Calaiice.

Sandwiche
twice surprised
by force,

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Howbeit neither Land nor Seas could so divide them, but that they met both in minde and person, to communicate of their affaires. In which mean while also, they wan the Town of Sandwich twice, by the hand of Denham their Captain, who at both times took away all their Vessels that he found in the Haven, and first led a= way as prisoners the Lord Ryvers and the Lord Scalys his Sonne, and then after= ward beheaded Mountfort that succeeded them.

But after some entercourses, and when they had agreed upon a plat of their busi= ness, then the Earles of Marche, Salisbu=

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ry, and Warwicke, came over from Ca= laice, furnished with some strength which they brought, but assisted with more that fell unto them here, the rather because it was by policie sounded abroad, that these Noble men intended nothing against the King, but only against certain evill Coun= sellors that were about him.

The King, on the other side, slept not when he heard of their arrivall, but with all possible power made ready against them. At the length, both the Armies met

King Henry the sixth, is secondly taken prisoner at Northampton.

at Northampton, and there was the Kings power discomfited, sundry Noble men of his part slain, and he himselfe secondly brought into captivitie.

The Duke of York is declared Heire to the Crown.

Thence is he once more carried to London, and his name used to sommon a Parliament, whereunto also commeth the Duke of York in all haste out of Ireland, maketh his claim to the Crown, sheweth his right, and prevaieth so far that he is by assent presently made Protector and Regent of the Realm, and declared heir to the Crown after the death of the King; with Proviso semper, that if King Henry should goe about to empeach this Ordinance, that then the Duke should rejoyce the Kingdome in possession immediately.

<469>

And thus hath this Duke at once both opened and in manner obtained his desire. For now hath he climbed the second step

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1459
The Duke of York is slain in a battel at Wakefield.

<of> this Stair to the Crown, and there <wa>nteth nothing to achieve the top, but <on>ly to bring the Queen into hands, who also (by refusing to obey the agreement) hath ministred him just cause to demand it. But even as many things happen (according to the Proverb) between the Cup and the Lippe: So this man having brought the Crown more than half way to his head, leaveth the King with the Earl of Warwicke, and speedeth himself with all preparation to pursue the Queen: by whose friends and their power, he was met withall at Wakefeild, and their slain dead in the fight. In the neck (or rather in the nick) of which also the Queen setteth fiercely upon the Duke of Norfolke and the Earl of Warwick at Saint Albons, and so plyeth them, that they were glad to save themselves by flight, and to leave the King their Prisoner behinde them. There was he eftsoones restored to liberty, and his Keeper Sir Thomas Criel (or Criel) a man of great prowess, and parentage in this Shire, cut shorter by the head.

Another fight at S. Albons.

Sir Thomas Kyriel beheaded.

Now would a man have thought, that the house of York had hitherto but beaten water in a mortar and lost all their former labor. And truly the Duchess herself, seeing her husband slain, and his best helpes discomfited, began to think the case desperate, and therefore dispatched George and Richard, her younger sonnes, out of

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the Realm. But Edward her eldest, <the> Earl of March, whom God (rejecting <his> father) had reserved for the Crown, <not> a whit dismaied at all this matter, had in the mean while made way with his wea-

Edward the fourth, obtaineth the Crown to the house of York.

pon by discomfiture of the Earls of Penbroke and Wilshyre at Mortimers Cross, and so joyning with the Earl of Warwicke at Cotswolde, marcheth forthright to London, claimeth the Crown by his own right and King Henries forfeiture, receiveth the homage of all the Nobility, is embraced of the Commons, and proclaimed the fourth King of his name.

A great battell and slaughter at Towton.

From thence he passeth in royall array towards York, where King Henry and his wife lay, and at Towton (not far from the City won the fight and field, where were slain 36000. in one battell. So that he and his entred York in triumph, but Henry, his wife, and some of their freinds fled thence in great fear unto Scotland, and she with her sonne afterward into France.

1461

This feat thus luckily atchived, King Edward committed the charge of the North parts to the Earl of Warwicke, and retired himself to London, where about Midsomer after, he was with great pompe anointed King, and so continued the right of the house of York which by the space of 61. years before had been withholden from it.

But now, as he saw that he had not

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won the Garland without great labor and bloodshed, his enimies being at home: so neither did he think that he could weare it without continuall care and vigilancie whilest they lived abroad. And therefore (foreseeing in minde, what followed indeed) he caused all the Marches toward Scotland to be kept against Henry, and the Sea Coasts towards France to be watched against his wife: So that when she (within a year after) thought to have arrived here, she was beaten to the Sea again, and by the Sea and weather driven into Scotland, where her husband was.

He also, being by that time grown to some strength, partly by her company, and partly by others aid, invaded King Edward upon the north, and pearced as far as to Hexam: But there was the Lord Montacute ready for him, who gave him such a welcome, that his whole band was defeated, his chief friends were taken, himself being driven to great shift, and his wife enforced to return to her father into France again.

1465
Henry the sixth is the third time taken at Hexam.

Not long after, when Henry (being out of all hope to recover his place by forrein aid dissembled his person to the end that he might sollicite some new helps within the Realm, he was thirdly taken with the manner, brought up to the King, and laid fast in the Towre at London.

These things thus prosperously succee=

ding, King Edward sought (for three <or> four years together) not only by just<ice> and liberalitie to fortifie himself amon<gst> his own subjects, but also by encounter of forrein alliance to weaken Queen Mar=garet, whose hope of help (if any were left) was altogether reposed in his neigh=bours. And for this purpose it was thought good to send the Earl of War=wick into France, with commission to move and make up a marriage for the King with the Ladie Bona sister to the Kings wife there. But this became such a bone of dissention between these dear friends King Edward and the Earl, that they were from thenceforth so divorced by it, as they could never after be united again.

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King Edward and the Earl of Warwick fall out.

For whilst the Earl had in that Trea=tise so handled the matter with the King of France and the young Ladie, that his Masters suit was thereby obtained, he (no less suddenly then secretly) bestowed him=self upon the Lady Graye, a Widowe, whose Husband was slain in the fight at Saint Albons. This, whether it happened of a certain levitie and wanton love (as indeed he is noted of that fault) or whe=ther he (following that Oracle and coun=sell in husbandrie, 'In olea, ramus cæteris lætior recidendus, ne tota arbor contristetur') did it of set purpose and policie to dis=countenance the Earl, whose popularitie and greatness he had to fear, I know not,

<bu>t assuredly I finde, that the Earl con= <ce>ived such implacable hatred against the <K>ing therefore, that (howsoever he dissembled it for a time) he sought by all waies to remove him, and to restore Henry to the Crown.

The Earl of Warwick seek= eth revenge.

First therefore, he communicateth this grief with his two brethren, George the Archbishop of Yorke, and John the Mar=quess of Montacute, and by great perswa=sion assureth them unto him: Then, by cunning means and marriage of his daughter, he assureth unto his part George the Duke of Clarence, and withdraweth him from the King his own brother. The match thus made, a quarrel is picked, the Northern people are incited to take up weapon, and warre is made upon the King with great success.

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Fight at Nor= thampton.

For first the Northern men, of their own power compell the Earl of Penbroke to turn the back near to Northampton: And afterward by the aid of the Duke and the Earl discomfit his men secondly, and take himself in the field at Banbury. Then commeth King Edward in person, and

Fight at Banbury.

King Edward
is taken, and
escapeth.

encampeth himself at Woolney: where,
whiles the time was spent in a treatie of
pacification with the Duke and the Earl,
which were then at Warwick, his adver=
saries come suddenly upon him by night
in a Camisado, and killing his watch, take
himself unawares in his tent also.

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But albeit that it pleased God thus to
chastise him for a season, yet meant he not
to cast him away, neither to suffer the joy
of his enimies to have long continuance.
For soon after (being conveyed into York=
shire by night journies, and there kept in
a liberall prison) what by the negligence
or corruption of his keepers, and what by
the happie assistance of his friends, he
escaped their hands, repaired new forces,
and finding that no parley woulde bring
him peace) first so chased Sir Robert Welles
and his Lincolnshire men at Edgecoate, that
the battell (in memory that they threw a=
way their Coats, to the end that they might
run away the lighter) was called by allusion
Losecoatfield: and afterwarde so daunted
his brother and the Earl, that they, finding
themselves unable to hold out any longer
here, fled over into France, with their
friends and familie.

1470
Losecotefield
in Lincoln=
shire.
<474>

There found they Queen Margaret,
Henries wife, and Prince Edward his son,
between whom and the Earl of Warwicks
daughter a new knot of alliance (by me=
diation of the French King, a very Bel=
lowes of this fire) was forthwith knit up
and tyed, and withall another plot of re=
viving the warre against King Edward
was agreed upon.

This done and concluded, Lewes the
King of France, and Renard Queen Mar=
garets father, spare neither cost nor labour

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to furnish out the Duke of Clarence, and
the Earls of Warwicke, Oxford, and Pen=
brooke (who also was now of the same de=
votion) with Men and Money, Weapon
and Vessel: And they (not tarrying till
the Queen and her sonne could make rea=
dy for the journey) came over to give the
first attempt, and left them as a supply to
follow.

And here it was a world to behold the
manner of the common and moveable
multitude. For these Noble men were
no sooner landed at Dartmouth in the
West Countrie, and had stricken the
Drumme in the name of King Henry, but
there was flocking on heaps to them from
all the parts of the Realm, and crying a
Warwick, a Warwick, King Henry, King
Henry: So that King Edward astonished

For the incon=
stancie of the
Commons
King Edward
flieth over the
Sea.

at the strangeness of the matter, thought not so much of any mean how to resist his enimies as how to save himself. And there=
fore, in all haste, and not without great hazard, he conveyeth himself, his brother Richard, and a few others by land unto Lynne, and from thence by Sea into Flan=
ders, there to use the advice and aid of his brother in Law Charles the Duke of Bur=
gundie. Queen Elizabeth his wife also, being then great with child, and destitute of better shift, shrowded her self at West=
minster, in the Abbats Sanctuarie.

<475>

1471

This while commeth Warwick (our

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English Martell that would make and marre Kings at his pleasure) with his com=
plices forward to London, and without any manner of resistance goeth straight to the Tower, and unprisoneth King Henry, whom he had imprisoned before. He also most joyfully resumeth his former Roy=
altie, calleth a Parliament, denounceth King Edward a traitor, maketh new Lords, new Laws, turneth all things up=
side down, and draweth (as it were) a new world after him.

King Henrie is restored by the Earl of War=
wick.

King Edward, on the other side, having now recovered breath after his running away, and seeing well that delay of time would breed danger to himself, and beget assurance to his enimies, taketh such help as the Duke (his brother in Law) could presently make him, and speedeth him over to Ravensport in Yorkshire, trusting that upon the knowledge of his arrival infinite numbers of men would have fallen unto him. But when he found by proof, that few or none there durst shew him coun=
tenance, for fear of the contrarie faction, he was driven to change his note, and whereas he came over at the first to reco=
ver his Kingdome, he was then glad to say that he sought nothing but the Duke=
dome of Yorke his proper inheritance.

King Edward useth fowl shifts

<476>

By which policie partly, and partly by perjurie (a fowler shift) he first gained the Citie of York, and drew unto him a

523

great companie. Then proceedeth he fur=
ther, and reconcileth his brother the Duke of Clarence, and so handleth the matter with the Marquess Montacute also (who was laid to encounter him in the way) that he suffered him to pass by untouched.

Henry the 6. is fourthly ta=
ken at London

Thus commeth Edward to London un=
looked for, and thereby so amazeth the Nobilitie, that (each man making the best shift for himself) poor King Henry was left post alone, and now fourthly and fi=
nally taken and cast into miserable prison.

This while the Earle of Warwick, all wroth and grieved that King Edward was not stopped in the way, hasteth after with the Marquess his brother to the Town of Barnet, where (to the increase of his sorrow) it was told him, that unfortunate King Henrie was once more fallen into the hands of his enimie, and therefore he thought good to stay upon Gladmore heath there, of purpose to deliberate of some further enterprise.

The Earl of Warwick is slain at Barnet.

But King Edward, thinking it best to make hay whilest the sunne shined, maketh forward in great speed, and embattleth himself hard by against him. To make short, their Armies meet and fight, the Earl and the Marquess are both slain dead in the field, some noble men of their part save themselves by flight, but their main battail is overthrown and defeated.

This was no sooner done, but (behold)

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Queen Margaret with her sonne (which had sundry times before attempted the Seas, and were alwaies repulsed with contrary winde) arriveth in Dorsetshire, thinking to have joined with the Earl and the rest of her friends. But when the silly woman understood of all that was happened, she tare and tormented her self, being ready to dye for extreme sorrow and anguish. Howbeit when that passion was put over she bethought her better, and withdrew to the Sanctuarie at Beau-lieu for safegarde of her life.

King Henries wife taketh Sanctuary.

There was she somewhat recomforted by the Duke of Somerset, and such others as were escaped from Gladmore: And there also after conference of counsells) she resolved like to one that had sped ill at Primero) to set up her last rest, in hope to recover her losses again.

But the matter fell out farre otherwise: For King Edward, who had been taught to use his Victorie, setteth up all his sails, like a man that had the winde on his stern, and useth such celeritie against her, that before the powers which she and her friends, the Earls of Penbrooke and Devonshire had provided could join together, he assailed her, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset (the Generall of that Armie) at Tewxbury, and taking them all three prisoners, slayeth the Earl of Devonshire, and overturneth

The fight at Tewxbury.

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the rest of their companie.

And now King Edward, having thus recovered his Kingdome by Gods clemencie, seeketh to confirm it (after the manner of unkinde men) by his

<478>

own wit and ungodlie policie: whereof what scourge ensued you shall percieve anon.

Henrie the sixt is slain.

First therefore the young Prince that was taken prisoner, is suffered to be cruelly slain in his own presence: And then King Henry (within six moneths after his readeption) is wofully made away in the Tower at London. But as for the Queen, she had no wrong at all, for she bought her life with a summe of money: The Earl of Penbrooke likewise with his nephew Henrie (called afterward the seventh King of that name) sailed safely over the Seas to Frances the Duke of Britain.

The Bastard Fawconbridge assaileth London.

I had almost forgotten to tell you here of that adoe which Thomas Fawconbridge (the Earl of Kents bastard, and Viceadmirall to the Earl of Warwick) made at London with a handfull of rakehells which he had scummed together in this our Shire, whilst the King was in his return from Tewxbury: and how valiantly for their own praise, and faithfully for the Kings service, the Londoners fought and repulsed him. But the matter is not great: for as his comming was too late for his friends succour, so it was soon enough for

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his own destruction, his enterprise being resisted at the first, and himself shortly after apprehended at Southampton, and rewarded with a hatchet for his labour.

The end of the civil warre.

This end then, had all the civil warre that was moved for the title of the Crown: but yet the contention was not wholly quenched, ne could it pardy whilst any of the house of Lancaster was left to remain. And therefore as you have patiently heard of the Division; So hear me, I pray you, a word or twain of the Union of these titles also.

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1483
King Edward the fift.

Ten or eleven years after all these victorious conflicts, King Edward was called away in the flowre of his age, and not without suspicion of poysoning. He left two sonnes behinde him, Edward and Richard: of which, the elder was King, but yet never crowned: For his Uncle, Richard of Glocester, who had before embroiled his hands with the blood of King Henrie the sixt, and of the young Prince his sonne, sticketh not to bathe them now in the bowels of these his own nephews: and so, through shameless fraud, corruption, and other cruelties, usurpeth the Crown to himself. The which, thus gotten by Patricide, he would have upholden by Incest, seeking to have married (or rather marred) Elizabeth the eldest daughter of his late brother King Edward.

King Richard the third.

But within six and twenty moneths,

the Nobilitie and Commons waxed so weary of his barbarous Tyrannie, that they sent over the Seas and invited Henry the Earl of Richmond, a man that was descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, and preserved by God to wear the Crown, notwithstanding all that ever King Edward the fourth had practised to destroy him.

King Henry the seventh uniteth the two Houses.

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Bosworth field.

He then crossed the Seas from Britain, landeth in Wales, and is received with greedy hearts and good liking. From thence he marcheth into Leycestershire, and in a battail at Bosworth there, encountereth with King Richard, and killeth him. Then is he honourably crownd in the field, and Richard shamefully (but yet worthily) conveyed to the ground.

This done, King Henry both straineth a point of policie in killing innocent Edward, sonne to the Duke of Clarence, and only heir male that remained of the house of York: and also taketh to his wife, Elizabeth the eldest daughter and very heir of that familie, & so (making his Garland of both the Roses) quieteth for ever that long and bloodie controversie.

Thus have I now at the length led you along the reigns seven sundry Kings, and in a few leaves given you a total of this tedious and tumultuous historie, which to have been prosecuted at large would require a whole book or Iliade.

It remaineth and is requisite, that as a historie is truely called the Mistress of our life, so some fruit be gathered of it. But because I fear, that as I have wearied my self with writing, so I should tyre you also in reading, I will only point at a few matters and so leave them.

At a word therefore, Kings and Princes are here (in the persons of these Princes) admonished of the instabilitie of earthly Kingdoms, and thereby provoked to sue after that heavenly Kingdom which is not subject to mutabilitie or change. And this they are taught to doe by using piety towards him by whom they reign, and equitie towards them over whom they are set: nam cætera regna,

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Luxuries vitiis, odiisque superbia vertit.

Noble-men and Counsellors are warned to advise well their Kings, and to avoid ambition in themselves: For as a Noble and wise Counsellor, late living, was wont to say,

Callida consilia, prima fronte læta, tractatu difficilia, eventu tristia.

Crafty counseils have a fair shew in the first opening, but they be hard in the handing, and wofull in the winding up

And as for Ambition, the winde never bloweth out of that quarter, but stormes arise withall, and wreck of noble houses doth ensue.

The Commons also (who many times,

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and namely here, deserve well their name, because they be common to every side) may by others harms learn to leave their continuall wavering and inconstancy. For light heads (as they see here) finde heavy raps: and they shall ever prove that true, which the Poet (or more truely in this behalf, the Prophet) once sang.

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi

When Princes doate, in taking armes,
Their Subjects smart, and bear the harmes.

At once both Kings, Counsellors, Com=
mons, and all men are assured to respect
God heedily, to dwell in their own callings
quietly, neither seeking other mens things
wrongfully, nor labouring to defend their
own unlawfully.

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Swanscombe, called in Saxon, Swegens=
comb, that is, the Camp of Sweyn the
Dane that encamped at Grenehithe
hard by.

As the whole Shire of Kent oweth to
Swanscomb everlasting name, for the
fruition of her ancient Franchises obtained
there: So I for the more honourable me=
mory of the place, can gladly aford it
room, both at the beginning, and to=
ward the end of my labour.

The matter for the which it is especi=
ally renowned, is already bewraied in the
discourse of the ancient estate of this

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Shire, whereunto I will referre you: And
at this time, make note of a thing, or
twaine besides, and so passe over to the re=
sidue.

The Manor.

The Manor of Swanscombe, is holden
of Rochester Castle, and oweth service to=
ward the defence of the same, being (as
it were) one of the principall Captains
to whom that charge was of ancient time
committed, and having subject unto it,
sundry Knights Fees, as petie Captains (or
inferior Soldiers) bound to serve under
her banner there.

The Church
of St. Hilde=
ferthe.

The Church at Swanscombe, was much
haunted in times past, for Saint Hildeferthes
help a Bishop, by conjecture of his picture
yet standing in the upper Window of

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the south Isle, although his name is not read in all the Catalogue of the Saxons) to whom such as were distracted, ran for re=stitution of their wits, as thick as men were wont to saile to Anticyra, for Helle=borus.

This cure was performed here, by warmth, close keeping, and good diet: means not only, not strange, or miracu=lous, but meer naturall, ordinary, and reasonable. And therefore, as on the one side, they might truely be thought mad men, and altered in their wits, that fre=quented this pilgrimage for any opinion of extraordinary working: So on the o=ther side, St. Hildeferth (of all the Saints

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that I know) might best be spared, seeing we have the keeper of Bethleem, who ceaseth not) even till this day) to work mightily in the same kinde of Miracle.

Gravesende, in Saxon, Gerefesend, in Latine, Limes Prætorius.

The name of Portreue whereof it commeth.

The originall cause of the name of this place, lyeth hid in the usuall name of the Officer, lately created in the Town: he is commonly called Portreue, but the word (anciently and truely soun=ded) is Portgereue, that is to say, the Ru=ler of the Town. For Porte (descending of the Latine word Portus) signifieth a Port Town, & Gereue (being derived of the Saxon verb gereccan, to rule) was first called gerecfa, and then gerefa, and betokeneth a Ruler: so that, Portreue, is the Ruler of the Town, and Greves-end, is as much to say, as the Limit, Bound, or Precinct of such a Rule or Office.

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The name of Sheriff.

Of the very same reason, they of the low and high Germanie (whence our lan=guage first descended) call one Ruler, Burgreve, another Margreve, and the third Landsgreve: and of the same cause also, our Magistrate now called a Sheriff, or (to speak more truely, Shyrereue) was the first called (Shyregereue) that is to say, Custos Comitatus, the Reve, or Ruler of the Shire. The head Officer of Maid=

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London had a Portreue.

ston, long since had this name: yea the chief governour of the City of London likewise, before the time either of Maior or Bayliff there, was known by the name of Portreve, as in the Saxon Charter of King William the Conqueror (sundry ex=amples whereof be yet extant) may ap=pear. It began thus.

'william cyng greit william bisceop, + godfreges portgerefan, + ealle þa burhwaren þe on lunden beon,' 'Wil=

liam the King greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreue, and all the Burgesses that in London be, &c.'

The Office of a Reve.

To make short, in ancient time, almost every Manor had his Reve, whose authority was, not only to levy the Lords rents, to set to work his Servants, and to husband his Demeasnes to his best profit and commodity: but also to govern his Tenants in peace, and to lead them forth to war, when necessity so required.

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And although this name, and so much of the authority as remained, was (after the coming in of the Normans) transferred to another, which they called Bayliff: yet in sundry places of the Realm (especially in Copihold Manors, where old custome prevailleth) the word Reve, is yet well enough known and understood.

Neither ought it to seem any whit the more strange, because I call now Reve,

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That which in old time was Gereue, for as much as this particle (Ge) was in processe of time, in some places changed in sound to (y) and in some other parts clean lost and forgotten: as for example, whereas the Saxons used to say, he was Geboren, they of the West country pronounce it, he was yborne, and we of the Countries neerer London, he was borne.

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Thus farre the Etymon of the name (Greves-end) hath carried me out of the History, whereto I did the rather yeeld, because I had not much to write concerning the place it self. Howbeit I read, that in the beginning of the Reign of King Richard the second, whilst the Lord Nevell was by the Kings appointment, entred into France, with a great company of English Soldiers, the French men came up the Thamise with their Gallies, and brent divers Towns, and at the last (comming to Gravesende) spoiled and set it on fire also.

The Manor of Gravesend belonged then to the Abbat of Tower-hill at London, of the gift of King Edward the third, founder of that and of some other Religious Houses. And because this Town was brought to beggery by that misfortune, the Abbat taking such advantage for relief thereof as that time very happily afforded, had conference with his Tenants, and finding that by the continuall recourse to

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and from Calice (which the same King Edward had gained to his Crown) the passage by water between London and Gravesend was much frequented, both for

the great ease, good cheap, and speedy transportation (requiring not one whole tide) he made offer on their behalfs to the young King Richard the second, that if he would be pleased to graunt unto the inhabitants of Gravesend and Mylton the privilege, that none should transport any passengers by water from Gravesend to London, but they only, in their own Boats, then should they of those two Parishes undertake to carry all such passengers, either for two pence each one with his farthell (or trusse) or otherwise, making the whole Fare (or passage) worth four shillings. The King assented for the present, and some of his successors have sithence confirmed the graunt: besides the which, continuall usage, hath so established the same, as it is notorious to all, not only by the eye, but by delivery of the Statute also, made 6 Henr. 8. cap. 7.

For the Order of this passage, and government of the Watermen labouring therein, **therein**, there is belonging to that Manor a proper Court, intituled 'Curia cursus aquæ,' which was for sundry years discontinued, by the niggardly negligence of the Fermors of the Manor of Gravesende, but now lately hath been revived by

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the honorable care of the Lord Cobham, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties Household owner of the same: And by the example hereof, they of London obtained (upon like offer) the like privilege of transportation from London to Gravesende, which also to this day they enjoy accordingly.

King Henry the eight, warned by that which had happened, raised a platforme at Gravesende, one other at Mylton, and two others over against them on Essex side, to command the River in those places, at such time as he fortified other the Coasts of his Realm, as we have before opened.

Heigham.

Of the Nunnes of Heigham Priorie I finde none other note, save only that they were under the visitation of the Bishop of Rochester. For in the beginning of the reign of King Edward the third, Hamon of Heth Bishop there, confirmed the election of Mawde of Colchester, Prioresse of this house, and about fourteen years after he visited both the head and whole company, as the Register of Rochester, that wrote his acts and life, hath amongst many other small matters, somewhat curiously observed.

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Cliffe, written commonly in ancient Books, Cloveshoo, for Cliofeshoo, which is as much to say, as Cliffs hoo, or Cliffe at Hoo.

Theodore the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury, and the first (in the opinion of William Malmesbury) that exercised the authority of an Archbishop (which appeared (as others say) in that he took upon him to depose Wilfrid of York) called together a Synod of Bishops at Hereforde: in which it was agreed amongst them, that for the more speedy reformation of abuses that might creep into the Church, they should all assemble once every yeer at Cloveshoo, upon the Kalends (or first day) of August: By vertue of which Decree, Cuthbert, the eleventh Archbishop, summoned the Bishops of his Province to the same place, and there (amongst other things worthie note) it was enacted, that Priests themselves should first learn, and then teach their Parishioners, the Lordes prair, and the Articles of their beleefe in the English tongue: To which Decree, if you list to add the testimony of King Alfred, who in his Preface upon the Pastorall of Gregorie, that he translated, saith, that when he came first to his Kingdome, he knew not one Priest on the South side of the river of Humber

A learned age, in which Priests had more Latine than English, and yet almost no Latine at all.

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that understood his service in Latine, or that coulde translate an Epistle into English: and if you will also adjoyn first that which Alfric writeth in his Poeme to the Grammer, that is to say, that a little before the time of Dunstane the Archbishop, there was never an English Priest that could either endite, or understand a Latine Epistle: And then that which William of Malmesbury reporteth, to wit, that at the time of the Conquest, almost all the Bishops of England were unlearned: Then I doubt not but you shall evidently see, how easie it was for the Divell and the Pope to creep into the Church of England, when (whole ages together) the Clergie was so well fed, and so evill taught. But to our matter again. By vertue of the same Decree **one** Ordinance also, two other Councells were holden at Cliffe at Hoo: one under Kenulph, the King of Mercia, or middle England, and the other in the reign of Beornwulfe his successor. This place would I have conjectured to have lien in the heart of England, both because it seemeth likely that the common place of meeting should be most fitly appointed in the midst of the Realm, and for that it is manifest by the

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history, that it was in the dominion of the King of Mercia, which I fear not to call middle England. But, for as much as I once read a note, made by one Talbot (a

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<490> Prebendarie of Norwiche, and a diligent Traveller in the English history) upon the margine of an ancient written copie to William Malmesburies book 'De Pontificibus,' in which he expounded Cloveshoo, to be Cliffe at Hoo near Rochester: and for that I doe not finde the express name (Cloveshoo) in all the catalogue of Towns in that Precinct which was sometime the Kingdome of Mercia (although there be divers places therein that bear the name of Cliffe, as well as this) I am contented to subscribe to Talbots opinion: but with this protestation, that if at any time hereafter I finde a better, I will be no longer bound to follow him.

1520 Stowe. The Town is large, and hath hitherto a great Parish Church: and (as I have been told) many of the houses were casually burned (about the same time that the Emperor Charles came into this Realm to visite King Henry the eight) of which hurt it was never yet thorowly cured. It hath the name Cliffe, of the situation, and lieth in the hundred of Shamel, albeit that it be called at Hoo, which indeed is the Hundred next adjoyning, and taketh his name (as I suppose) of the effect: for Hoh in the old English signifieth sorrow, or sicknes, wherewith the Inhabitants of that unwholesome Hundred be very much exercised.

And thus have I now visited the places

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The order of this description. of chief note that lie in the skirts of the Diocess, whereunto if I had added a few other that be within the body of the same, I would no less gladly, then I must necessarily, finish and close up this Winters travell.

Mepham, anciently written Meapaham.

<491> 1320 Simon Mepham (the Archbishop that performed the solemnities at the inauguration of King Edward the third) had both his nativity and name of this Town, although Polydore Virgil hath no mention of the man at all, in his History, or Catalogue of Archbishops, either not finding, or forgetting, that ever there was any such.

It is probable also, that the same Bishop built the Church at Mepham, for the use of the poor, which William Courtney (one of his successors) repaired fourscore years after, and annexed thereunto four new

The ancient
forme of a
Testament.

houses for the same end and purpose.

Besides these notes, it hath chanced me to see one antiquitie of Mepham, which both for the profit and pleasure that I conceived thereof, I think meet to insert, though happily some other man may say, that I doe therein (and in many others also) nothing else but 'Antiquiora Diphthera loqui.'

Nevertheless, to the end that it may ap=

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pear, what the ancient form and phrase of a Testament was: how the husband and the wife joyned in making their Testaments: how lands were devisable by Testament in old time: by what words estates of inheritance were wont to be created: how the Lords consent was thought requisite to the Testament of the Tenant: and how it was procured by a guift of Heriot, which as Bracton saith, was done at the first, 'Magis de gratia, quam de jure:' Furthermore, how this Town of Mepham, and sundry others came at the first to Christs Church, Saint Augustine, and Rochester: and finally, that you may know, as well what advancement to Gentry was then in use, as also what weapons, jewels, and ornaments were at that time worne and occupied, I will set before your eye, the last Will and Testament of one Birthtric and his wife, which was a man of great wealth and possessions within this Shire, and had his abiding at Mepham more then six hundred years agoe.

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This is Birtricks

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hearing: (witness:) that was

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of golde, and one

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Dentun. And they both

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church 60. marks

545 <sig 2M>

a thousand pence

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mynster (church) at Walkenstede

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witness (hearing) (presence) of Edgive

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and the writing within

. healdan wille.

The ancient estate of a Gentleman, and by what means Gentry was obtained in the old time.

It shall suffice for the most part of the matters (worthie observation) in this testament, that I have already only pointed at them (as it were) with my finger: for they doe appear and shew themselves manifestly even at the first

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sight: only therefore, touching the estate and degree of this Testator, I will (for the more light and discoverie thereof) borrow a few words of you.

He himself here calleth Aelfric his Lord, and naturall Lord, and saith further, that Aelfere was Father to this Aelfric: Now what Aelfere and Aelfric were, it is not hard to finde: for all our ancient Historians tell us, that in the dayes of King Edgar, of King Edward the Martyr, and of King Ethelred, these men were by birth Cousins of the blood royall: by state (Eorles, Earles) which word we yet retain in English, and which we commonly call (Comites) in Latine, for that at the first they were partners and companions (as I may say) with the King in taking the profits of the Shire or Countie: that they were also by dignitie (Ealdormen) that is, Senators and Governors of all Mercia or Middle England. And finally, that they were of such great power and credit, that Aelfer the Father, immediatly after the death of King Edgar, restored all such Priests throughout Middle England, to their houses, as the King (by advice of Dunstane the Monk) had in his life expulsed, for the placing of his Monks: And that Aelfric the sonne resisted King Ethelred in that siege of Rochester, whereof you heard when we were there.

For as much therefore as Aelfric was

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hlaforð, or Lord, to our Testator, and hlaforð and ðegn, that is to say, Lord and Serviteur, be words of relation, I gather that he was ðegn, which signifieth properly a Minister, or free Serviteur, to the King, or to some great personage. But usually at those times taken for the very same that we call now of the Latine word (Gentilis) a Gentleman, that is (<Eugenēs>) a man well borne, or of a good stock and familie.

Neither doth it detract any thing from his Gentry at all, that I said he was a Minister or Serviteur: for I mean not thereby that he was (Servus) which word (straightly construed) doth signifie a servant or slave, whom they in those dayes called ðeowe: but my minde is, that he was a servitor of free condition, either advanced by his own vertue and merit, or

else descended of such ancestors as were never degraded: And that name the Prince of Wales, or eldest sonne of our King of this Realm, doth not, in the life of his father, disdain to bear: For, out of the very same olde word (Denian) to serve, is framed his Poesie, or word upon his Armes (Ic Dien) I serve. The like whereof is upon the Armes of the Counties Palatine of Chester and Durham also.

And thus I suppose that it is manifest, that Byrthryc our Testator was by condi=

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tion a Noble man, which in common acceptance abroad is all one with it) a Gentleman.

Howbeit, to the end that both this thing may have the more authoritie and credit, and that it may withall appeer what degrees of Nobitie and Gentry there were in this Realm before the coming in of the Normans, and by what merits men might ascend and be promoted to the same, I will reach a little higher, and shew you another English (or Saxon) antiquitie, which I have seen placed in divers old copies of the Saxon Laws, after the end of all, as a note or advertisement.

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It was sometime

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Lord served and thrice

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a Scholar so prospered

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The degrees of Freemen, Earl, Theyn, and Churle.

By this you see, first, that in those daies there were but three estates of free men (for bond servants, which we doe now since call by a strained worde Villains are not here talked of) that is to say, an Earl, or Noble man, the highest: a Theyn, or Gentleman, the midlemost: and a Churle, or Yeoman, the lowest: and as touching that which is here spoken of the Servant of the Theyn, or Gentleman, I deem it rather ment for a prerogative belonging to the Master, then mentioned as a severall degree in the man.

Neither doth it make against me in this division, that you shall many times read,

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Aldermen Shireman, &c. were names of Officers.

of Ealdorman, Scyrman, Heretoga, Seðcundman, twelfhindman, twy= hindeman: for these be not names of

difference in degrees, but they doe either denote the Offices and Dignities, or else the estimation and values, of those to whom they be attributed: as Alderman and Shyreman, doe signifie that Earl or Nobleman, to whom the government and charge of a Shire, or other Pecinct, was committed: Hertoga, that Earl or great man, that was (Imperator Belli) the Lieu=tenant of the field: Syðcundman, that Gentleman, that had the Manred (as some yet call it) or the Office, to lead the men, of a Town, or Parish: and as for twelfhindman, it was given to the Theyn, or Gentleman, because his life was valued at Twelve hundred shillings (as in those daies the lives of all sorts of men were rated at certain summs of money) and twyhindman, to the Churle or Yeo=man, because the price of his head was taxed at two hundred shillings: which thing (if it were not expresly set forth in sundry old Laws yet extant) might well enough be found in the Etymology of the words themselves, the one being called a Twelfhind, as it were, Twelpe hundred man, and the other a Twyhynd, for a man of Two hundred.

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Furthermore, you may here behold, with what discretion and equity, our el=

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ders proceeded in bestowing these promo= tions: for whereas all Nobility and Gen= try is either Native, or Dative, that is to say, commeth either by Discent, or by Purchase, whereof the first, if it be not ac= companied with vertue, is but an empty signe, and none other thing, then (as one well saied) 'Nobilitatem in Astragulis ge= stare:' but the latter (being both the maker and **the** maintainer of the first) as it ought by all reason to be rewarded with due ensigns of honour, to the end that vertue may be the more desirously embra= ced: so have they here appointed three severall path waies to lead men streight unto it, that is to say, Service, Riches, and Learning, or (to speak more shortly) Vertue and Riches: in which two (as Aristotle confesseth) all the old Nobility consisted, and which two (as the Ecclesi= astes or Preacher teacheth) maketh a good accouplement: for (saith he) 'Uti= lior est sapientia, cum divitiis conjuncta.'

Wisdome is more profita= ble, when it is joyned with riches.

And in this part, you may lastly per= ceive also, that out of all those trades of life, which be (<chrēmatistika>) that is to say, conversant in gain, they admitted to the estate of Gentry such only, as increased by honest Husbandry, and plentiful Mer= chandize: of the first of which Cicero affirmeth, that 'There is nothing meeter for

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Merchandize,
and Husban=
dry.

a Freeborn man:' And of the other, that
'It is praise worthy also, if at the length be=

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ing satisfied with gain, as it hath often come
from the Sea to the Haven, so it change
from the Haven into lands and possessions.'

And therefore (in my fantasie) where=
as Gervas. Tilberiens. (in his observations
of the Eschequer) accompteth it an abasing
for a Gentleman to occupy 'Publicum
mercimonium,' common buying and sel=
ling, it ought to be referred to the other
two parts of Merchandize, that is, to Ne=
gotiation, which is retayling, or keeping
of a standing shop: and to Invection
(which is to exercise Mercerie) or (as
some call it) to play the Chapman: and
not to Navigation, or Merchandize, which
(as you see) is the only laudable part of
all buying and selling.

And again, whereas the Civil Law saith,
'Patritii cum plebeiis conjugia ne contrahun=
to:' and in our Law is reputed a Dispa=
ragement for a ward in Chivalrie (which
in old time was as much to say, as Gentle=
man) to be married to the daughter of
one that dwelt in a Borow, I think that it
also ought to be restrained to such only
as professed Handycrafts, or those baser
Arts of buying and selling, to get their
living by.

But of all this matter, my Masters the
Heralds can better inform you, to whom
(least I be blamed for thrusting my Sicle
into another mans Harvest) I will with=
out any more, referre you.

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Tunbridge, Wrotham, this Town, and
Northfleete, doe lye North and South one
from another: and it is a common and
received opinion amongst the Country
people, that you may be conveyed from
the Thamise side, to the edge of Sussex,
in these four Parishes: so that the whole
Shire (by that reckoning) should be but
four Parishes broad, and yet 19 or 20
miles over, on this part. If any man
doubt of the truth, let himself make the
triall, for I dare not warrant it.

Wrotham, in Latine by some, Vagniacæ,
but mistaken. It is in the Domesday
Book also corruptly written (Broteham)
for I suppose, that wyrtham is the very
right name, given for the great plenty of
Woorts (or good Hearbs) that grow there.

There was in Wrotham, of ancient
time, a Manor house, pertaining to
the See of the Archbishops. For Gerva=
sius witnesseth, that one Richard (the
Archbishop that succeeded Thomas Bec=

ket) lay there: and that after such time as he had, by great largition and bribery, prevailed at Rome, both against King Henrie (the sonne of the second of that name) in his own consecration) against Roger the Bishop of York in the quarrell of preeminency, and against others in other

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vain suits, (so that it might never be more truly said of that City in Paganism it self, 'Romæ omnia ire venum,' than in that time of Papistry) he had a most terrible dream (or vision) in his sleep at Wrotham, the manner whereof (as he reporteth) was this.

It seemed to him, that a very grave and reverend personage, came to his bed side by night, and demanded of him in a loud voice, who art thou? with which noise, when the Archbishop awaked, and for fear answered nothing, it added moreover, 'Thou art he that hast scattered the goods of the Church committed to thy charge, and therefore I will scatter thee:' and so (with the word) vanished out of sight.

The Archbishop arose in the morning, and having intended a journey to Rochester, addressed himself thitherward: but this vision continually presented it self before the eye of his minde, and so troubled him, that for ease of his inward grief, he began to disclose the whole order of it to such as were in his company: whereof he had no sooner made an end, but he was forthwith stricken with such a horroure, and chill cold, that he was driven of necessity to alight at Halling in his way, where in great torment he ended his life, the next day following.

This house continued here, untill the time of Simon Isleo, the Archbishop: who

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having a desire to finish the Palace at Maidstone, which John Ufford his predecessor had begun, and wanting wherewith to accomplish it, not only pulled down the building at Wrotham, and conveyed the stuffe thither, but also obtained of the Pope, licence to levy a Tenth throughout his whole Province, to perform his work withall.

Kemsing.

i. The worship of many Gods.

Saint Edithe, and her offering.

In the late time of the Popish <polytheia>, the Image of Edith (the Daughter of King Edgar, and sometime Prioress of Wylton in the west Country) was religiously frequented in the Church yard at Kemsing for the preservation of Corn and Grain, from Blasting, Myldew, Bran-deare, and such other harms as common=

ly doe annoy it.

The manner of the which sacrifice was this: Some silly body brought a peck, or two, or a Bushel of Corn, to the Church: and (after prayers made) offered it to the Image of the Saint: Of this offering, the Priest used to toll the greatest portion, and then to take one handfull, or little more of the residue (for you must consider he would be sure to gain by the bargain) the which after aspersion of holy water, and mumbling of a few words of conjuration, he first dedicated to the I=

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mage of Saint Edithe, and then delivered it back to the party that brought it: who then departed with full perswasion, that if he mingled that hollowed handfull with his seed Corn, it would preserve from harm, and prosper in growth, the whole heap that he should sowe, were it never so great a Stack, or Mough.

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I remember, that I have read in Terentius Varro, that the old Romans (amongst innumerable others) had in great veneration, one God, which (of Robigo, a canker in Corn) they called Robigus, and to whom they made devout intercession and solemn sacrifice, for the preservation and deliverie of their grain, from the self same annoyances, that ours is subject unto.

How much that God of the Romans, and our Gods of Kemsing differed in profession, let some Popish Gadder after strange Gods make the accompt, for I my selfe can finde no odds at all.

The old and new Romans agree in many points of Religion.

And truly, were it not that I am loth to anticipate now before time, that which I shall (God graunting) have both fit place, and meet time to utter hereafter, I could easily shew, that the old Romans, and our new Romanists, agreed in manner throughout, both in the property and number of their Gods (if at the least they be numerable) in the manner and multitude of their sacrifices, in the times and forms of their solemnities, in the report of

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their false and fained miracles: and finally, almost in the whole heap and dung-hill of their filthy and superstitious Idolatries.

But I will await convenient seasons, and at this time give to every man the same, and none other counsell, than Plautus, (a heathen Poet indeed, and yet in this behalfe more heavenly than any Papist) sometime gave in the like case, saying: 'Unus dum tibi propitius est Iupiter, tu hosce minutos Deos flocci feceris.' 'While Jupiter is thy friend, set not thou a straw by all

these petie Gods.'

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Falcasius (or Fulco de Breant, was owner of the Manor of Kemsing, and (by graunt of King Henrie the third) had a Market there upon each Monday. But that is long since lost, and the place shadowed by Sennocke the next Market: Howbeit, Kemsing is yet the mother Church (as they say) and Seale is but a Childe (or Chappell) of it.

Otforde, in Saxon, Otthanford.

We have mention in ancient history of two famous battels foughten at Otforde, whereof the one happened amongst the Saxons themselves, contending for glorie and supreme sovereignty: The other between the Danes and Saxons, striving for lands, lives, and liberty.

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In the first, Offa the King of Mercia (having already joyned to his dominion, the most part of Westsex, and Northumberland, and seeking to have added Kent also) prevailed against the Inhabitants of this Country, not without great slaughter of his own Subjects, and after the victorie, he both took divers lands from the Archbishoprick, and also transferred (as it were in triumph) the Archbishops Chair, into his own Kingdome, as you heard in the beginning. Nevertheless he continued his favour towards the Priorie of Christs Church, and increased it with his own gift of Ickam, Roking, Perhamstede, Sandhyrst, this Otford, and sundry other lands in the same Shyre.

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In the other fight, King Edmund (surnamed for his great strength, Ironside) obtained against King Canutus the Dane, a most honorable victorie, and pursued him (flying toward Shepey) untill he came to Ailesforde: committing upon the Danes such slaughter, and bloody havock, that if Edric the traitor had not by fraudulent counsell withholden him, (as we have before declared) he had that day made an end of their whole armie.

S. Thomas
Beckets spite
full myracles.

These be the written antiquities that I finde of Otford, which happily some men will esteem less, than the unwritten vanities of Thomas Becket, sometime owner of the place: And therefore, least any

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should complain of wrong, you shall hear what they be also. It was long since fancied, and is yet of too many beleevd, that while Thomas Becket lay at the old house at Otford (which of long time (as you see) belonged to the Archbishops, and whereof the old Hall and Chappell only doe

now remain) and saw that it wanted a fit spring to water it, that he strake his staffe into the drie ground, (in a place thereof now called Saint Thomas Well) and that immediately the same water appeared, which running plentifully, serveth the Offices of the new house till this present day.

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They say also, that as he walked on a time in the old Park (busie at his prayers) That he was much hindred in devotion, by the sweet note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bush besides him: and that therefore (in the might of his holiness) he injoyed, that from thenceforth no bird of that kinde should be so bold as to sing thereabout.

Some men report likewise, that for as much as a Smith (then dwelling in the Town) had cloyed his horse; he enacted by like authority, that after that time no Smith should thrive within the Parish. Innumerable such toyes, false Priests have devised, and fond people (alas) have beleevd, of this jolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which, for the unworthiness of

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the things themselves, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightned) I neither will, nor can, now presently recount, but must pursue the residue that pertaineth to this place.

S. Bartilmew of Otford and his offering.

For besides this Thomas, there was holden in great veneration at Otford, another Saint called Bartilmew, the Apostle (as I trowe) for his feast day was kept solemne, both with a fair, and good fare there.

This man served the Parson as Purveyor of his poultrie, and was frequented (by the Parishioners, and neighbours about) for a most rare and singular propertie that he professed.

For the manner was, that if any woman (conceived with child) desired to bring a male, she should offer to Saint Bartholmew a Cock Chicken, and if her wish were to be delivered of a female, she should then present him with a Hen.

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This Saint, was as good as Mancipera, whereof the common Adage grew: and he differed not much from the Priests of old Rome, called Luperci: For a little of the water of the one, and the doing of a certain Ceremonie by the other, was (at pleasure) as able as Saint Bartholmew, to make barren women become fruitfull.

Assuredly, through the fraud of this Fox, the Country people (as wise as Campions) were many years together robbed

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of their Hens and Cocks: till at the length it chanced King Henry the eight (after exchange made with the Archbishop for this Manor of Otford) to have conference with some of the Town, about the enlarging of his Park there: Amongst the which, one called Master Robert Multon (a man, whom for the honest memorie of his godly zeal and vertuous life, I stick not to name) detesting the abuse, and espying the Prince inclined to hear him, unfolded the whole pack of the Idolatrie, and prevailed so farre in favour, that shortly after, the King commanded Saint Bartholomew to be taken down and to be delivered unto him.

The Palace at Otford.

Thus have you heard the contention of the Saxons, the overthrow of the Danes, the fraude of Popish Priests, the folly of simple folkes, and the fall of deceitfull Idolatry. Now a few words (for example) of the prodigality of a proude Prelate, and then to the residue.

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William Warham the Archbishop, minding to leave to posterity, some glorious monument of his worldly wealth, and misbegotten treasure, determined to have raised a gorgeous Palaice for himself and his successors in the Citie of Canterbury, but (upon occasion of a difference that arose between him and the Citizens for the limits of his soil there) he changed his former purpose, and in displeasure to=

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wards them, bestowed at Otforde, thirty and three thousand pounds, upon the house that is now to be seen, notwithstanding that he himself, Morton his immediate predecessor, and Bouchier before him had not long before liberally builded at Knolle, a house little more than two miles from it.

For, that house also (so called of the situation which is upon the knap, (or Knoll) of a hill, had Bishop Bouchier in the beginning of his time purchased of William Fynys the Lord Saye, of the Seal and appropriated it to the See of the Archbishoptick.

Erasmus doth misreport the cause of the contention, between the King and Thomas Becket.

But now before I can depart from Otford, I am to begg licence for a word or two more, as well for the satisfaction of mine own promise heretofore made, as also for the direction of my Reader, which otherwise by the countenance of a certain famous and learned writer, might be quite and clean carried from me.

Des. Erasmus taking occasion in the Preface to Frauncis the French King (prefixed before his Paraphrase upon Saint Markes Gospell) to discourse upon the great troubles and warrs that were in his

time between the Princes of Christen=
dome, declareth, that it were a laudable
labour for some man of the Clergy (even
with the hazard of his life) to become
the instrument of their reconciliation.

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And amongst other examples of times
passed, he bringeth in Thomas Becket,
who (as he speaketh) spared not to exer=
cise the Evangelicall liberty (meaning ex=
communication, belike) upon the King
himself, and that for a very small matter:
wherein, although he profited little in his
life (saith he) yet by his death he purcha=
sed both gain and glory, to himself, and
the whole Clergy.

Which said, he addeth in effect as fol=
loweth: They contended (saith he) not
for reconciling Princes one to another,
but the controversie was only for a cer=
tain withdrawing house, called Otforde,
a place more meet for a religious mans
meditation, then for a Princes pleasure,
with the which (saith Erasmus) I my self
could not have been greatly in love, till
such time as William Warham the Arch=
bishop, bestowed so great cost upon it,
that he might be thought rather to have
raised a new house in the place, then to
have repaired the old: for he left nothing
of the first work, but only the walls of a
Hall, and a Chappell:

Thus farre out of Erasmus. Wherein
first (by the way) you may espie the rea=
son that moved King Henrie the eight, to
take that house by exchange from the
Archbishop, namely, because Warham
(not contented to continue it a plain
house, fit to withdraw himself unto for

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contemplation and praier) had so mag=
nificently enlarged the same, that it was
now become meet, to make a Palace for
a Kings habitation and pleasure.

But let us come to our matter. You
see here that Erasmus maketh this house,
the matter, and motive of all the conten=
tion that was between the King and the
Archbishop: which if it be so, then have
not I faithfully dealt, in laying the cause
thereof to be such, as appeareth in Can=
terbury before, and consequently, I have
too too much abused the Reader.

But for a short answer hereto, I doe
eftsoons avow, that not only William of
Newburgh, Roger Houeden, and Mathew
Parise (whom chiefly I have followed in
this story, and which all, were, either men
living when the matter was in hand, or
born immediately after) doe plainly te=
stifie with me, that the Ordinances made

at Clarendune, were the very subject and motive of all that strife: but also the whole number of our historians following, yea and the very authours of the Quadriloge it self (or Song of four parts, for they yeeld a concert, though it be without Harmony) doe all, with one Pen and mouth, acknowledge the same.

Amongst the rest, Polydore sheweth himself exceeding angry, with some that had blown abroad some such like sound of the cause of this great hurley burley: for

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he saith plainly, that they were 'Amentiaë pleni, qui deblaterabant, Thomam conseruandarum possessionum causa, tantum iniuriarum accepisse,' stark mad, which bled that Thomas did receive so many injuries, for saving of his possessions.

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But for all this, to the end that it may fully appear, both that Erasmus hath said somewhat, and also from whence (as I suppose) this thing was mistaken, I pray you hear the Quadriloge or story of his life it self: for that only shall suffice to close up the matter.

It appeareth by the Authors of that work, that after such time as the King and the Bishop had long contended (and that with great heat) about the Statutes of Clarendune, and that the Bishop, upon great offence taken, had made three severall attempts to crosse the Seas toward the Pope, and was alwaies by contrary winde repulsed, and driven to the land again: The King in his just indignation, sought by all possible means to bridle his immoderate peevishnesse: and therefore, first resumed into his own hands, all such Honors and Castles of his own as he had committed to the Bishops custody: then called he an Assembly of all his Nobility and Bishops to Northampton Castle, where before them all, he first charged Thomas with five hundred pounds that he had long before lent him: for the repayment

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whereof, he there compelled him to give five severall sureties.

This done, he called him to an account for thirty thousand Marks, received of the revenues of the Crown, during the time that he was Chancellor. Now whilst the Archbishop was much troubled with this matter (sometime denying to yeeld any account at all, sometime craving respite to make a resolute answer, but alwaies delaying the time, and meditating how to shift the place) there come (on a time) into his lodging, the Bishops of London and Chichester: who, finding him at supper,

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The Manor of
Wingham.

said unto him (word for word of the Quadriloge) as followeth, that is, 'That they had found out a way for peace: and when the Archbishop had required, under what form? They answered: There is a question for money between you, and the King: If therefore you will assigne unto the King, your two Manors, Otford and Wingham in the name of a pledge, we believe that he being therewith pacified, will not only resigne you the Manors again, and forgive you the money, but also a great deal the sooner receive you to his favour.' To this, the Archbishop replied, 'The Manor of Hethe was sometime belonging to the Church of Canterburie (as I have heard) which the King now hath in demeane: And albeit that the only challenge of the thing is sufficient cause to have it restored to the

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Church of Canterbury, yet I doe not look that it will be done in these times: Nevertheless, rather than I will renounce the right, which the Church of Canterbury is said to have in that Manor, either for the appeasing of any trouble whatsoever, or for recovery of the Kings favour, I will offer this head of mine (and touched it) to any hazard or danger, whatsoever it be:' The Bishops being angry with this, went out from him, and told the King of all, and his indignation was sore kindled with it. Thus much out of the Quadriloge faithfully translated.

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Now, upon the whole matter, it appeareth: first, that the quarrell was for the Laws of Clarendune which yet depended: and then, that, even as a fire being once kindled, the flame seeketh all about, and imbraceth whatsoever it findeth in the way: So the King being offended with the Rebellion of this Bishop, left no stone untaken up, that might be hurled at him, and therefore brought in against him, both debts, accompts, and whatsoever other means of annoyance.

Moreover, it falleth out that this matter of Otforde and Wingham (for as you now see it was not Otford alone) was not at all tossed between the King and the Archbishop, but moved only by the pacifiers (these two Bishops) as a meet mean of reconciliation in their own opinion

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and judgment: or, if it may be thought, that they were sent and suborned by the King himself with that devise: yet is it manifest, that the right of the houses themselves was not desired, but only that they might remain as a pawne till the account were audited: neither if the gift of

this house would have made an end of the strife, doth it by and by follow, that the contention was moved at the first about it.

And therefore, as on the one side you may see, that Erasmus his report is but matter of Preface, and no Gospell: So yet on the other side it is evident, that of such and so lustie a stomach was this Archbishop, that if former cause had not been, yet he could have found in his heart to fall out with his Prince for this, or for a smaller matter.

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For, what would he not adventure for a Manor or twain in lawfull possession, that would not stick to hazard his head before he would release that right, which he thought he had to a peece of land, and that but only by hear-say, or supposition? But it is more then time to make an end, and therefore leaving Thomas, and his house, in the bottom, let us now climbe the Hill toward Sennocke.

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Holmes Dale, that is to say, the Dale between the woody hills.

Reigate Castle in Surrey.

There are as yet to be seen, at Reigate in Surrey, the ruines of an ancient Castle sometime belonging to the Earls of Surrey, which Alfrede of Beverley calleth Holme, and which the Country people doe yet term, the Castle of Holmesdale. This took the name, of the Dale wherein it standeth, which is large in quantity, extending it self a great length into Surrey, and Kent also, and was (as I conjecture) at the first called Holmesdale, by reason that it is (for the most part) Conuallis, a plan valley, running between two hills, that be replenished with store of wood: for so much the very word (Holmesdale) it self importeth.

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904

In this Dale (a part of which we now crosse, in our way to Sennocke) the people of Kent (being encouraged by the prosperous successe of Edward their King, the Sonne of Alfrede, and commonly sur-named Edward the Elder) assembled themselves, and gave to the Danes, that had many yeers before afflicted them, a most sharp and fierce encounter, in the which, after long fight they prevailed, and the Danes were overthrown and vanquished.

This victory, and the like event in ano-

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ther battail (given to the Danes at Otford, which standeth in this same valley also) begat, as I gesse, the common by-word, used amongst the Inhabitants of this vale,

even till this present day, in which they
vaunt after this manner,

The Vale of Holmesdale,
Never wonne, nor never shale.

Sennocke, or (as some call it) Seven oke,
of a number of Trees, as they conjecture.

The School
and Almes
house.

About the latter end of the reign of
King Edward the third, there was
found (lying in the streets at Sennocke) a
poor childe, whose Parents were un=
know, and he (for the same cause) named,
after the place where he was taken up,
William Sennocke.

1418

This Orphan was by the help of some
charitable persons, brought up and nur=
tured, in such wise, that being made an
Apprentice to a Grocer in London, he
arose by degrees (in course of time) to
be Major and chief Magistrate of that
Citie.

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At which time, calling to his minde the
goodness of Almighty God and the fa=
vor of the Townsmen extended towards
him, he determined to make an everlasting
monument of his thankfull minde for the
same.

And therefore, of his own charge,

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1418

buildd both an Hospitall for relief of the
Poor, and a free School for the education
of Youth, within this Town, endowing
the one and the other with competent
yearly living (as the dayes then suffered)
towards their sustentation and mainte=
nance: But since his time the School was
much amended by the liberalitie of one
John Potkyn, which lived under the reign
of King Henrie the eighth: And now
lately also in the second year of the reign
of our sovereign Ladie, through the ho=
nest travell of divers the Inhabitants there,
not only the yearly stipend is much in=
creased, and the former litigious possessi=
ons quietly established; but the corpora=
tion also changed into the name of War=
dens and four Assistants of the Town and
Parish of Sennocke, and of the free School
of Queen Elizabeth in Sennocke.

1542

The Town.

The present estate of the Town it self
is good, and it seemeth to have been (for
these manie years together) in no worse
plight: And yet finde I not in all histo=
rie any memorable thing concerning it,
save only, that in the time of King Henrie
the sixth, Jac Cade, and his mischievous
meiny, discomfited there Sir Humfrey
Stafford and his Brother, two Noble Gen=
tlemen, whom the King had sent to en=
counter them.

1449

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Eltham.

An edifying
Bishop.

Anthonie Becke, that Bishop of Durham, which in the reigns of King Henrie the third, and of King Edward his Sonne, builded Auclande Castle in the Bishoprick of Durham, Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire, and Durham place at London, was (by the report of John Leland) either the very Author, or the first beautifier of this the Princes house here at Eltham also.

It is noted in history of that man, that he was in all his life and Port so gay and glorious, that the Nobilitie of the Realm disdained him greatly therefore. But they did not consider (belike) that he was in possession Bishop of Durham which had 'Jura regalia,' the Prerogatives of a petie Kingdome: and that he was by election Patriarch of Jerusalem, which is neer Cousin to a Popedome: in which respects he might well enough be allowed to have 'Domus splendida luxu regali,' his houses not only as gay as the Noble mens, but also as gorgeous as the Kings own. But, 'Sequuntur prodigum rapinæ:' 'Pillage is the handmaid of prodigalitie.' For, as it is the condition of Prodigall men to catch from some, to cast to others: So this man, having gotten this and other lands by defrauding that trust which the last Lord

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Vescy reposed in him for the behoof of a Bastard that he left, he bestowed it (as Master Camden writeth) upon Eleonor the Wife of King Edward the first, for supportation (I think) of his own haughtiness and vain glorie.

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And yet he builded no faster here then he destroyed in other places, as may appeer by a complaint exhibited in Parliament against him, for destruction of the woods, and oppression of the Tenants of his Bishoprick, whereupon also a speciall prohibition was awarded to restrain him.

To say the truth, this was not Bishoplike to build up the spirituall house with lively stones, resting on the chief corner to Heaven and to Godward: but with Mammon and Materiall stuff to erect warlike Castles for the nourishment of contention, and stately Palaces for the maintenance of worldly pride and pleasure, towards Hell and the Divell. Howbeit, letting all that pass, let us see what afterwards became of this peece of his building.

1270

King Henrie the third (saith Mat. Paris) toward the latter end of his reign, kept a Royall Christmas (as the manner then was) at Eltham, being accompanied

with his Queen and Nobilitie: and this (belike) was the first warming of the house (as I may call it) after that the Bishop had finished his worke. For I doe

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<n>ot hereby gather, that hitherto the King <h>ad any property in it, for as much as the <P>rinces in those days, used commonly both to sojourn for their pleasures, and to pass their set solemnities also in Abbies and in Bishops houses. But yet (as you see) soon after the house came to the possession of the Crown: for more proof whereof I pray you hear and mark what followeth also.

1315 The wife of King Edward the second bare unto him a Sonne at this house, who was thereof surnamed John of Eltham. What time King John of France (which

1363 had been prisoner in England) came over to visit King Edward the third (who had most honourably intreated him) the King and his Queen lay at Eltham to entertain him.

1412 King Henry the fourth also kept his last Christmas at Eltham. And King Henry his sonne and successor lay there at

1414 Christmas likewise, when he was fain to depart suddenly, for fear of some that had conspired to murder him.

1476 Furthermore John Rosse writeth plainly, that King Edward the fourth, to his great cost, repaired his house at Eltham: at which time also (as I suppose) he inclosed Horne Parke, one of the three that be here, and enlarged the other twain.

And it is not yet fully out of memory that King Henry the seventh set up the

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fair front over the mote there: since whose reign this house, by reason of thence to Greenewiche (which also was much amended by it, and is through the benefit of the River, a seat of more commodity) hath not been so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the imparked grounds here may be in manner as well enjoyed, the Court lying at Greenewiche, as if it were at this house itself.

The peroration of this work.

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These be the things that I had to remember in Eltham: And (to make an end of all) these be the places whereof I meant to make note in this my Xenagogie and Perambulation of Kent, the first and only Shire that I have described: wherein although I have not spoken of sundry Towns, nothing inferior, at this present, in estimation to a great many that I have handled, and happily equall with them in antiquity also, yet I think I have neither

pretermitted many that be much worthie of observation, nor scarcely omitted any, that be mentioned in such books of Historie as are easily to be had and obtained.

But as for the Feodaries and Tenures of land, the Genealogies and Armes of Men, the Ebbes, Floods, and Tides of the Sea and Rivers, the Flatts and Barres of Havens, and such other more hidden things, although somewhat might have been severally said concerning each of

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them, yet have I wittingly, and without touch, leapt over them all: Partly for the uncertainty, partly that I scatter not any seeds of dissention and envie, and partly least, whilst (by disclosing secrets, and laboring to serve the curiosity of some few) I either offend many of the sadder sort, or deserve evill of the whole estate.

Now therefore I will both deliver you and rest me; wishing that some other man of greater profit in reading, depth in judgment, and dexteritie in penning, would have undertaken the labour. For, as I at the first assaied it, to prove my self, to provoke any, and to pleasure and profit others: So, having now atchieved it (after the measure of my small talent) if any man shall like to take this metall, drawn by me out of a few Soves into many sheets, and will hammer it to some further and finer fashion, I will not only not envy it, but will most gladly thank him, and gratulate to our Countrie so good a turn and benefit.

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As touching the description of the residue of this Realm, finding by this one, how hard it will be for any one (and much more for my self) to accomplish it for all, I can but wish in like sort, that some one in each Shire would make the enterprise for his own Countrie, to the end, that by joyning our Pennes and conferring our

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labors (as it were, 'ex symbolo') we might at the last, by the union of many parts and papers compact one whole and perfect bodie and book of our English Topographie.

Here left I (good Reader) when I first set forth this work: Since which time I finde my desire not a little served by Master Camdens 'Britannia:' wherein, as he hath not only farre exceeded whatsoever hath been formerly attempted in that kinde, but hath also passed the expectation of other men and even his own hope: So doe I acknowledge it written to the great honour of the Realm with men

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abroad, and to the singular delight of us all at home, having for mine own particular found my self thereby to have learned much even in that Shire wherein I had endeavored to know most. Nevertheless, being assured that the Inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein, I cannot but still encourage some one able man in each Shire to undertake his own, whereby both many good particularities will come to discoverie every where, and Master Camden himself may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplify and enlarge the whole.

583

The Customes of Kent.

Although good order might have borne the rehearsall of the ancient Customes of this Shire, in that generall discourse which we had in the beginning as touching the estate of this whole County, the rather for that it was there shewed by what means and policie they were conserved: yet least the recitall of the same (being of themselves large and manifold) might have been thought too great a Parenthesis, or rather an interruption of the Historie, wherein we were as then but newly entred, I thought it better to reserve them for this place; to the end that both the one and the other might appear, without breach or confusion.

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These Customes therefore, being (for the most part) discrepant from the common Lawes of our Realm, and annexed to such lands within this Shire as beare the name of Gavelkinde, are commonly called Gavelkinde Customes, for that they prevail and have place in lands of Gavelkinde nature. In which respect, it shall not be amiss to shew, for what reason those lands were at the first so tearmed, and why they doe yet hitherto continue the name.

Two conjectures I have of the reason of this name: The one grounded upon

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the nature of the descent, and inheritance of these lands themselves: The other founded upon the manner of the duty and services, that they yeeld: both which I will not stick to recite, and yet leave to each man free choice to receive either, or to refuse both, as it shall best like him.

The name Gavelkind, whereof it arose.

I gather by Cornelius Tacitus, and others, that the ancient Germans, (whose Ofspring we be) suffered their lands to descend, not to their eldest Sonne alone, but to the whole number of their male Children: and I finde in the 75. Chap=

ter of Canutus Law (a King of this Realm before the Conquest) that after the death of the Father, his Heires should divide both his goods, and his lands amongst them.

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Now, for as much as all the next of the kinred did this inherit together, I conjecture, that therefore the land was called, either Gavelkyn, in meaning, Give all kyn, because it was given to all the next in one line of kinred, or Give all kynd, that is, to all the male Children: for kynd, in Dutch, signifieth yet a male Childe. Besides this, the Welshmen also (who but now lately lost this custome) doe in their language call this descent, Gwele, and in their Latine Recordes, Lectus, progenies, & Gavella, of their own word, Gefeilled, which signifieth Twins, or such as be born together, because they doe all inherit together, and

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make (as it were) but one heir, and not many.

To shift land, is an old tearme.

And here (by the way) I cannot omit to shew, that they of this our Kentish Country, doe yet call their partition of land (shifting) even by the very same word that the law of Canutus many years since tearmed it, namely (Scyftan) in Latine, Herciscere, that is, to shift, depart, or divide land.

My other conjecture, is raised upon the consideration of the rent and services going out of these lands: for it is well known, that as Knights service land, required the presence of the Tenant, in warfare and battail abroad: So this land (being of Socage tenure) commanded his attendance at the plough, and other the Lords affaires of husbandry at home: the one by manhood defending his Lords life and person, the other by industrie maintaining with rent, corn, and victuall, his estate and familie.

<530>

This rent, and customarie payment of workes, the Saxons called, gafol, and thereof (as I think) they named the land that yeilded it gafollette, or gafolcynd that is to say, land letten for rent, or of the kinde to yeeld rent. In this sense I am sure, that the Rents, Customes, and Servises, which the Tenants of London pay to their Land-lords, were wont (and yet are) to be recovered, by a Writ, thereof

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called Gavellet, as by an ancient Statute made in the tenth year of King Edward the second, intituled, 'Statutum de Gavelletto,' in London, and by dayly experience there, it may well appear. Thus much then concerning the Etymon of this word

The antiquity of Gavelkind custome.

Gavelkind, being said, let us proceed further.

It hath already appeared, how the Kentishmen, immediately after the Conquest, obtained the continuation of their Customes: and it is very manifest by ancient Writers, that the same (for the more part) have been in use and exercise ever since. For omitting that which Thomas Spot hath written concerning the same matter, for as much as it is already recited at large) Glanville, a learned man, that flourished in the reign of King Henrie the second, in his seventh Book, and third Chapter: Bracton, that lived in the time of King Henry the third, in his second Book 'De acquirendo rerum domino.' And Bretton, that wrote under King Edward the first, and by his commandment: have all express mention, of lands partible amongst the males by usage of the place, and some of them recite the very name of Gavelkind it self. But most plainly of all, an ancient Treatise, received by tradition from the hands of our Elders (whereof I my self have one exemplar, written out, as I suppose, in the time of King Edward

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<531>
The division of this discourse.

the first) agreeing with the daily practise of these customes, proveth the continuance of them, to stand with good law and liking. And therefore forbearing (as needless) further testimony in that behalfe, I will descend to the disclosing of the Customes themselves: not numbring them by order as they lie in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shall concern, either the land it self, or the persons that I will orderly speak of, that is to say, particularly the Lord and the Tenant: The Husband and the Wife: The Childe and the Gardien, and so after addition of a few other things incident to this purpose, I will draw to an end.

What lands be of Gavelkind nature.

As touching the land it selfe, in which these Customes have place, it is to be understood, that all the lands within this Shire, which be of ancient Socage tenure, be also of the nature of Gavelkinde. For, as for the lands holden by ancient tenure of Knights service, they be at the common law, and are not departible after the order of this custome, except certain, which being holden of old time by Knights service of the Archbishop of Canterbury, are nevertheless departible, as it may appeare by an opinion of the Judges in the Kings Bench, 26 H. 8. fol. 4. And that grew by reason of a graunt made by King John, to Hubert the Archbishop, the tenor whereof (being exemplified out of an

Some Knight
fee is Gavel=
kinde.

ancient roll, late remaining in the hands of the deceased reverend Father, Mathew, the Archbishop) hereafter followeth.

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'Joannes Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Mormaniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaven. Archiepiscopus, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciaris, Vicecomitibus, Prepositis Ministris, & omnibus Ballivis, & fidelibus suis: Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, & presenti charta nostra confirmasse, venerabili patri nostro ac Chro. Huberto, Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, & successoribus suis in perpetuum, quod liceat eis terras, quas homines de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. tenent Gavelkind, convertere in feodo militum. Et quod idem Episcopus & successores sui, eandem in omnibus potestatem, & libertatem habeant in perpetuum, in homines illos qui terras easdem ita in feodo militum conversas tenebunt, & in heredes eorum quam ipse Archiepiscopus habet, & successores sui post eum habebunt, in alios milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & in heredes. Et homines illi, & heredes eorum, eandem & omnem libertatem habeant in perpetuum, quam alii milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & heredes eorum habent. Ita tamen, quod nihilominus consuetus redditus denariorum, reddatur integre de terris suis, sicut prius, xenia, averagia, & alia opera, quæ fiebant de terris iisdem, convertantur in redditum denariorum æquivalentem. Et redditus ille

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reddatur, sicut alius redditus denariorum. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus, quod quicquid prædictus Archiepiscopus & successores sui post eum, de terris illis in feodo militum secundum præscriptam formam convertendis fecerint, ratum in perpetuum & stabile permaneat. Et prohibemus ne quis contra factum ipsius Archiepiscopi, vel successorum suorum, in hac parte venire præsumat, Teste E. Eliense, & S. Bathon, Episcopis G. filio Petri, comite Essex. Willmo Marescallo, comite de Penbroc. Roberto de Harocort. Garino, filio Geraldii. Petro de Stoke. Ric. de Reverus. Roberto de Tateshall. Datum per manum S. Archid. Willielmi apud Rupem aurival. 4. die Maii Anno regni nostri tertio.'
And I finde a note of a Record, within four yeares after, to this effect: 'Henricus Pratt dat Regi 2. Palfredos, pro habenda confirmatione Domini Regis de 4. Jugatis, & 5. Acris terræ, in Villa de Bradborne in Gavelkynd ad tenendum de cætero in dimidio feodi militis, sicut Charta Baldwini de Betun Comitibus Albemarlæ testatur: Fyn. Reg. Joannis, memb. 8.'

But now for as much as it is disputable, whether these acts of the King and other men be of sufficient vertue to change the nature of the Gavelkynd land or no, and for that the certainty of all the lands so converted into Knight fee, doth not any where (that I have seen) appear (only in

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a copie of the book of Aide, levied in this Shire, anno. 20 Edward 3. it is four or five times noted, that certain lands there, be holden in Knights service, 'per novam licentiam Archiepiscopi') I will leave this, and proceed to prove, that all the lands of ancient tenure in Knights service, be subject to the ordinarie course of descent at the common law. And that may I (as me thinketh) sufficiently doe, both by the express words of a note, 9 H. 3. in the title of Prescription, 63, in Fitzherbert: by the resolution of the same Fitzherbert, and Norwiche, Justices, 26 H. 8. 5. And by plain recitall in the Act of Parliament, made 31 H. 8. Ca. 3. by which Statute, the possessions of certain Gentlemen (there named) were delivered from this customarie descent, and incorporated to the common Law. For (amongst other things) in that Act, it is said, 'That from thenceforth, such their lands shall be changed from the said Custome, and shall descend as lands at the common Law, and as other lands being in the said County of Kent, which never were holden by service of Socage, but alwaies have been holden by Knights service, to descend.' By which words it is very evident, that the makers of that Estatute, understood all lands holden by Knights service, to be of their proper nature descendable after the common law, and that Socage tenure was the

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only subject in which this our custome of Gavelkynd descent had place and prevailed.

Ancient Knight fee, is not of the nature of Gavelkynd.

But when I thus speak of Socage, and Knights fee, I must alwaies be understood to mean of a tenure long since, and of ancient time continued, and not now newly, or lately created: for so it may fall out otherwise then is already reported. As for example. If land anciently by Knights service, come to the Princes hand, who afterward giveth the same out again to a common person, to be holden of his Manor of Eastgrenewiche in Socage, I suppose that this land (notwithstanding the alteration of the tenure) remaineth descendable to the eldest sonne only, as it was before: As also, in like sort, if lands of ancient Socage service come to the

Crown, and be delivered out again, to be holden either of the Prince in Capite, or by Knights service of any Manor, I think it ought to descend according to the custome, notwithstanding that the tenure be altered.

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The change of Gavelkind tenure, is no change of the nature of Gavelkind.

And if this be true, in the graunt of the King himself, then much lesse (saving the reverence due to King Johns Charter) might the Archbishop or any other by a new creation of tenure, make to his tenants any alteration, of this old custome and manner. For, as the pleading is 'Quod terræ prædictæ sunt de tenura &

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natura de Gavelkind.' Even so the truth is, that the present tenure only guideth not the discent, but that the tenure and the nature together, doe govern it. And therefore, as on the one side, the custome cannot attache, or take hold of that which was not before in nature subject to the custome, that is to say, accustomedly departed: so on the other side, the practise of the custome, long time continued, may not be interrupted, by a bare alteration of the tenure. And this is not my fantasie, but the resolution of all the Justices (as Judg Dalison himself hath left reported) 4 & 5 Philippi & Mariæ: And also of the Court 26 H. 8. 5. where it was affirmed that if a man being seised of Gavelkind land, holden in Socage, make a gift in taile, and create a tenure in Knights service, that yet this land must descend after the custome, as it did before the change of the tenure.

A contrary usage, changeth not the nature of Gavelkind.

Moreover, as the change of the tenure cannot prevaile against this custome: so neither the continuance of a contrary usage, may alter this prescription. For it is holden, 16 E. 2. Prescription, 52, in Fitzherbert, that albeit the eldest sonne only hath (and that for many discents together) entred into Gavelkinde land, and occupied it without any contradiction of the younger brothers, that yet the land remaineth partible between them, when

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so ever they will put to their claim. Against which assertion, that which is said 10 H. 3. in the title of Prescription 64. namely of the issue taken thus, 'Si terra illa fuit partibilis, & partita, nec ne,' is not greatly forceable. For it is not expresly there spoken of Kent (where the custome is most generall) and although it were so that the land were never departed in deed, yet if it remaine partibly in nature, it may be departed whensoever occasion shall be ministred. And therefore, even

in the form of pleading used at this day (Quod terra illa, a toto tempore, &c. partibilis fuit, & partita) it is plainly taken, that the word (partibilis) only is of substance, and that the word (partita) is but of form, and not materiall, or traversable at all. And this caused them of the Parliament (31 H. 8. cap. 3.) to speak in the disiunctive, 'that have been departed, or be departible.'

Yea, so inseparable is this custome from the land in which it obtaineth, that a contrary descent (continued in the case of the Crown it self) cannot hinder, but that (after such time as the land shall resort again to a common person) the former inveterate custome shall govern it. As for the purpose. Lands of Gavelkynde nature come to the Queens handes, by purchase, or by escheat, as holden of her Ma= nor of A. which she purchased. Now

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after her death, all her sonnes shall inherit and divide them: but if they come to her by forfeiture in Treason, or by gift in Parliament, so that her Grace is seised of them 'in Jure Coronæ,' then her eldest sonne only (which shall be King after her) shall enjoy them. In which case, although those lands which the eldest sonne (being King) did possesse, doe come to his eldest sonne after him (being King also) and so from one to another, by sundry descents: Yet the opinion of Sir Anthonie Browne was 7 Elizab. that if at any time after, the same lands be graunted to a common person, they shall revolt to their former nature of Gavelkynde, and be partible amongst his heirs males notwithstanding, that they have run a contrary course, in divers the descents of the Kings before. But much lesse then may the unity of possession in the Lord, frustrate the custome of Gavelkynd descent, as it may appear 14 H. 4. in the long Recordare. Only therefore these two cases I doubt of, concerning this point, and thereupon judg them meet to be inquired of. That is to say, first, if a tenancie in Gavelkynde escheat to the Lord, by reason of a Ceasser (as hereafter it shall appear, that it may) or if it be graunted unto the Lord by the tenant, without any reservation, which Lord holdeth over by Fee of Haubert, or by Serieancie (both

heahbe= org, in Saxon is a high defence: and the Customes of Normandie call that fief, or fee, de Haubert, which oweth to defend the land by full armes, that is, by horse, haubert, target, sword, or helm: and it consisteth of 300. acres of land, which is the same (as I suppose) that we called a whole Knights fee.

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which I take to be Knights service) whether now this tenancie be partible amongst the heirs males of the Lord or no. For the ancient treatise of the Kentish Customes so determineth, but I wot not

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whether experience so alloweth. The other doubt is this, if it be so that any whole Town or Village in Kent, hath not at any time (that can be shewed) been acquainted with the exercise of Gavelkynde descent, whether yet the custome of Gavelkynde shall have place there or no. Toward the resolution of which later ambiguity, it shall tend somewhat to shew, how farre this custome extendeth it self within this our Country.

The Custome of Gavelkind is universall in Kent.

It is commonly taken therefore, that the custome of Gavelkynde is generall, and spreadeth it self throughout the whole Shire, into all lands subject by ancient tenure unto the same, such places only excepted, where it is altered by Act of Parliament. And therefore 5 E. 4. 8. and 14 H. 4. 8. it is said, that the custome of Gavelkynde is (as it were) a common law in Kent. And the Book 2 E. 4. 19. affirmeth, that in demanding Gavelkynde land, a man shall not need to prescribe in certain, and to shew, 'That the Town, Borow, or City, where the lands be, is an ancient Town, Borow, or City, and that the custome hath been there (time out of minde) that the lands within the same towne, borow,

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or citie, should descend to all the heir<s> males.' But that it is sufficiently enoug<h> to shew the custome at large, and to say<,> 'That the lande lieth in Kent, and that all the landes there be of the nature of Gavelkinde.'

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For, a Writ of partition of Landes in Gavelkinde (saith Master Littleton) shall be as generall, as if the lands were at the Common law, although the declaration ought specially to containe mention of the Custome of the Countrie. This universallitie therefore considered, as also the strait bond (whereby the custome is so inseparably knit to the land, as in manner nothing but an act of Parliament can cleerly sever them) I see not, how any City, Town, or Borow, can be exempted, for the only default of putting the Custome in ure, more than the eldest Sonne (in the case before) may for the like reason prescribe against his yonger brethren.

This was the resolute and settled opinion, not only of the best professors and practisers, but also of the Modern Justices and Judges of the Law, at such time as I first published this Customall of our Shire: and accordingly was this custome of Gavelkynde descent then put in ure, without any reclaim in the Country, as a great many yet alive can testifie with me.

Howbeit, knowing that of latter yeers

there hath been some strong opposition, and seeing now at this day some doe incline, and others doe stagger therein, I hold it necessary to let the Reader know, both what they say, and what I read, that may inform his understanding in that point also.

'Graunting therefore (say they) that all the lands of Gavelkynde nature be of the Tenure in Socage: yet is it not therefore to be graunted, that on the other side, that all the lands of Socage Tenure be of the nature of Gavelkynde. For, as there be two sorts of Socage, the one Free, the other Base, so is the nature of their discent divers also: the Free Socage descending to the eldest alone, the Base falling in division between him and all his Brethren.'

Socage, of two sorts.

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This distinction and difference of Tenure and Discent, they faile not to justify by a great number of Inquisitions, remaining of Record in the Tower of London, whereof my loving friend, Master Michael Henneage, (the worthy keeper of them) hath shewed sundry unto my self. Amongst them all, one hath fallen into my hands, whereof both this and further use may be made, and to that end I will exemplifie it unto you, as it lieth before me.

Ex Bundello Eschaet. de Anno primo Edwardi tertii.

Inquisitio facta apud Thonebregge, coram Eschaetore Domini Regis, in Comitatu Kanc, xxv. die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum primo, per sacramentum Joannes Pieres, Thom. Grigory, Richardi de Clyve, Thom. Polteman, Alexandri at Bourne, Martin. Prikell, Walteri Partriche, Thom. de Beltring, Wilhelmi Flishert, Daniel de Rydenne, Thom. at Longebroke, & Clementis de Prikel: Qui dicunt per Sacramentum suum, quod Walterus Colpeper (qui obiit tempore Domini nuper Regis Angliæ patris Domini Regis nunc) tenuit Conjunctim cum Johanna uxore ejus die quo obiit in villis de Langelegh & Bokton Monchency in eodem comitatu, duas partes unius mesuagii, unius carucat. terr. quindecem solidorum annui redditus, & redditus quindecem gallinarum & quinginta ovorum, de Agnete Domina de Leybourne per servitium unius paris Calcarium, vel trium Denariorum per Annum pro omni servicio: Et dicunt quod prædict. duæ partes valent per Annum per omnibus exitibus xxxiiii. s. iiii. d. Item dicunt quod

Langley and Boughton.

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prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde in dominico suo ut de Feodo die quo obiit quædam tenementa in E. Farlegh in eodem comitatu de Priore Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ per

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- servicium xx. s. per Annum, & faciend. sectam ad Curiam dicti Prioris de E. Farlegh, de tribus septimanis, in tres septimanas. Et dicunt quod sunt ibi unum capitale Mesuagium, lxx. acr. terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xxxv. s. Item sunt ibi redditus per Annum xxx s. ad quatuor terminos principales solvend. Item sunt ibi de redditu ad terminum dictum xii. gallinæ, quæ valent per annum xviii. Item dicunt quod idem Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde, in Dominico suo ut de feodo die prædicto v. s. redditus & redditus ii. gallinarum, prec. iii. d. in West Farlegh in eodem comitatu, de prædicto Priore per servicium prædict. Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde die quo obiit in villa de Elding in eodem comitatu quendam annum Redditum, unius galli & xiii. gallinarum quæ valent per Annum xix. d. de Hugone Dandele, absque aliquo servicio inde faciend. Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit unum Mesuagium in villa de Malling, quod valet per annum ii. s. iii. d. de Wilhelmo Large per servicium ii. d. per Annum. Item dicunt quod prædict. Walterus tenuit in Gavelkinde die quo obiit quædam tenementa in villa de Brenchesley, vocat. Marescales de Domino Hugone de Audele, ut de honore de Thonebregge, per servicium reddend. ad larda-

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- rium dicti Hugonis viii. porc, & dimid. ad Festum Omnium Sanctorum per annum prec. xv. s. Et de Wilhelmo de Ore milite, per servicium v. s. ix. d. per annum. Et dicunt quod sunt ibidem in eisdem tenementis unum Mesuagium nullius valoris ultra reprec, lxxx. acræ terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum xx. s. prec. acr. iii. s. iii. d. xx. acr. pasturæ, quæ valent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. i. d. xiiii. acr. prati, quæ valent per annum iii. s. viii. d. prec. acr. iii. d. Item tenuit ibidem in Gavelkinde xviii. acras terræ arabilis quas adquisivit de Matil Salmon, quæ valent per annum iii. s. vi. d. prec. acr. iii. d. De Galfrido atte Holedene per servicium v. s. per annum. Item tenuit in Gavelkinde in eadem villa de Brenchesley, die quo obiit ix. acras terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ii. s. iii. d. prec. acr. iii. d. De Richardo de Sheyfelle, per servicium iii. d. per annum pro omni servicio: Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in

East Peckam. Gavelkinde die quo obiit, quædam tenementa in villa de East Peckham, in eodem comitatu de Johanne de la Chekere, ut de Mainerio suo de Adynton per servitium i. d. per annum, pro omni servicio, & reddendo per annum Domino de Cosinton vii. s. Et sunt in eisdem tenementis, unum Mesuagium nullius valoris ultra reprisas, xxvii. acr. terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ix. s. iiii. d. prec. acr. iiii. d. ii. acr. patri qui valent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. x. d. Item

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Liberum feodum. Shirborne.

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tenuit conjunctim cum Johanna uxore ejus in liberum Feodum in Sheybourne in eodem Comitatu quendam annuum redditum xxvi s. & unius galli prec. i. d. & iiii. gallinarum, prec. iiii. d. ob. De Rogero Bavent absque aliquo servitio inde faciend. Item dicunt quod Thomas Colpeper filius prædicti Walteri quoad liberum feodum est eius heres propinquior & xx. annorum & amplius: Et quoad tenementa in Gavelkinde, prædictus Thomas, Galfridus, & Johannes fratres ejusdem Thomæ sunt hæredes ipsius Walteri propinquiores. Et prædictus Galfridus est ætatis decem annorum, & Johannes est ætatis ix. annorum. In cujus rei testimonium prædicti Juratores huic Inquisitioni sigilla sua apposuerunt.

To this I think it agreeable, to adjoin what I read, first in the Book, commonly ascribed to Glanville, and then in the Worke of Master Bracton also.

Si quis (saith Glanville foll. 46.) hæreditatem habens, moriatur, & plures reliquerit filios, tunc distinguitur utrum ille fuerit Miles (sive per feodum militare tenens) aut liber Socmannus: Quia si Miles fuerit (vel per militiam tenens) tunc secundum jus Regni Angliæ primogenitus filius patri succedet in totum, ita quod nullus fratrum suorum partem inde de jure petere potest. Si vero fuerit liber Socmannus, tunc quidem dividetur hæreditas inter omnes filios (quotquot sunt) per partes æquales, si fue-

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rit Socagium, & id antiquitus divisum: Si vero fuerit antiquitus divisum, tunc primogenitus (secundum quorundam consuetudinem) totam hæreditatem obtinebit: secundum autem quorundam consuetudinem, postnatus filius hæres est.

To the like intent, and almost in the like words writeth Master Bracton fol. 75.

Si liber Socmannus moriatur, pluribus relictis hæredibus & participibus, si hæreditas partibilis sit & ab antiquo divisa, hæredes (quotquot erunt) habeant partes suas æquales. Si autem non fuerit hæreditas ab

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antiquo divisa, tunc tota remaneat primo=genito. Si autem fuerit Socagium villa= num, tunc consuetudo loci erit observanda. Est enim consuetudo in quibusdam parti= bus, quod postnatus præfertur primogenito, & e contra.

And that you may know what he meaneth by Socagium villanum, take these his words (fol. 77.)

Tenementum aliud dicitur per Servi= um Militare, aliud per Serjentiam: Et de hiis homagium faciendum est. Aliud tene= tur in libro Socagio, ubi fit servitium in de= nariis: aliud in Socagio villano: Et in hiis fidelitatis sacramentum requiritur.

It seemeth plain by this Harmony of these Writers, that in Socage land, (whe= ther free, or base) the division of the in= heritance stood wholly upon the practise of the Custome: So as no Gavelkinde

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partition could be challenged, but only where the custome of Division had pre= vailed. And likewise, this Inquisition (found after the death of Walter Colpe= per) most cleerly distinguisheth free Soc= age from the Gavelkinde: but yet main= taineth not Bractons difference of them, by which the one should consist of money, and the other of base services, which were called 'Manu opera.' For in this Inquisi= tion some lands are denoted to be of Ga= velkinde nature, which nevertheless doe yeeld none other but money alone: So as thereby also, it seemeth, that Gavelkinde was not tried by the manner of the Soc= age services, but only by the touch of some former partition. Yea, the very Custo= mall of Gavelkinde it self useth never a word of Socage tenure, but of Gavel= kynders, tenants in Gavelkynd, tenements of Gavelkynd, heritage in Gavelkynd, and such like.

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How befalleth it then (may a man well say) that this severance of Socage tenure, holding force in the time of King Henry the second when Glanville lived, and so downward till the daies, not only of King Edward the third (as this Inquisition be= wrayeth) but sundry years after his reign also (as many other the like Offices doe convince) should thus grow into disuse and oblivion, so as the way hath been o= pened to that universality, by which all

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Socage service was clothed with the ap= parell of Gavelkind? To say what I think, I must say, that this latter declina= tion from that elder usage, was not any

change at all, but rather a restitution of the first custome, and a recourse to the right originall. For, by the Custome of Normannie, from whence we received our Gavelkynd, by the delivery of Odo (Earl of Kent, and Bastard Brother to King William the Conqueror) the lands there be of two like sundry discents and natures, as be our Knights service and So= cage, whereof the first they call 'Fife de Heaubert,' that descendeth to the eldest sonne only, the other they tearm 'Fife de roturier' (the Ploughmans fee) which fal= leth upon all the Sonnes together, with= out any distinction of Free, or Base. I suppose moreover, that the sundry favours of our Gavelkynde custome enticed ma= ny to creep into it, and by one and one (upon occasion of the intestine troubles that ensued the deprivation of King Ri= chard the secoud) to shrowd and cover themselves under the safety and shadow of the privileges that doe wait upon it, as not to forfeit lands for Felony, not to be subject to services before the Justices, not to be challenged for Villanies, and many others, that lands of other nature did not afford.

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By these means (as I gesse) the custome

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was spred, and grown to such generality, that the Statute (made 18 H. 6. cap. 3.) taketh knowledge, that 'There were not at that day within the Shyre above 40. persons at the most, which had lands to the yearly value of 20. pounds without the te= nure of Gavelkynde; and that the greater party of this County, or well nigh all, was then within that Tenure.'

Thus much I had to say of this matter Academically, and without taking any part, leaving to the consideration of the Learned and Judiciall sort, whether it be now more tollerable, that the Country be yet lulled asleep in this Error (if it be any) or otherwise to awake so many que= stions, and to move so many suits (as will ensue) of the contrary.

The reason of Gavelkynde Custome.

But here, before I conclude this part, I think good, first to make Master Litle= tons answer to such as happily will de= mand, what reason this custome, of Ga= velkynde discent hath, thus to divide land amongst all the Males, contrary to the manner of the whole Realm besides. The younger sonnes (saith he) be as good Gentlemen as the elder, and they (being alike deare to their common ancestor, from whom they claim) have so much the more need of their friends help, as (through their Minoritie) they be less able than the elder Brother to help themselves:

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Secondly, to put you in remembrance al=

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so of the Statute of Prærogativa Regis, Ca. 16. Where it is said, that 'Fæmina non participabunt cum Masculis,' The Females, shall not divide with the Males, which is to be understood, of such as be in equall degree of kinred, as Brothers and Sisters, &c. But if a man have issue three Sonnes, and the eldest have issue a Daughter, and die in the life of his Father, and the Fa=ther dyeth: In this case (it is holden) that the Daughter shall joyn with the two o=ther Bretheren her Uncles, for that she is not in equall degree with them, as her Father was, whose heire she nevertheless must be of necessity.

What things shall ensue the nature of the land.

And now, thus much being spoken, touching the name, tenure, nature, gene=rality, necessity reason, and order of Ga=velkynde, it is worthie the labor, to shew of what quality the Rents, Remainders Conditions, Vouchers, Actons, and such other things (of the which some be issuing out of these lands, some be annexed unto them, and some be raised by reason of them) shall be. In which behalfe, it may generally be said, that some of them shall ensue the nature of the land, and some shall keep the same course that common Law hath appointed. But in particular, it is to be understood, that if a Rent be graunted in Fee out of Gavelkynd land, it shall descend to all the males, as the land it self shall doe, as Fitzherbert held,

Rent.

Vide collect. Dyar fol. 5.

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against the opinion of Shelley, who main=tained that the Custome extended, not to Rents, but to Lands only.

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And, Ald. and Chart. in 7 E. 3. were of opinion, that albeit a Tenancy be of Gavelkynde nature, yet the rent service, by which that tenancy is holden, might well be descendable at the common Law.

Remainder.

The like shall be of a remainder of Ga=velkynd land: for if it be tailed to the Heirs Males, they altogether shall inherit it, as Fitzherbert and Norwiche two Ju=stices, thought, 26 H. 8. 8. But that is to be understood of a discent only: for if lands of Gavelkynd nature be leassed for life, the Remainder to the right Heires of J. at Stile, which hath issue four sonnes and dieth, and after the Leassee for life di=eth, now the eldest Sonne only of J. at Stile shall have this land, for he is right Heir, and that is a good name of purchase, 37 H. 8. Done. 42 en Master Brooke: But if the lands had been devised to J. at Stile for life, the remainder to his next Heir Male, this had been in the opinion of some

an estate tail in J. S. himself, and then the land (as I take it) should have descended to all his Sonnes, in so much as in that case the words (Next Heir Male) be not a name of purchase, but of limitation.

Howbeit, it was greatly doubted 3 & 4 Philip & Mariæ (as Justice Dalison reporteth) if Land in Gavelkynde be devised

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by Testament to S. for life, the remainder (proximo hæredi masculo de corpore ejus procreato, and the Divisee hath divers sons) whether in that case the eldest Brother only shall have it, in so much as (in the understanding of the Law, which is a Judge over all Customes) he is the next Heir Male: and therefore inquire of it.

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Voucher.

As touching Vouchers, it appeareth 11 E. 3. that all the Heirs in Gavelkynde shall be vouched for the warranty of their ancestor, and not the eldest only. But the opinion of Master Littleton, and of the Justices, 22 E. 4. is clearly: that the eldest Sonne only shall be rebutted, or barred, by the warrantie of the ancestor. To be short, the eldest Son only shall enter for the breach of a condition: but the rest of the Bretheren shall be joyned with him in suing a Writ of Attaint, to reform a false verdict, or in error to reverse a judgement: And they all shall be charged for the debt of their ancestor, if so be that they all have Assetz in their hands: But if the eldest only have Assetz remaining, and the residue have aliened their parts, then he only shall be charged after the minde of the Book, 11 E. 3. Det. 7. And this also for this part, at this time shall suffice.

Condition.
Attaint, and
Error.

Now a word or twain, touching the triall of right in this Gavelkynde land, and then forward to the rest of my purpose.

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There be at the common Law, two sorts of triall in a writ of Right, by Battail, and by the ground Assise: of the which two, this Custome excludeth the one, and altereth the other. For Battail it admitteth not at all, and the grand Assise it receiveth, not by the election of four Knights, but of four Tenants in Gavelkynde, as it may be read in the ancient Treatise of the Customes of this Country. But when I speak of the Treatise of the Customes (you must know) I mean not that which was lately imprinted, but another with much more faith and diligence long since exemplified: a Copie whereof you shall finde at the end of this Book.

No Battail nor
ground Assise
in Gavelkynd.

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For, not only in this part, the words (Ne soient prises per battail) be clean o=

mitted in the imprinted book, but in sundry other places also the words be mangled, the sentences be curtailed, and the meaning is obscured, as by conference of the variations, it may to any skilfull Reader most easily appear. But all that, I will refer to the sight and judgment of such as will search and examine it, and (returning to my purpose) shew you, what belongeth to the Lord of this Gavelkynd land, by reason of this Custome. And, for because the Prince is chief Lord of all the Realm (as of whom all lands within the same be either mediately or immediately holden) let us first see what right

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(by reason of this Custome) belongeth unto him.

Forfeiture in felony.

If Tenant in Fee simple, of lands in Gavelkynd, commit felony, and suffer the judgement of death therefore, the Prince shall have all his Chattels for a forfeiture: But as touching the Land, he shall neither have the Eschete of it, though it be immediately holden of himself, nor the Day, Year, and Waste, if it be holden of any other. For in that case the Heir, notwithstanding the offence of his ancestor, shall enter immediately, and enjoy the lands after the same Customes and Services, by which they were before holden: in assurance whereof, it is commonly said,

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The Father to the Bough.
The Sonne to the Plough.

But this rule holdeth in case of felony, and of murder only, and not in case of treason at all; nor (peradventure) in Piracie, and other Felonies made by Statutes of later times, because the Custome cannot take hold of that, which then was not at all. It holdeth moreover, in case where the offender is justiced by order of Law, and not where he withdraweth himself after the fault committed, and will not abide his Lawfull triall.

For if such a one absent himself (after proclamation made for him in the County) and be outlawed: or otherwise, if he take Sanctuarie, and doe abjure the

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Realm, then shall his Heir reap no benefit by this Custome, but the Prince or the Lord, shall take their forfeiture in such degree, as if the lands were at the common Law. Which thing is apparent, both by the book 8 Edward 2. abridged by Master Fitzherbert, in his title of prescription 50. And by 22 E. 3. fol. Where it is said, that this Custome shall not be construed by equity: but by a streight and

literall interpretation. And also by the plain rehearsall of the said treatise of the Customes it self. And in this behalf also, some have doubted, whether the Brother or Uncle shall have the advantage of this Custome: But seeing that the words of our Customal extend to the Heir, and be not restrained to the Sonne, they be answered, and we may proceed.

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Duties of the
Tenant, to his
Lord.

There belongeth moreover, due by the Tenant, to each common person, being his Lord of land in Gavelkinde, Suit to his Court, the oath of fidelity, and the true doing and payment of all accustomed Rents, Duties, and Servises. Also if the Tenant die, leaving his Heir, within the age of fifteen years: the Lord hath authority to commit the nouriture of the body, and the custody of the goods and lands of the Infant, to the next of the kinred, to whom the inheritance cannot descend. But, as neither the Lord ought to take any thing for the custody, neither to ten=

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der to the Heir any marriage at all: So must he take good heed, that he credit not the custody to any person, that shall not be able to answer therefore. For if the Heir, at his full age of fifteen years, shall come to the Lords Court, and demand his Inheritance, although the Lord may distrein the Gardein to yeeld his accompt (as it appeareth 18 E. 2. Avowrie 229.) Yet in default of his ability, the Lord himself, and his Heirs, remain charged to the Heir for the same. For which only fear (as I think) the Lords at these daies doe not enterpose themselves in this business.

Furthermore, if the Tenant shall withdraw from the Lord his due Rents and Services, the Custome of this Country giveth to the Lord, a speciall and solemne kinde of Cessavit, and that after this manner.

Cessavit, in
Gavelkinde.

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The Lord, after such a Cessing, ought by award of his three weeks Court, to seek (from Court to Court, untill the fourth Court) in the presence of good witness, whether any distress may be found upon the Tenement, or no: and if he can finde none, then at the fourth Court it shall be awarded, that he shall take the Tenement into his hands, as a distress, or pledge, for the Rent and services withdrawn, and that he shall detein it one year and a day, without manuring it: within which time, if the Tenant come, and make agreement

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with the Lord for his arrerage, he shall enter into his Tenement again: but if he come not within that space, then at the

next County Court the Lord ought openly to declare all that his former proceeding, to the end that it may be notorious: which being done, at his own Court, next following the said County, it shall be finally awarded, that he may enter into that Tenement, and manure it as his proper demean.

And that the forfeiture, due to the Lord for this Ceasser of his Tenant, was five pounds (at the least) besides the arerages: it doth well appear by the old Kentish byword, recited in the often remembered Treatise of these Customes.

Neg he syth seald and Neg he syth geld.

And five pound for the were, er he become healder.

That is to say, 'Hath he not since any thing given? nor hath he not since any thing paid? Then let him pay five pound for his were, before he become tenant, or holder again.' But some copies have the first verse thus.

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Nigon sithe seld, and nigon sithe gelde:

Were, is the price of a mans life.

That is, 'Let him nine times pay, & nine times repay.' And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that this word (were) in old time signified, the value, or price of a mans life, estimation, or countenance: For, before

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the Conquest, each man in the Realm was valued at a certain summ of money, having regarde to his degree, condition, and worthinesse, as is more at large shewed in the Table to the translation of the Saxon Lawes, whereunto for this purpose I will send you. This custome of Cessavit, is set forth in the Treatise of Customes, and hath been allowed of (as Master Frowike 21 H. 7. 15. reported) in time passed, but whether it be also at this day put in ure, I cannot certainly affirm.

But now, as these advantages arise to the Lord from his Tenant: so on the other side, the Lord also ought to suffer his Tenant to enjoy the benefit of such customes as make for his availe. And therefore, first he ought to let him alien his land at his own pleasure, without suing to him for licence: he ought also to be contented with one suit to his Court for one Tenement, although the same happen to be divided amongst many: of very right also he ought to admit an Essoine, if any be cast for the Tenant, whether it be in a cause of Plaint, or for common suit to his Court: And lastly, he may not exact of him any maner of Oath, other than that of Fidelitie, which groweth due

by reason of his Tenure.

<555>
Tenant by the
Courtesie.

And thus leaving the Lord and his Tenant, let us come to the husband and the wife, and first shew what courtesie the

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husband shall finde by order of this custome after the death of his wife that was seised of lands of Gavelkinde tenure: and then what benefit the wife may have after the decease of her husband dying seised of lands of the same kinde and nature.

The Husband (saith our treatise of Gavelkinde Custome) shall have the one half of such Gavelkinde land, wherein his wife had estate of inheritance, whether he had issue by her or no: and shall hold the same during so long time, as he will keep himself widower, and unmarried. For if he marry, he loseth all. Neither may he commit any waste, more than Tenant by the courtesie at the common Law, may. So that one way (namely, in that he shall have his wives land for life though he never had issue by her) this our Custome is more courteous than the common Law: but another way (I mean in that he shall have but the one half, and that with a prohibition of second marriage) it is lesse beneficiall. Howsoever it be, it holdeth place, and is put in practise at this day.

Tenant in
Dower, the
difference between
common Law, and
Custome
therein.

The wife likewise, after the death of her Husband, shall have for her life, the one moitie of all such lands of Gavelkinde tenure, whereof her Husband was seised of any estate of inheritance during the coverture between them. Of which Custome also, though it exceed common measure, the common Law of the Realm

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(bearing alwaies speciall favour to Dower) hath evermore even hitherto shewed good allowance: Neverthelesse, as Tenant by the courtesie after this custome, had his conditions annexed: so Tenant in Dower, by the same Custome, wanteth not some conditions waiting upon her estate. One, that she may not marry at all: and another, that she must take diligent heed, that she be not found with childe, begotten in fornication. For in either case she must lose her Dower: But yet so, that lawfull matrimony is by a mean (contrary to the Apostolique permission) utterly forbidden, and the sinne of secret Lecherie (according to the Popish Paradox, 'Si non caste tamen caute') is in a sort born and abidden, seeing that by this custome, she forfeiteth not in this later case, unlesse the childe be born, and heard to cry, and that of the Country people, assembled by Hue

and Cry: For then (saith the custome)

Se that his wende,
Se his lende:

But corruptly, for in true Saxon letters it standeth thus,

Se þat hire wende.
Se hire lende.

That is to say,

He that doth turn, or wende her:
Let him also give unto her, or lende her.

And thus the custome, making like esti=

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Single life,
much magnified.

Differences
between the
common Law,
and this Custome,
for
Dower.

mation of both the cases, depriveth her of her living, no lesse for honest marriage, than for filthy fornication. In which behalf, as I must needs confesse, that the latter condition hath reason, because it tendeth (though not fully) to the correction of sinne and wickednesse: So yet dare I affirm, that the former is not only not reasonable, but meerly lewd and irreligious also. For, although the Ethnickes did so much magnifie widowhood, that, (as Valerius reciteth) 'Fæminas, quæ uno matrimonio contentæ erant, corona pudicitiaë honorabant,' and although that the common Law also (being directed by the Popish Clergy, which therein followed the error of Jerome) doth in another case, by the name of Bigamie, dislike of a womans second marriage: Yet Saint Paul saith plainly, 'Mulier, si dormierit maritus ejus, libera est, ut cui vult nubat, modo in Domino.' But for all this, seeing that our treatise of usages reciteth it, seeing also that common experience of the Country approveth it, and that the common Law of the Realm (as it may be read, Prærogativa Regis cap. 16. & 2 H. 3. in Præscription. 59.) admitteth it: let us also for this place and purpose, be contented to number it amongst our customes, and so proceed with the residue.

It appeareth, by that which is already said, that the common Law, and this cus=

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stome, differ in two things concerning Dower: One, in that the common Law giveth but a third part, whereas the custome vouchsafeth the half: Another, in that this custome giveth conditionally, whereas the gift of the common Law, is free and absolute. Now therefore, there remain to be shewed, certain other points, wherein they vary also. As, if the husband commit Felony: at the common Law, his wife hath lost her title of Dower, but by the custome of this Country, she

shall not lose her Dower for the fault of her husband, but only in such case, where the heir shall lose his inheritance, for the offence of his Father. Which thing is manifest, both by the treatise of our Kentish customes, and by the opinion of the Court 8 H. 3. Præscription. 60. At the common Law also, the wife shall be endowed of a possession in Law, but (as me thinketh) she shall have no Dower by this custome, but only of such lands, whereof her husband was actually and really seised. For the words be (Des tenements, dount son Baron morust seisei, & vestu,) which word (vestu) being clean omitted in the imprinted Book, inforceth a possession indeed, and not in Law only. And therefore, if lands in Gavelkinde descend to a married man, which dieth before he make his entrie into the same, enquire whether it be the manner

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to endow his wife thereof, or no: for use is the only Oracle that in this case I can send you unto. Again, it may seem, that the conditions laid upon the Dower, doe run only to those lands whereof he died seised: and that of such as he aliened, she is at liberty both for demand of Dower at the common Law, and otherwise.

Moreover, at the common Law, a woman shall be endowed of a Fair, or Balywike, or of any such other profit. But (for as much as the words of this customary Dower, be (terres et tenements) and for that all Customes shall finde a literall and streight interpretation) the opinion of Maister Parkins is, that no Dower lieth of a Fair, &c. by this Custome, unless it be appendant to land. Furthermore, if the wife recover her Dower at the common Law, she ought of necessity to be endowed by metes and bounds: But in Dower after this Custome (saith the same Author) she may very well be endowed of Moity, to be holden in common with the Heir, that enjoyeth the other half.

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Dowre of
Chattels.

Lastly, this custome, besides Dower of the one halfe of the husbands land, provideth Dower of the moity of such goods also, as he died possessed of, if he had no Children, and of the third part, though he leave issue: whereas the common Law (at the least in common practise at this day) hath no consideration of any such

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endowment. These then be the differences, between the common Law of the Realm, and the particular Custome of this Country concerning Dower: the comparison whereof, and whether sort of

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Dower is more beneficiall, I will not now attempt, and much less take upon me to determine, least I my self might seem rashly to prejudicate in another thing, wherein I most gladly desire to be judged by other men: namely, whether a woman, intitled to Dower in Gavelkynde, may wave her Dower of the moiety after this Custome, and bring her action to be endowed of the third at the common Law, and so exempt her self from all danger of these customarie conditions, or no? The resolution of which doubt, will depend partly upon comparison, whether it be more advantage to her, to have the third at the common Law absolutely, or the moiety by the Custome conditionally. For if the Dower at the common Law be better for her, then it seemeth reasonable that she should stand to the worse, which is the custome; even as Tenant by the curtesie, must take the moiety that the Custome giveth, and not aske the whole, as common law appointeth. And yet there to it may be replied, that the cases be not like: for so much as that of Dower is much more to be favoured. I my self once heard two reverend Judges, of opinion,

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that the woman was at liberty, to aske her Dowre of the Third, or of the Moity: But because it was uttered by them in a passage of sudden speech, and not spoken upon studied argument, I will not use the authority of their names, to encounter the opinion of the Court 2 E. 4. 19. only this I repeat (and that with Master Bracton) that if she marry before Dowre assigned, she is not afterward to be endowed.

The Childe, and the Gardian.

After the Husband and the Wife, there followeth next in order of our division, the Childe and his Gardian, whom also (since they be Relatives, as the other be, and that their interests carry a mutuall, and Reciproque eye, each having respect to other) we will likewise couple together in one treatise. And because the custome was wont to commit the custody, not of the lands only (as the common Law doth) but of the Goods and Chattels also, we will first shew what portion of goods did grow to the Childe, by the death of his Parent.

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Partition of
Chattels.

The manner of this Country sometime was (as it appeareth by our old treatise) that after the funeralls of the dead man performed, and his debts discharged, the goods should be divided into three equall portions, if he left any lawfull issue behind him: of which three, one part was allotted to the dead, for performance of

his legacies: another to the Children (that were not his Heirs, nor advanced) for their education: and the third to the Wife for her sustentation and maintenance: but if he had no Children left alive, then was the division into two parts only; of which, the one belonged to the Wife for her endowment, & the other to her departed Husband, to be bestowed by his Executors, if he made a Testament, or by the discretion of the Ordinary, if he died intestate. To this effect soundeth the Record (claus. 9 H 3. memb. 13.) where it is said thus: 'Rex mandavit Vicecomiti Kantiaë, quod omnia Catallia quæ fuerunt Roberti Nereford in Heyam Boram, &c. faceret esse in pace donec sciatur, utrum filius & hæres dicti Roberti ea habere debeat, aut alii pueri dicti Roberti una cum eo, vel sine eo.'

London.

The self same Order is at this day observed in the City of London, and the same in effect, was long since used throughout the whole Realm. For it is evident, both by the Law of King Canutus before remembered, by Master Glanville, in his book cap. 18. and by the wordes of Magna Carta, that the Wife and Children had their reasonable parts of the goods by the common Law of the Realm, howsoever it came to pass at the length, that it was admitted for law but in such Countryes only, where it was continued by dayly usage

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(as it is holden 17 E. 2. and in many other books) and that all the Writs in the Register 'De rationabili parte bonorum,' have now mention of the speciall Custome of the Shire, in which the part is demanded. But as indeed at this day, partition of Chattels is not used (though in the mean time it hath not lost the force of common Law as many think) throughout the whole Realm: so is it (so far as I can learn) vanished quite out of all ure within this Country also. And therefore, seeing the Gardian is delivered of this charge, we also will leave to speak further of the goods, and come to the partition and custody of the land of this Infant.

Partition of
Gavelkinde
Lands.

If a man die seised of lands in Gavelkind, of any estate of Inheritance, all his sonnes shall have equall portion: and if he have no sonnes, then ought it equally to be divided amongst his daughters: But yet so, that the eldest Sonne or Daughter, hath by the Custome a preeminence of election, and the youngest Sonne or Daughter, a preferment in the partition. For, as of ancient time, there ought to be graunted

Astre.

to the eldest, the first choice, after the division: so to the part of the youngest, there ought to be allotted in the division, that piece of the Mesuage which our treatise calleth Astre, that is to say, the stock, harth, or chimney, for fire: which word (as I think) was derived of the La-

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tine Astrum, a starre, because the fire shineth in the house, as the starre thereof: and which, though it be not now commonly understood in Kent; yet doe they of Shropshire, and other parts, retain it in the same signification till this day, even as the first case (23. lib. Assis.) doth interpret it. I know, that Master Bracton, in the place before cited, writeth that the eldest ought to have the Capitall Mesuage: But at this day there is no regard of either, in making the partition: only consideration is had, that the parts be equall and indifferent.

Gardein by this Custome.

Now therefore, if the Child be under the age of fifteen yeeres, the next Cousin to whom the Inheritance may not descend, shall (by appointment of the Lord if divers be in equall degree of kinred) have the education, and order of his bodie and lands, untill such time as he shall attain to that age: even as the Gardein in Socage at the common Law shall keep his, untill the ward aspire to fourteen. And in all other things also, this custome Gardein is to be charged and to have allowance, in such sort, & none other, than as the Gardein in Socage at the common Law is: Save only (as it is partly remembred already) that he is both chargeable to the Heir in accompt for his receipt, and subject also to the distress of the Lord for the same cause:

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Yet doe I not hear, that the Lords take upon them (at this day) to commit the custodie of these Infants, but that they leave it altogether to the order of the Common Law, the rather (belike) for that they themselves (if they intermeddle) stand chargeable (as I said) in default of the abilitie of such as happily they might credit therewithall: Even as by Justinians ordinance, such as appoint Dative Tutors, must doe it at their own perils. So that upon the whole matter, the oddes consisteth only in this, that Gardein in Socage at the Common Law shall keep the land till the Infant be fourteen yeers of age; and Gardein, by this Custome, till he have attained fully fifteen: which diversitie ariseth not without great reason: For whereas the Infant in Socage at the Com-

Sale at fifteen years of age.

mon Law, cannot make alienation of his Land, untill he have reached to the full age of one and twenty yeers (although he be long before that, free from all wardship.) The Infant in Socage by this Custome, may give and sell his Land so soon as he is crept out of this Custodie.

And therefore it was expedient to add one year (at the least) to the Common Law, before he should be of power to depart with his Inheritance, which otherwise (being unadvisedly made away) might work his own impoverishment and overthrow. And truly it seemeth to me, that

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the Custome it self hath a watchfull eye upon the same matter, in so much as it licenceth him at fifteen years, 'Not to give his Land' (for that he might doe for nothing) 'But to give and sell his Land,' which it meaneth he should not doe without sufficient recompence. Such like interpretation the common Law also seemeth to make of this custome both by the opinion of Vavasor, 5 H. 7. who said, that it was adjudged, that a release made by such an Infant was void: by the sentence of the Book, 21 Ed. 4. 24. where it was said, that an Infant cannot declare his will upon such a Feoffment: and by the judgment of Hank, 11 H. 4. who also held, that a warrantie, or graunt of a Reversion made at such age, was to no purpose at all, although a Lease with release might happily be good by the Custome, because that amounteth to a Feoffment. And in my simple judgment, it is not fit that this Custome should be construed by equitie, for as much as it standeth not with any equity, to enable an Infant of little discretion, and less experience, to sell his Land, and not to provide withall, that he should have 'Quid pro quo,' and some reasonable recompence for the same: for that were, not to defend the Pupill an Fatherless, but to lay him wide open to every slie deceit, and circumvention.

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In which respect, I cannot but very we

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like of their opinion, who hold, that if an Infant in Gavelkinde, at this day, will sell at fifteen years of age, these three things ought of necessity to concur, if he will, have the sale good and effectuell. The first that he be an Heir, and not a Purchasor of the land that he departeth withall: The second, that he have recompence for it: And the third, that he doe it with liverie of seison by his own hand, and not by warrant of Attourney, nor by any other manner of assurance.

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And these men for proof of the first and second point of their assertion, doe build upon the words of our written Cu= stome, where it is said, 'Del heure que ceux heirs de Gavelkinde, soient, ou ount passe lage de 15, ans, list a eux, lour terres & te= nementes, Doner & Vender)' in which, the wordes (Ceux Heires) doe restrain the Infant that commeth in by purchase: and (Doner & Vender) in the copulative (for so they lie indeed, though the imprinted book have them disjunctively) doe of ne= cessity implie a recompence, for as much as 'Vendere,' cannot be 'Sine precio.'

And for maintenance of the third mat= ter, they have on their part, besides the common usage of their own Country, the common Law of the whole Realm also: which expoundeth the word (Doner) to mean a Feoffment (as I have before shewed) which not only disalloweth of

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any gift made by an Infant, but also pu= nished the taker in trespass, unless he have it by livery from the Infants own hands.

Thus have I lightly run over such Cu= stomes, as by mean of this Gavelkynde tenure doe appertain, either to the Lord or the Tenant, the Husband or the Wife, the Childe or the Gardein: To these I will add (as I promised) confusedly, a few other things, of the which, some be= long generally to the Kentish man throughout the whole Shire: Some to the Inhabitants of some particular quarter of the Country: and some to the Tenants in Gavelkynde only, and to none other.

No Villains in Kent.

It appeareth, by claim made in our an= cient treatise, that the bodies of all Ken= tish persons be of free condition, which also is confessed to be true 30 E 1. in the title of Villenage 46. in Fitzherbert:

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Where it is holden sufficient for a man to avoyd the objection of bondage, to say, that his father was born in the Shire of Kent, But whether it will serve in that case to say, that himself was born in Kent, I have known it (for good reason) doubted.

Apparance.

It seemeth by the same Treatise, that such persons as held none other land than of Gavelkinde nature, be not bound to appear (upon Summons) before the Ju= stices in Eire, otherwise than by their Borsholder, and four others of the Bo= row, a few places only excepted. The

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like to this priviledge is enjoyed at this day in the Sherifs Lathe, where many whole Borowes be excused by the only apparance of a Borsholder, and two, four, or six other of the Inhabitants.

Commen. Furthermore, I have read in a case of a written report at large of 16 E. 2. which also is partly abridged by Fitzherbert, in his title of prescription, that it was tried by verdict, that no man ought to have Commen in lands of Gavelkinde, Howbeit, the contrary is well known at this day, and that in many places.

Chase and drive out. The same book saith, that the usage in Gavelkinde is, that a man may lawfully inclose, or drive out into the High-way to their adventure, the beasts of any other person, that he shall finde doing damage in his land, and that he is not compellable to impound them, which custome seemeth to me directly against the rule of the common Law, but yet practised it is till this present day.

Attaint. <568> The Parliament (15 H. 6. 3. which I touched before) minding to amplify the Privileges of Gavelkynde, granted to the Tenants of that land, exemption in Attaints, in such sort as the Inhabitants of ancient demean, and of the Five Ports had before enjoyed: But within three years after (18 H. 6. cap. 2.) upon the complaint of the Country (which informed the Parliament house that there was not

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in the whole Shire above the number of thirty or forty persons, that held to the value of twenty pound land, out of Gavelkinde, who in default of others, and by reason of that exemption, were continually molested by returns in Attaints) that Act was utterly repealed.

Changing of waies. The Statute 14 H. 8. cap. 6. giveth liberty to every man, having high way (through his land in the Weald) that is worne deep, and incommodious for passage, to lay out another way, in some such other place of his land, as shall be thought meet by the view of two Justices of the Peace, and twelve other men of wisdom and discretion. Finally, the generall Law, made 35 H. 8. 17. for the preservation of Coppies Woods, throughout the Realm, maketh plain exception of all Woods within this Weald, unless it be of such as be common.

Coppies. Thus much concerning the Customes of this our Country, I thought good to discourse, not so cunningly (I confess) as the matter required, nor so amply as the argument would beare (for so to doe, it asketh more art and judgement, than I have attained) But yet sufficiently (I trust) for understanding the old treatise that handleth them, and summarily enough for comprehending (in manner) whatsoever the common, or Statute Law of the Realm hath literally touching

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them, which is as much as I desired. Now therefore, to the end that neither any man be further bound to this my discourse upon these Customes, then shall be warranted by the Customes themselves: neither yet the same Customes be henceforth so corruptly carried about, as hitherto they have been, but that they may at the length be restored to their ancient light and integrity, I will set down a true and just transcript of the very text of them, taken out of an ancient and faire written Roll, that was given to me by Master George Multon my Father in Law, and which sometime belonged to Baron Hales of this Country. I will adjoyn also, mine own interpretation in the English, not of any purpose to binde the learned unto it, but of a desire to inform the unlearned by it.

<570>

Kent.

These are the usages,

632

in Eire before

633

needfull. And that

634

of Gavelkind nature,

635

ments which he held

636

hereafter declared. And

637

nements, together with

638

tition be made between

639

which shall be found

640

made before time,

641 <sig 2S>

part. And if there be

642

of his friends,

643

to be understood,

644

heirs, if they be

645
lose her Dower

646
there were issue

647
And this is to be

648
the award of his

649
out manuring it:

650
(after that countie

651
his Bailiff) against

652
in case of commune

653
taken by xii.

654
and ever since till now.
e totes houres ieskes en ca.

<586>

Sir Henrie Wiat, Knight, procured his possessions to be changed from the nature of Gavelkynd Discent by one Act of the Parliament holden 15 H. 8.

The names of such persons as procured their possessions to be altered from the nature of Gavelkinde, by Act of Parliament, made 31 H. 8. cap. 3.

Thomas Lord Cromwell.

Thomas Lord Burghe
George Lord Cobham
Andrew Lord Windsor.

Sir Thomas Cheyne.
Sir Christopher Hales
S. Thomas Willoughby
S. Anthonie Seintleger
S. Edward Wootton.
S. Edward Bowton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Iohn Champneys.
John Baker, Esquire.
Reignold Scot.
John Guldeford.
Thomas Kemp.
Edward Thwaites.
William Roper.
Anthonie Sandes.
Edward Isaac.
Percivall Harte.

Edward Monyns.
William Whetnall.
John Fogg.
Edmund Fetiplace.
Thomas Hardres.
William Waller.
Thomas Wilford.
Thomas Moyle.
Thomas Harlakenden
Geffrey Lee.
James Hales.
Henrie Hussey.
Thomas Roydon.

655

<587>

The names of such as be likewise provided
for 2 & 3 E. 6.

Sir Thomas Cheyney.
Sir Anthonie Seint=
leger.
S. Robert Sowthwell.
S. John Baker.
S. Edward Wootton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Thomas Moyle.
S. John Gate.
S. Edmund Walsing=
ham.
S. John Guldforde.
S. Humfrey Style.
S. Thomas Kempe.
S. Martyn Bowes.
S. James Hales.
S. Walter Hendley.
S. George Harper.
S. Henry Isley.
S. George Blage.
William Roper.
Thomas Wylforde.
Thomas Harlakenden
Thomas Colepeper of
Bedgebury.
John Colepeper of
Ailesforde.
Thomas Colepeper,
son of the said John
William Twisenden.
Thomas Darrell of
Scotney.
Robert Rudstone.
Thomas Robertes.
Stephen Darrell.
Richard Covarte.
Christopher Blower.
Thomas Hendley.
Thomas Harman.
Thomas Lovelace.
Reignald Peckam.
Herbert Fynche.
William Colepeper.
John Mayne.
Walter Mayne.

Thomas Watton.
John Tufton.
Thomas White.
Peter Hayman.
Thomas Argal.

656

<588> The names of such as be specified in the
Act made for the like cause, 5 Eliza=
beth Cap.

Sir Thomas Browne, of Westbecheworth
in Surrey.
George Browne.

It were right worthie the
labour, to learn the
particulars and cer=
taintie (if it may be)
of all such possessions
as these men had, at
the times of these se=
veral Statutes, for that
also will be servicea=
ble in time to come.

<657> <sig 2T>

<589> A Table, comprising the princi=
pall Places, Men, and Matters,
handled in this Perambulation.

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shed 238
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110
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Laths divided into Hundreds,
 and Hundreds into
 Parishes.

<Speed's map>

Laths	Hund	Parishes
	Blackheath	7
	Bromley	2
	Lesnes	4
Sutton	Axtaine	16
	Rookesley	15
	Godsheath	8
	Westerham	4
	Somerden	6
	Hoo	5
	Shameale	11
	Toltingtroe	6
	Chetham	3
	Worham	4
	Larkefeild	15
	Littlefeild	3
Aylesford	Twiford	6
	Tunbridge	2
	Watchlingston	5
	West Barnefeild	
	Brenchley	3
	Marden	2

	Eyhorne	13
	Maidstone	7
Laths	Hund.	Parishes
	Milton	23
	Tenham	4
	Feversham	17
	Bocton	4
	Felboro	5
	Chart	9
	Wye	5
	Byiercholt	1
Scray	Calehill	8
	Ashford	
	Blackborne	5
	Tenderden	1
	Barkley	1
	Cranbrooke	3
	Rolvenden	2
	Selbrightenden	1
	East Barnfeild	1
	Newyndene	

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	Ringsloe	4
	Blengate	7
	Whitestable	3
	Westgate	4
	Downhamford	6
	Preston	2
St. Augu=	Bredge	7
stine.	Kinghamford	5
	Seasalter	
	Wingham	5
	Eastry	11
	Corniloe	8
	Bewesbrough	13
	Longport	
	Folkestane	8
	Lovingboroe	4
	Stowting	5
	Heane	2
	Byrcholtfran	2
	Streate	3
Shepwey	Worth	2
	Ham	3
	Langport	1
	St. Martin	
	Newchurch	4
	Alowsbridge	6
	Oxney	3

A

Towns	Laths
Acryse	Shep.
Acton	Scray
Addesham	Aug.
Addington	Ayles.
Akkham	Shep.
St. Albons	Aug.
Aldington	Ayles.
Aldington	Shep.
Aldweeke	Shep.
Alhallows	Ayles.
Alkham	Shep.
Allington	Ayles.
Allington Cobham	Ayles.
Allington	Shep.

All Saints	Aug.
Towns	Laths
APPLEDORE	Scray
Ashe	Aug.
Ashe	Sutton
ASHEFORD	Scray
Ashley	Aug.
Asherst	Ayles.
Aylesford	Ayles.
Aynsford	Sutt.
Aythorne	Aug.
B	
Badlesmere	Scray
Badsell	Ayles.
Bapchild	Scray
<665>	
Barfreston	Aug.
Barham	Aug.
Barkhart	Sutton
Barne	Shep.
Barming	Ayles.
Barnefeild-west	Ayles.
Barnesale	Aug.
Bartilmew-bay	Aug.
Bayham	Ayles.
Beakesborne	Aug.
Beanecroch	Ayles.
Beawfield	Aug.
Bedgebury	Scray.
Beckenham	Sutton
Beere	Aug.
Begham	Ayles.
Becksborne	Aug.
Belsington	Shep.
Bempson	Scray
Benenden	Scray
Bentham-brook flu.	
Bethersden	Scray
Betham	Ayles.
Beteshanger	Aug.
Berham	Aug.
Bersted	Ayles.
Berston	Aug.
Bewbridge	Scray
Bewlesbridge	Scray
Bewls flu.	
Bewtsfield	Aug.
Bexley	Sutton
Bibrooke	Scray
Bichborow	Shep.
Bicnor	Scray
Bidborow	Ayles.
Biddenden	Scray
Biknore	Ayles.
Bilsington	Shep.
Bilsington-course flu.	Shep.
Binbery	Ayles.
Berchingston	Aug.
Berling flu.	
Berling	Ayles.

Bishopsborne	Aug.
Bithborow	Shep.
Blackmansbury	Aug.
Blackmanston	Shep.
Bleane	Aug.
Bobbing	Scray
Bocton	Ayles.
Bocton-Malherbs	Ayles.
Bocton a Luph	Scray
Bocton under-Blean	Scray
Bonington	Shep.
Bore-place	Sutton
Borden	Scray
Borden	Ayles.
Borham	Ayles.
Bormersh	Shep.
Borsfield	Scray
Borsholder	Aug.
Boughton Malherb	Scray
Boughton-Mouchelsay	Ayl.
Bourdfield	Scray
Boxley	Ayles.

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Braborne	Shep.
Braborne-East	Scray
Braborne-West	Scray
Bradborne	Sutton
Bradherst	Ayles.
Brandbridge	Ayles.
Brested-Upland	Sutton
The great Breach	Sutton
Bredgar	Scray
Bredge-East	Shep.
Bregge	Aug.
Brenchesley	Ayles.
Breny	Shep.
Brenset	Shep.
Brethe	Aug.
Bircholt	Scray
Bridge	Aug.
Broadstayres	Aug.
Brooke	Scray
Brooke-house	Sutton
Brookland	Shep.
Bromefeild	Ayles.
Bromehill	Shep.
BROMLEY	Sutton
Brompford	Scray
Broxam	Sutton
Buckland	Scray
Buckland	Aug.
Buckwell	Scray
Burham	Ayles.
Burtrash	Shep.
Burton	Scray
Buston	Ayles.
Buttesbridge	Shep.

C

Cabons	Shep.
Calehill	Scray
CANTERBURY	Aug.

Capell	Ayl< >s.
Capell	Shep.
Capell-fleet	Scray
Cartham	Scray
Chafford	Ayles.
Chalk	Ayles.
Challocke	Scray
Chapell at Streat	Shep.
Charing	Scray
Charleton	Sutton
Charlton	Aug.
Chart-little	Scray
Chart-great	Scray
Chart	Ayles.
Chartham	Scray
Chartham	Aug.
Chartham	Ayles.
Chelefeild	Sutton
Chepsted	Sutton
Cheriton	Shep.
Chetham	Ayles.
Chevening	Sutton
Chidingston	Sutton
Chilham	Scray
Chillenden	Aug.
Chiselherst	Sutton
Chilton	Aug.

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Chistelet	Aug.
Choten Marsh	Scray
St. Clement	Shep.
St. Cletes	Ayles.
Cleave	Aug.
Clobesden-gate	Shep.
Cliffe	Ayles.
Cliffe well	Aug.
Cobham	Ayles.
Cobham-Hall	Ayles.
Cockes-Heath	Ayles.
Cockliscombe	Scray
Cockrell bridge	Shep.
Colred	Aug.
Coshall	Scray
Cokeing	Aug.
Comberwest	Sutton
Combwell	Scray
Combdens-Hill	Scray
Comford	Ayles.
Comherst	Ayles.
Cosmus-bleane	Aug.
Cossenton	Ayles.
Cowden	Sutton
Couersebourne	Scray
Court Lodge	Scray
Cowdham	Sutton
Cowling	Ayles.
Cowling parke	Ayles.
Christchurch	Aug.
Craford	Sutton
Cray North	Sutton
Cray flu.	
CRANBROOKE	Scray

Cranbrooke	Scray
Crocks	Ayles.
Crog-deipp	Scray
Crundall	Scray
Cuckstone	Ayles.

D

Darrent	Sutton
Darrent flu.	
DARTFORD	Sutt.
Davington	Scray
Deale	Aug.
Deane	Aug.
Deane	Scray
Deane Court	Aug.
Denge Marsh	Shep.
Denge Nasse	Shep.
Denhill	Aug.
Denton	Ayles.
Denton	Aug.
Den de Lion	Aug.
Deptford upper	Sutton
Deptford-lower	Sutton
Detling	Ayles.
Dimchurch	Shep.
Ditton	Ayles.
Dodington	Scray
DOVER	Aug.
Downe	Sutton
Small Downes	Aug.
Dray flu.	
Drome	Aug.

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St. Dunstone	Aug.
--------------	------

E

East-bridge	Shep.
East Church	Scray
Eastry	Aug.
Eastwell	Scray
Ebbene	Shep.
Ebny	Scray
Ebsfleete	Aug.
Ebridge course flu.	Shep.
Eden	Sutton
Eden-bridge	Sutton
Edislay	Scray
Egarton	Scray
Egerton	Scray
Elmesley	Scray
Elmested	Shep.
Elmestone	Aug.
Elsenham	Scray
ELTHAM	Shep.
Eltham	Sutton
S. Ens water	Shep.
Epald-bay	Aug.
Erith	Sutton
Eseling	Scray
Etonbridge	Sutton
Eybridge	Ayles.
Eyhorne	Ayles.

Eynesford	Sutton
Eythorne	
Evering	Shep.
Ewell	Aug.
Eych borow	Shep.

F

Fairefield	Shep.
Fairelane	Ayles.
Fairleigh East	Ayles.
Fairleigh West	Ayles.
Farneburgh	Sutton
Farmingham	Sutton
Faulkeham	Sutton
Field	Scray
Fery	Scray
FEVERSHAM	Scray
Finchcolts	Scray
Finglesham	Aug.
Fleet North	Ayles.
Fleet South	Sutton
Flimwell	Scray
Folkston	Shep.
Forde	Ayles.
Forde	Aug.
Fordwich	Aug.
Footescray	Sutton
Francks	Sutton
Frendsbury	Ayles.
Frendsted	Ayles.
Friendvile	Aug.
Friers	Ayles.
Frith North	Ayles.
Frith South	Ayles.
Frittenden	Scray

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G

Gads-Hill	
Genlad flu.	
St. Gyles	Aug.
Githorne	Aug.
Gillingham	Ayles.
Goddonton	Scray
Goldgatebay	Aug.
Godmarsham	Scray
Godneston	Scray
Goldwell	Scray
Goodwinston	Aug.
Gore-Court	Ayles.
Gore-end	Aug.
Gotley	Scray
Gowdherst	Scray
Glassenbury	Scray
Graudney	Scray
GRAVESEND	Scray
Greane Isle	Ayles.
Greneb	Ayles.
Grench	Ayles.
Greenhill	Scray
Greehyth	Sutton
Greenwich-East	Sutton

Greenwich-West	Sutton
Greenway-Court	Ayles.
Greystonebay	Aug.
Grombride	Ayles.
Grovefery	Aug.
Groveherst	Scray
Guilford	Shep.
Guston	Aug.

H

Hadlow	Ayles.
Hadlow place	Ayles.
Haislath	Scray
Hakington	Aug.
Haile	Ayles.
High Halden	Scray
Halden Park	Scray
Halkweell	Ayles.
Halling	Ayles.
Halligrace	Scray
Halmested	Scray
Halsted	Sutton
Halsted	Ayles.
Halto-High	Ayles.
Halstow	Scray
Ham	Aug.
Ham	Shep.
Haraldowne	Aug.
Harden upper	Aug.
Harden nether	Aug.
Hardresse	Shep.
Haresgate	Ayles.
Harresham	Ayles.
Harrie	Scray
Harcley	Sutton
Hartlip	Scray
Harwich	Aug.
Hasting	Scray

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Hastingleigh	Shep.
Hatton	Scray
Haw	Aug.
Hawborow	Shep.
Hawkherst	Scray
Hawking	Shep.
Hawling	Ayles.
Hawtesborne	Scray
Hearne	Aug.
Hearnehill	Scray
Hedcorne	Ayles.
Hedcorne	Scray
Heden	Aug.
Heys	Sutton
Helling	Scray
Hempsted	Scray
Herne	Aug.
Herst	Shep.
Hersfeild-bridge	Scray
Hever	Sutton
Higham	Ayles.
Hilden	Ayles.
Hinxell	Scray

HITHE	Shep.
Hithewest	Shep.
Hoathe	Aug.
Hockenbury-bridge	Scray
Hockett	Scray
Hollingborne	Ayles.
Huo	Ayles.
Honton	Ayles.
Hope	Shep.
Hope bay	Aug.
Hornes	Shep.
Horne-place	Scray
Horsimonden	Ayles.
Horton Kirby	Sutton
Horton	Aug.
Horton Monks	Shep.
Hospitall	Aug.
Hotbisb< >ough	Ayles.
Hotheheld	Scray
Hongham	Aug.
Howfield	Aug.
Howletts Palace	Aug.
Hucking	Ayles.
Hungershall	Ayles.
Hunton	Aylesford.
Huntonford-bridge	Ayles.

I

St. James	Aylesford
Idehill	Sutton
Ifield	Aylesford
Ightam	Aylesford
Ileden	Augustine
Ilkham	Augustine
St. Johns	Augustine
Ivechurch	Shepwey
Iwade	Scray

K

Kellington	Augustine
Kemsing	Sutton

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Kennerdington	Scray
Kennington	Scray
Kentbridge	Scray
Kenthach	Sutton
Keston	Sutton
Ketbrooke	Sutton
Kevingtoun	Sutton
Kevingtoun	Scray
Kingsdowne	Sutton
Kingsfery	Scray
Kingsworth	Scray
Kingston	Aug.
Kittskotts house	Ayles.
Knell	Sutton
Knowlton	Aug.

L

Lamberherst	Ayles.
Langden east	Aug.
Langden west	Aug.

Langley	Ayles.
Langley	Aug.
Langley	Sutt.
Langport	Aug.
Layborne	Ayles.
Larkefield	Ayles.
St. Lawrance	Aug.
Leden	Aug.
Lee	Sutt.
Leedes	Ayles.
Lees-court	Scray
Legges flu.	Ayles.
LENEHAM	Ayles.
Leneham-east	Scray
Leigh 1.	Sutt.
Leigh 2.	Sutt.
Leisdon	Scray
St. Leonard	Ayles.
Lesnes	Sutton
Leveland	Scray
Lewsham	Sutt.
Lydde	Shep.
Lydden	Shep.
Lydsing	Ayles.
Lymme	Shep.
Lymen flu.	
Lyming	Shep.
Lyngell	Sutt.
Lingstead	Scray
Linton	Ayles.
Littleborne	Aug.
Longbeach	Scray
Longfield	Sutt.
Lone	Ayles.
Loose	Ayles.
Lovelace	Scray
Luddenham	Scray
Luddesdowne	Ayles.
Lullingston	Sutt.

M

MAIDSTONE	Ayles.
Mayshill	Scray
Marthamfery	Scray

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Malingeast	Ayles.
MALING-west	Ayles.
Maplesdown	Sutton
Marden	Scray
Margarett-bay	Aug.
St. Margarett	Sutton
St. Margarett	Aug.
St. Margarett	Ayles.
S. Margarett at Cliffe	Aug.
St. MARY CRAY	Sutt.
St. Mary	Shep.
St. M;ry	Ayles.
Marsham	Scray
Marsland-flu.	Shep.
St. Martine	Shep.
Martine	Aug.
Medway-flu.	

Mepeyham	Ayles.
Mereworth	Ayles.
Meriam court	Ayles.
Mersham	Scray
Marsham-Hatton	Scray
Mersham	Shep.
Merston	Ayles.
Midley	Shep.
Milgate	Ayles.
Mill-Hall	Ayles.
Milk-House	Scray
Milsted	Scray
MITON	Scray
Milton	Ayles.
Milton	Aug.
Minster	Scray
Minster	Aug.
Mystole	Aug.
Mole	Ayles.
Molands	Aug.
Moldash	Scray
Mongham-great	Aug.
Mongham-little	Aug.
Mouckton	Scray
Moncton	Aug.
Morants-court	Sutton
Morston	Scray
Mote	Ayles.
Mottingham	Sutton
Munchelsey	Ayles.
Munford	Scray
Muttenden	Ayles.
Mylhall	Ayles.

N

Nackington	Aug.
Nash	Scray
Nash court	Aug.
Sharpe Nasse	Scray
Shire Nasse	Scray
Peper Nasse	Aug.
Swale Nasse	Scray
White Nasse	Aug.
Faire Nasse	Aug.
Shell Fasse	Aug.
Natington	Aug.
Naylandpoynt	Aug.
Nettlested	Ayles.

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Nether court	Aug.
Newenham	Aug.
Newbridge	Scray
New church	Shep.
New-eye-flu.	Shep.
Newenden	Scray
Newenton	Scray
New-Haven	Aug.
Newington	Shep.
Newynham	Scray
New-Hyth	Ayles.
St. Nicholas	Aug.
St. Nicholas at Wood	Aug.

St. Nicholas	Shep.
Nokholt	Sutton
Noninton	Aug.
Norborne	Aug.
Northforland	Aug.
Norton	Scray
Nowrehead	Scray
Nutsted	Ayles.

O

Offam	Ayles.
Old-wives-lease	Scray
Ollantigh	Scray
Organsweke	Shep.
Orlaston	Shep.
Orluston	Shep.
Orpinton	Sutton
Orpinton	Scray
Ospringe	Scray
Osten-hanger	Shep.
Otham	Ayles.
Otham-Abby	Ayles.
Otteford	Sutton
Otterdon	Scray
Otteringden	Ayles.
Overland	Aug.
Oure	Scray
Outmeston	Aug.
Oxney-Island	Scray
Oxney	Aug.
Oxenhoath	Ayles.

P

Padelesworth	Shep.
Paddlesworth	Ayles.
Palmers-Bay	Aug.
Panscray	Sutton
Patriksborne	Aug.
Pecham-East	Ayles.
Pecham West	Ayles.
Pedelsworth	Ayles.
Pensherst	Sutton
Pepenbury	Ayles.
Pepingley	Ayles.
Pery	Shep.
Pet	Scray
St. Peters	Aug.
Petham	Aug.
Pevinton	Scray
Pierling	Ayles.
Pluckley	Scray

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Plumsted	Sutton
Popeshall	Aug.
Postling	Shep.
Preston	Aug.
Preston	Scray
Preston	Ayles.
Priory	Shep.

Q

Queenborow	Scray
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Quekes	Aug.
R	
Radigundes	Aug.
Ramesgate	Aug.
Raynam	Scray
Ravensborne flu.	
Reculver	Aug.
Reding	Scray
Rever	Aug.
Richborow	Aug.
Ridley	Sutton
Riersh	Ayles.
Ringleton	Aug.
Rippley	Aug.
Rivers	Aug.
Riverhill	Ayles.
ROCHESTER	Ayles.
Ringwold	Aug.
Rockins-staires	Aug.
Rodmersham	Scray
Royden-Hall	Ayles.
Royton	Scray
Rokeing	Shep.
Rolling	Aug.
Rolvinden	Scray
Romden	Scray
ROMNEY	Shep.
Romney-old	Shep.
Rookesley	Sutton
Rother-flu.	
Rucking	Shep.
Rugmer-Hill	Ayles.
Rusborne	Aug.
Ryde	Scray
S	
All-Saints	Aug.
Saltwood	Shep.
Sandherst	Scray
Sand hill	Scray
Sandowne	Aug.
Sandpit	Scray
SANDVVICH	Aug.
Sandgate	Shep.
Sard	Scray
Scadbery	Sutton
Scadbury	Ayles.
Scale	Sutton
Scelling	Shep.
Scorney	Scray
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Scots-Hall	Shep.
Seabrooke flu.	Shep.
Seale	Sutton
Seasalter	Aug.
Sednor	Scray
Selling	Scray
Sellingder	Shep.
SEVENOKE	Sutton
Sevington	Scray
Sewards	Scray

Shaddockherst	Shep.
Shaddockherst	Scray
Shansford	Scray
Sharsted	Scray
Sheyborne-ruscall	Ayles.
Shelving	Aug.
Shelwich	Scray
Sheppey-Island	Scray
Shere flu.	
Sherie-course flu.	Shep.
Shiborne	Ayles.
Shepway-crosse	Shep.
Shod flu.	
Sholden	Aug.
1 Shorland	Scray
2 Shorland	Scray
Shone	Ayles
Shoram	Sutton
Shooters-Hill	
Shotenden	Scray
Shurte	Aug.
Sibertswold	Aug.
Sidbrooke flu.	Shep.
Sisingherst	Scray
SITTINGBORNE	Scray
Sittingborne-little	Scray
Smallbrook flu.	Ayles.
Smallhead	Aug.
Smallhythe	Scray
Smarden	Scray
Smeeth	Shep.
Snagat	Shep.
Snave	Shep.
Snotheland	Ayles.
Socombe	Scray
Southe	Ayles.
Spelherst	Ayles.
Spelmendon	Ayles.
Speringbrook flu.	Shep.
Spillspill	Scray
Stallisfield	Scray
Stanford	Shep.
Stanford	Scray
Stanstead	Ayles.
Stanstead	Shep.
Staple	Aug.
Staplegate	Aug.
Stapleherst	Scray
Stare	Aug.
Starborow	Sutton
Stelling	Shep.
St. Stephens	Aug.
Stile-bridge	Ayles.
Stoake	Ayles.
Stodmarsh	Aug.
Stoke	Ayles.
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Stockbury	Ayles.
Stokebery	Scray
Stone	Sutton
Stone	Ayles.
Stone	Shep.

Stone-end	Shep.
Holme-Stone	Shep.
Stone	Scray
Stone Bay	Aug.
Stoner	Aug.
Stoningley	Ayles.
Stowmarsh	Aug.
Stowre flu.	
Stowring	Shep.
Stroud	Ayles.
Sturrey	Aug.
Sturmouth	Aug.
Sturtmarsh	Scray
Stutstall	Shep.
Sundrich	Sutton
Surrenden	Scray
Sutton	Aug.
Sutton at Hone	Sutton
Sutton East	Ayles.
Sutton-valence	Ayles.
Swale cliffe	Aug.
The East Swale	Aug.
Swanscombe	Sutton
Swingfield	Shep.

T

Tannington	Aug.
Taperegge	Ayles.
Tenham	Scray
Tenterden	Scray
Teston	Ayles.
Thanet-Isle	Aug.
Themote	Ayles.
Thorneham	Ayles.
Throwley	Scray
Tilmaston	Scray
Tilmeston	Aug.
Tokingham	Scray
Tong	Scray
Torne	Ayles.
Towne	Scray
Tremworth	Scray
Trottiscliffe	Ayles.
Tudesey	Ayles.
Tudenham	Scray
TUNBRIDGE	Ayles.
Tunford	Aug.
Tunstall	Scray
Tutsham	Ayles.
Turvey stayrs	Aug.
Twydall	Ayles.
Twidley	Ayles.
Twiford bridge	Ayles.
The Twist	Ayles.
Twytham	Aug.

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U

Uddenham-bridge	Scray
Vintners	Ayles.
Ulcombe	Scray
Ulcombe	Ayles.

Upchurch	Scray
Upnor	Ayles.

W

Watchorne	Shep.
Waldershare	Aug.
Wallingford course flu.	
Walmer	Aug.
Waltham	Shep.
Waltham	Aug.
Wantsume flu.	
Saint Warburge, alias	
Hoo	Ayles.
Warddon	Scray
Warchorne	Scray
Waringbury	Ayles.
Wayes end	Shep.
East Weare	Shep.
Weeke	Ayles.
Well	Aug.
Well-place	Sutton
Welles	Scray
Wellstreat	Sutton
Westbere	Aug.
Westcliffe	Aug.
Westcourt	Aug.
Westgate	Aug.
Westenhanger	Shep.
Westheath	Shep.
Westram	Sutton
Westre	Ayles.
Westwell	Scray
Whetsted	Ayles.
Whitestable	Aug.
Whoornes place	Ayles.
Witcheling	Ayles.
Wickham-east	Sutton
Wickham-west	Sutton
Wickham brux	Aug.
Widerton	Aug.
Wigmere	Aug.
Wigsell	Scray
Willesbrough	Scray
Wilmington	Scray
Wilmington	Sutton
Wilmingswold	Aug.
Wingham	Aug.
Witham	Ayles.
Witrap	Shep.
Witresham	Shep.
Witrisham	Scray
Woldham	Ayles.
Wolwich	Sutton
Wood	Aug.

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Woodchurch	Scray
Woodfalls	Ayles.
Woodland	Sutton
Woodnesborow	Aug.
Weston	Aug.
Worth	Aug.
Wormshill	Ayles.

WROTHAM Ayles.
WYE Scray
Wye Court

Y

Yaldam Ayles.
Yalding Ayles.
Yotes Ayles.

FINIS.

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A General Charter and
Confirmation of the Li=
berties granted by the
Kings Majesty to the
Cinque ports and their
Members.

Charles by the Grace of
God

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..... Per Brev. de privat. Sigil.

FINIS.

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<This third edition of Lambard's book was published long after his death (he died in 1601). It is essentially just a reprint of the second edition, with rather less text per page. In two places (pp. ix and xiv, but not p. 21) the text has been tampered with slightly, to hide the fact that the 'Heptarchy' map is omitted. Otherwise the only additions come at the end: a list of laths and hundreds (pp. 663–4), and an alphabetical list of place-names (pp. 664–78). Neither list is original: both derive from the letterpress accompanying John Speed's map of Kent, first published in 1611 but frequently reissued. The appendix advertised on the title page is an English translation of Charles I's charter for the Cinque Ports (16 June 1634). This is a separate booklet, with its own quiring and paging (sigs. A–E, pp. 1–72): supplied with a suitable title page it could have been issued by itself, but apparently it never was. (There exist (so I find it reported) some copies of the third edition which lack this appendix, and which have one or other of two variant title pages. Both carry the imprint 'London: Printed by R. Hodgkinsonne, for D. Pakeman, living at the Rainbow in Fleetstreet, neer the inner Temple Gate'; one is undated (STC 15176.5); the other has the date '1656' (Wing L216A). Anybody wanting more information should refer to the ESTC website.) In some respects, this edition is easiest on the eye. The editions published in Lambard's lifetime were set in black-letter type; this is in Roman type. The use of 'u' and 'v' and of 'i' and 'j' is in line with modern practice; in other ways as well, the spelling has been tidied up. Nevertheless, no one should think of quoting this edition: quotations should be taken from the first or second edition, wherever the passage makes its initial appearance. Lastly, one word of warning. The page images which I have used were made from a tightly-bound copy, and in numerous places the beginnings or the ends of the lines are not distinctly legible. This is not a serious problem: at worst it means that some detail of the spelling or punctuation may be doubtful. Nor is it a permanent problem: once I can get hold of another copy I shall adjust the transcript accordingly. In the interim, however, so that the reader can see which pages are affected by this uncertainty, I have bracketed the illegible characters in the first or last three lines. – C.F. October 2010, revised December 2010.>