

William Lambard  
A perambulation of Kent  
London  
1576

<i> <sig ¶>

A Perambulation  
of Kent:

Conteining the description,  
Hystorie, and Customes of  
that Shyre.

Collected and written (for  
the most part) in the yeare. 1570.  
by William Lambard of Lincolnes  
Inne Gent. and nowe increased by  
the addition of some things which  
the Authour him selfe hath  
obserued since that  
time.

luuat immemorata ferentem  
Ingeniis, oculisque legi, manibusque teneri.

<Horace>

Imprinted at Lon=  
don for Ralphe Newberie,  
dwelling in Fleetestreete a  
litle aboute the  
Conduit.

Anno 1576.

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To his Countriemen, the Gen=  
tlemen of the Countie of Kent.

This Booke faire written  
(in gifte) lately sent vn=  
to mee, doo I fayre prin=  
ted (by dedication) now  
sende and commend vnto you.  
I knowe not (in respect of the place)  
vnto whom I may more fitly thus send  
it then vnto you, that are eyther bred  
and wel brought vp here, or by the good=  
nesse of God and your own good proui=  
sion, are well settled here: and here  
lawfullye possesse, or are neere vnto  
sundrie of those things, that this booke  
specially speaketh of: and thus, as of  
your selves, doe you see what they are  
now, and thus as of this booke, may you  
knowe why they were, and by whome  
they were, and what they were long  
agone.

I knowe not (in respect of the per=  
sons,) vnto whom I may more fitly thus  
send it, then vnto you: with whome, I  
haue ben best and longest acquainted:

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sons,) vnto whom I may more fitly thus  
send it, then vnto you: with whome, I  
haue ben best and longest acquainted:

from whom (by points of singular courtesie) I haue been many wayes much pleased: Toward whom, for the generall coniunction and association of your minds, and your selves in good amitie and familiaritie, one toward another: and all, in good zeale toward the aduancement of Christian religion: and for the indifferent and discrete course ye keepe in handling and compounding such controuersies, as many times fall (and thereby in nourishing peace, a leuel most precious) betwene your honest and tractable neighbours, (things vnto almightie God, very acceptable: vnto her Maiestie, very grateful: vnto your countrie, very fruitful: vnto your selves, very commendable:) Towarde whom, I say, for these causes

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which, as a member of this Countie with others I see ioyfully and generally: and for the first two causes which deriued from you, light vpon me self particularly, I haue ben, and am, and must be very louingely affected.

I know not how I may more fitly and effectually commend it then to say, that it is in substance, an hystorie: treating of the partes (and actions of greatest weight a good time together, done by the most famous persons) of one speciall Countie: fet from great antiquitie, which many men are much delighted with: out of sundry bookes with great studie collected, painfully: by this authoure in the matter set out, truly: with good words wel placed, eloquently. In commendation of this booke, vpon a fit occasion, the like in a manner, is in Latine lately written by a Gentleman of our Countie, knowne

Alexander  
Neuil,  
Norwicus.

<Neville 1575:56>

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to be very honest, and, I thinke, very well learned: and so vnder the authority of his good iudgement, may I (without blame) the more boldly commend it vnto you.

What vtilitie foloweth the studie of Hystories, many of them haue well declared that haue published hystories written by them selves, or haue set out Hystories written by others. And therefore already sufficiently done, I neede not (vnlearned mee selfe, I can not) therein say much. And yet thus much I may briefely say, and fit for the thing I haue in hande (me thinketh) I muste needes say, that (the sacred word of Almighty God alwayes excepted) there is nothing ei-

ther for our instruction more profitable, or to our mindes more delectable, or within the compasse of common vnderstanding more easie or facile, then

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the studie of hystories: nor that studie for none estate more meete, then for the estate of Gentlemen: nor for the Gentlemen of Englande, no Hystorie so meete, as the Hystorie of England. For, the dexteritie that men haue either in prouiding for theirown selves, or in comforting their freendes (two very good things) or in seruing their King and Countrie (of all outward things, the best thing) doth rest chiefly vpon their awne and other folkes experience: which I may assuredly accompt (for, in an hystorie, in our tong as wel written as any thing euer was, or I thinke euer shalbe, great experience deriued from a prooffe of two such things, as prosperitie and aduersitie be, vpon a fit occasion vnder the person of a very wiseman, is rightly accounted) to be the very mother and maistres of wisdom. Now that that a number of folkes doth ge-

Sir Thomas Moore  
Knight, in  
the hystorie  
of King  
Richard the  
thirde.

<More 1557:70>

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nerally, is much more then that, that any one of vs can do specially, and so by other folkes experience, are we taught largely: and that, that other folkes for their King, their countrie, theirown selves, their friends, like good men do virtuously, ought to prouoke vs with good deuotion inwardly to loue them: and with good words openly much to commend them, and in their virtuous actions, rightly to folow them. And that, that other folkes against their King, their countrie, their friends (and so against theirown selves) like foolish men do ignorantly, or like leude men do wickedly, ought to moue vs first (as our neighbours) Christianly to bewaile them: and then (as by presidents of peril procured through their awne follies and faults) dutifully and wisely to beware by them. And so by these mens experience (which like the burnt childe, that

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then too late the fire dreadthe) with much repentaunce they buye dearly) are we taught and brought out of danger to settle our selues, as it were, in a seate of suretie. Thus you see what experience doth, and thus you see where other folkes experience is to be had: which, for the good estate of England (resting chiefly vpon the good iudge-

ment and seruice of the Gentlemen of England) is as I thinke, most properly fet from the Hystorie of England. And this for this purpose, I say bothe vnto you my country men the Gentlemen of this Countie (a portion of the Realme) specially, and to al the Gentlemen of the whole Realme beside, generally.

There resteth that for this booke (whiche I doe vpon these respectes thus send, and with these reasons thus commende vnto you) we shoulde vnto

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~ the Authour William Lambard, yeelde oure very hartie and perpetuall thanks: as oure Country man in our wordes and deedes louingly vse him: as a man learned, duely esteeme him: (for a late very well learned and reuerend father hath published and rightly so reputed him) as a Gentleman religious and very honest, make righte accompt of him: whiche, for my parte, I thinke meete to do, and meane to do: and for your partes, I desire heartely you should do, and I hope assuredly you will do. And if by you he might (and woulde) be moued at his good leysure, to doe as muche for all the rest of the Counties of this Realme generally, as he hath done for this Countie specially (toward whiche I knowe, by great paine and good cost, he hath alredy vnder the title of a Topographical dictionarie

~ the Authour William Lambard Esquire, yeelde our very hartie and perpetuall thanks: as our Country man

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gathered together greate store of very good matter) himselfe (the Authour of it) were worthy of good reward, and singular commendation for it. You (the motioners) in the reading, shall receiue great pleasure by it: the rest of the Gentlemen of this Realme, that of them selves see what things in their awne countries are of gretest fame now, and by that boke shal know, what those things and other things were long agoe, must needes with great delight receiue it: and surely, being as he is vnto mee, a very deere freende, for myne awne parte, I meane also (God willing) vpon some fit occasion, with my request to further it. The xvi. of Aprill. 1576. Your Countrey man and very louing freende.

T: W:

Mathewe Parker Archebishops of Canterbury in his Preface to the Booke de rebus gestis Aelfredi Regis.

<Parker 1574:viii>

<Thomas Wotton>

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GVLIELMVS FLETE=  
wodus Vrbis Londinen=  
sis Recordator, ad candi=  
dum Lectorem.

EN tibi Lector, adest series dignissima rerum,  
Canticolum si nosse cupis pia stemmata, siue  
Si tibi sacra placent horum commixta prophanis,  
Siue meare libet per compita, flumina, pontes,  
Seu reserare velis septem diademata regum:  
Cuncta Topographia hac Lambardus pingit aperte,  
Jngenio rarus, grauis arte, labore notandus.  
Cuius mellifluo debet nunc Cantia libro  
Plurima, myriades rerum dum ventilat apte:  
Quas bene si capias, habet hic cum fœnore sortem.

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The Saxon Characters, and their values.

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Sundry faultes (gentle Reader) haue we vnwillingly committed, in this Booke, im=  
printed in the absence of the Authour. Of these, some do blemish only the beautie  
of our owne workmanship: others do offend against the lawes of Orthographie: Some  
doe shrewdly peruert the sense of the writer, and will stay thee: others doe vtterly  
euert his meaning, and will muche trouble thee. Suche therefore as be most daun=  
gerous, we haue here set before thine eye, beseeching thee to amende them with thine  
owne pen, before thou enter into the Booke: The whiche labour (we doubt not) but  
thou wilt the more willingly vndertake in this one copie, when thou shalt haue rightly  
weighed, what a worke it woulde be for vs, to perfourme it in sixe hundreth bookes.

Pag	Lin.	Error.	Correction.
2	4	Sctos.	Scots.
7	3	Zenagogus.	Xenagogus.
48	6	bropam.	Broxam.
	29	Haniswel.	Hamswell.
		Southfrith for.	Southfrith forest.
54		adde (Wye) to the Scholes there.	
		Richard Agall.	Richard Argall.
56	17	Syr Humfrey lilibert.	S. Humfrey Gilbert.
		adde, Iohn French to the names in. F. there.	
57		William Lambade.	William Lambarde.
		adde S. Walt. Waller to the names in W.	
60	27	in Latine.	into Latine.
64	29	Kenulsus.	Kenulfus.
		Amend the numbers of the. 2. pages, folow= nexte after the page. 67.	
76	1	take out this (Malm. Coent.)	
77	13	partly for the.	partly by the.
78	5	wænet.	þænet.
	22	wænet.	þænet.
84	20	Leoswine.	Leafwine.
103	27	Symon Barley.	Symon Burley.
108	1	then were appoin.	that were appointed
109	18	Aulaf.	Anlaf.
110	15	Syphinus.	Syphnius.
112	34	whiche drewe.	withdrewe.
119	1	Dorus.	Doris.
121	16	kept till.	keepe till.
	32	a Captaine.	a Captiue.
122	20	and speede.	and sped.
123	20	Borieux.	Baieux.

124	8	Borieux.	Baieux.
126	5	tenure.	terror.
	28	contained.	continued.
128	32	a newe worke.	the newe worke.
130	2	port sayle.	portsale.
Pa.	Lin.	Error.	Correction.
	3	crowne, landes.	Crownelandes.
131	18	strengthened.	straightned.
135	27	a litle.	a title.
136	12	you knowe of.	you knowe out of.
	34	to edifie.	to deifie.
137	22	shriued.	shryned.
142	15	had at Rumney.	did at Rumney.
	21	vpon them to the laste man	vpon them and slue them to the last man.
143	16	Badhenham.	Hadhenham.
147	3	to the wood.	into the wood.
	13	in a place stronger.	stronger in a place.
150	32	had receiued her.	had recouered her.
155	2	then order.	then ordered.
156	19	Borieux.	Baieux.
159	17	vsed in.	haue vsed in.
		After the page. 160. amende the numbers of the next eight pa ges following.	
161	3	to the very end.	to the very same end.
162	9	landed in Pontein.	landed in Pontieu.
	10	angeon, poieton.	angeou, poietou.
	24	and conuerture.	and couerture.
163	15	eight carnes.	eight Carews.
166	18	procured the Pope.	procured of the Pope.
167	18	conteined foure.	contented foure.
169	8	in weald.	in the weald.
174	34	pronounce it of.	pronounce of.
177	10	and in a companie.	and in the company.
178	3	Augustine.	Augustines.
180	15	cySwite.	cyISwite.
181	10	possession.	profession.
182	29	take out these foure words. (as it is sure.)	
187	25	if you offer.	if you offered.
190	11	Kemsley towne.	Kemsley downe.
191	18	harted in his.	harted to his.
192	7	preachment (after.	in which (after.
193	11	exercerentur.	exercentur.
195	2	þwangceastre	þwangceastre
			<sic>
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Pa.	Lin.	Error.	Correction.
	15	Thongraster, or Thwangraster.	Thongcaster, or Thwangcaster.
209	29	the very first.	their very first.
		After the page. 211. amende the numbers of the next two pa= ges following.	
214	10	not greatly.	not greedely.
219	8	Kings reward.	Kings awarde.
220	13	on the other side.	they on the other side.
222	13	church adioyning.	churches adioyning.
228	18	chart of donation.	charter of donation.
229	8	the iustice of.	the iniustice of.
233	31	hath nowe sustained.	hath sustained.
236	6	dissolued the.	dissolued there.
	13	and like the.	and let the.
241	22	Claredowne.	Clarendune.
243	19	writeth it.	twyteth it.
244	26	not their manner.	not the manner.
247	6	was giuen then.	was giuen them.
251		in the margine, S. Se=	S. Stephans.

252	29	pulchres. to (maugre his my= ter) race.	(maugre his myter to race.
261	26	gotten by patterne.	gotten by periurie.
262	34	with might.	with night.
264	18	sufficiently defended.	sufficiently defenced.
270	5	and yet loste.	and yet lefte.
271	13	recitall of.	the recitall of.
	22	Gibmandus.	Gibmundus.
272	2	Alstanns.	Aelfstanus.
	15	Gualeramus.	Gualerannus.
273	1	and there it is.	and there is.
276	28	Cadishe.	Achates.
279	16	tythed the number.	tythed that number.
282	25	<oinoptēs>.	<oinoptas>.
	33	displeasure receiued.	displeasure conceiued.
283	4	pountion.	pountiou.
	14	pountion.	pountiou.
289	2	againe the Britons.	against the Britons.
Pa.	Lin.	Error.	Correction.
	6	stede of Horse. In the margine of the page: Horstede borne in.	stede of Horsa.  Horsted barne, nere.
295	23	lesse worthy.	lesse worth.
296	19	Borieux.	Baieux.
297	13	strengthened.	straightened.
299	29	accomplement.	accouplement.
304	8.9	debet sull.	debet. 3. sull.
	15	de Althe.	de Athle.
	24	Nedestane.	Medestane.
	27	Heyburne.	Heyhorne.
313	19	and. 2.	Ric. 2.
316	26	wearinesse.	warinesse.
317	11	as is in.	as he is in.
318	16	put our seales.	put to our seales.
325	12	that number of.	the number of.
329	16	peucata.	Leucata.
341	7	burgher.	burhes.
342	10	the word which.	the which worde.
344	17	reiected.	eiected.
358	27	cælce.	ælce.
361	23	other uche.	other suche.
362	15	hi whrto.	hi perto.
	18	we hit.	þe hit.
366	25	three estales.	three estates.
370	1	vaginacæ.	vagniacæ.
	3	wyrham.	wyrtham.
391	32	in feodo.	in feoda.
392	10	in feodo.	in feoda.
396		in the mar. that call.	call that.
399	11	shall entree.	shall enter.
	12	condtion.	condition.
	33	exemplified.	exemplified.
400	29	and in case not.	and not in case.
	30	is iustified.	is iustised.
406	25	seiset.	seisei.
407	24	may waine her.	may waiue her.

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<inserted leaf – ‘Angliæ Heptarchia’ map copied from Lambard 1568>

<1> <sig A>

The exposition of this Map  
of the English Heptarchie, or  
seauen Kingdomes.

To the ende, that it may be vnderstoode, what is ment  
by the tearmes of Eastsaxons, Westsaxons, Mercia,

Northumberland, and such other, of which there is common mention in the Treatise following: I haue thought good to prefixe a chard of the seauen sundry Kingdomes into the whiche this Realme was sometime diuided.

But yet, for the better and more plaine explication of the matter, it shall bee good first to know, that all these Nations following haue had to doe within this our Countrie: The Brittons, the Romanes, the Scottes and Pictes, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normanes.

The Brytains.

The Bryttons (after the Samothees, and Albionees, whiche be of no great fame in our history) were the most auncient Inhabitanes of this land, and possessed it in peace, vntil Iulius Cæsar (the Romane Emperour) inuaded them: for so muche may a man gather of Horace his wordes, where he sayeth,

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

These therefore weare by Iulius Cæsar subdued to the Romane Empyre, and their country made a tributarie Prouince: in whiche case it continued many yeares together, vntill at the length they being greiuously vexed with the Pictes and Scottes their neighbours on the North, and being vtterly voide of all hope of aide to bee had from the Romanes their patrons (who also at the same time weare sore afflicted with the inuasion of the Hunnes, and Vandales, like barbarous nations) they weare enforced to seeke for further helpe: And therefore sent into Germanie, from whence they receaued hyred

2

Souldiours, of the Nations called Saxons, lutes, and Angles, vnder the conduite of Hengist and Horsa, two naturall brethren, and both verie valiant Captaines.

The Scots & pictes.

These †Scots (as them selues do write) weare a people of Scythia, that came first into Spaine, then into Ire=land, and from thence to the North part of Britaine our land, where they yet inhabit: They were called Scots, or Scyttes, of *Scyttan*, which is to shoote: The Pictes 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 vsed to paynte their bodies, to the ende to seeme the more terrible, or els of the worde <pyktēs>, which signifieth a Champion, by reason of their great courage and hardinesse.

†r. 'Scots'

The Saxons, lutes, and Angles.

The Saxons, lutes, and Angles, weare the Germaines that came ouer, (as we haue saide) in aide of the Britons, of which the first sorte inhabited Saxonie: the seconde were of Gotland, and therefore called Gutes, or Gottes: The thirde weare of Angria, or Anglia, a country †adioynnig to Saxonie, of which the Duke of Saxonie is Lorde till this day, and beareth the name therof in his stile, or title of honour, and of these last we all be called Angli, English men.

These Germaines, for a season serued against the Scots, and Picts: But afterwarde (entised by the pleasure of this country, and the fraude of the enemies) they ioyned handes with them, and all at once set vpon the Britons that brought them in: and so, driuing them into Fraunce, Wales, and Cornwall, possessed their dwelling places, and diuided the countrye amongst themselves. Howbeit, they also wanted not their plague: For af



ter that they had long warred one vpon another, for the enlarging of their particular kingdomes, and had at the

3

last so beaten the one the other, that the whole was by the Westsaxons reduced into one entier Monarchie, sodainly the Danes (a people of Norway, and Denmarke) came vpon them, and after much mischiefe done, in the ende tooke the crowne quite and cleane from them.

But they were expulsed after thirtie yeares trouble, and the Englishe and Saxon Nation restoared to the royall dignitie: which yet they enioyed not many yeares after. For straight vpon the death of Edward the Confessor, William of Normandy (whose people at the first came from Norway also, and were therfore called Normans) demaunded the Crowne, and wan it of Harold in the Fielde, whose posteritie holdeth it tyll this day.

The Normans.

Thus muche of the Nations, that haue had interest in this Realme: Now to our purpose, that is, to the diuision of the same into the sundrye kingdomes vnder the Saxons. And although (by reason of the continuall contention that was amongst them for enlarging their bounds) there can no certaine limits of their kingdomes be appointed, yet wee wil go as neare the trouth as wee can, and folow the best approued authours that haue written thereof.

The seven kingdomes.

1 The first Kingdome therefore, was called the Kingdome of the Westsaxons, bicause it was in the West parte of the Realme, and it comprehended the whole Shires of Southampton, Berk, Wilton, Dorset, and Somerset, besides some partes of Surrey, Gloucester, and Deuonshyre: As for the residue of Deuonshyre, and whole Cornwall, the Britons retheyned it, whose language is not there as yet forgotten.

2 The seconde, was the Southsaxon Kingdome, (so termed bicause it lay South) and contained whole Sussex, and the remaine of Surrey.

4

3 The thirde, was the Kentish Kingdome, and had for the most part the same boundes, that the Shyre of Kent yet hath, although at some tyme, and by the prowes of some King, it was extended muche further.

4 The Kingdome of Estsex, or of the Estsaxons was the fourth, which was named of the situation also, and included the whole Shires of Estsex, and Midlesex, with some portion of Hartfordshyre.

5 The fifte, was of the East Angles, or East Englishmen, consisting of the Ile of Elye, and the Shyres of Norfolke, Suffolke, and Cambridge.

6 The Kingdome of Mercia, or Mearclande, had the sixt place, which was so called of the Saxon woorde *Mearc* signifying a bounde, limit, or marke, as wee yet speake: and that, bicause it lay in the midst of this our Iland, as vpon the whiche al the residue of the Kingdomes did bounde, and weare bordered. In this Kingdome weare wholly these Shyres, Lincolne, Northampton, Rutlande, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Chester, Derby, Notingham, Stafforde: And partly Hereford, Hartford, Warwick, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire.

7 Northumberlande (so called, because it laye North

from the Riuer Humber) was the seauenth Kingdome: and it enuironned Yorkshire, Durham, Northumber= lande, Cumberlande, and Westmerlande wholly, and so muche of Lancashire besides, as was not in Mercia. This Kingdome was for a season diuided into twayne, that is to say, Deira, and Bernicia, but for as muche as neyther that diuision endured long, nor the actes of their Kings were greatly famous, I wyll not staye vpon them: But to the end it may appeare by what lawes and customes these Kingdomes weare guided (for of them also wee must make mention in this historie) I

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will proceede to set fourth the rest of the vse of this chard of the English Heptarchie.

Three sorts of Lawes, in olde time.

As eche Countrie therefore, hath his propre lawes, customes, and manners of lyfe, so no man ought to doubt but that these peoples, being aggregated of so many sundrye Nations, had their seuerall rules, orders, and institutes. Howbeit, amongst the rest those be moste famous, whiche our auncient writers call the Dane law, West-Saxon law, and Merchen law: The first of whiche was brought in by the Danes: The second was vsed amongst the west Saxons: and the last was exercised in the kingdome of Mercia: and yet not so exercised amongst them selues alone, but that they spred ouer some partes of the rest of the lande also, being eyther embraced for their equitie aboue the rest, or commaunded by suche the Kings as preuailed aboue others.

1

To the Westsaxons law therefore, al suche were subiect, as inhabited the Kingdomes of Kent, Sussex, or Westsex.

2

The Eastsaxons, Estangles, and they of the kingdome of Northumberland (al whiche were muche mingled with the Danes) lyued vnder the Danes lawe.

3

They of Mercia, had their owne law, but not throw= out: for after some mens opinions, the East and Northe= parts of it liued after the law of the Danes also. Al these lawes, King William the Conquerour collected togea= ther, and (after a discreet view had) by aduice of his coun= sel allowed some, altered others, and quite abrogated a great many, in place of whiche he established the lawes of Normandie his owne countrye.

The Lawes of our time

6

The description and hystorie, of the Shyre of Kent.

These thinges be all handeled, in the inducti= on to the Topogra= phical Dic= tionarie.

Hauing thus before hand exhibi= ted in generalitie, the names, scitua= tion, and compasse of the Realme, the number of the sondrye Nations inhabiting within the same, the se= uerall lawes, languages, rites, and maners of the peoples, the conuer= sion of the countrie to christianitie, the diuisions and ly= mites of the Kingdomes, the beginnings and alterations of Bishoprickes, and such other things incident to the whole: Order now requireth, that I shew in perticular, the boundes of eche Shyre and Countie, the seuerall Regiments, Bishops Sees, Lasts, Hundrethes, Fraun= chises, Liberties, Cities, Markets, Borroughs, Castles, Religious houses, and Scooles: The Portes, Hauens,

The author determined to haue written this treatise, in latine.

Riuers, Waters, and Bridges: And finally, the Hilles and dales, Parkes, and forests, and whatsoever the singularities, within euery of the same. And bicause not only the Romanes and Saxons (that weare conquerours of this Realme) but also the Disciples of the Apostle Philip, and the messengers of Pope Gregory (that were conuerters of the people) arriued first in Kent: and for that the same by commoditie of the Riuer of Thamise (the chief key of this lland) first openeth it selfe, and to the end also that such guests and strangers as shal vouche safe to visite this our Britaine, may at their first entry fynde such courtesie and intertainment, as from hence=

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forth they ceasse, either with Horace to cal vs, 'Hospitibus feros,' or with others, 'Feroce in Aduenas,' I wyl be their †Zenagogus, or guide, and first shew them our countrie of Kent, the inhabitantes whereof, Cæsar himselfe in his Commentaries, confesseth to be of al others the most full of humanitie and gentlenesse.

†r. 'Xenagogus'

Scituation of Kent.

Kent therefore, lying in the Southeast Region of this Realme, hath on the North the Riuer of Thamise, on the East the Sea, on the South the Sea and Sussex, and on the West Sussex and Surrey. It extendeth in length, from Wicombe in the frontiers of Surrey, to Dele at the Sea side, fyfty miles: And reacheth in bredth from Sandhirst (neare Robertsbridge in the edge of Sussex) to the Northeast pointe of the Ile of Greane, almost thirty miles, and so hath in circuit. 150. miles, or therabout.

Kent, why so named.

It is called by Cæsar, and other auncient writers, Cancium, and Cancia in latine, which name (as I make coniecture) was framed out of Cainc, a woorde that (in the language of the Britaines, whom Cæsar at his arriuall founde inhabiting there) signifyeth, bowghes, or woods, and was imposed, by reason that this Countrie, both at that time, and also longe after, was in manner wholly ouergrowne with woode, as it shall hereafter in fyt place more plainly appeare.

The Aire. The Soyle.

The Aire in Kent, by reason that the Countrye is on sundry partes bordered wyth water, is somewhat thicke: for which cause (as also for that it is scituate nearest to the Sunne risinge and furthest from the Northe pole of any part of the realme) it is temperate, not so colde by a great deale as Northumberlande, and yet in manner as warme as Cornwall.

The Soile is for the most parte bountifull, consisting indifferently of arable, pasture, meadow and woodland, howbeit of these, wood occupieth the greatest portion

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euene till this day, except it bee towards the East, which coast is more champaigne then the residue.

The Corne

It hath Corne and Graine, common with other Shyres of the Realme: as Wheat, Rye, Barly, and Oats, in good plenty, saue onely, that in the Wealdish, or woody places, where of late daies they vsed muche Pomage, or Cider for want of Barley, now that lacke is more commonly supplied with Oates.

The Poulse

Neither wanteth Kent such sorts of pulce, as the rest of the Realme yeeldeth, namely beanes, peason, and tares, which some (reteining the sound of the latine woord *Vicia*) call vetches, and which Polydor supposed not to be founde in England.

The Pasture.

The pasture and meadowe, is not onely sufficient in proportion to the quantitie of the country it selfe for breeding, but is comparable in fertilitie also to any other that is neare it, in so muche that it gaineth by feeding.

The woods fruits.

In fertile and fruitfull woodes and trees, this country is most flourishing also, whether you respecte the mast of oke, Beeche and Chesten for cattail: or the fruit of aples, Peares, Cherries, and Ploumes for men: for besides great store of oke and beeche, it hath the whole woodes that beare Chestnutt, a mast (if I may so call it, and not rather a fruite, whereof euen delicate persons disdain not to feede) not commonly seene in other countries: But as for Orchards of Aples, and Gardeins of Cheries, and those of the most delicious and exquisite kindes that can be, no part of the Realme (that I know) hath them, either in such quantitie and number, or with such arte and industrie, set and planted. So that the Kentish man, most truly of al other, may say with him in Virgil,

Sunt nobis mitia poma,  
Castaneæ molles. &c.

9 <sig B>

The Cattel.

Touching domesticall cattel, as horses, mares, oxen, kine, and sheepe, Kent differeth not muche from others: onely this it challengeth as singular, that it bringeth forth the largest of stature in eche kinde of them: The like whereof also Polydore (in his historie) confesseth of the Kentish poultrie.

Deere and Conyes.

Parkes of fallow Deere, and games of gray Conyes, it maynteyneth many, the one for pleasure, and the other for profit, as it may wel appeare by this, that within memorie almost the one halfe of the first sorte be dispersed, and the number of warreyns continueth, if it do not increase dayly.

As for red Deere, and blacke Conyes, it nourisheth them not, as hauing no great walkes of wast grounde for the one, and not taryng the tyme to rayse the gaine by the other: for, blacke conyes are kept partly for their skins, which haue their season in Winter: and Kent by the nearnesse to London, hath so quicke market of yong Rabbets, that it killeth this game chiefly in Summer.

No mynes.

There is no Mineral, or other profit digged out of the belly of the earth here, saue only that in certeine places they haue Mynes of Iron, quarreys of pauing stone, and pits of fat Marle.

The fishe.

The Sea, and fresh waters, yeelde good and wholesome fishes competently, but yet neyther so muche in quantitie, nor suche in varietie, as some other coastes of the Realme do afoorde. And here let vs for a season leaue the Sea and the Soyle, and cast our eyes vpon the men.

The people

The people of this countrie, consisteth chiefly (as in other countries also) of the Gentry, and the yeomanrie, of which the first be for the most parte, <archontes>, gouernours, and the other altogether <archomenoi>, gouerned: whose possessions also were at the first distinguished, by the names of knight fee, and Guelkinde: that

Socage, and Knightes seruice.

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former being propre to the wariour, and this latter to the husbandman. But as nothing is more inconstant, then the estate that wee haue in lands and liuing (if at the least I may call that an estate whiche neuer standeth)

The Gentle  
men.

Euen so, long since these tenures haue ben so indifferent=ly mixed and confounded, in the hands of eche sorte, that there is not now any note of difference to be gathered by them. The gentlemen be not heere (throughout) of so auncient stockes as else where, especially in the partes nearer to London, from which citie (as it were from a certeine riche and wealthy seedplot) Courtiers, Lawyers, and Marchants be continually translated, and do become new plants amongst them. Yet be their reuenues greater then any where else: whiche thing groweth not so muche by the quantitie of their possession, or by the fertilitie of their soyle, as by the benefit of the situation of the countrie it selfe, whiche hath al that good neighbourhood, that Marc. Cato, and other olde authors in husbandrie require to a wel placed graunge, that is to say, the Sea, the Riuer, a populous citie, and a well traded highway, by the commo=dities wherof, the superfluous frutes of the grounde be dearly sold, and consequently the land may yeeld a grea=ter rent. These gentlemen be also (for the most parte) acquainted with good letters, and especially trayned in the knowledge of the lawes: They vse to manure some large portion of their owne territories, as well for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better in=crease in wealth. So that they be well employed, both in the publike seruice, and in their own particular, and do vse hauking, hunting, and other disports, rather for their recreation, then for an occupation or pastime.

The yeomen

The yeomanrie, or <sup>r</sup>common people (for so they be called of the Saxon word *gemen* which signifieth com=mon) is no where more free, and ioily, then in this shyre:

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for besides that they them selues say in a clayme (made by them in the time of King Edwarde the first) that the commualtie of Kent was neuer vanquished by, the Con=querour, but yeelded it selfe by composition, And besides that Geruasius affirmeth, that the forward in al battels belongeth to them (by a certein preeminence) in right of their manhood, It is agreed by all men, that there were neuer any bondmen (or villaines, as the law calleth them) in Kent. Neither be they here so muche bounden to the gentry by Copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the in=habitantes of the westerne countries of the Realme be, nor at all indaungered by the feeble holde of tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenancie at wil) as the common people in the Northren parts be: for Copyhold tenure is rare in Kent, and tenant right not heard of at al: But in place of these, the custome of Gauelkind preuayling euery where, in manner euery man is a freeholder, and hath some part of his own to liue vpon. And in this their estate, they please them selues, and ioy exceedingly, in so much, as a man may find sundry yeomen (although other=wise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not yet for all that change their condition, nor desire to be apparayled with the titles of Gentry. Neither is this any cause of disdain, or of alienation of the good myndes of the one sort from the other: for no where else in al this realme, is the common people more willing=ly gouerned. To be short, they be most commonly ciuil, iust, and bountiful, so that the estate of the old franklynys and yeomen of England, eyther yet liueth in Kent, or else it is quite dead and departed out of the realme for altogether.

The Artifi=  
cers.

As touching the artificers of this shire, they be either

such as labour in the artes that be handmaidens to husbandry, or else workers in stone, Iron, and woodfuel, or else makers of coloured woollen clothes: in which last feat they excell, as from whome is drawne both sufficient stoare

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to furnishe the weare of the best sort of our owne nation at home, and great plentie also to be transported to other forreine countries abroad. Thus muche I had summarily to say, of the condition of the countrie, and cuntrymen, Nowe therfore (God assisting myne enterprise) I will goe in hande with the hystorie.

The first in habitation of England.

Wee read in the first booke of Moses, that after suche time as the order of nature was destroyed by the general floude, and repaired again by the mercy of almighty God, the whole earth was ouerspred in processe of time, by the propagation of mankinde that came of the loines of Sem, Cham, and Iaphet. By which authoritie, we are throughly certified, that all the nations of the worlde, must of necessitie deriue their Pedegrees from the cuntry of Chaldee (or some place nigh vnto it) where the Arke of Noah rested:

The errour of those, whiche say, that the Brytons were Indigenæ.

And therefore, I will not here eyther doubt, or debate to and fro, as Cæsar, Cornel. tacit. Polydore, and others doe, whether the first inhabitantes of this llande were (Aliunde aduecti, and aduenæ) that is, translated and brought out of some other cuntry to dwell here, or no: Or yet affirme, as the same Cæsar doth, that some, or (as Diodor. Siculus writeth) that all the Britanes weare indigenæ, the naturall borne people of that cuntry, and that ab origine, euen from the first beginning: for to take the one way of these, or the other, would but leade vs to distrust the infallible Scriptures of God concerning the creation and propagation of mankynde, and to trust the wretched vanitie of opinion that the Gentiles had, and namely the Atheniens, who, the better to aduance their antiquitie, were wont to vaunt, That they only (forsooth) of all the Grecians were <autochthonous>, that is to say, Satiui, & indigenæ terræ parentis, The very natural seeds, stocks, and ymps, springing out of their good mother the

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same earth where they dwelt, and not brought from elsewhere. We reade likewise in the same booke of Moses, that the lles of the Gentiles were diuided into their Kingdoms and nations, by suche as descended of the children of Iapheth. wherevpon, as the Italians in their histories deriue themselues from Gomer the first sonne of Iapheth: the Spaniardes from Tubal his fift Sonne: and the Germanes from Thuysco (whom as they say, Moses calleth Ascenas) the eldest sonne of Gomer: Euen so, the late learned, and yet best trauallyed in the histories of our cuntry, reiecting the fonde dreames of dotting Monkes and fabling Feares, do collect out of Herodotus, Berosus, and others the most graue and auncient authors, that one Samoths, the sixth sonne of Iapheth, (whome Cæsar in his commentaries calleth Dis, and Moses nameth Mesech) did about 250. yeares after the generall inundation of the world) take vpon him the first dominion of these countreys in Europe, which are now known by the names of Fraunce and Britaine, and the inhabitantes thereof of long time called Celtæ, or rather <kelêtai> of the Verbe <kelêtizein> for theyr

That is to say Ryders: and to Ride.

speciall skill in ryding.

An. mundi  
2219.

Of this mans name (say they) the first inhabters of England weare called Samothæi, by the space of 300. yeares, 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,) inuaded the Ile, conquered the inhabitantes, mixed them with his owne people, and called them all after his owne name Albionees, and the countrey it selfe Albion.

An. ante  
Christum  
1142.

Sixe hundreth and eight yeares (or therabouts) after this also, Brutus Iulius (as all our common histo=riens haue it) entered this Iland with 324. ships, laden with the remaines of Troye, and he likewise, both sub=

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dued all the former peoples that he found heere to his owne obedience, and also altered their name after his owne calling: So that from thenceforth they were named Britaines, the terms of Samothees, and Albionees being quite and cleane abolished. Now, out of these things thus alledged, I might (as mee thinketh) draw probable coniecture, that Kent which we haue in hand, was the first inhabited part of all this our Iland.

Kent, the  
first inhabi  
ted part of  
England.

For if it be true, that maister Bale in his Centuries confesseth, namely, that Samothæ began his dominion ouer this Realme almost. 150. yeres after suche tyme as he first arriued in that part of Fraunce which is called Celtique and had planted his people there, what can be more likely, then that he came out of Fraunce first into Kent? seeing that parte (of all others) was moste neare vnto him, and only of all the Iland might be discerned out of the countrey where he was. And the selfe same reason Cæsar vseth, to proue, that the borderers on the South Sea side of this land were Aduenæ, and brought out of Fraunce, although he was perswaded, that the dwellers within the midle partes of the Countrey were (Indigenæ,) as we haue already touched. But I will proceede in the hystorie.

<Bale 1557:1>

Foure  
Kings in  
Kent.

Howsoeuer that bee therefore, Cæsar himselfe witnesseth, that at the time of his arriuall in this Iland, the people were by one common name called Britaines: And that Kent was then diuided into foure petite Kingdomes, which were gouerned by Caruillus, Taximagul, Cingetorix, and Segonax: who, hauing seuerally subiect to their Dominions certain Cities with the territories adioyning vnto them (after the manner of the Dukedomes, or Estates of Italie, at this day) extended their boundes (as it may be gathered) ouer the whole countries of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, at the least.

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But one  
King in  
Kent.

This kind of Regalitie, Kent retained not many yeares after, bicause the Britain Kings, succeeding Cæsars conquest, and yeelding tribute to the Romanes, reduced not onely these partes, but in manner the whole Realme also, into one entier Monarchie.. So that in course of time, and vnder the reigne 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 Britaines were so weakned, partly by intestine dissention amongst themselues, and partly by incursions of their neighbours the Scots, and Picts, that (the periede of this their estate also drawing on)

Vortiger their King was compelled to inuite for ayde the Saxons, lutes, and Angles, three sortes of the Germane nation: who, in steade of dooing that which they came for, and of deliuering the Britaines from their former oppression, ioyned with their enemies (Thessala fide, as the adage is) and brought vpon them a more greeuous calamity and conquest, subduing the people, suppressing relligion, and departing (in manner) the whole land amongest them selues. So that now Kent recouered the title of a seueral Kingdome againe, although not al one, and the verie same in limites with the former foure, yet nothing inferiour in power, estimation, or compasse.

Of whiche this newly reuiued regiment, Hengist the chief leader of the Germanes became the first author and patrone. For he, finding him selfe placed by King Vortiger for his owne habitation at Thanet in this Shire, and seeing a great part of his power bestowed in Garrison against the Scottes vnder Otha his Brother, and Ebusa his Sonne in the North Countrey, and perceyuing moreouer, that he was arryued out of a moste barren Countrie into this

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plentifull lland (with the commodities wherof he was inestimable delighted) he abandoned al care of returne to his natiue soyle, and determined to make here a seate for him selfe and his posteritie. For helpe wherunto, although he had on thone side, his owne prowesse, the manhode of his warlike nation, their nomber, and necessitie: and on the other side, the effeminate cowardise and voluptuousnes of King Vortiger, the weakness of the Britains themselues, and the aduantage of the Scottes and Pictes their auncient enemies, so that he might with plaine force haue brought his purpose to passe: yet he chose rather to atchieue his desire by faire meanes, and colour of amitie, a way, though not so hastie as the former, yet more speedie then that, or any other. Espying therefore, that king Vortiger was muche delighted in womens companie, and knowing wel, that Sine Cerere & Libero, friget Venus, he bad him to a solemn Banket, and after that he had (according to the manner of Germanie yet continuing) well plied him with pots, he let slippe before him a faire gentlewoman, his owne daughter, called Roxena, or Rowen, which being instructed before †hand how to behaue her self, most amiable presented him with a goblet of wine, saying in her owne language, *wæs haile hlaforð cynyng; wessail Lord King*, that is to say, be merie Lord King: wyth which her daliance, the King was so delighted, that he not onely vouchesafed to pledge her, but desired also to perform it in the right manner of her owne countrey. And therefore he answered (as he was taught) vnto her againe, *drinc hæile; drinke merely*. Which when she had done, himselfe tooke the cuppe, and pledged her so hartely, that from thenceforth he could neuer be in rest, vntil he had obtained her to wife, little weighing, eyther howe deeply he had endaungered his conscience in mat-

The first wasseling cuppe.

The issue of an vngodly marriage.

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ching him selfe with a heathen wooman, or how greatly he had hazarded his Crowne by ioyning handes with so mightie a forein Nation.

At the time of this marriage, Hengist (labouring by



all meanes to bring in his owne Countrie men) begged of the King the territories of Kent, Essex, Midlesex, and Suffolke, (then knowen by other names) pretending in woord, that he would, in consideration thereof, keep out Aurel. Ambrose, (a competitor of the crowne) whose arriual King Vortiger much feared, But meaning in deede, to make thereby a key to let into the Realme multitudes of Germanes, for furtherance of his ambitious desire and purpose: which thing in processe of time he brought to passe, not onely creating himselfe and his posteritie Kings of a large quarter, but also thereby shewing the way and entrie, howe others of his nation might follow, and doe the like.

And thus Kent, being once againe (as I saide) reduced into a Kingdome, continued in that estate, by the space of three hundreth three score and eight yeares, or thereabouts, in the handes of fiftene successours, as the moste credible authours do reporte: Some others adde, Edbert, and Alric, and so make seuentene in all, whose names doe followe.

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 commaunded the obseruation of Lent, in this shire.

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8. Egbert.
9. Lothar.
10. Eadric.

After his death, Nidred and Wibbard vsurped, by the space of seuen yeares, and therefore are not registred in the Catalogue of the lawfull Kings.

11. Wightred, he built Saint Martines at Douer.
12. Edbert, added by some.
13. Ethelbert.
14. Alric, added also, by some.
15. Eadbert Pren, or Edelbert Pren.
16. Cuthred.
17. Baldred.

Now, although it might here seeme conuenient, before I passed any further, to disclose suche memorable things, as haue chaunced during the reignes of al these forenamed Kings: yet for asmuche as my purpose specially is to write a Topographie, or description of places, and no Chronographie, or storie of times, (although I must now and then vse bothe, since the one can not fully be peroumed without enterlacing the other.) and for that also I shal haue iust occasion hereafter in the particulars of this Shyre, to disclose many of the same, I will at this present, and that by way of digression only, make report of one or two occurments that happened vnder Ethelbert, and Eadric, two Kings of this countrey.

Ethelbert,  
the King  
of Kent.

This Ethelbert, besides that he mightely enlarged the boundes of his owne Kingdome, extending the same euen to the riuer of Humber, was also the first King (a=

mongst the Saxons, inhabiting this land) that promoted the kingdome of Christ, as to whome it pleased almight-

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Eadric, the King of Kent.

ty God to break the bread of his holy woord and gospel, through the ministerie and preaching of Augustine the Moncke, that was sent from Rome by Pope Gregorie surnamed the great: amongst the Saxons I saide, least any man should thinke, that eyther the faith of Christe, was not heare at all, or not so purely preached, before the comming of that Augustine. For it is past all doubt, by the stoaries of all Countries, and by the testimony of Beda him selfe (being a Saxon) that the Britons embraced the religion of Christ within this Iland, many hundreth yeares before Gregories time: whether in purer sorte then he sent it hither, or no, let them iudge that knowe, that he was called (worthely) 'Pater Cæremoniarum,' and that may yet see in Beda, and others, what trumpery crept into the church of God in his time and by his permission, Eadric the other King succeeded in Kent, after Lotharius, who, because he rather reigned by luste, then ruled by lawe, incurred the hatred of his people, and was inuaded by Ceadwalla (King of Westsex) and Mull his brother: whiche entring the countrie, and finding no resistance, herryed it from the one end to the other: and not thus contented, Ceadwalla, in reuenge of his brother Muls death, (whome the countrie people had cruelly slaine in a house, that he had taken for his succour) entred this countrie the second time, and sleying the people, spoiled it without all pitie. And yet not satisfied with all this, he suffered the quarrell to discend to Ina his successour, who ceased not to vnquiet the people of this Shyre, till they agreed to pay him 30000. Markes in golde, for his desired amendes.

These be the matters that I had to note in the reignes of these two Kings: as for the rest, I passe them ouer to their fit titles, as things rather pertaining to some peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole

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Shire, and will now prosecute the residue.

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First name of Englishmen.

In the time of this Baldred, that standeth last in the table of the Kings, Kent was vnited by King Egbert (who last of all changed the name of the people, and called them Englishmen) vnto the Westsaxon Kingdome, which in the ende became Ladie and maistres of al the rest of the kingdomes also: and it was from thenceforth wholly gouerned after the Westsaxon law, as in the Mappe of the tripartite lawes of this Realme hath appeared, vntil suche time as King Alfred first diuided the whole Realme into particular Shires, vpon this occasion following.

Beginning of Shires.

The Danes, bothe in his time, and before, had flocked by sea to the coastes of this land in great numbers, some times wasting and spoiling with sword, and fire, where soeuer they might arriue: and sometymes taking with them greate booties to their Ships without doing any further harme: which thing (continuing for many yeares together) caused the husbandmen to abandon their tilage, and gae occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons to fall to the like pillage, and robbrie: The whiche, the better to cloke their mischief withall, feigned them selues to bee Danish Pirates, and would

892.

some time come on land in one part, and some time in an other, driuing great spoyles (as the Danes had done) to their shippes before them. The good king Alfred therefore, that had merueilously traueiled in repulsing the barbarous Danes, espying this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the parte of a politique Prince, to roote out the noisome subiect, then to hold out the forein enemie, by aduice of his counsaile, and by the example of Moses (which followed the counsaile of letro, his father in law) diuided the whole Realme into certein parts, or Sections, (being two and thirtie in number, as I gesse)

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whiche of the Saxon woorde *Scyran*, signifying to cut, he termed shires, or (as we yet speake) shares, and portions: and appointed ouer euery one shyre, an Earle, or Alderman (or both) to whome he committed the gouernment and rule of the same.

Lathes.

These shyres he also brake into smaller parts, wherof some were called Lathes, of the woord *gelapian*, which is, to assemble together: others, hundreds, bycause they conteyned iurisdiction ouer an hundreth pledges: and others, Tithings, so named, bycause there were in eche of them to the number of ten persons, whereof eche one was suretie and pledge for others good abearing. He ordeined furthermore, that euery man shoulde procure him selfe to be receiued into some Tithing, and that if any were founde of so small credite, that his neighbours woulde not become pledge for him, he should foorthwith be committed to pryson, least he might do harme abroad.

Hundreds.

Tythings.

By this deuice it came to passe, that good subiectes (the trauailing Bees of the Realme) resorted safely to their labors againe, and the euil and idle Droanes were driuen cleane out of the hyue of the common wealth: so that in short time, the whole Realme tasted of the sweet honny of this blessed peace, and tranquillitie.

Some shadow I do confesse, of this King Alfredes politique institution, remayneth euen til this day in those courts which we cal Leetes, where these pledges be yet named *franci plegii*, of the woord *freoborgh*, which is a free pledge: But if the very Image it self were amongst vs, who seeth not what benefit would ensue thereby, as wel towards the suppression of busie theeues, as for the correction of idle vagabounds, whiche be the very seede of robbers and theeues. But leauing this matter to suche as beare the sworde, I will plye my penne, and goe forwarde.

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Thus muche therefore I thought good, nowe at the first to open, the more at large, bicause it may serue generally for all Shyres, and shall hereafter deliuer me from often repetition of one thing. Where, by the way, (least I might seeme to haue forgotten the Shire that I haue presently in hand) it is to be noted, that that which in the west cuntry was at that time, (and yet is) called, a Tithing, is in Kent termed a Borow, of the Saxon woord, *borh*, which signifieth a Pledge, or a suretie: and the chiefe of these pledges, which the Westernmen call a Tithingman, they of Kent name a Borsholder, of the Saxon woordes *borhes ealdor*, that is to say, the most Auncient, or elder of the Pledges, whiche thing being vnderstood, the matter will come all to one ende, and

Bosholder,  
& Tithingman.

I may go forward.

1066.

Kent kee=  
peth her  
olde cus=  
tomes.

In this plight therefore, both this Shyre of Kent, and al the residue of the Shyres of this Realme, were found, when William the Duke of Normandie inuaded this Realme: at whose hands the cominaltie of Kent, obtey= ned with great honour, the continuation of their aun= cient vsages, notwithstanding that the whole Realme besides suffered alteration and chaunge.

For prooffe whereof, I will call to witness Thomas Spot, sometimes a Moncke and Chronicler of saint Au= gustines at Canterbury, who, if he shall seeme to weake to giue sufficient authoritie to the tale, bycause he only (of all the Storiars that I haue seene) reporteth it, Yet, forasmuch as I my selfe first published that note out of his hystorie, and for that the matter it selfe also is nei= ther incredible, nor vnlikely, (the rather bycause this Shyre, euen vnto this day, enioyeth the custome of giue all kyn discent, dower of the moytie, freedome of birth, and sundrie other vsages muche different from other coun= tries, I neither well may, ne will at all sticke, nowe eft= soones to rehearse it.

<1568:D2r-v>

Gauelkyn.

23

1067.

Meeting at  
Swanes=  
combe.

After such tyme (saith he) as Duke William the Con= querour had ouerthrowne King Harold in the field, at Battel in Sussex, and had receiued the Londoners to mercy, he marched with his army toward the Castle of Douer, thinking thereby to haue brought in subiection this countrie of Kent also. But Stigande, the Archebi= shop of Canterbury, and Egelsine the Abbat of saint Au gustines, perceauing the daunger, assembled the countrie men together, and laide before them the intollerable pride of the Normanes that inuaded them, and their owne miserable condition, if they should yelde vnto them. By whiche meanes, they so enraged the common people, that they ran fourth with to weapon, and meeting at Swan= scombe, elected the Archbishop and the Abbat for their captaines: This done, eache man gotte him a greene bouge in his hand, and bare it ouer his head, in suche sort, as when the Duke approched, he was muche ama= sed therewith, thinking at the first, that it had ben some miraculous wood, that moued towards him: But they as soone as hee came within hearing, caste away their boughes from them, and at the sounde of a trumpet be= wraied their weapons, and withall dispatched towards him a messenger, which spake vnto him in this manner. 'The commons of Kent (most noble Duke) are readie to offer thee, eyther peace, or warre, at thine own choyse, and election: peace with their faithfull obedience, if thou wilt permit them to enioy their ancient liberties: warre, and that moste deadly, if thou deny it them.'

Now when the Duke heard this, and considered that the daunger of deniall was great, and that the thing de= sired was but smal, he forthwith, more wisely then wil= lingly, yealded to their request: And by this meane both he receiued Dover Castle, and the Countrie to obe= dience, and they only of all England, (as shall hereafter ap= peare) obtained for euer theyr accustomed priuiledges.

24

And thus then hath it appeared (so shortly, as I could) what hath bene the estate and gouernment of this coun= trie, from the arriuall of Iulius Cæsar, (the first Romane

that conquered this Realme) euen to this present day. Now therefore, I will set before the Readers eye in Table, a plaine particular of the whole shyre, wherein, to the end, that vnder one labour double commoditie may be reaped, I will not onely diuide it into the seuerall Lathes, hundreds, townes, and borowes, But also set ouer against eche towne and place, such summes of money, (as by reporte of the recorde of the. 13. yeare of her Maiesties reigne) was leued in the name of a Tenth and Fiftene, vpon euery of the same: which being done, I will haste me to the description of such places, as either faythfull information by word, or credible hystorie in writing, hath hitherto ministered me.

25 <sig D>

<six errors corrected by hand>

The Lathe of S. Augustines.

	Borowe of Wingham.	lxviis'.i.d'.	
	Borwe of Rollinge.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.	
	Borowe of Nonington.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.	
	Borowe of Godestone.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.	
	Borowe of Denne.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.	
Hundreth of Wingham.	Borowe of Twytham.	xxxiii.s'.ix.d'.	
	Borowe of Wimplingswold.	xxxiii.s'.ix.d'.	
	Borowe of Kelington.	xxxiii.s'.vii.d'.	
	Borowe of Gythorne.	†xxvi.s'.ii.d'.	†xxvi.s'.i.d'.
	The parish of Ashe, with the Borow of Wyderton.	xxiii.l'.xii.s'.iii.d'.	
	Summe.	xlvi.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.	

Hundreth of Preston.	Towne of Preston.	v.l'.ix.s'.x.d'.	
	Towne of Elmestone.	l.s'.	
	Sum.	vii.l'.xix.s'.x.d'.	
	Towne of Woode.	iiii.l'.vii.s'.viii.d'.	
	Towne of Monketon.	iii.l'.	
	Towne of Mynster.	xv.l'.	
	Towne of S. Laurence.	xvii.l'.xiii.s'.iiii.d'.	
Hundreth of Ringslowe.	Towne of S. Peter.	xv.l'.xvii.s'.	
	Towne of S. Iohn.	xxiii.l'.xii.s'.	
	Towne of S. Gyles.	xv.s'.	
	Towne of S. Nicholas.	x.l'.vii.s'.	
	Towne of All Sainctes.	†iiii.l'.vii.s'.iiii.d'.	†iiii.l'.vi.s'.iiii.d'.
	Towne of Byrchingstone.	viii.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.	
	Sum.	Ciii.l'.xiii.s'.vii.d'.	

26

The Lathe of S. Augustines.

	Towne of Staple.	iiii.l'.vii.s'.	
	Towne of Adesham.	iiii.l'.ix.s'.	
Hundreth of Downhamford.	Towne of Wykham.	vii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.	
	Towne of Litleborne.	vii.l'.x.iiii.s'.	
	Towne of Well.	vi.l'.xix.s'.vi.d'.	
	Sum.	xxxi.l'.iiii.s'.iiii.d'.	
	Towne of Chillenden.	xviii.s'.	
	Towne of Berston.	vii.s'.ii.d'.	
	Towne of Nouington.	xx.s'.	
Hundreth of Estrye.	Towne of Tyluestone.	vi.l'.vi.s'.iiii.d'.	
	Towne of Wodnesborowe.	xv.l'.x.s'.x.d'.	
	Towne of Estrye.	xiiii.l'.xi.s'.x.d'.	
	Towne of Waldershare.	xii.s'.	

Sum. xxxix.l'.vi.s'.ii.d'.

Hundreth of  
Kinghamford. Borowe of Dorme. xxv.s'.  
Borowe of Kingstone. iii.l'.viii.d'.  
Borowe of Outemeston. xxii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Borowe of Berham. xlii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Borowe of Bereton. xxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Borowe of Sheluing. xxviii.s'.vi.d'.  
Borowe of Brethe. xxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Sum. xi.l'.v.s'.vi.d'.

Hundreth of  
Petham. Towne of Petham. vii.l'.xii.s'.vii.d'.  
Towne of Chartham. viii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
Towne of Waltham. iiiii.l'.ii.s'.v.d'.  
Sum. xii.l'.iii.s'.x.d'.ob.

27

The Lathe  
of S. Augu=  
stines.

Hundreth of  
Bewsbrough. Towne of Colred. xxxix.s'.  
Towne of Shebertswold. lviii.s'.  
Towne of Popeshal. l.s'.  
Towne of S. Margaret. iii.l'.  
Towne of Oxney. xxvi.s'.vii.d'.ob.  
Towne of Westclif. xxxi.s'.  
Towne of Guston. xxxiiii.s'.  
Towne of Beawfield. xxxix.s'.  
Towne of Charlton. xlvi.s'.  
Towne of Hougham. iiiii.l'.  
Towne of Bucland. xxviii.s'.  
Towne of Reuer. xl.s'.  
Towne of Ewell. lxvi.s'.  
Towne of Leden. xxiiii.s'.q.  
Towne of Smalhead. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Towne of Westlangden. xx.s'.  
Sum. xxxii.l'.xv.s'.xi.d'.ob.q.

Hundreth of  
Cornilo. Borowe of Finglesham. xxxix.s'.  
Borowe of Sholdon. xl.s'.  
Borowe of Marten. xxx.s'.  
Borowe of Eastlangdon. xii.s'.  
Borowe of Asheley. xl.s'.  
Borowe of Sutton. xxiii.s'.v.d'.ob.  
Borowe of Mongeham Magna. xl.s'.  
Borowe of Rippley. xvii.s'.  
Borowe of Norborne. xxiii.s'.  
Borowe of Deale. xiii.l'.xix.s'.  
Borowe of Walmer. iiiii.l'.v.s'.viii.d'.  
Borow of Mongeham Parua. xvii.s'.  
Towne of Ringwolde. viii.l'.x.d'.  
Sum. xl.l'.vi.s'.xi.d'.ob.

28

The Lathe  
of S. Au=  
gustines.

Hundreth of  
Blengate. Towne of Sturey. xii.l'.xiiii.s'.  
Towne of Chistelet. xii.l'.xiiii.s'.  
Towne of Reculuer. xii.l'.xiiii.s'.  
Towne of Herne. xii.l'.xv.s'.  
Sum. l.l'.xvii.s'.

Hundreth of  
Westgate. Borowe of Westgate. ix.l'.xix.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
Borowe of Harbaldowne. iiiii.l'.  
Borowe of Hakington. iiiii.l'.vi.s'.  
Borowe of Cokering. iii.l'.xiiii.s'.  
Borowe of Tunforde. xxxv.s'.  
Borowe of Rusheborne. xxviii.s'.x.d'.  
Borowe of Harwiche. lvii.s'.i.d'.  
Sum. xxviii.l'.i.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Whitstaple. Towne of Bleane. vii.l'.xi.s'.ix.d'.  
 Towne of Whitstaple. vi.l'.xv.s'.  
 Towne of Natington. xi.s'.iiii.d'.ob.q.  
 Sum. xiiii.l'.xviii.s'.i.d'.ob.q.

Hundreth of Bregge. Towne of Patriksborne. iii.l'.xvi.s'.  
 Towne of Bekesborne. iii.l'.xviii.s'.  
 Towne of Bregge. xv.s'.  
 Towne of Blackmanbury. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of litle Harden. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of Natindon. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of great Harden. xxix.s'.  
 Sum. xiiii.l'.ii.s'.

Towne of Sesalter. iii.l'.vi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Summe of this whole Lathe of S.  
 Augustines. CCCCxxxvi.l'.xv.s'.

29

The Lathe of Shepway.

Hundreth of S. Martine. The towne of Newchurche. xx.s'.iii.d'.  
 The towne of S. Maries. xlix.s'.  
 The towne of Hope. xii.l'.vii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 The towne of S. Martine. xiiii.s'.ii.d'.  
 The towne of S. Clement. l.s'.iiii.d'.ob.  
 The towne of luechurche. lxxviii.s'.i.d'.  
 The towne of Medley. iii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Sum. xxii.l'.xiii.s'.xi.d'.

Hundreth of Langport. The towne of S. Nicholas. xvi.s'.  
 The towne of Lyd. ix.l'.ii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Rompney. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Hope. xxix.s'.  
 Sum. xii.l'.viii.d'.

Hundreth of Alowsbredge. The towne of Snargate. lvii.s'.xi.d'.  
 The towne of Brenset. iii.l'.ii.d'.  
 The towne of Brokeland. lxxvii.s'.  
 The towne of Fayrefeld. xliiii.s'.ix.d'.  
 The towne of Snaue. xxxii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 The towne of luechurche. xxxi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Newchurche. vii.s'.i.d'.ob.  
 Sum xvi.l'.x.s'.x.d'.

Hundreth of Byrcholt Franchise. The towne of Aldington. iii.l'.x.s'.ob.  
 The towne of Mersham. viii.s'.x.d'.  
 Sum. iii.l'.xviii.s'.x.d'.ob.

30

The Lathe  
 of Shepway

Hundreth of Newchurch. The towne of Bylsington. liii.s'.viii.d'.  
 The towne of Newchurche. xxxiii.s'.ii.d'.  
 The towne of Roking. l.s'.vi.d'.  
 The towne of Snaue. viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of S. Marie. xxxiiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum. ix.l'.

Hundreth of Stowting. The towne of Elmsted. lxxii.s'.ix.d'.  
 The towne of Scelling. xix.s'.ii.d'.  
 The towne of Waltham. xxi.s'.vii.d'.  
 The towne of Stowting. xxx.s'.xi.d'.  
 The towne of Horton. liiii.s'.viii.d'.ob.  
 The towne of Stanford. xxvi.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 Sum. xi.l'.vi.s'.

The towne of Eleham. xvi.l'.xii.d'.  
 The towne of Acryse. vii.s'.viii.d'.

Hundreth of Louingbo= rough. The towne of Hardresse. xxix.s'.iiii.d'.  
The towne of Stelling. xxx.s'.i.d'.ob.  
The towne of Lyminge. ix.l'.xv.s'.viii.d'.  
The towne of Paddlesworth. xviii.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
Sum. xxx.l'.ii.s'.i.d'.

Hundreth of Strete. Towne of Limeane. lxxv.s'.i.d'.  
Towne of Aldington. xxiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.  
Towne of Sellinge. vi.l'.xi.s'.ix.d'.  
Towne of Bonington. xii.s'.ix.d'.  
Towne of Herste. xvii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
Towne of Westinghanger. xvi.s'.xi.d'.ob.q.  
Sum. xiii.l'.xvii.s'.viii.d'.ob.q.

Hundreth of Oxeney. Towne of Wytresham. lvi.s'.i.d'.  
Towne of Stone. lxxviii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Towne of Ebbene. xii.s'.vi.d'.  
Sum. vii.l'.vi.s'.xi.d'.

31

The Lathe  
of Shepway

Hundreth of Heane. Towne of Saltwood. vi.l'.vii.s'.viii.d'.  
Towne of Lymeane. v.s'.i.d'.  
Towne of Postling. iiiii.l'.x.s'.xi.d'.  
Sum. xi.l'.iii.s'.viii.d'.

Hundreth of Hame. Towne of Warehorne. lii.s'.v.d'.  
Towne of Shaddockherst. v.s'.ii.d'.  
Towne of Roking. xxix.s'.  
Towne of Snaue. x.s'.ii.d'.  
Towne of Orlaston. ix.s'.ii.d'.  
Sum. Cv.s'.xi.d'.

Hundreth of Worthe. Towne of Dymchurche. lxi.s'.x.d'.  
Towne of Bormershe. iiiii.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Towne of Newchurche. vi.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
Towne of Estbredg. xl.s'.i.d'.  
Towne of Blackmanstone. xii.s'.  
Towne of Westheathe. xxiii.s'.ii.d'.q.  
Towne of Lymen. xxix.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
Towne of Aldingweke,  
and Organsweke. xxii.s'.v.d'.  
Sum. xiiii.l'.iii.s'.iiii.d'.q.

Hundreth of Folkestone. Towne of Lyden. xxxii.s'.i.d'.ob.  
Towne of Swyngfeld. Cvi.s'.ix.d'.  
Towne of Akkam. xiii.l'.xvii.s'.  
Towne of Folkestone. ix.l'.v.s'.v.d'.ob.  
Towne of Hawking. xxv.s'.vi.d'.  
Towne of Acryse. xix.s'.iiii.d'.  
Towne of  
Newington. viii.l'.xiiii.s'.iiii.d'.ob.  
Towne of Cheriton. iiiii.l'.ii.s'.iii.d'.  
Sum. xlv.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.ob.

Summe of this whole Lath of  
Shepway. CCiii.l'.xii.s'.ix.d'.ob.q.

32

The Lathe of Scray, or  
Sherwinhope.

Hundreth of Charte. Ashtisforde. iii.l'.ix.s'.  
Charte. iiiii.l'.xvii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Betrisden. iii.l'.ii.s'.iii.d'.  
Hothefielde. xl.s'.viii.d'.ob.  
Sum. xiii.l'.ix.s'.ii.d'.ob.



Hundreth of Longbridge. Willesbroughe. liii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Kenington. iii.l'.x.s'.vi.d'.  
 Seuington. xviii.s'.vii.d'.q.  
 Kingsnothe. xxxi.s'.vi.d'.  
 Marsham. xii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 Hynxsell. xiii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Ashetisforde. lii.s'.q.  
 Sum. xii.l'.xii.s'.vi.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Byrcholte. Westbraborne. xxxi.s'.v.d'.  
 Hastingleyghe. xxi.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Bircholte. xx.s'.iiii.d'.ob.  
 Eastbraborne. xix.s'.viii.d'.ob.  
 Sum. iiiii.l'.xiii.s'.ob.

Hundreth of Boughton vn der Bleane. Graueney. v.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Harnehill. iiiii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.  
 Sellyng. ix.l'.  
 Boughton. ix.l'.v.s'.vii.d'.ob.q  
 Sum. xxviii.l'.  
 viii.s'.ix.d'.ob.q.

33 <sig E>

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin= hope.

Hundreth of Teneham. Teneham. ix.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Linstede. ix.l'.ix.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Eastchurche and Stonepit. xxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Hedcorne. xix.s'.  
 Dodington. vi.l'.x.s'.ii.d'.  
 Iwade. xi.s'.  
 Sum. xxvii.l'.xv.s'.

Hundreth of Calehill. Nashe. xx.s'.ii.d'.  
 Felde. xxxiii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Hayslathe. xxxvi.s'.x.d'.  
 Sandpit. xxvii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Charte. xl.s'.x.d'.  
 Welles. xviii.s'.  
 Charing. xlvi.s'.vi.d'.  
 Sandhill. xxvi.s'.vi.d'.  
 Acton. xvii.s'.x.d'.  
 Eastlenham. xxxv.s'.viii.d'.  
 Stanforde. xl.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Pluckley. iii.l'.  
 Edisley. xxxv.s'.  
 Halingarse. xlv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sednor. xliiii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Halmeste. l.s'.viii.d'.  
 Saint lohns. vii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Grenehill. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum. xxix.l'.xix.s'.x.d'.

34

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin= hope.

Hundreth of Feuersham. Stone. xxxviii.s'.  
 Preston. v.l'.viii.s'.xi.d'.  
 Stallisfield. xli.s'.  
 Luddenham. iii.l'.vi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Ore. x.s'.  
 Hartie. xxii.s'.xi.d'.  
 Dauington. iii.l'.ii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Ospringe. iii.s'.ii.s'.v.d'.  
 Feuersham. ix.l'.xxii.d'.ob.  
 Godneston. xxix.s'.viii.d'.  
 Selling. xxxviii.s'.i.d'.  
 Sheldwiche. iii.l'.vii.s'.v.d'.  
 Throwly. v.l'.xvii.s'.viii.d'.

		Badlesmere. xxxii.s'.ii.d'. Leueland. vi.s'.x.d'. Neuenham. xli.s'.v.d'. Norton. xxx.s'. Boresfield. xiii.s'.iiii.d'. Boughton Malherb. xi.s'.viii.d'. Eseling. iii.l'.i.s'.i.d'. Sum. lii.l'.iii.s'.ix.d'.ob.	
	Hundreth of Tenterdene.	Tenterdene. xii.l'.vii.s'.i.d'. Ebnye. xxxvii.s'.x.d'. Sum. xiiii.l'.iiii.s'.xi.d'.	
	Hundreth of Roluinden.	Roluinden. iii.l'.xi.s'.x.d'. Benyndene. lviii.s'.viii.d'. Sum. vi.l'.x.s'.vi.	
	35		
The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin= hope.	Hundreth of Barckley.	Bedyndene. v.l'. Benyndene. xxxix.s'. Haldene. vi.s'. Sucardene. xv.s'.ii.d'.ob.q. Hedcorne. xii.s'. Fryttendene. vii.s'.viii.d'. Cranebrooke. iii.s'. Sum. ix.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.ob.q.	
	Hundreth of Blackborne.	Appledore. xlv.s'.v.d'.q. Kenardington. xl.s'.x.d'. Woodchurch. v.l'.xvi.s'.ob. Warehorne. xvi.s'.ii.d'. Shadockesherst. viii.s'. Haldene. iii.l'.vi.s'.x.d'. Betrisdene. xvii.s'. Sum. xv.l'.x.s'.iii.d'.ob.q.	
	Hundreth of Branfield.	Hawkherst. iii.l'.xviii.s'.iiii.d'. Cranebrooke. vi.s'.viii.d'. Sum. iiiii.l'.v.s'.	
	Hundreth of Cranebrooke.	Biddendene. iii.s'.vi.d'. Cranebrooke. v.l'.xvi.s'.viii.d'. Frittendene. xxxv.s'.v.d'. Stapleherst. xxviii.s'. Hedcorne. x.s'.x.d'. Benyndene. xxx.s'.x.d'. Gowdherst. xxiii.s'.vi.d'. Sum. xii.l'.viii.s'.ix.d'.	
	Hundreth of Selbritendene.	Newendene. viii.s'. Sandherst. xxxv.s'.x.d'. Hawkherst. v.s'.viii.d'.ob. Benyndene. xxi.s'.ii.d'. Sum. iii.l'.x.s'.viii.d'.ob.	
	36		
The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin= hope.	Hundreth of Mardene.	Gowdherst. xxxviii.s'.iiii.d'. Stapleherst. xvi.s'.ix.d'. Marden. xix.s'.viii.d'. Sum. iii.l'.xiiii.s'.viii.d'.	
		Newendene. †xxiiii.s'.xi.d'.ob.	†xxiiii.s'.xi.d'.
		The Balywike of Kay, in the Hundred of Mylton.	
		Tong. xliii.s'.ix.d'.	

Rodmersham. xix.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Kingesdowne. vi.s'.vi.d'.  
 Borden. viii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Tunstall. iii.l'.xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Bredgar. ix.s'.  
 Morston. xxvi.s'.  
 Sum. ix.l'.vi.s'.vii.d'.ob.

The Balywike of Shepey,  
 in the Hundred of  
 Mylton.

Hundreth of  
 Mylton.

Mynster. xi.l'.ix.d'.  
 Eastchurche. xi.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 Wardon. iii.l'.vi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Lesdon. iii.l'.xvii.s'.ix.d'.  
 Sum. xxx.l'.xviii.s'.viii.d'.ob.

The Balywike of West, in  
 the Hundred of Mylton.

Raynham. ix.l'.xii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Vpchurche. vi.l'.x.s'.x.d'.  
 Hartlyp. iii.l'.xii.s'.  
 Newenten. iii.l'.iiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Halstone. xvi.s'.  
 Stokebury. xx.s'.v.d'.  
 Sum. xv.l'.xvi.s'.i.d'.ob.

37

The Lathe  
 of Scray, or  
 Sherwin=  
 hope.

The Balywike of Kay, in  
 the Hundred of  
 Mylton.

Sedingborne. vi.l'.vii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Bapchilde. iii.l'.ob.  
 Tong. xlvii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Rodmersham. lv.s'.v.d'.ob.  
 Bredgar. ix.s'.vi.d'.  
 Tunstall. viii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Morston. vii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Elmesley. xxvii.s'.x.d'.  
 Mylstede. xxxi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Kingsdowne. xxi.s'.ob.  
 Sum. xx.l'.xvi.s'.ob.

Hundreth of  
 Mylton.

The Balywike of Borden,  
 in the Hundred of  
 Mylton.

Mylton. vii.l'.x.s'.vii.d'.ob.  
 Stokebury. xx.s'.  
 Bredgar. iii.l'.xv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Bynore. xiii.d'.  
 Borden. iii.l'.x.s'.xi.d'.  
 Sedingborne Parua. viii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Tunstall. xv.s'.viii.d'.  
 Newington. xli.s'.ix.d'.  
 Bobbing. liii.s'.v.d'.  
 Halstowe. xlii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Iwade. xxviii.s'.ix.d'.  
 Sum. xxvi.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.ob.

38

The Lathe  
 of Scray, or  
 Sherwin=  
 hope.

Hundreth of  
 Felberoughe

Cartham. Cxv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Godmersham. Cix.s'.  
 Chiltham. x.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.

Sum. xxi.l'.vii.s'.i.d'.

Bewbredg. vi.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Tremworthe. li.s'.  
Socombe. iii.l'.vi.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
Gotley. xiii.s'.ix.d'.  
Bempston. x.s'.vi.d'.  
Wilmynngton. x.s'.vii.d'.  
Deane. x.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
Shotenden. xix.s'.iii.d'.  
Hellynge. v.s'.ob.  
Eastwell. lv.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
Towne. xxxviii.s'.ix.d'.ob.  
Cockliscombe. xlvi.s'.iii.d'.  
Brompforde. xlvi.s'.ix.d'.  
Tokingham nothing, bycause  
it is in decay.  
Sum. xxvi.l'.xii.d'.ob.

The town of Osprenge. v.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'.  
The hundreth of Marden. vii.l'.vi.s'.x.d'.

Summe of this whole Lathe of  
Scray. CCCcxii.l'.xvii.s'.x.d'.ob.q.

39

The Lathe of Aylesforde.

Hundreth of Chetham.	The towne of Chetham. viii.l'.x.s'.	
Hundreth of Gillingham, and Greane.	Gillingham and Greane. xv.l'.ix.d'.ob.  Berstede. †xvi.is'.iiii.d'. Vlcombe. lix.s'. Otham. xx.s'.vi.d'. Wormesell. xxiii.s'.viii.d'. Thorneham. xli.s'.iiii.d'. Hedcorne. xiiii.s'. Charte. xxxv.s'.i.d'. Boughton Maleherbe. xviii.s'. Boughton Mouchelsey. xlvi.s'.iiii.d'. Holingborne. iii.l'.xiii.s'.iiii.d'. East Sutton. xxix.s'.iiii.d'. Frenstede. x.s'. Leneham. vi.l'.vii.s'. Harryetsham. lxiiii.s'. Otterinden. xii.s'.ii.d'. Sutton valance. xlv.s'.xi.d'.ob.q. Leedes. xlvi.s'.viii.d'. Bromefeld. iii.s'.vi.d'. Stokebery. xxxvi.s'. Langley. xv.s'.iiii.d'. Wychelynge. iii.s'.xi.d'. Aldington. xxv.s'.viii.d'. Bycknore. x.s'.iiii.d'. Sum xxxix.l'.xviii.s'.v.d'.ob.q.	†xvii.s'.iiii.d'.
Hundreth of Eythorde.		

40

The Lathe  
of Ayles=  
ford.

Hundreth of	Maydestone. xix.l'.ix.s'.ii.d'. Loose. xxxiiii.s'.iiii.d'. Lynton and Crookherst. l.s'.viii.d'. Westre. xlvi.s'.ii.d'. Stone. lxxviii.s'.ii.d'.
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Maydstone. East Farleyghe. xlv.s'.i.d'.ob.  
Detlinge. liii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Boxley. iiiii.l'.iii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Sum. xxxviii.l'.xviii.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Chalke. lix.s'.  
Hallinge. xii.s'.  
Shorne. iiiii.l'.xvi.s'.iiii.d'.  
Cowlinge. xxxix.s'.viii.d'.  
Higham. iiiii.l'.xi.s'.iiii.d'.  
Denton. xi.s'.vi.d'.  
Hundreth of Merston. viii.s'.i.d'.ob.  
Chamell. Friendsbury. iiiii.l'.xi.s'.i.d'.ob.  
Cookistone. lii.s'.ii.d'.  
Cobham. Cvi.s'.viii.d'.  
Strode. iiiii.l'.iii.s'.vii.d'.  
Clyffe. vi.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.  
Stoke. xvii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
Sum. xli.l'.iii.s'.ii.d'.ob.

The towne of  
Mallinge. iiiii.l'.ix.s'.viii.d'.

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The Lathe  
of Ayles=  
forde.

Huntington. xv.s'.  
Yaldinge. lxxvii.s'.iii.d'.  
East Peckham. lxxviii.s'.i.d'.  
Netlested. vii.s'.vi.d'.  
Watlinbury. vii.s'.ob.  
Hundreth of West Farley. vii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Twyford. Testan. iiiii.s'.vi.d'.  
Marden. viii.s'.  
Brenchesley. iiiii.s'.  
Tudeley. xvii.s'.  
Sum. x.l'.xv.s'.viii.d'.ob.

Mereworth. xviii.s'.iiii.d'.  
East Peckham. xlili.s'.vii.d'.  
Hundreth of West Peckham. xxvii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Litlefeld. Of the Baro=  
nie of Hadlow. xxiiii.s'.viii.d'.  
Sum. v.l'.xiii.s'.xi.d'.

The halfe Hundreth of Westbarnsted.  
Westbarnsted. xl.s'.i.d'.ob.

Brenchesley. lxxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Horsmondene. Cxi.s'.iii.d'.  
Hotbysbroughe. xlviiii.s'.xi.d'.  
Hundreth of Bayham. xxiiii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
Brenchesley. Lamberherst. xviii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Beanecroche. ix.s'.ii.d'.  
Taperegge. ix.s'.ii.d'.  
Sum. xiiii.l'.xiiii.s'.viii.d'.ob.

Borden. liiii.s'.ii.d'.  
Spelherst. xxx.s'.ii.d'.  
Hundreth of Stoningley in Pepingley. xxxvi.s'.ix.d'.  
Wacheling= Sheyborne Ruschall. xlii.s'.ix.d'.q.  
stone. Tudeley. xxxiii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
Asherste. ii.s'.  
Sum. ix.l'.xix.s'.viii.d'.ob.q.

42

The Lathe  
of Ayles=  
ford.

Southe. iii.l'.xiiii.s'.ii.d'.  
Hilden. iiiii.l'.v.s'.

The Lowy of Tunbrigge. Hadlowe. iiii.l'.x.s'.x.d'.  
 Tunbrigge. †xlili.l'.s'.x.d'.ob. †xlili.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 Sum. xliiii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Wrotham. Wrotham. x.l'.iii.s'.i.d'.ob.  
 Stansted. liii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Iteham. lxxv.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
 Shibborne. xxliiii.s'.x.d'.  
 Sum. xvii.l'.vi.s'.vii.d'.  
 Sum. xvii.l'.vi.s'.vii.d'.

Byrlinge. †lxv.s'.vi.d'.ob. †lx.s'.vi.d'.ob.

Pedelsworthe. xxliii.s'.ii.d'.ob.q.  
 Layborne. xvi.s'.xi.d'.  
 S. Leonarde. xvi.s'.ii.d'.ob.q.  
 Ryashe. xxvi.s'.vii.d'.ob.q.  
 Addington. xix.s'.i.d'.ob.q.  
 Offam. xliii.s'.ix.d'.  
 Trottyclyffe. xvii.s'.vii.d'.q.  
 Snotelande. liiii.s'.ix.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Larkefeld. Woldham, with  
 the Parish of xxviii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 S. Margaret.  
 Allington. x.s'.ii.d'.  
 Dytton. v.s'.vii.d'.  
 Estemallinge. vii.l'.ii.s'.ob.  
 Borham. xliiii.s'.ob.  
 Acleford. Cxv.s'.v.d'.ob.q.  
 Rugmerhyll. xx.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Horsmondene. xxliiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.q.  
 Huntington. vii.s'.ii.d'.ob.q.  
 Sum. xxxii.l'.vi.s'.iii.d'.ob.

43

The Lathe of Aylesforde.

The towne of S. Warburge. ix.l'.ii.s'.viii.d'.  
 The towne of S. Marie. iiii.l'.xliiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of All Saints. Cvi.s'.iii.d'.  
 Hundreth of Hoo. The towne of Stoke. xxliii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Halsto. lvii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
 West Peckham. xviii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Cobham. xxix.s'.vii.d'.ob.  
 Sum. xxv.l'.xii.s'.x.d'.

Hundreth of Toltingtrow. Mepeham. vi.l'.  
 Luddesdon. xl.s'.  
 Yelefeld. xlii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Gore. lxliiii.s'.vii.d'.  
 Grauesend. l.s'.vi.d'.  
 Torne. xliiii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Mylton. l.s'.vi.d'.  
 Sum. xx.l'.xii.s'.ix.d'.

Summe of this whole Lathe of Aylesford. CCC.l'.xvi.s'.xi.d'.ob.

44

The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

The towne of Rokesley. xix.s'.x.d'.  
 Bexley. vi.l'.xii.d'.  
 North Craye. xx.s'.  
 Orpington. iiii.l'.xliii.s'.x.d'.  
 Fotyscraie. xvii.s'.v.d'.  
 Chellesfeld. lxvi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Farneburghe. xlv.s'.iiii.d'.

Hundreth of Rokesley. Codeham. lxii.s'.ii.d'.  
 West Wickham. xxxvii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 S. Marie Craye. Is'.i.d'.  
 Downe. lii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Hese. xxiii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Keston. xii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Heuer and Lingell. xviii.s'.iii.d'.  
 Nokeholte. xv.s'.  
 Pollescraye. xlviii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Chesilhurst. xlv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum xxxvii.l'.ix.s'.iii.d'.

45

The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

Towne of Southfleete. iii.l'.xi.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Sutton. Cxi.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Fawkeham. xxix.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Longefeld. xxiii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Harteley. xxx.s'.vii.d'.  
 Ashe. lxxix.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Rydley. xvii.s'.  
 Kingesdowne. xli.s'.iii.d'.  
 Maplescombe. xvi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Farmingeham. v.s'.v.d'.ob.  
 Stone. lxxiii.s'.ix.d'.ob.  
 Swanescomb. lxi.s'.ob.  
 Darrent. xxxviii.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Horton. iii.l'.ix.s'.vi.ob.  
 Eynesforde. xxxvii.s'.xi.d'.  
 Lullingstone. xluiii.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Sum. xxxix.l'.x.s'.viii.d'.

Hundreth of Axston.

The towne of Shorham. lxxviii.s'.  
 Halsted. xliii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Otteford. xxii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Woodland. vii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Sundrishe. x.s'.viii.d'.  
 Seuenocke. iii.l'.xv.s'.  
 Kemsynge. xxix.s'.x.d'.  
 Seale. lix.s'.  
 Cheueninge. xxxix.s'.viii.d'.  
 Leighe. xliii.s'.  
 Spelherst. v.s'.  
 Sum. xviii.l'.xliii.s'.iiii.d'.

46

The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

The towne of <sup>†</sup>Cheuening. xvi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Spelherste. xxii.d'.  
 Coueden. ix.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Leighe. vi.s'.  
 Penseherste. v.s'.vi.d'.  
 Heuer, with the Borowe of Tnnbridge. vi.s'.  
 Sum. xlv.s'.

<sup>†</sup><Chidingstone>

Hundreth of Somerdene.

Towne of Etonbridge. xxliii.s'.  
 Westram. xli.s'.ii.d'.  
 Coueden. xii.s'.  
 Brasted vpland. xliii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum. iii.l'.x.s'.vi.d'.

Hundreth of Bromley and Beckenham.

Towne of Bromley. viii.l'.  
 Beckenham. Cxix.s'.vi.d'.  
 Sum. xliii.l'.xix.s'.vi.d'.

The towne of Brasted. xxvii.s'.v.d'.ob.

		Towne of Lewesham. x.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'. Lee. li.s'.x.d'. Ketbrooke. xxviii.s'.vii.d'. Eltham. vii.l'.xvi.s'. Chesylherst and Hundreth of †Notingham. xliii.s'.viii.d'. Blackheath. Westgrenewich. lv.s'.x.d'. Charleton. xlvi.s'.vii.d'. Wolwyche. xli.s'.x.d'. Eastgrenewiche. vii.l'.iii.s'.ii.d'. Sum. xxxviii.l'.x.s'.viii.d'.	†<Motingham>
	47		
The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.	Hundreth of Lytle and Lesnes.	Towne of Erythe. xliiii.l'.iii.s'.iii.d'. Craford. vi.l'.xvi.s'. Plumsted. vii.l'.xix.s'. Sum. xxviii.l'.xix.s'.iii.d'.	
		The towne of Dertford. xliiii.l'.iii.s'.vii.d'.  Summe of this whole Lathe of Sutton at Hone. Clxxxix.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.	
	48		
	Fraunchises.		
	Of the Duchie.		
	Of the Archebishop.		
	Of the Bishop of Roche= ster.		
	Of the Deane of Canter= bury.		
	Of Otforde.		
	Of Wye.		
	Of Ashford.		
	Of Wrotham.		
	Of Eltham.		
	Of Osprenge.		
	Knights fees in olde time, 254. and Di. whereof. 27. belonged to the Archebi= shop, eyght to the Bishop of Rochester, and the rest to the King.		
	Forrestes and Parkes.		
	South Frythe, †for Northe Frythe. 3. parkes.		†r. 'forest'
	Otforde, two.		
	Knoll.		
	Gromebridge.		
	Panthyrst, disparked.		
	Penshirst.		
	Brasted dis.		
	Henden dis.		
	Heuer dis.		
	†Bropam dis.		†r. 'Broxam'
	Wrotham dis.		
	Ightam dis.		
	Cage dis.		
	Postern dis.		
	Sutton dis.		
	Langley dis.		
	Cooling.		



Byrling.  
Cobham.  
Alington dis.  
Merewood dis.  
Grenewiche.  
Eltham. 3.  
Ashowre.  
Southparke.  
Lullingstone.  
Calehyl.  
Leedes.  
S. Augustines.  
Bedgebury.  
Westenhanger.  
Halden.  
†Haniswell.  
Hungershall.  
Lye dis.  
Folkston dis.  
Shorland.

49 <sig G>

Stonehyrst, dis.  
Stowting.  
Saltwood.  
Posting.  
At Ashford.  
Sissingherst.  
Glassenbury.  
Oxenhoth. 2. dis.

Hilles of name.

Shooters hyll  
Red hyll.  
Gads hyll.  
Cockshoot hyll.  
Shorne hyll.  
Northdownes.  
Boxley hyll.  
Boughton hyll.  
Byrling hyll.  
Ryuer hyll.  
Raynam †dowue.  
Myll hyll.  
Baram downe.  
South downes.

Ryuers.

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

Bridges at

Depeford  
Lewsham vpon Rauens.

†r. 'Hamswell'

Crayforde, vpon Cray.

Eaton bridge

Tunbridge. 5

Brantbridge

Twyford

Yalding.

Teston vpon Med=

wey.

Farley

Maydstone

Ailesford

Rochester

Shorham

Ainsford

Farningham vpon Darent.

Dartford

Chaford.

Lamberhirst.

Bewl.

Hetcorne.

Newendene.

Ashford.

Canterburie.

<50> 51

Cities.

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Tuesday, at Wrotham.

Douor.

Sandwiche.

Wednesday, at Canterbury.

Grauesend.

S. Mary Cray.

Thursday, at Maydstone.

Sandwyche.

Fryday, at Canterburie.

Rochester.

Markets,  
vpon

Tunbridge.

Rumney.

Hythe.

Douer.

Sandwyche.

Feuersham.

Saturday, at Mylton.

Asheford.

Cranebrooke.

Lenham.

Mallyng.

Sennock.

Dartford.

<51> 50

Fayres at

Ashford. 27. Iuly, being  
S. Ruffines day.

Bromley. 1. Februarie,  
being S. Bridgets day: and

the. 25. of Iuly, being Saint Iames day.

Brastede, on Thursday in Rogation weeke.

Charte the great. 25. Marche, being the Anunciation of the blessed virgine Marie.

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

Caunterbury, the tuesday in Whitsonweeke. 27. Iuly, being the seauen sleepers day. 29. Sept. being S. Michaels day: and. 29. Decem. being S. Thomas Beckets day.

Cranbrook. 29. May, being S. Coronas day: and. 24. Iune, being Midsomer day.

Chilham. 25. Iuly, being S. Iames day.

Charlton. 18. Octob. being S. Lukes day.

Clyffe. 17. September, being S. Lamberts day.

Douer. 25. Iuly, being S. Iames day. 24. August, being S. Bartilmews day: and. 11. Nouemb. being S. Martines day.

Feuersham. 14. February being S. Valentines day: and. 1. August, being Lamas day.

Folkstone. 27. Iune, being S. Crescents day.

Grauesend. 25. Ianuary, being S. Paules day: and 13. October, being S. Edwards day.

Hertesham. 24. Iune, being Midsomer day.

Hedcorne. 28. Iune, being S. Leos day.

Hide. 17. Nouemb. being S. Hughes day.

Lenham. 27. May, being S. Beedes day: and. 21. September, being S. Mathews day.

Lydde. 11. Iuly: being S. Benets day.

Maidstone. 1. May, being Phillip and Iacobs day: 9. Iune, being S. Edmundes day: 6. October, being S. Faithes day. and. 2. Feb. being the Purification, or Candlemas day.

Mereworth. 10. August,  
being S. Laurence day.

Malling. 21. September  
being S. Mathews day. 1.  
August, being Lammas  
day. 6. Nouember, being S.  
Lennards day.

S. Margarets neare Dart=  
ford. 20. Iul. being S. Mar=  
garets day.

Northfleete, the Tues=  
day in Easter weeke.

Otford. 24. August, be=  
ing S. Bartilmews day.

Pluckley. 5. Decemb. be=  
ing S. Nycholas euen.

Rochester. 19. May, being  
S. Dunstanes day: and. 30.  
Nouember being S. An=  
drews day.

Romney. 1. August, be=  
ing Lammas day.

Reculuer. 7. Septemb.  
being the Natiuitie of the  
blessed virgine Marie.

Sittingborne. 21. Sept.  
being S. Mathews day.

Strowde. 10. August, be=  
ing S. Laurences day.

Sandwiche. 23. Nouem.  
being S. Clements day.

Sandhyrst. 7. Decem. be=  
ing the euen of the Concep=  
tion.

Sennock. 6. Decemb. be=  
ing S. Nycholas day: and  
29. Iune, being S. Peters  
day.

Tunbridge, Ashwednes=  
day: 24. Iune, being Midso=  
mer day. and. 18. Octob. being  
S. Lukes day.

Tenterdene. 26. Aprill,  
being S. Cletes day.

Wye. 13. Marche, being  
S. Theodores day.

Wrotham. 23. April, be=  
ing S. Georges day.

Boroughes.

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Maydstone, and the porte  
townes.

Castels at,

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Douer, and the Castell at  
the Key.

Leedes.

Tunbridge.  
Mylton.  
Grauesend. 2.  
Quynborow.  
Cooling.  
Sandowne.

53

Dele.  
Walmer.  
Saltwood.  
Alington.  
Shorham.  
Ainsford.  
Tong.  
Layborne.  
Vpnoie.

Honourable houses, belonging  
to the Prince, at

Grenewiche.  
Eltham.  
Dartford.  
Otford.  
Knoll.  
S. Augustines.  
Douer castell.  
Dele castell.

To the Archbishop.

Canterburie.  
Wingham.  
Forde.

To the Byshop of †Rocchester.

Broomley.  
Rochester.  
Halling.

To men of honour,

Berling  
Cobham.  
Cooling.  
Penshyrst.  
Shorland.

Houses of poore people, with  
prouision of liuing, at

Grenewiche.  
Orpington.  
Lullingstone.  
Shorham.  
Sennock.  
Rochester.  
Great Chart.  
Canterburie.  
Sandwiche.  
Douer.

Houses of poore people, with=  
out prouision.

Dartford.  
Whitdiche.

Chestnut wood.

Religious houses, that some=  
time were, and their  
yearely values.

Wingham. 84. li. by yeare.

Mynster.

Wye Colledge. 93. li.

Horton Priory. 95. li.

Bilsington Priory. 81. li.

Newendene.

54

Folkstone. 41. li.

Douor Pryor. 170. li.

Meason dieu.

Hospitall there. 59. li.

Bradsoll Abbay of S. Ra=  
digundes. 98. li.

Westlangdon. 56. li.

Boxley. 204. li.

Leedes Pryory. 362. li.

Combwell. 80. li.

Feuersham. 200. li.

Aninton Pryory there.

Maydstone col. 159. li.

Shepey. 129. li.

Motenden. 60. li.

Christes Church.

S. Augustines.

s. Sepulchres. 29. li. In

S. Gregories. Can=

S. Tho. hos. 23. li. ter=

S. Iames hos. 32. li. bury.

S. Nicholas hosp.

109 li.

S. Maries without Cant.

Rochester pryorie. 486. li.

Cobham col. 28. li.

Strood. 52. li.

Malling Abbay. 218. li.

Higham pryorie.

Tunbridge pryory.

Ailesford.

Dartford. 380.

Grenewiche.

Meason dieu, at Osprenge.

Lesnes Ab.

Schooles, at

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Sandwiche.

Cranbrooke.

Great Charte.

Bydendene.

Tunbridge.

Maydstone.

Sennock. †

†add 'Wye.'

The names of suche of the  
Nobilitie, and Gentry, as  
the Heralds recorded, in

their visitation 1574. To  
the whiche I haue added  
suche as I called to mynde,  
and haue set a starre before  
each of them, that they may  
be knowne from the rest.

A.

\* Syr Christopher Allen.  
\* Asheley.  
\* Richard †Agall.  
William Acher.  
Christopher Abdy.  
Richard Austyn.  
\* Robart Alcock.  
James Austyn.

†r. 'Argall'

B.

Syr Richard Baker.  
Nicholas Barham, Serie=  
ant at the lawe.  
\* Edward Boyes.  
\* Boughton.

55

\* Iohn Barnes.  
\* Humfrey Bridges.  
\* Bonham.  
Ralfe Bosseuile.  
Robert Byng.  
Danyell Bettenham.  
Thomas Brent.  
Iohn Boys.  
Frauncis Bourne.  
Henry Brochull.  
Iohn Barham.  
\* James Barham.  
William Browne.  
Iohn Barowe.  
Nicholas Beere.  
Thomas Blechenden.  
William Bedingfeld.  
Michael Berisford.  
\* Ierome Bret.  
\* Bam.  
\* Nicholas Ballard.

C.

\* Sir William Cobham,  
Lord Cobham, and wardein  
of the fiue Portes.  
Syr Henry Crispe.  
Syr Thomas Cotton.  
\* Syr Rowland Clarke.  
\* Syr Alexander Colpeper.  
Syr Henry Cobham,  
George Catlyn.  
\* Barthram Calthrop.  
\* Chowne.  
William Cromer.  
George Clifford.  
Humfrey Clarke.  
William Clarke.

Robert Colwell.  
William Cheyney.  
William Claybrook.  
William Crispe.  
William Cayser.  
\* Iustinian Champneys.  
\* Giles Crowe.  
\* Thomas Colpeper.  
\* Cranwell.  
\* Crumpton.  
\* Carrell.  
\* Iohn Cobham.  
Cuttes.

D.

\* Syr William Damsell.  
\* Thomas Darrell.  
\* Robert Deane.  
\* Dalyson.  
Richard Deering.  
Delahay.  
Iames Dalton.  
\* George Darrel.  
Iohn Delapynd.  
Gaius Dixon.  
William Drayner.  
\* Digges.  
\* Thomas Duke.

E.

Daniell Euring.  
Vincent Engham.  
Ralfe Edolf.

56

Frauncis Eglesfield.

F.

Syr Thomas Fane.  
Thomas Fane.  
George Fogge.  
\* Henry Fane.  
Thomas Fyneux.  
Symond Fifeld.  
Thomas Farby.  
Alexander Fisher.  
Thomas Fluud.  
Robert Fylmer.  
Iohn Franklyn.  
Moyle Fynche.  
\* Thomas Fisher.  
\* Ralfe Fynche. †

†add 'Iohn French.'

G.

\* The Lady Golding.  
Syr Thomas Guldeford.  
Edmund Gay.  
George Goldwell.  
Thomas Greeke.  
William Gybs.  
Henry Gylman.  
Thomas Godden.  
\* Richard Garthe.



- \* Barnabe Gooche.
- \* Norton Greene.

H.

Syr George Howard.  
\* Syr Percevall Hart.  
Syr James Hales.  
William Hamon.  
Richard Hardes.  
Roger Herleckenden.  
\* Christopher Harflete.  
\* Honywood.  
\* John Heyton.  
Thomas Honywood.  
Henry Haddes.  
Iohn Harper.  
Martyn Herleckenden.  
\* Edward Hales.  
\* Richard Heron.  
Ralf Hayman.  
Abacuk Harman.  
Thomas Hamon.  
William Holmden.  
\* George Harte.

I.

- \* Syr Humfry †Iylbert.
- Iohn Iden.
- William Isley.
- Paul Ihonson.
- \* Martyn Iames.

†r. 'Gilbert'

K.

- Syr Thomas Kempe.
- \* Richard Knatchbull.

L.

- \* William Louelace, Ser=ieant at the Lawe.
- \* Thomas Louelace.
- Iohn Lennard.
- Richard Lone.
- Anthonie Light.
- Thomas Lewson.
- William Lewknor.
- Lee.

57 <sig H>

- \* William †Lambade.

†r. 'Lambarde'

M.

- \* Roger Manwood, Iustice of the common place.
- George Multon.
- Edward Monings.
- Iohn Moyle.
- William Midleton.
- Walter Meyny.
- Anthony Meyny.
- William Mount.
- \* Edward Martyn.
- Moore.

N.

Syr Henry Neuill, Lorde  
Aburgeuenny.  
\* Alexander Neuill.  
Valentine Norton.  
\* Thomas Neuill.  
\* Thomas Neuill.

O.

Henry Oxenden.  
Iohn Orwell.

P.

\* Thomas Potter.  
\* Payne.  
William Partridge.  
Ciriac Petit.  
Henry Petit.  
William Petit.  
William Pordage.  
Richard Parkar.  
\* James Peckam.  
\* Iohn Pet.  
\* Palmer.

R.

\* Syr Iohn Ryuers.  
\* Thomas Randall.  
Walter Roberts.  
\* Iohn Roberts.  
William Roper.  
Robert Rudstone.  
Richard Rogers.  
Robert Rychers.  
Willaim Raynes.

S.

\* Syr Henry Sidney,  
Knight of the Garter,  
Lord Deputie of Ire=  
land, and Lord Presi=  
dent of Wales.  
Syr Warham Seintleger.  
Syr Thomas Scot.  
Anthony Sandes.  
Iohn and Edw. Sibyll.  
Vincent S. Nicholas.  
Iohn Sidley.  
Christopher Samson.  
William Swanne.  
William Swanne.  
Thomas Stoughton.

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\* Charles Scot.  
\* Frauncis Sandbache.  
\* Reynold Scot.  
\* Somers.  
\* Frauncis Shakerley.  
\* William Sydney.

T.

John Tuftone.  
Thomas Tourney.  
Roger Twisden.  
Morice Tichebourne.  
John Twyne.  
Thomas Tuttesham.  
William Tyghman.  
\* James Tebolde.  
John Tebolde.  
\* Robert Thomas.  
\* Frauncis Thynn.  
\* Richard Tomeyo.

W.

Syr Thomas Walsingham. †  
Thomas Wootton.  
\* Thomas Watton.  
\* Thomas Whetenhall.  
\* Ralfe Weldon.  
\* George Wyat.  
\* Thomas Wale.  
Thomas Willoughby.  
Frauncis Wilford.  
John Wybarne.  
Richard Waller.  
John Wylkyns.  
Thomas Waren.  
William Weston.  
Dauy Wylkyns.  
Robert Walker.  
\* Edward Wyat.  
\* Robert Wyseman.

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The names of the Kentish writers,  
drawne (for the most part) out of  
the Centuries of Maister Iohn 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 Cantuariensis.  
Eadmundus Gryme.  
Radulfus Roffensis.  
Richardus Pluto.  
Richardus Douerensis.  
Sampson Durouernius.  
Radulfus Maidston.  
Geruasius Dorobernensis.

†add 'S. Walt. Waller.'

<extra leaf>

<Bale 1557–9>

Solitarius Presbyter.  
Nigellus Wireker.  
Alexander, Theologus.  
Simon Stokius.  
Ioannes Cantianus.  
Haimo de Feuersham.  
Thomas Spottus.  
Simon Mepham.  
Petrus de Ikham.  
Guilielmus Pagham.  
Ioannes Tanetos.  
Thomas Chillenden.  
Guilielmus Starnfield.  
Thomas Pontius.  
Simon de Feuersham.  
Martinus de Clyuo.  
Thomas de Stureia.  
Reginaldus Cantuariensis.  
Radulphus Strodus.  
Thinredus Douerius.  
Guilielmus Thorne.  
Richardus Maidston.  
Guilielmus Gillingham.  
Ioannes Wrotham.  
Ioannes Oldcastle, Dominus  
Cobham.  
Ioannes Langdene.  
Guilielmus Whyte.  
Guilielmus Beckley.  
Ioannes Capgraue.  
Guilielmus Stapilhart.  
Ioannes Fisher.  
Ioannes Frithe.

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Simon Fishe.  
Thomas Wiat, Senior.  
Leonardus Digs.  
Ioannes Ponetus.  
Richardus Turnerus.

Elizabetha, Re=  
gina.

Hytherto (almost altogether)  
out of Maister Bale: to  
the whiche, these may bee  
added, that haue written  
since.

Ioannes Colpeper.  
Thomas Digs.  
Thomas Harman.  
Edouardus Deering.  
Thomas Potter.  
Reginaldus Scot.  
Alexander Neuille.  
Georgius Harte.  
Guilielmus Darrel.  
Thomas Twyne.

Hitherto of Kent in particularitie, and by way of  
Table: Whereof some part is drawne out of credible  
Records: part is spoken of mine owne knowledge, and  
part is fetched from other men by information. For

the first sorte I holde my selfe sufficiently warranted: but in the other twaine, if either by want of memorie I haue not taken all, or by too muche credulitie haue mistaken any, I pray pardon for it, and desire the Reader either to correct, or supplie it, by his owne discretion and iudgement. Now a fewe wordes of the Welshe Hystorie, and then to the diuision of the Shyre and Countrie it selfe.

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A short counsell, as touching the Bryttishe hystorie.

Albeit that I am iustly occasioned (before I make myne entrie) to speake largely, for confirmation of the credite of oure Bryttishe or Welshe hystorie, (the faith wherof is by William Petite, and Polydore Virgile called into question) for as muche, as I shal be enforced to vse it as a ground worke of my whole frame and building: yet for that I mynde not in any part of this my labour, to handle with many wordes, matters in controuersie, (being otherwise sufficiently charged with things more incident to my purpose, and no lesse fit to be knowne.) And bycause also that matter hath alreadye founde more learned and diligent patrones, I will with fewe wordes passe it ouer, contenting my selfe, if I shall haue added to other mens heapes, one small prooffe or twaine, whiche by chaunce I gleaned after them, and referring suche as desire more abundant testimonies, to the reading of Iohn Leland, and Syr Iohn ap Rese, two learned men, that have plentifully written therein.

<Leland 1544>  
<Prise 1573>

Geffray of  
Monmouth

The state of the matter is this, whether Geffrey of Monmouthe be the authour of the Bryttish storie (as William Newborow, and Polydore charge him) or the translatur thereof onely out of the Bryttishe, as him selfe in his booke professeth. Whereof must needes ensue, That if the worke be his owne, it hath no more credite, then he him selfe (being the author) coulde bring vnto it: But if he did only translate that, whiche Walter the Archdeacon of Oxforde brought out of Normandie, and deliuered vnto him, Then doth not the estimation

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depende vpon Geffray, but vpon some other (whatsoeuer he were) that first wrate it.

Now, that it may appeare vnto you, that he was onely the interpreter of that whiche came out of Normandie, I will call to witnesse, Henrie the Archdeacon of Huntington, who liued in the time of king Henrie the first, and was somewhat before William Petites dayes, who (as him self confesseth) was borne in the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, about whiche time Geffray of Monmouthe was on liue also.

This Henrie (besides a learned hystorie of the realme) wrate three seuerall treatises whiche I haue seene: One intituled, 'De miraculis Angliæ.' An other, 'De serie Regum potentissimorum.' And the thirde, 'De origine Regum Bryttanorum.' In this latter, he sayth playnly. That at such time as he trauallyed towardes Rome, he founde (in an auncient Librarie of the Abbay of Bec) an olde booke, intituled likewise, 'De origine Regum Bryttanorum,' the which

beginning at the arriual of Brute, ended with the actes of Cadwalader, and agreed thoroughout (as by collation I collected) with this our Bryttishe hystorie, which I doubt whether Henrie of Huntington had euer seene. Nowe therefore, if this were an olde booke in his time, it coulde not be newe in the dayes of Petite, that succeeded him: And if the argument were written before in the Bryttish tongue, it is very probable, that he was not the first author, but only the translator thereof †in Latine. For further likelyhooode whereof, I my selfe haue an aunci= ent Bryttish, or Welshe copy, which I reserue for shew, and doe reuerence for the antiquitie, litle doubting, but that it was written before the dayes of William Petite, who, as he was the first, So vpon the matter reckon I him the onely man, that euer impugned the Bryttishe hystorie. For as touching Polydore (though he were a

Polydore.

†r. 'into'

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man singularly well learned) yet since hee was of our owne time, and no longer since, his forces must of necessity be thought to bee bent, rather against the veritie, then against the antiquitie of that writing. Wherein if he shall seeke to discredit the whole worke, for that in some partes it containeth matter, not only vnlikely, but incredible also: then shall he bothe deprivie this Nation of all manner of knowledge of their first beginning, and open the way for vs also to cal into question the origine, and antiquities of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, yea and of Italie his owne countrie: in which, that whiche Liuie reporteth of Romulus and Remus, Numa and Aegeria, is as farre remoued from all suspicion of truthe, as any thing, whatsoever that Galfride writeth, either of Brute, Merlin, or King Arthur himselfe.

Seeing therefore, that euen as corne hath his chaffe, and metall his drosse, so can there hardly any wryter of the auncient hystorie of any nation be founde out that hath not his propre vanities mixed with sincere veritie: the part of a wise Reader shalbe, not to reiect the one for doubt of the other, but rather with the fire and fan, of iudgement and discretion, to trie and sift them a sun= der. And as my purpose is for mine owne parte, to vse the commoditie thereof, so oft, as it shall like me: so my counsell shalbee, that other men will, bothe in this and other, obserue this one rule, That they neither reiect without reason, nor receiue without discretion, and iudgement.

Thus muche in my way, for assertion of the Bryttish hystorie I thought good to say once for all, to the ende that from hencefoorth (whatsoever occasion of debate shalbe offered, concerning eyther the veritie or antiqui= tie of the same) I neither trouble my selfe, nor tarrie my Reader, with any further defence, or Apologie.

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The Byshops See, and Diocesse,  
of Canterbury.

He that shal aduisedly consider the plot of this Shyre, may finde three diuerse (and those not vnfit) wayes, to deuide it: One, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent: An other, by parting it, (as Watling streate leadeth,) into North, and Southe Kent: And a third, by seuering it into the two distinct Dioceses of

The order  
of this de=  
scription.

Canterbury, and Rochester. Of these three, I haue determined to chuse the last, both bycause that kinde of diuision hath as certaine limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the moste conuenient seuerance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of iurisdiction also. And because the See of Canterbury, is not onely the more worthy of the twaine, but also the Metropolitan, and chiefe of the whole realme: I haue thought good, in the first place, to shewe the beginning and increase of that Bishopricke, and afterward to prosecute the description and hystorie of the principal parts belonging to the same.

Flamines  
turned into  
Bishops.

It is to be seene, in the Britische historie, and others, that at suche time as King Lucius (the first christened Prince of this land) had renounced the damnable darknesses of Paganisme, and embraced the glorious light of the Gospel of God, he chaunged the Archefflamines of London, Yorke, and Caerleon, into so many Archebishops: and the Flamines, of other inferiour places, into inferiour Bishops, through out his whole realme. Howbeit, this matter is not so cleare, but that it is encountered by William Petit, whiche (in the Proheme of his hystorie) affirmeth boldly, that the Britons whiche professed Christian religion within this lland, before the coming of Augustine, were contented with Bishops only, and that Augustine himselfe was the very first, that euer had the Archbishops Palle amongst vs. As touching Bishops it is euiden by Beda him self, that both before, and in

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Augustines time, Wales alone had seuen at the lest: but as for Archebishops (although for my owne opinion I thinke with William, the rather for that I suppose, that the simplicity of the Britain clergie, was not as then enamoured with the vain titles of the Romane arrogancy) yet to the end that the reader may be therby the more iustly occasioned, to make inquisition of the trueth in that point, it shall not be greatly out of his way, to send him by Siluester Giraldus, Canbrensis, a man (considering that age (excellently wel learned, and which liued about the same time with William Petit, or William of Newborow) as some call him. This man, in a book which he entituled, 'Itinerarium Walliæ,' setteth forth moste plainly the Archbishops, that in olde time were at Caerleon, their translation from thence to Saint Dauids, their transmigration from Saint Dauids ouer the Sea into Normandie, and the whole Catalogue of their succession in each of those places. But here, some man, thinking me more mindful to direct others, then careful to kepe mine own way, will hapely aske me, what pertineth it (I pray you to Canterbury, whether there haue ben Archbishops at London, Yorke, and Carleon, or no? yes (no doubt) it maketh greatly to our treatise of Canterbury: for, not onely the forenamed Britische historie, Mathew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury do shew manifestly, that Augustine by great iniury spoiled London of this dignitie of the Archbishops chaire, bestowing the same vpon Canterbury: but the Epistle of Pope Gregorie himself also, (which is to be read in the Ecclesiasticall storie of Beda) conuinceth him of manifest presumption and arrogancie, in that he sticke not to prefer his own fantasie and liking before the Pope his matters institution and commaundement. For Pope Gregory appointed two Archbishops, the one at London the other at

London spoiled  
of the  
Archebishops  
shopricke.

Yorke, whereof either should haue vnder him 12. inferiour Bishops, and wherof neither should be subiect to other:

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only for Augustines honour) hee willed, that they all should bee vnder him during his lyfe. But Augustine not so contented, both remained resident during al his life at Canterbury, and before he died consecrated Laurence Archebishop there, least, eyther by his owne death, or want of another fit man to fill the place, the chaire might happely be carried to London, as Gregorie the Pope had appointed.

Mathew of Westminster saith, that Merlin had prophesied, 'Dignitas Londoniæ adornabit Dorobriniam.' William Malmesbury writeth, that he did it, 'Sedulitate Regis hospitii;' (meaning King Ethelbert) '& charitate ciuium captus.' But I thinke verely, that he ment thereby to leaue a glorious monument of his swelling pride and vanity: wherevnto I am the rather led, by the obseruation of his stately behaiour vsed towards the Bryttish Bishops, and some other of his acts, that sauour greatly of vaine glory, ambition, and insolence. Whatsoever the cause were that moued him thus to apparell Canterbury with the Archebishop of Londons Palle, at Canterbury hath it continued euer sithence, sauing that at one time, Offa the King of Mercia (or midle England) partly of a disposition to honour his owne countrie, and partly of a iust displeasure conceaued againste Lambert (or lanbright, as some copies haue it, the thirteenth Archebishop,) for matter of treason, translated the honour of the See, eyther wholly, or partly, to Lichefield: But there it remained not long, for after the death of King Offa, †Kenulsus his successour restored Ethelard to his place at Canterbury againe.

†r. 'Kenulfus'

The increase of the Archebishops,

The whole Prouince of this Bishopricke of Canterbury, was at the firste diuided by Theodorus (the seuenthe Bishop) into fiue Diocesse only: howbeit in processe of tyme it grewe to twentie and one, besides it selfe, leauing to Yorke (which by the first institution, should haue had as many as it) but Durham,

Contention for the Primacie.

Carleil, and Chester only. And whereas by the same ordinance of Gregorie, neither of these Archebishops ought to be inferiour to other, saue only in respect of the prioritie of their consecration, Lanfranc (thinking it good reason that he should make a conquest of the Englishe Clergie, since his maister King William had vanquished the whole nation) contended at Windsore with Thomas Norman (Archebishoppe of Yorke) for the primacie, and there by iudgement before Hugo the Popes Legate recouered it from him: so that euer since, the one is called 'Totius Angliæ primas,' and the other, 'Angliæ primas,' without any further addition. Of which iudgement (one forsooth) hathe yeelded this great reason: that euen as the Kentish people, by an auncient prerogatiue of manhoode doe challenge the first fronte in eache battaile, from the inhabitants of other countries: So the Archbishop of their shyre, ought by good congruence to be preferred before the rest of the Byshops of the whole Realme. Moreouer, whereas before time, the place of this Archebishop in the generall Counsell, was to sit next to the Bishop of saint Ruffines, Anselmus (the

1072.

The Arcebishops place in the generall counsell.



1099. Successour of this Lanfranc) for recompence of the good service that hee had done, in ruffling againste Priestes wyues, and resisting the King for the inuestiture of clerkes) was by Pope Vrbane endowed with this ac= cession of honour, that hee and his successours, should from thencefoorth haue place in all generall counsels, at the Popes right foote, who then said withall, 'Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.'

And thus the Archebishops of Canterbury, by the fraude of Augustine, by the power of Lanfranc, and by the industrie of Anselme, were muche exalted: but how much that was to the greeuous displeasure, and pining

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enuie, of the Archbishops of Yorke, you shall perceiue by that whiche followeth.

Wrastling  
for the pri=  
macie.

King Henry the firste, kept (vpon a time) a stately Christmas at Windsore, where (the maner of our kings then being at certeine solemne times to weare their crownes) Thurstine of Yorke (hauing his crosse borne vp before him) offered to set the crowne vpon the kings head: But William of Canterbury withstoode it stoutly, and so preuayled by the fauoure of the king, and the helpe of the standers by, that Thurstine was not onely disappointed of his purpose, but he (and his crosse also) thrust cleane out of the doores.

1155. William of Yorke (the next in succession after Thurstine, both in the See and Quarell) perceiuing that the force of his predecessor preuayled nothing, attempted by his own humble meanes (first made to the king, and after to the Pope) to winne the coronation of king Henry the seconde, from Theobald the nexte Archbishop of Canterbury: But when he had receiued repulse in that sort of suite also, and found no way left to make auengement vpon his enemie, he returned home al wrothe, and (mixing poyson in the chalice, at his Masse) wreaked the anger vpon him selfe.

1178. After this, another hurley burley happened in a Synode, assembled at Westminster, in the time of king Henry the second, before Cardinal Hugo, (Pope Alexanders Legate) between Richard and Roger, then Archbishops of these two Sees vpon occasion, that Roger of York comming of purpose (as it should seeme) first to the assembly, had taken vp the place on the right hande of the Cardinall, which when Richard of Canterbury had espyed, he refused to sit downe in the second roome, complayning greatly of this preiudice done to his See: wher vpon, after sundry replies of speache, the weaker in dis=

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putation (after the maner of shrewd schole boyes in London streets) descended from hote words, to hastie blowes, in which encounter, the Archbishop of Canterburie (through the multitude of his meiney) obtained the better: So that he not onely plucked the other out of his place, and (trampling vpon his body with his feete) al to rent and tare his Casule, Chimer, and Rochet, but also disturbed the holy Synode therewithal, in suche wise that the Cardinall for feare, betooke him to his feete, the company departed their businesse vndone, and the Bishops themselues moued suite at Rome, for the finishing of their controuersie. By these, and such other successes, on the one side, the Bishops of Canterburie following,

tooke suche courage, that from thencefoorth, they woulde not permit the Byshops of Yorke to beare vp the crosse, either in their presence, or prouince: And on the other side, the Byshops of Yorke conceiued suche grieffe of heart, disdaine, and offence, that from time to time, they spared no occasion to attempt both the one and the other.

1268. Wherevpon, in the time of a Parleament, holden at London, in the reigne of King Henrie the third, Boniface (Archbishop of Canterbury) interdicted the Londoners, bycause they had suffered the Byshop of Yorke to beare vp his crosse whiles he was in the cite. And much to doe there was (within a few yeeres after) betweene Robert Kylwarby of Canterburie, and Walter Giffard of Yorke, bycause he of Yorke aduanced his crosse, as he passed through Kent towardses the generall Counsell.

1272. The like happened also, at two other seuerall times, betweene Friar Peckam (Archebysshop of Canterburie) and William Winkewane, and Iohn de Roma (Archbysshops of Yorke) in the dayes of King Edward the firste. At the length, the matter being yet once more set on foote

The end of the strife for the supremacye.

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†

betweene Simon Islepe (the Archebishop of this countrie) and his aduersarie (the incumbent of Yorke for that time) King Edward the third, in whose reigne that variance was reuiued, resumed the matter into his owne hande, and made a finall composition betweene them, the which he published vnder his broade seale to this effect: first, that eache of them should freely, and without impeachment of the other, beare vp his crosse in the others Prouince, but yet so, that he of Yorke and his successours for euer, in signe of subiection, should within two monethes after their inthronization, either bring, or sende, to Canterbury, the Image of an Archebishop bearing a crosse, or some other lewell wrought in fine golde, to the value of fourtie poundes, and offer it openly there vpon Sainct Thomas Becketts shryne: then, that in all Synodes of the clergie, and assemblies where the King should happen to be present, he of Canterbury should haue the right hand, and the other the lefte: finally, that in broade streetes, and highe wayes, their crossebearers should go togeather, but that in narrow lanes, and in the entries of doores and gates, the crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other followe, and come behinde.

So that (as you see) the Bishoppes of Canterbury euermore preuayling by fauour and obstinacie, they of Yorke were driuen in the end, to giue ouer in the plain field, for very dispaire, wanhope, and weerinesse.

But heare by the way, I woulde faine, for my learning, knowe of these godly Fathers, or rather (since themselues can not now make answer) of some of their vngodly faouurers, whether this their Helena, this crosse (for the bearing whereof they contended so long, and so bitterly, that a man might doubt with the Poet, 'Peccat vter Cruce dignius') whether (I say) it were exal-

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ted, as the signe of that Crosse whereon Christ triumphed ouer the Diuel, or els but for a flagge and antsigne of their owne pride, whereby they sought to triumphe and insult the one ouer the other? And againe, if it

were Christes crosse, then why they did forbid it to bee aduanced, at any time, by any person, or in any place? Or if it were but their owne, then why they did, and yet doe, commaund vs simple soules, not only with greate humilitie, but with diuine honour also, to prostrate our selues, and to adore it? I am sure they may be ashamed to affirme it to bee the one, and I thinke they wilbe ashamed to confesse it to be the other. I wil cease therfore to vrge it any further, and wil prosecute the Catalogue of the Archebishops of this See, since the arriual of Augustine. In the which, the first seuen, be of that number which Pope Gregorie sent hither out of Italie: The next twentie three, and Stigande, were Saxons: all the residue, Normanes and Englishmen. And bycause there is some variance as touching the times of their continuance and sitting, I purpose to shew (vnder one view) the opinion of two sundrie authours, so farre foorth as they haue spoken therof, that is to say, William of Malmesbury, and an auncient Chronicler of Couentrie, (whose name I haue not hytherto learned) and in the residue to follow our owne late and receaued writers.

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The beginnings of their gouernements, after the Annales of Canterbury. An. Do.	The yeres of their Continuance in go= uernment, after the opinion of Wil. Malm. Chro. Couen.
599. Augustine, whome our Louanistes call, the Englishe Apostle.	16.      16.
612. Laurence.	5.      5.
617. Mellite.	5.      5.
624. Iustus.	3.      9.
626. Honorius.	26.    20.
653. Deusdedit, or Deodat the first Saxon. Wighard, whiche dy= ed at Rome before his consecration.	10.      9.
668. Theodore a Græcian borne, and the last of those that came out of Italie.	22.      22.
691. Brightwald.	37.      38.
731. Tatwine.	3.      4.
737. Nothelinus, or Iocelin	5.      7.
741. Cuthbert the first that was buryed in Chri= steschurche, and that obtained churchyards for England.	17.      17.
759. Bregwine.	3.      3.
774. Lanbright, or Ian= bright. in his time the See was translated to Lichefield.	17.      17.

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An. Do.	Malm.	Couent.
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790. Aethelwardus, he re=		23.
covered the See to		
Canterbury againe.		
Wulfredus, or Wifred	28.	28.
830. Fegeldus, or Swithre=	three monethes.	
dus.		
831. Celnothus, or Eilno=	41.	41.
thus.		
890. Etheredus, or Ethel=	18.	18.
dredus.		
Pleimundus, one of	34.	34.
the learned men, that in=		
structed king Alfred.		
925. Athelmus.	12.	13.
947. Wulfhenius, or Wul=	13.	14.
fhelmus.		
956. Odo, or Odosegodus.	5.	20.
958. Elfsius, or Elfsinus, or		
Elsinus, whiche dyed		
before his consecra=		
tion, in his iourney		
towardses Rome, in		
reuenge (as they say)		
bicause he came in by		
Simonie, and sporned		
at the Tumbe of his		
predecessor.		
Brithelmus, was elec		
ted: but king Edgar		
relected him.		
970. Dunstanus, the fa=		26.
mous luggler.		
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An. Do.	Malm.	Couent.
989. Ethelgarus.	1.	1.
991. Siricius, by his aduice	5.	5.
King Etheldred		
gawe to the Danes a		
great summe of mo=		
ney.		
996. Alfricus.		
1004. Aelfegus, hee was	6.	6.
slaine by the Danes.		
1012. Liuingus, or Ethel=	7.	7.
stanus.		
Eilwardus.		
1020. Egelnothus.	18.	18.
1038. Eadsius, or Edsinus,	11.	11.
who for siknes commit=		
ted the charge to Siwar		
dus, the Abbat of A=		
bingdon, and after Bi=		
shoppe of Rochester		
whiche neuerthesse		
vouchesafed not to		
finde him necessaries.		
1050. Robertus Gemeti=	12.	12.
censis, the first Nor=		
man, aduanced by		
King Edward the con=		
fessor.		
1053. Stigandus, deposed	17.	17.

by the conquerour.  
 1072. Lanfrancus, in his time the Bishoppes Sees were first removed from villages, to Cities.

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An. Do. Malm. Couent.

1093. Anselmus, in his time lawe was first made to diuorce Priestes from their wiues. 16. 16.

1114. Radulphus Roffensis, surnamed Nugax. 9.

1122. Willimus de Corueil, he crowned Stephan, against his fayth giuen to Maude the Em= presse. 15.

1138. Theobaldus, he was endowed firste, with the title of Legatus Natus, by Pope Innocent the second. 23.

1162. Thomas Becket, the first Englisheman after the Conquest. 8.

Robertus, the Abbat of Bec was elected, but he refused it.

1173. Richardus, the Pryor of Douer. 9.

1183. Baldwinus, the bishop of Worcester: he dyed in the expedition, that king Richard the first made into Syria, and was before at great contention with the Monkes. 7.

Reginaldus, he dyed before

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consecration.

Malm. Couent.

1193. Hubertus. 13.

1205. Stephanus de Langton, the cause of the trouble of king Iohn. 21.

1228. Gualterus de Euesham, elected, but refused bothe by the King and Pope, for the insufficiencie of learning.

1229. Richardus Magnus. 8.

1233. Iohannes, the Subprior of Christs church, was elected after the Pope had refused one Ralph Neuell, but this Iohn resigned, in whose place Iohn

Blund was chosen, but that election also was repealed.			
1234. Edmundus de Abingdon, the one and twentie Bishop of Cant. that the Popes had canonized. He departed the realme, and died for anger of a repulse		7.	
1244. Bonifacius, vnkle to Elenor, the wife of Henrie the thirde.		26.	
1270. Willelmus de Chilenden, elected, but			
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he resigned to the Pope, who chose Kilwardby.	Malm.	Couent.	
1272. Robertus Kilwardby, Friar preacher.		6.	
1278. Iohannes Burnel, Bishop of Bathe elected, but the Pope refused him, and appoynted Friar Peckam.			
1279. Iohannes de Peckam a friar Minor, born in Sussex.		13.	
1292. Robertus de Winchelsey, a notable traitor to the King, and true seruant to the Pope.		19.	
Thomas de Cobham, elected, but refused by the Pope, he was commonly called, Bonus Clericus.			
1312. Walterus Reignold.		14.	
1328. Symon de Mepham.	5. Thus farre out of the Storie of Couentrie.		
1334. Iohannes de Stratford.		29.	
1350. Iohannes Offord, or Vfford.			
Thomas Bradwardine, he erected the Black friars in London.			
1350. Symon Islepe, he founded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford.		17.	
1367. Symon Langham.		2.	
76			
An. Do.	†Malm.	Couent.	†delete
1369. Wilhelmus Witlesey.		5.	
1375. Symon Sudbury.		6.	
1381. Wilhelmus Courtenay.		15.	
1396. Thomas Arundel attainted of treason, by Parleament, in the one and twentie yere of Richard the second.		18.	

Rogerus Walden, in the exile of Arundel: but deposed: Then made Bishop of London, and againe deposed, and dyed in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the fourth.	
1414. Henricus Chicheley, built Alsoules, and S. Iohns Colledge in Oxford, and the Colledge of Higham.	29.
1443. Iohannes Stafford.	8.
1452. Ioannes Kempe.	3.
1455. Thomas Bourchier.	33.
1486. Ioannes Moorton, buylded muche at Knol, and repayred Lambeth.	14.
Thomas Langton elected, but he dyed before consecration.	
1500. Henricus Deane, or Deny.	8.
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Willielmus Warham, builded Otforde house.	28.
Thomas Cranmer, he was burned for the trueth.	
Reginaldus Poole.	3.
Mathæus Parker.	

Thus haue you the succession of seuentie Archbishops, in the recital whereof, I doe (of purpose) spare to dispute the variance arising amongst writers, as touching the continuance, and true times of their gouernment, whiche discrepance, groweth partly, for the defaulte of the authors themselues, not obseruing the due accompte of yeares, and partly by the vnskil of suche as haue vntruly copied out their woorkes: I willingly reserue also for other places, sundrie the hystories of their liues and doinges, bothe bicause I thinke it fruitlesse, to reconcile suche manner of disagreements, and also, for that (as I saide before of the Kings) I deeme it impertinent to my purpose, to speake further of any thing, then the very place in hand, shall iustly giue me occasion.

The ordre of this description of Kent.

It followeth therefore, that according to promise, I handle suche particular places within this Diocese, as are mentioned in hystorie, in whiche treatie, I will obserue this order. First to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and Southe shores, til I come to the limits, between this Shyre, and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visite such places, as lye along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medway to Tanet again, whiche is the whole circuite of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe suche places, as lye in the body and midst of the same.

Tanet, called in Brytish, Inis Rhuo=  
chym, of the Shore Rutupi: it is named of some  
writers, in Latine (or rather Greeke) Thana=  
tos, in Saxon, *tenet*, in  
stead of *†wænet*.

†r. 'pænet'

No snakes  
in Tanet.

Iulius Solinus (in his description of  
England) saith thus of Tanet: 'Thana=  
natos nullo serpitur angue, & asportata  
inde terra angues necat.' There be no  
snakes in Tanet (saith he) and the earth  
that is brought from thence will kill  
them. But whether he wrote this of  
any sure vnderstanding that he had of the quality of the  
soyle, or onely by coniecture at the woord <Thanatos>  
which in Greeke signifieth death, or killing, I wote not,  
and much lesse dare I determine, bycause hitherto neither  
I my selfe haue heard of any Region hereabout (onely  
Ireland excepted) which beareth not both snakes and o=  
ther venomous wormes, neither am I yet persuaded,  
that this place borrowed the name out of the Greeke,  
but rather tooke it of the propre language, of this oure  
natiue countrie: For *†wænet*, in the Saxon, or olde Eng=  
glishe tongue, soundeth as muche as, moysted, or wa=  
tered, whiche deriuation, howe well it standeth with  
the situation of Tanet, being Peninsula, and watered (in  
manner) round about, I had rather without reasoning,  
referre to euery mans iudgement, then by debate of  
many woordes, eyther to trouble the reader, or to in=  
terrupt mine owne order. Leauing the name there=  
fore, I will resorte to the thing, and shewe you out  
of Beda, and others, the content and stoarie of this  
Ile.

†r. 'pænet'

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There lyeth (saith Beda, speaking of the place,  
where King Ethelbert entertained Augustine) in the  
East part of Kent, an Iland, called Tanet, con=  
teining (after the manner of the Englishe accompte)  
sixe hundred families, or Hides of land (as the Saxon  
booke of Beda hath) whiche be in deede after the opinion  
of auncient writers, plough landes: It is diuided from  
the continent, or mayne land, by the riuier called Want=  
sume, whiche is about three furlongs broade, and to bee  
passed ouer in two places onely: Hereunto if you adde  
the opinion of Polydore, the description wilbe the more  
euident. It conteyneth (saith he) about nyne myles in  
length, and not muche lesse in breadth, and it was some  
time diuorced from the continent, by a water, but nowe  
it is almoste vnited againe. Thus muche for the de=  
scription.

As touching the hystorie, you may read in Geffray of Mon=  
mouth, that after such time as the Brytons had deposed  
Vortiger their King, for that he brought in the Saxons,  
whiche beganne soone after theyr entrie to shewe  
themselues in deede, suche as they were in name,  
(not shieldes against the Pictes and Scots, but swords to  
shhead the Brittan blood) Vortimer his sonne (whome  
they placed in his seate) so streightned the Saxons in  
this Ile, (the whiche, as William of Malmesbury wri=  
teth, Vortiger had giuen them to inhabite, at their  
first Arriual) that for a colour they sent Vortiger  
to treat with him of peace, and in the meane whyle

For (Seax)  
in their lan  
guage sig=  
nifieth a  
sword, or  
axe, or hat=  
chet.



for feare, conueyed them selues into theyr Shippes,  
and Sailed homewarde againe. The same Au=  
thour reporteth, that after this, Cador, (the Duke  
of Cornewall) by commaundemente of King Ar=  
thur, chased the Saxons into Tanet, where he slewe  
Childric their leader, and receiued many of the residue

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to grace and mercy.

Howbeit the Saxons themselues, after that in pro=  
cesse of time, they had gotten the dominion ouer the Bri=  
tons, enioyed not the possession of Tanet in much better  
quiet then the Britons had done before them. For in the  
dayes of King Athulf, (the father of Alfred) the Danes  
fought in Tanet against Ealhere, (the Duke, or captain  
853. of Kent) and Huda, (the Duke of Surrey) and slaying them  
bothe ouerthrewe their powers, and possessed the Ile.  
864. After this, in the time of the same King, they sojourned  
with theyr armie a whole wynter in Tanet: and lastly  
980. (in the reigne of King Etheldred) they herried, spoyled,  
and sacked it in suche sort, that the religious persons  
were constrained to abandon the place, for I finde, that  
shortly after, King Canutus gaue the body of Mildred,  
and all the landes belonging to Mynster Abbay (that  
then was in this Ile) to the Monkes of saint Augustines  
at Canterbury.

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

The occa=  
sion of the  
building of  
Minster Ab  
bay.

596. Certain seruaunts, or officers (saith he) of Egbricht  
(the third King of Kent after Ethelbert) had done great  
iniurie to a noble woman (called Domneua, the mother  
of Saint Mildred) in recompence of whiche wrongs the  
King made an Herodian othe, and promised vpon  
his honour, to giue her whatsoever she would aske  
him.  
The woman (instructed belike by some Monkishe coun=  
selour) begged of him so muche ground to build an Ab=  
bay vpon, as a tame deere (that she nourished) would runne

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ouer at a breathe: Hereto the King had consented forth=  
with, sauing that one Tymor (a counseler of his) stan=  
ding by, blamed him of great inconsideration, for that he  
woulde vpon the vncertaine course of a Deare, departe  
to his certaine losse, with any part of so good a soyle, but  
the earth (sayth William Thorne) immediatly opened,  
and swallowed him aliue, in memorie whereof, the place  
till his time, was called Tymor sleape. Well, the King  
and this Gentlewoman proceeded in their bargaine, the  
Hynde was put foorth, and it ranne the quantitie of  
fourtie and eight ploughlands, before it returned.

And thus Domneua (by the help of the King) builded  
at Mynster (within that precinct) a Monasterie of Non=  
nes, vpon suche like discretion, (you may be sure) as  
Ramsey Abbay was pitched, euen where a Bull by  
chance scraped with his foote, and as Rome it selfe (for  
whose fauour these follies be deuised) was edified, where  
the she Woulfe gaue Romulus and Remus sucke.

For it was  
called Ro=  
ma, of Ru=  
ma, a pappe  
or dugge.

Ouer this Abbay, Mildred (of whome we spake) the

680. daughter of Meruaile, (that was sonne to Penda, King of midle England) became the Lady and Abbasse: who bicause she was of noble linage, and had gotten together seuentie women, (all whiche Theodorus the seuenth Bishop) veiled for Nonnes, she easily obteyned to be registred in our Englishe Kalender, and to be worshipped for a Saint, both at Tanet, while her body lay there, and at S. Augustines, after that it was translated: And no maruell at all, for if you will beleeeue the authour of the worke called (Noua Legenda Angliæ) your self wil easily vouchsafe her the honour.

S. Mildreds miracles.

This woman (sayth he) was so mightily defended with diuine power, that lying in a hote ouen three houres together, she suffered not of the flame: She was also endued with suche godlyke vertue, that comming out of

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Fraunce, the very stone whereon she first stepped at Ippedsflete in this Isle, receiued the impression of her foote, and retained it for euer, hauing besides this propertie, that whether so euer you remoued the same, it woulde within short time, and without helpe of mans hande, returne to the former place againe: And finally, she was so diligently garded with Gods Angel, attending vpon her, that when the diuell (finding her at prayers) had put out the candel that was before her, the Angel forthwith lighted it for her againe.

1085. And this (no doubt) was the cause, that the Religious persons of S. Augustines, and of S. Gregories at Canterbury, fell at great dissention for her, eche affirming, that after the spoyle of Tanet, her bones were remoued to their Monasterie: the one clayming by King Canutus, as we sayd before, and the other deriuing from Archebishop Lanfranc, who (as they affirmed) at the dotation of their house, bestowed vpon it (amongest other things of great price) the translated reliques of Mildred, and Edburgaes bodies.

1116. Howsoeuer that were, they bothe made marchandise of her myracles, and the Monkes of S Augustines perceiuing, that by the dissolution of the Monasterie, and the absence of the Saintes, their towne of Minster, in Tanet was falne to decay, of verie conscience, and for pities sake, by the meane of Hughe their Abbat, procured at the handes of King Henrie the first, the graunt of a Market, to be holden there, whiche I wote not whether it inioyeth to this day, or no.

lppedsflete, Thus much of the Isle and Mynster Abbay. Now a worde or two touching Ippedsflete, wherof I spake before, and of Stonor another place within the Isle, and then I will leaue Tanet, and proceede in my iourney. This Ippedsflete, is the place wher Hengist and Horsa

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473. (the Saxon captaines) came first on lande, and it is of diuers Chronicles diuersly termed, some calling it Ippedsflete, others Heoppinesflete, and others Wippedsflete, These of the last sorte write, that it tooke the name of one Wipped, (a noble man amongst the Saxons) who onely was slaine on that parte, when Aurel. Ambrose (the leader of the Britons) lost twelue of his principall chieftains in one conflict. In deede, the name soundeth, the place where Wipped, or Ipped swymmed, whiche I coulde haue agreed to be the same, that is at

this day called, Wapflete in Essex, (the rather for that Ralph Higden writeth, that the Britons neuer inuaded Kent, after the battayle at Craforde, whiche was before this ouerthrowe that I last spake of.) Howbeit since the writer of our holy Legend layeth it in Tanet, I am contented to subscribe.

Stonor.

In this Isle lyeth Stonor, sometime a hauen towne also: for in the reigne of William Rufus, there arose a suite in lawe, betweene the Londoners, and the Abbat of S Augustines (then owner of the place) as touching the right of the hauen of Stonor, wherein by the fauourable aide of the Prince, the Monkes (as Thomas Spot, their own Chronicler reporteth) preuayled, and the Citizens had the ouerthrowe. Not long after whiche time, they obtained of King Henrie the first, a fayre to be holden yerely at this towne, fiue dayes together, before and after the feast of the translation of S. Augustine.

1090.

1104.

Nowe woulde I foorthwith leade you from the Isle of Tanet, to the ruines of Richeborow, sauing that the Goodwine is before myne eye, whereof I pray you first hearken what I haue to say.

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The Goodwine, or Goodwine Sandes.

Earle Godwine and his sonnes.

There liued in the time of King Edwarde (commonly called the Confessour) a noble man, named Godwine, whose daughter Edgitha, the same King, by great instance of his nobilitie, (being otherwise of him selfe disposed to haue liued sole) tooke vnto his wife. By reason whereof, not onely this Godwine him selfe (being at the first but a Cowheards sonne, and afterward aduanced to honour by King Canutus, whose sister by fraude he obtained to wife) became of great power and authoritie within this Realme (but his sonnes also being fiue in nomber) were by the kings gyfte, aduanced to large liuelyhoodes and honourable possessions. For Goodwine was Earle of Kent, Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall: His eldest sonne Swane, had Oxfordshire, Barkeshire Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somerset: Harold, helde Essex, Norfolk, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire: Tosti, had Northumberland: And Gurte, and †Leoswine, possessed other places, &c. But as it is hard in great prosperitie to keepe due temperance, for, 'Superbia est vitium rebus solenne secundis:' So this man and his sonnes, being puffed vp with the pryde of the Kings fauour, their owne power, pollicie, and possession, contemned all other, and forgate them selues, abusing the simplicitie of the King by euill counsel, treading vnder foote the nobilitie by great disdain, and oppressing the common people by insatiable rauine, extortion, and tirannie. So that immediatly, and at once, they pulled vpon their heades, the heaue displeasure of the Prince, the immortal hatred of the noble men, and the bitter execration

1050.

†r. 'Leofwine'

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and curse of the common sort. Whereupon the king for a season banished them, the nobles neuer after liked them, and the poore people not onely railed vpon them while they liued, but also by deuised tales (as the man=

ner is) laboured to make them hatefull to all posteritie after their death. And amongst other things, touching Godwyne him selfe, they feygned, that he was choked at Winchester (or Windsore, as others say, for liers can not lightly agree) with a morsel of bread, and that this his land in Kent sonke sodainly into the Sea. Neyther were these things continued in memory, by the mouths of the vnlearned people only, but committed to writing also, by the hands and pens of Monkes, Feares, and others of the learned sort. So that in course of time, the matter was past all peradventure, and the things believed for vndoubted veritie.

But whatsoever hath bene heretofore thought of these matters, hauing now iust occasion offered mee to treat of the thing, I wil not spare, to speake that which I haue red in some credible writers, and whiche I doe thinke meete to be beleued of all indifferent readers.

1100.

The cause  
of Good=  
wyn Sandes.

Siluester Giraldus (in his Itinerarie of Wales) and many others, doe write, that about the end of the reigne of King William Rufus, (or the beginning of Henrie the first) there was a sodaine and mightie inundation of the Sea, by the which a great part of Flaunders, and of the lowe countries thereabout, was drenched, and lost, so that many of the inhabitants (being thereby expelled from their seates) came ouer into England, and made suite to the same King Henrie, for some place of dwelling within his dominion. The King pitying their calamitie, and seeing that they might bee profitable to his Realme, by instructing his people in the art of clothing, (wherein at that time they chiefly excelled,) first placed

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them about Carlile in the North cuntry, and afterward (vpon cause) remoued them to Rosse and Haurford in Wales. Now at the same tyme that this happened in Flaunders, the like harme was done in sundry places, bothe of England, and Scotland, also, (as Hector Boethius, the Scottishe hystoriographer, moste plainly writeth) affirming, that (amongst other) this place, being sometyme of the possession of the Earle Godwine, was then first violently ouerwhelmed with a light sande, wherewith it, not onely remayneth couered euer since, but is become withall (Nauium gurgis, & vorago) a most dreadfull gulfe, and shippe swalower.

This thing, as I cannot but marueil how it hath escaped the pens of our own cuntry writers (the rather for that some of them liuing about that time) haue mention of that harme in the lowe cuntry: so I sticke not to accept it for assured trueth, considering either the authority of the writer him selfe, being a diligent and learned man, or the circumstances of the thing that he hath left written, beeing in it selfe both reasonable, and likely.

And thus I might wel make an end, but because I haue already taken occasion to accuse them of forgerie, which affirme Godwine to haue bene choked at the bourde, I trust it shalbe no great offence, (though beside purpose, yet for declaration of the trueth) to rehearse shortly, what some credible storiers haue reported of that matter also. And to the end that the trueth may appeare by collation of the diuers reportes, I will first shewe what the common opinion and tale of his death is, and then afterward what these other men write concerning the same. Ealred, the Abbat of Ryuauxe, (who tooke

The death  
of Earle  
Godwyne.

paynes to pen the hystorie of the same King Edwardes whole life, and of whom all others (as I thinke) learned this tale, saith: that while the King and Godwyne

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sate at the table, accompanied with others of the Nobilitie, it chaunced the Cupbearer (as he brought wyne to the bourd) to slip with the one foote, and yet by good strength of his other legge, to recouer him self without falling, whiche thing the Earle earnestly marking, sayde pleasantly, that 'There, one brother had wel helped another:' 'mary' (quoth the King) 'so might me mine, ne haddest thou bene Earle Godwine:' casting in his dishe the murder of his brother Alfred, which was done to death at Elie by the counsell of Godwine, as hereafter in fitt place for it shall appeare. Hereat the Earle was sore moued, and thinking it more then time to make his purgation, tooke a morsell of bread into his hand, and praying (with great and vehement obtestation) that it might choke him, if he by any meanes caused the slaughter or consented thereto, he put the bread into his mouth, and was immediatly 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 vsed, and called *CorsneS*, as in the table to the Saxons lawes is to be seene. But this Ealred affirmeth that after the words spoken by the Earle, the King him selfe blessed the bread with the signe of the crosse: And therefore these men agree aswel together, as blessing and cursing be one like to another.

<1568:C4v>

But letting that and them passe, heare (I beseech you) what Alfred of Beuerley (a learned man, that liued in the time of King Henrie the first, somewhat before this Abbat Ealred) saith, touching this matter. 'Godwinus graui morbo ex improuiso percussus, ac Regi ad mensam Wyntonizæ assidens, mutus in ipsa sede declinauit, ac postea in cameram Regis a filiis deportatus, moritur. Quidam autem dicunt. &c.' Godwine being sodainly stricken with a grieuous disease, as he sate at the table with the King at Winchester, fel down

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from his stoole, and was carried by his sonnes into the Kings chamber, where he dyed: but some say that he was choked &c. And to the same effect writeth Marianus the Scot. Simeon also, the Chaunter of Durham, whiche liued about the time of this Alfred, or rather before him, treating of this matter, hath these wordes.

'Godwinus graui morbo percussus, in ipsa sede declinauit, & post horas quinque moritur.' Godwyne being taken with a grieuous disease, dropped down from the place where he sate, and dyed within fiue houres after.

Thus these men reporte another manner of his death, the one vsing no mention at all of any accursed breade, and the other reciting it but as a tale. And for the more plaine detection of the deceit of this Abbat, he that will read the second booke of William Malmes. De Regibus, shall finde, that the occasion, and introduction of this matter (I meane, the slipping of the Kings Cupbearer, and the speache that proceeded therof, namely, that 'One brother had wel helped another') is woorde for woord stollen from thence, for William (whiche liued before Ealred) reporteth, that king Ethelstane, by persuasion of one that was his cupbearer, had banished Eadwine

his owne brother, for suspicion of treason, and had committed him to the Seas and windes in an olde, shaken, and fraile vessel, without saile, oare, or companion, (saue one Esquier only,) in whiche exile he perished, and that afterward the King (vnderstanding his brothers innocencie, and sorowing his owne rashnesse) tooke occasion by sight of his cupbearers foote slipping, to be auenged of the false accusation, euen as it is here tolde of King Edward. But Ealred, forsoothe, was so fully disposed to magnifie King Edward (bycause he so muche magnified the Monkishe and single life) that he stuck not at greater matters then this, affirming boldely that the same

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The visions of Edward the confessor.

King while he hearde Masse at Westminster, sawe betweene the Priestes handes, Christe blessing him with his fingers: That at another Masse he sawe the seuen sleepers at Ephesus, turne them selues on the one side, after they had sleapt seuentie yeares together on the other, (which, seeing it was within fiue yeares of so many as Epimenides sleapt,) Ealred (in my phansie) is worthy to haue the seconde game at the whetstone.) Furthermore, that S. Iohn Baptist sent to King Edward, a Ring of Golde from Ierusalem, whiche he him selfe had sometime before giuen to a poore man, that asked almes of him in the name of S. Iohn: And suche other matters of like credite, whiche bothe for the vanitie of the things them selues, being meete to haue place in Philopseudes of Lucian, and for the desire that I haue to keepe order, I will pretermit, and re=turne to my purpose.

Epimenedes did slepe. 75 yeares.

i. Loue, Ly, or game for the whetstone.

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Richeborowe in Latine, Vrbs Rutupina: in Saxon (*Reptachester*) the name being forged (as I coniecture) either of the Bryttishe woord (Rwyd) whiche signifieth a net, in token that it stode by fishing: or of (Rwydd) which signifieth speede, bycause from thence (as some thinke) is the moste shorte and speedy cutte ouer the Seas.

Mathew (the Monke of Westminster, and Authour of the worke called, Flores Hystoriarum) taketh the place whiche Beda, Ptolome, and others call Rutupi, to be Sandwiche, and therefore he applieth to the one whatsoever he findeth of the other: but bicause Iohn Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the Realme) affirmeth in his worke whiche hee intituled (Syllabus in Genethliacon Eaduerdi) Rutupi to haue been, where Richeborowe now is (to whiche opinion I rather incline) I thinke good to giue them seuerall titles, and to speake of Richeborowe by it selfe, leauing to fit place (for Sandwiche also) suche matter, as of right belongeth therevnto.

The whole shoare of Kent therefore, that lyeth ouer against Dunkircke, Calaice, and Boloigne, is of Cæsar, Iuuenal, Lucan, Ptolome, Antoninus, and others, called Rutupiaë, or Rutupinum littus, and that place of England whiche Beda taketh to be nearest to the Morines (a people of Gallia Belgica, whiche at this day compre=

<Leland 1543>

hendeth, Picardie, Boloigne, Artoys, and some parte of the lowe countries) is of Iohn Leland interpreted to be Richeborowe, not paste halfe a myle distant from Sandwiche toward the East. The same man also,

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Richeborow, was sometime a Citie.

persuaded partly by the viewe of the place it selfe, and partly by the authoritie of one Gotcelinus, supposeth, that Richeborow was of auncient time, a Citie of some price, and that it had within it a Palaice, where King Ethelbert receiued Augustine. As for the title of a Citie, I doubt not but that if the ruines of the auncient walles yet extant, or the remenants of the Romane coyne often found there, did not at all inforce the likelyhoode, yet the authoritie of Beda alone (which calleth it plainly a citie) would suffice: But whether it were the Palaice of King Ethelbert, when he entertained Augustine, he that shall aduisedly read the first Chapter of Beda his first boke of the Ecclesiastical storie, shall haue iust cause to doubt, for asmuch, as he sheweth manifestly, that the King came from his Palaice in the Continent (out of Thanet) to Augustine: and Leland himselfe confesseth, that Richeborow was then within Thanet, although that since that time, the water hath changed his course, and shut it cleane out of the Island.

Sandwiche, is not Rutupi.

Now, where some men (as I said) haue taken it to bee Sandwiche, I take them to bee greatly deceaued.

For Richeborowe (being corruptly so sounded, for Reptsborowe) hath remayning in it, the very rootes (as I may speake it) of Reptchester: And Reptchester (saith Beda) and Rutupi Portus, are all one: So then (Chester) being tourned to (Borow) (whiche be in deede two wordes, but yet in manner of one signification and effect) Rept, and Riche, haue some affinitie the one with the other, but neyther Riche, Repta, nor Rutupi, can haue with Sandwiche any manner of similitude. Thus muche of the name, and antiquitie of this poore Towne, whiche was in tyme of the olde Brytons, of great price, and the common Port or

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place of arriual out of Fraunce, whereof we finde no other note in latter hystorie, either because the same was long since (before the comming of the Saxons) neglected, when as the Romanes had lost their interest within this Realme: Or else, for that soone after their arriual it decayed, by reason that the water chaunged his course, and lefte it dry: So that nowe most aptly, that may be sayde of this towne, neare to the Isle Thanet, whiche Virgil some time wrate of Tened it selfe.

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

A wealthy land, while Priams state, and kingdome  
vpright stoade,  
But nowe a bay, and harbour bad, for ships to lye at  
roade.

But nowe I will make towarde Sandwiche, the first of the Portes (as my iourney lyeth) and by the way speake somewhat of the Fiue Portes, in generall.

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The Cinque Portes.

The anti=  
quitie of  
the Portes.

I finde in the booke of the general suruey of the realme, which William the Conquerour caused to be made in the fourth yere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, bycause (as Mathew Parise saieth) it spared no man (but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil doe) that Douer, Sandwiche, and Rumney, were in the time of King Edward the confessour, discharged almoste of all maner of impositions and burdens (whiche other towns dyd beare,) in consideration of suche seruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their speciall titles shall hereafter appeare: wherevpon, although I might ground by reasonable coniecture, that the immunity of the hauen Townes (which we nowe cal by a certaine number, the Cinque Portes) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as muche as I read in the Chartre of King Edward, the first after the conquest (whiche is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the grauntes of sundrie Kinges to the Fiue Portes, the same reaching no higher, then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefites, seeing those whiche were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stooode) to like better of his confirmation or second gift, then of King Edwardes first graunt and endowment. And to the end that I may proceede in some manner of array, I will first shew, which Townes were (at the beginning) taken for the Fiue Portes, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they

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ought, and did in times passed, and lastly what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue been gouerned.

Whiche be  
the Fiue  
Portes.

If I should iudge by the commune, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I might say, that Douer, Sandwiche, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, 'Frigmare ventus') be the Fiue Portes: Againe if I should bee ruled by the Rolle whiche reciteth the Ports, that send Barons to the Parlement, I muste then adde to these, Hastings, and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons, as wel as the other: and so should I not onely, not shewe whiche were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase bothe the number, and doubtfulnes. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour, and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flye to Henrie Bracton, a man bothe auncient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder King Henrie the third, and wrote (about three hundreth yeares since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

1250.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustices in Eire, (or Itinerant, as wee called them, bycause they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth foorth a speciall fourme of writtes, to bee directed seuerally to the Baylifes of Hastings, Hithe,



Citizens were called Barons, in olde time.

Rumney, Douer, and Sandwiche, commaunding them, that they should cause twentie and foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or Townesmen, and the Citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent, as they accustomed to doe, there to enquire of suche pointes, as should bee giuen them in charge.

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Contention, betweene Yarmouth, and the fiue Portes.

Whiche done, he addeth moreouer, that for so muche as there was oftentimes contention betweene them of the Fiue Portes, and the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolk, and Donwiche in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writtes directed to them also, retournable before the same Iustices at the same day and place: reciting, that where the King had by his former writtes sommoned the Plees of the Fiue Ports to be holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes, had cause to complaine of any (beeing within the liberties of the saide Portes) he should be at Shipwey to propounde against him, and there to receaue according to lawe and iustice.

Thus muche I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before King Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue Portes, partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long since was betweene these Portes, and those other townes: But purposely and chiefly to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwiche, were in Bractons time, accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Portes, whiche were endowed with priuiledge.

1268.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rye might be added to the number. For I finde in an olde recorde, that King Henrie the third tooke into his owne handes (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rye, whiche belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therfore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucester shyre, and diuers other landes in Lincolne shyre: This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens, the intelligence of the secrete affairs of his Realme, and partly bycause of a great disobedience

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and excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winchelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest Sonne. And therefore, although, I can easely be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue Portes, yet I stand doubtfull whether he made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had been a preferment, and no punishment: but I suspect rather, that his Sonne King Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the now Towne builded) was the first that appareiled them wyth that preeminence.

Winchelsey first builded.

1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwiche, were the first Ports of priuiledge, which (bycause they were Fiue in nombre) bothe at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Portes, although not onely Winchelsey and Rye, be since that time, incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also

(for the ease of their charge) be crept in as partes, lims, and members of the same. Now therefore, somewhat shalbe saide, as touching the seruices that these Portes of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: wherof the one (I meane with what numbere of vessels, in what manner of furniture, and for howe long season, they ought to waite on the King at the Sea, vpon theyr owne charges) shall partly appeare by that whiche wee shall presently say, and partly by that whiche shall follow in Sandwiche, and Rumney: The other shalbe made manifest by examples, drawn out of good hystories: and bothe shalbe testified by the woordes of King Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer wyth 20. vessels at the Sea, whereof eache to be

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furnished with one and twentie men, for fifteene dayes together: and sayth further, that Rumney and Sandwiche answered the like seruice: But nowe whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, bothe in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine, For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwiche, and the residue, should likewise find twentie vessels a peece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Portes were subiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side, if they were only chargeable after their proportion, then know I not howe far to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I finde it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome prooffe: And firste I will haue recourse to King Edward the firste his Chartre, in which I read, that 'At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Portes ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed soldiers) and to mainteine them at their own costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.'

And thus it stode with the Portes for their generall charge, in the sixte yeare of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed: But as touching the particular burthen of eche one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of whiche the first is a note in Frenche (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renewed in the two and twentie yeare of the Reigne of the same King, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in whiche the particular charge is set downe in this manner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.

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The lowie of Peuensey, one.

Buluerhithe and Petit lahn, one.

Bekisborne in Kent, seuen.

Grenche in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.

The towne of Rye, fiue.

To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the tyme of King Henrie the sixt.

The towne of Winchelsey, ten.

The Port of Rumney, foure.

Lydde, seuen.

The Porte of Hythe, fiue.

The Port of Douer, nineteene.

The towne of Folkstone, seuen.

The towne of Feuersham, seuen.

The Port of Sandwiche, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale,  
&c. fiue.

These Ships they ought to finde vpon fourtie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in eche of them twentie men, besides the Maister † of the Mariners: all whiche they shall likewise mayne teine fiue dayes together at their owne costes, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable vi. pence, and to eache other Mariner iii. d'. And after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall defray the wages.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the whiche although it pretend not so great antiquitie as the first, yet seemeth it to me to importe as muche, or more likelyhode and credit: It standeth, thus.

These be the Fiue Portes of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Portes haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Hethe, Douer, Sandwiche, the chiefe Townes.

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The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shal finde. 21. ships, in euery ship. 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boye, whiche is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rye, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grengre, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal. 5. ships, In euery ship. 21. men, and a Garcion:

To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe. 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westheth.

Douer. 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and Sainct Margerets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattails.

Sandwich. 5. ships, as Romenal, and Hethe before. To it perteine Fordwiche, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soyle, but for the goods.

Summe of the Ships. 57.

Summe of the men. 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Portes do acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yearely (if it happen) by the space of. 15. dayes together, at their owne costes and charges, accounting that for the first day of the. 15. in whiche they shall spread their sayles to goe towards those partes that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after. 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay, and wages.

Thus muche out of these auncient notes, whereby your self may easely discern the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre to them that be priuie and of counsell with the Ports:

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and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the waye, wherein I am entred.

This dutie of attendance therefore (being deuised for

The good  
seruice of  
the. 5. ports.

the honourable transportation, and salfe conduct of the Kings owne person ouer the narrow Seas, the Portes haue not onely most diligently euer since that time per=formed, but furthermore also, valiantly behaued them selues, against the enemie from time to time, in sundry exploits by water, as occasion hath ben proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

1217.

Muris ligne=  
is querendam  
salutem.

And amongst other feates not vnworthy perpetu= all remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the French Dolphen) had entered the Realme to ayde Stephan Langton the Archebishop, and the Nobilitie in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into Fraunce for newe supply of souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then Captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themisto=cles, in the exposition of the Oracle of the wooden wallles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fourtie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high Seas, gaue them a most courageous encounter, in whiche he tooke some, sounke others, and discomfited the rest.

1278.

King Henrie the thirde also, after that he came to ri=per age, had great benefite by the seruice of the Cinque Portes: And King Edward the first in his Chartre, ma=keth their continuall faythfull seruice, (and especially their good endeouour, then lately shewed againste the Welshmen) the principall cause and motiue of that his liberal graunt.

1293.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same King, a hundreth sayle of the Nauie of the Ports, fought at the Sea with a fleete of. 200. Frenchmen, all whiche (notwithstanding the great ods of the number)

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1406.

they tooke, and slewe, and sounke so many of the Mary=ners, that Fraunce was thereby (for a long season after) in manner destitute, both of Seamen and shipping.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of King Henrie the fourth, the Nauie of the Fiue Portes, vnder the conducte of one Henrie Paye, surprysed one hundreth and twentie Frenche Ships, all laden with Salte, Iron, Oyle, and no worse Merchandize.

The priui=  
ledges of  
the 5. Ports.

The priuiledges of these Portes, being first graunted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conque=rour, and then confirmed and increased by William Ru=fus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henry the third and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitaunts haue by reason of the same.

For they sende Burgesses to the Parleament, whiche by an honourable name be called Barons: They beare the foure staues of the Canapie ouer the Kings head at the time of his coronation, and they dyne at the vppermost table in the great hall, on his right hand: They them=selues be exempted from all payments of subsidie: And theyr Heires freed from wardship of body, notwithstan=ding any tenure. They bee empleadable in their owne Townes also, and not elsewhere: They haue amongst themselues in eache Porte, their particular place of iu=stice, and at Shipwey the general courte of their assem=blie, where the Lord Warden taketh his othe at his first entrie into the office, and where they ought (of right) to holde all their generall Plees also, although they sit now for the moste part at Douer: They haue power

(if iustice be not done them) to take the inhabitaunts of other Townes and Cities in Withernam: to gouerne Yarmouth: by their Baylife for one season of the yeare, to doe iustice vpon criminall offendours: To holde

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Plee in Actions reall and personall, to take Conusance by fine, to enfranchise villaines: and sondrie other things, whiche bycause they be to long to be rehearsed at large, and lye not fitly in the way of my purpose, I will omit, and descend to the Wardeins of the Portes, reciting in a short Catalogue, the names of so many of them, as I haue found to gouern, sithence the arriual of King William the Conquerour. And although it be no doubt, but that the Portes were vnder the gouernement of some, before the tyme of the conquest also, yet bycause King William was the first (so farre as I haue read) that made the office perpetuall, and gaue it the title whiche it now beareth (the name Wardein I meane, whiche came from Normandie and was not at all known to the Saxons) I thinke best to begin at his time. Againe, for asmuche as the Constablership of the Castle of Douer, and this office, haue ben alwayes inseparably matched together, and for that I shal haue fitt place to speake of that hereafter, when I shall come to Douer, I will respite the rehearsall of bothe their originall til then: and here (in the meane season) set down the race of the Wardeins by name only.

The names  
of the War  
deins of the  
Fiue Portes

John Fynes, created by William the Conquerour, Wardein of the Portes, and Constable of Douer, by gifte of inheritance.

James Fines, his Sonne, whiche dyed at Folkston.

John Fynes his Sonne.

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

Allen Fynes, restored by King Henrie the second.

James Fynes, his Eldest Sonne.

Mathew Clere (as it should seeme by Mat. Par. and William Petite) who imprisoned Godfrey, the Archbysshop of

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Yorke in Douer castle, as vnder that title shal appeare.

William of Wrotham.

Hubert of Burgh, the Earle of Kent, who being deposed Bartram of Cryol succeeded.

Richard Gray, appointed by the Barons, that warred against King Henrie the third, who 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.

Henrie Braybrooke.

Edward the first, in the lyfe of his father, who made Henrie Cobham his deputie, whose Sonne and Heire (called Iohn) founded Cobham College.

Roger Leyborne, in the tyme of King Edward the first.

Stephan Penchester, in the tyme of Edward the first.

Syr Robert Asheton.

Hugh Spenser, the younger, in the tyme of Edward the second.

Edmund of Woodstock, the Earle of Kent.

Reginald Cobham, in the time of Edward the third.

Bartholmew Burwhasse, or Burgehersh, one of the first

companions of the ordre of the Garter.  
 Iohn Beauchampe, the Earle of Warwike.  
 Syr Robert Herle, in the latter ende of King Edward  
 the third.  
 Edmund the Earle of Cambridge.  
 Syr Simon †Barley, whome Thomas of Woodstocke  
 beheaded.  
 Lord Henrie Cobham, the Sonne of Reginald Cobham.  
 Syr Iohn Enros.  
 Syr Thomas Beaumont.  
 Edward, the Duke of Aumarle and Yorke, whom King  
 Henrie the fourth remoued, and substituted in place  
 Syr Thomas Erpingham, for a season, but afterward,  
 he gaue the office to.

†r. 'Burley'

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Prince †Edward his Sonne, who when he was King in  
 possession, bestowed it vpon  
 Humfrey, the Duke of Gloucester.  
 Iames Fines, Lord Saye, whom Iacke Cade beheaded.  
 Edmond, the Duke of Somerset.  
 Humfrey, the Duke of Buckingham.  
 Simon Mountford, vnder King Henrie the sixt.  
 Richard Neuell, the Earle of Warwike.  
 William, the Earle of Arundel.  
 Richard, the Duke of Gloucester, called afterward  
 King Richard the third.  
 Sir William Scotte.  
 Henrie the Duke of Yorke.  
 Iames Fines, the Lord Saye.  
 Henrie in his Fathers lyfe, afterward the eight King of  
 that name.  
 Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, Bastard Sonne to  
 King Edward the fourth.  
 Sir Edward Poynings.  
 Henrie, the younge Earle of Richemond.  
 Sir Edward Guldeford.  
 George Boleyn, Vicount Rocheford.  
 Sir Thomas Cheynie, Treasurour of the houshold.  
 Sir Wiliam Cobham, Lord Cobham.

Thus much of the v. Portes, in general. Now of Sand=  
 wiche, the first of them in the order of my iourney, and  
 then orderly of so many of the residue, as lye within the  
 Shyre that I haue presently in hand.

105 <sig O>

Sandwiche is called in Latine, Sabu=  
 louicum, or Portus Rutupinus, in Saxon SonSwic,  
 that is to say, the Sandie Towne, because the coast ther=  
 about aboundeth withe Sande.

This Towne (as it appeareth by  
 the report of Leland, and as it  
 may seeme also by the name it  
 selfe, being meere Saxon) began  
 by the Saxons, after the fall of  
 poore Richeborowe, which was  
 in price while the honour of the  
 Britons stood vpright, and was  
 eyther abated by the furie of  
 the Saxons, when they wonne that coast from them,  
 or els came to ruine, by the alteration and vicissitude of  
 the Sea, whiche peradventure choked the hauen there=

of with light sande, as it hathe since that time done this at Sandwiche also.

Reliques of great price.

King Canutus gaue (as some write) to Christes church in Canterbury, Sainct Bartholmews arme (if happely it were not a chaungeling: for Kings and great men were oftentimes after that sort deluded, though they in the meane time bought such reliques dearely, and thought that kinde of gifte moste princely) he gaue also a riche Pall, a Crowne of Golde, and this hauen of Sandwiche, together with the royaltie of the water on eache side, so farre as (a shippe being on flote at the full Sea) a man might caste a shorte hatchet out of the vessell vnto the Banke.

The aunci-ent estate of Sandwiche.

The place it selfe grewe in tyme to be wel peopled, and of worthynesse to be one of those Portes, that found fauour of priuilege, in consideration of their seruice

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1064.

at the Sea, for it appeareth by the booke of Domesday, that this was the estate of Sandwiche. It laye in a hundreth belonging to it selfe, it did to the King suche like seruice by tenure, as Douer did: It was of the possessions of Christes Church, as I haue shewed, and was appointed for the apparell of the Monkes of that house, to the whiche it yealded fourtie thousand herrings besides certaine money, and had in it three hundreth and seuen houses inhabited: And I finde not, but that the Towne continued in the like plight, long after the Conquest, (being somewhat amended also by the Staple, whiche King Edward the first for a season remoued thither) euen vntil the time of King Henrie the sixt, in whose dayes Peter Brice (the Steward of Normandie) landed at Sandwiche, and with fire and sworde, wasted the Towne in manner to ashes, and slewe the inhabitants almoste to the last man. Since whiche time, partly by the smarte of that wounde, but chiefly by the abundance of the light Sande (wherewith the Sea hath glutted the hauen) it is declined to great decay, and were like to fall to extreme ruine, were it not that nowe presently it is somewhat relieued by the repaire of suche, as haue abandoned their Countrie for the freedome of their consciences, whose aboade how long it will bee, the Lorde onely knoweth, for whose cause they suffer banishment.

Sandwiche spoyled, & brent.

The schole at Sandwiche.

There was in this Towne, before the generall suppression, a house of Carmelites, whereof I read none other good thing, saue that it brought foorth one learned man, called William Becley, in the reigne of King Henrie the sixt. But nowe lately (to repaire the losse of that dissolution) Maister Roger Manwoode, a man borne in the Towne, and aduanced by vertue and good learning to the degree of a Serieant at the Lawe, hathe

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for the increase of Godlinesse and good letters, erected and endowed a faire Free Schoole there, from whence there is hope, that the common wealth shall reape more profite after a fewe yeares: then it receaued commoditie by the Carmelites, since the time of their first foundation. This only is that whiche I had to say, either of the present, or passed estate of this place: whiche done, I will proceede to the narration of suche other thinges, as long since happened thereaboutes, partly for

the illustration of the antiquitie of the towne, and partly for the setting forth of the commoditie of the hauen, but chiefly for the obseruation of the order whiche I haue beegonne: whiche is, to pretermite nothing (woorthie note) that I finde in stoarie, concerning the place that I take in hand. But bycause that whiche I haue to say, dependeth altogether, (or for the greater parte) vpon the Hystorie of the Danes, whiche many yeares together disquieted this land, it shal bee fitte, as well for the better explication of the thinges presently in hand, as also for the more easie vnderstanding of other matters, that must hereafter followe, to disclose (so compendiously as I may) the first beginning, proceeding, and ending, of the Danishe affaires, warres, and troubles within this Realme.

787.

The whole hystorie of the Danishe doings in England.

Aboute the yeare after Christe, seuen hundreth foure score and seuen, three vessels of the Northe East Countrie men (whose ancestors had before, within the compasse of one hundreth and fourtie yeares, sacked Rome in Italie foure seuerall times, and whose ofspring afterward wonne Normandie from the Frenche King) shewed them selues vpon the westerne shoare of England, being sent before hand (as it is supposed) to espie the commoditie of the hauens, the aduantage of arriual, the wealthe and force of the inhabitants, and to the end to

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prepare the way for greater powers, †then were appointed to followe.

†r. 'that were appointed'

These had no sooner set some of their men on lande, but the Reeue, or officer †or Beorhtricke, or Brictricke (then King of the West Saxons) had knowledge therof: who came vnto them, and demanding the cause of their arriual) would haue carried them to the Kings presence, but they in their resistance slewe him, wherevpon the people of the Countrie adioyning, addressed themselves to reuenge, and assembling in great numbers, beate them backe to their ships, not without the losse of some of their company.

†<of>

And this was the first attempt, that euer the Danes (for so our hystories cal by one general name, the Danes Norwais, Gottes, Vandals, and others of that part) made vpon England: after whiche tyme, what horrible inuasions, miseries, calamities, and oppressions followed, shall appeare anone.

795.

Not long after this enterprise, a fewe ships of them, made the lyke assay in Scotland, and within short space after that also, some other of them entred Tynemouth Hauen in the North parte of England, and taking some small booties, retourned to their vessels.

Now by this experiment, they had gained sufficient knowledge of that, for whiche they first came, and therefore thinking it fit tyme to assay further, they rigged vp a greater numbere of ships, armed more store of chosen souldiers, entred the Riuier of Thamise with fiue and thirtie sayle, landed in despight of the people, fired, spoiled, herried, and preuailed so farre, that Egbert (who then had the Monarchie ouer all England) was faine to come with all his power to the reliefe and rescue.

833.

But suche was the will of God (for the punishement of Idolatrie and superstition, which then ouerwhelmed

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The conti=  
nuance of  
the Danes  
in England

this Realme) that the Danes in stead of being discomfi=  
ted by the Kings repaire, were merueilously encoura=  
ged by his misfortune. For, after that they had once  
gotten the better in the field against him, they were so  
embouldened therby, that notwithstanding he after=  
ward, and some other valiant Princes following, by  
great prowesse, abated their furie in parte, yet, adioy=  
ning themselues to the Britons (that then were in great  
†emnitie with the Saxons) and swarming hither out of  
their owne Countrie in such flightes, that the number  
of the slaine was continually supplied with greate ad=  
uantage, they neuer ceased to infeste the Realme, by  
the space of three hundreth yeares and more, during the  
reignes of fiteene seuerall Kings, till at the last, they  
had made Etheldred flye ouer into Normandie, and leaue  
them his Kingdome. During all whiche time, howe  
mightely their forces increased vnder Hinguar, Hubba,  
Halfden, Guthrum, †Aulaf and Hasten, (their Nauie be=  
ing rysen from three ships, to three hundreth and fiftie  
at the least) howe pitiously the East, West, Southe, and  
Northe parts of the Realme were wasted (the townes,  
Cities, religious houses, and Monasteries of eache quar=  
ter being consumed with flames) howe miserably the  
common people were †afflicted, (men, women, and chil=  
dren on all sides going to wracke, by their tempestuous  
furie) howe marueilously the Kings were amased, (the  
arriualles of these their enemies, being no lesse sudaine,  
then violent) howe barbarously the monuments of good  
learning were defaced, (the same suffering more by the  
immanitie of this one brutishe Nation, then by all the  
warres and conquestes of the Pictes, and Scots, Romanes,  
and Saxons) and finally, how furiously fire, and sword,  
famine and pestilence, raged in euery place, God and  
men, Heauen and the elements conspiring (as it were)

†r. 'Anlaf'

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the fatall destruction of the Realme, I may not here  
stand to prosecute particularly: but (leauing eache thing  
to fitte place) I will proceede with King Etheldred, and  
so to my purpose.

This man aboue all other, was so distressed by their  
continual inuasions, that since he wanted force to make  
his longer defence, he thought it best to giue money for  
their continuall peace. And therefore charging his  
people with importable tributes, he first gaue them, at  
fiue seuerall payes, 113000. l'. and afterward promised them  
48000. yearely: hoping that (for asmuch as they seemed  
by the manner of their warre, rather to seeke his coyne,  
then his kingdome, to rob, then to rule) at the least this  
way to haue satisfied their hunger: but like as the stone  
called, †Syphinius, the more it is moisted, the harder it  
waxeth: so no giftes could quenche the golden thirste of  
these greedie raueners, but the more was brought to ap  
pease them, the more stonie, and inexorable they shewed  
themselues, neuer ceassing (euen against promises, othes,  
and hostages) to execute their accustomed crueltie.

†r. 'Syphnius'

The Danes,  
all slaine in  
one night.

Herevpon King Etheldred, hauing nowe exhausted the  
whole treasure of his Realme, and therefore more vna=  
ble, then euer he was, either by power, or praier, to help  
himself, or to relieue his subiectes, determined by a fine  
policie (as he thought) to deliuer bothe the one and the  
other. For whiche purpose, by the aduise of one Huna,  
(the generall of his armie) he wrote letters to eache

1012. part of the Realme, commaunding, that vpon S. Brices  
Saint Mar= day (which is the morowe after Saint Martins night)  
tins drunken the Englishe men should all at once set vpon the Danes,  
feast. before they had disgested the surfaite of that drunken  
solemnitie, and so vtterly kylly and destroy them. This  
his commaundement was receaued with suche liking,  
entertained with such secreacie, and executed with such

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speede and celeritie, that the Danes were sodainly, and in  
a manner wholly, bothe men, women, and children (like  
the Sonnes in Lawe of Danaus) oppressed at once in a  
night: only a fewe escaped by Sea into Denmarke, and  
there made complaint of King Etheldreds boucherie.

1013. For reuenge whereof, Sweyn their King, both armed  
Sweyn the his owne people, and waged forreigne aide, and so (prepa=  
Dane. ring a houghe armie) tooke shipping, and arriued, first  
here at Sandwiche, and after in the Northe Countrie:  
the terrour of whose comming was suche, that it cau=  
sed the Countrie people on all sides, to submitte them  
selues vnto him, in so muche, that King Etheldred, see=  
ing the cause desperate, and him selfe destitute, fled ouer

1014. into Normandie with his wife, and children, friendes, and  
familie: After whiche his departure, although both he  
him selfe returned, and put Canutus (the next King of  
the Danes) to flight: and Edmund his Sonne also fought  
sundrie great battailes with him, yet the Danes preuai=  
led so mightely vpon them, that three of them in successi=  
on, (that is to say, Canutus, Haroldus, and Hardicanu=  
tus) reigned Kings here in England almoste by the space  
of thirtie yeares together: so muche to the infamous op=  
pression, slauery, and thraldome of the English Nation,  
that euerie Dane was (for feare) called Lord Dane, and  
had at his commaundement, wheresoeuer he became,  
bothe man and wyfe, and whatsoeuer else he found in  
the house. At the lengthe, God, taking pitie vpon the  
people, tooke sodainly away King Hardicanute: after

1042. whose death, the Nobilitie, and Commons of the Realme,  
ioyned so firmly, and faithfully, both hartes and hands,  
with their naturall and Liege Lord, King Edward: that  
the Danes were once againe (and for euer) expulsed  
this Countrie, in so much that soone after, the name (Lord

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Dane) being before tyme a woord of great awe and ho=  
nour, grewe to a terme, and bywoord of foule despight  
and reproche, being tourned (as it yet continueth) to  
Lourdaine: besides, that euer after, the common people  
in ioye of that deliuerance, haue celebrated the annuall  
day of Hardicanutus deathe, with open pastime in the  
streates, calling it, euen till this oure time, Hoctues=  
day, in steade, (as I thinke) of *hucxtuesSæg*, that is to  
say, the skorning, or mocking Tuesday.

Hoctues=  
day.

And nowe thus muche summarily being saide, as con=  
cerning the trueth of the Danes being here, who ruled  
in this land almoste thirtie yeares, and raged (without  
all rule) aboute three hundreth and fiftie: I will returne  
to Sandwiche, disclosing therein suche occurments of the  
Danishe doings, as pertaine to my purpose.

851. In the yeare eight hundreth, fiftie, and one, after  
Christ, Athelstane the Sonne of Ethelwulfe, and King of  
Kent (whome Mathewe of Westminster taketh, or ra=  
ther mistaketh, for a Bishop) fought at the Sea before

Sandwiche, against a great Nauie of the Danes, of  
1006.      which he tooke nine vessels, and discomfited the residue.

Prousion  
of armour.  
1014.      Against another Fleete of the Danes which landed  
at Sandwiche in the yeare one thousand and sixe, King  
Etheldred made this prouision: that euerie three hun=  
dred and ten Hydes of Land (whiche Henrie Hunting=  
don, Mathewe Parise, and others, expound to be so ma=  
ny plowlands) should be charged with the furniture of  
one ship, and euery eight Hydes should finde one iacke  
and sallet, for the defence of the Realme: By whiche  
meane, he made redy a mighty nauie to the Sea: But  
what through the iniurie of sudaine tempest, and what  
by the defection of some of his Nobilitie, he profited no=  
thing. King Canutus also, after that he had receaued †the  
the woorse in a fight in Lincolne shyre, †whiche drewe to

†r. 'withdrewe'

113 <sig P>

his ships, that laye in the hauen at Sandwiche, and there  
moste barbarously behaued himselve, cutting of the  
handes and feete of suche as he had taken for hostage,  
and so departed al wrothe, and melancholike, into Den=  
marke, to repaire his armie.

The same man, at his returne hither tooke land, with  
his power at this towne: and so did Hardicanutus, his  
sonne after him.

1060.      Furthermore, in the dayes of King Edward the con=  
fessour, two Princes, (or rather principall Pirates) of  
the Danes, called Lochen, and Irlinge, landed at Sand=  
wiche, and laded their ships with riche spoyle, where=  
with they crossed ouer the seas to Flaunders, and there  
made money of it. At this place landed Lewes the French  
Dolphine, that ayded the Englishe Nobilitie against  
King Iohn, as we shall hereafter haue cause to shewe  
more at large.

Finally, in the reigne of King Richard the seconde,  
certeine Frenche ships were taken at the Sea, whereof  
some were fraught with the frame of a timber Castle  
(suche another, I suppose, as William the Conquerour  
erected at Hastings, so soone as he was arriued) whiche  
they also ment to haue planted in some place of this  
Realme, for our anoyauce: but they failed of their pur=  
pose, for the Engyne being taken from them,  
it was set vp at this Towne, and  
vsed to our great safe=  
tie, and their  
repulse.

114

Eastrye.

Hauing somewhat to say of Eastrye,  
I trust it shalbe no great offence, to  
turne oure eye a little from the  
shoare and talke of it, in our way to  
Deale.

It is the name of a Towne, and  
Hundred within the Last of Saint  
Augustines, and hath the addition of East, for difference  
sake, from Westrye (commonly called Rye) nere to Win=  
chelsey in Sussex. Mathewe of Westminster maketh  
report of a murther done at it, which because it tendeth  
much to the declaration of the auncient estate of the town,  
659.      I will not sticke to rehearse so shortly as I can. After

654.  
A Courtlie  
Sycophant.

the deathe of Ercombert, the seuenth King of Kent, Egbert his Sonne succeeded in the kingdome, who caused to be vertuously brought vp in his Palaice (which was then at this Towne) two young Noble men of his own kinred, (as some say,) or rather his owne Brethren, (as William of Malmesbury writethe) the one being called Ethelbert, and the other Etheldred: these Gentlemen so prospered in good learning, courtlike manners, and feates of actiuitie meete for men of their yeares and parentage, that on the one side, they gaue to all wel disposed persons, and louers of vertue great expectation, that they would become at the length men worthie of much estimation and honour: and on the other side, they drewe vpon them, the feare, mislyking, and vtter hatred, of the naughtie, wicked, and malicious sort. Of the whiche number there was one of the Kings owne houshold, called Thunner, who (as vertue neuer wanteth her enuiers) of a certaine diuelishe malice, repyning at their laudable increase, neuer ceassed to blowe into the Kings eare, moste vntrue accusations against them: And to the end

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that he might the rather prouoke the King to displeasure, he persuaded him of great daunger toward his estate and person by them: and for as muche as the common people (who more commonly worship the Sunne rising, then going downe) had them in great admiration and reuerence, hee desired the King, that either he would send them out of the Realme, or be contented to winke at the matter if any of his friends, for the loue of him, and suertie of his estate, should procure to dispatche them.

The King, somewhat prouoked by feare of his owne peril, (though nothing desirous of their destruction) euen as a litle water throwen into the fire increaseth the flame, so by a colde denial, gaue courage to the attempt: and therefore, Thunner espying fitte time, slewe the children, and buried their bodies in the Kings Halle, vnder the clothe of his estate. But it was not long, but there appeared in the house, a bright shining piller, replenishing eache corner with suche terrible and fearefull light, that the seruauntes shrieked at the sight thereof, and by their noyse awaked the King: who, as soone as hee sawe it, was touched with the conscience of the murther, wherevnto he had a litle 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 trueth, he became moste sorowfull, and penitent therfore, charging himselfe with the whole crime of their deathes, for that it lay wholly in him to haue saued their liues: Then sent he for Deodat, the Archebishop, and desired to vnderstand by him, what was best to be done for expiation of the fault: this good father (thinking to haue procured some gaine to his Church, by veneration of the dead bodies, if happely he might haue gotten them thither) persuaded the King to incoffen them, and to

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A right popishe miracle.

commit them to honourable buriall in Christeschurche at Canterbury: but (saith mine Author) when the hearse was readie, it would not be moued by any force toward that Church: as truly (I thinke) as 'the crosse of Waltham with twelue Oxen and so many Kyne, could not be stirred any other way, but toward the place appoin-

ted: or as the Image of Berecinthia, which the Romanes had brought out of Asia, could not be remoued till the Vestal virgin Claudia had set to her hand.'

Hereupon the companie assayed to conuey it to Saint Augustines, but that all in vaine also: at the last, they agreed to leade it to the Monasterie of Watrine, and then (forsoothe) it passed as lightly (saith he) as if nothing at all had beene within it. The obsequies there honourably performed, the King gaue the place where this vision appeared to his sister Ermenburga, who (hauing a long=ing desire to become a veiled Nonne) had a litle before abandoned her housbands bed, and chusing out seuentie other women for her companie, erected there a Monas=terie, to the name, and honour, of these two murdered Brethren. William of Malmesbury addeth moreouer, that the King gaue the whole Isle of Thanet also to his Mother, to appease the wrathe that she had conceaued for the losse of her Chil=dren.

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Dele. Dela in Latine, after Leland:

I coniecture that it tooke the name of the Saxon word *pille*, which is a (plaine floor) or leuel, by reason that it lyeth flat and leuel to the Sea.

The Chronicles of Douer (as Leland reporteth, for I neuer sawe them) haue mencion, that Iulius Cæsar being repulsed from Douer, arriued at this place, and arraied his armie at Baramdowne: whiche thing how well it may stand with Cæsars owne reporte in his commentaries, I had rather leaue to others to decide, then take vpon me to dispute: being well contented where certentie is not euident, to allowe of coniectures, not altogether vehement.

1536.

King Hen=rie the 8. fortifieth his Realme.

Only of this I am well assured, that King Henrie the eight, hauing shaken of the intollerable yoke of the Popishe tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended, for the diuorce of Queene Katherine his wife, and that the Frenche King had coupled the Dolphine his Sonne to the Popes Niece, and married his daughter to the King of Scots, so that he might more iustly suspect them all, then safely trust any one: determined by the aide of God to stand vpon his owne gardes and defence, and therefore with all speede, and without sparing any cost, he builded Castles, platfourmes, and blockehouses, in all needefull places of the Realme: And amongest other, fearing least the ease, and aduantage of descending on land at this part, should giue occasion and hardinesse to the enemies to inuade him, he erected (neare together) three fortifications, whiche might at all

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tymes keepe and beate the landing place, that is to say, Sandowne, Dele, and Wamere. This whole matter of Dele, Iohn Leland in Cygnea cantione, comprehendeth feately in these two verses.

Sandowne & Walmere.

lactat Dela nouas celebris arces,  
Notus Cæsareis locus Trophæis.

Renowmed Dele doth vaunt it selfe,  
with Turrets newly raisd:  
For monuments of Cæsars hoste,  
A place in stoarie praisd.

But what make I so long at Dele, since Douer (the  
impregnable Porte, and place so muche renouued for  
antiquitie) is not many myles of? I will haste me  
thither therefore, and in the sight thereof  
vnfolde the singularities of  
the place.

119

Douer, called †iu Latine, †Dorus, Du=  
rus, Doueria, Dubris, and Dorubernia: In Saxon  
Sofra. All whiche names be deriued either of the Brit=  
tische word (Dufir) whiche signifieth water, or of  
the word (Dufirha) whiche betokeneth highe, or steepe: for the si=  
tuation of the place, (beeing a highe rocke, han=  
ging ouer the water) might iustly giue occasion  
to name it after either.

†r. 'Doris'

The treatise of this place, shall consist  
of three speciall members, that is to  
say, the Towne, the Castle, and the  
Religious buildings. The Towne,  
was long since somewhat estimable,  
howbeit that whiche it had (as I  
thinke) was both at the first deriued  
from the other two, and euer since also continually con=  
serued by them: But whether I hitte, or misse in that con=  
iecture, certaine it is, by the testimonie of the recorde in  
the Exchequer, commonly called Domesday booke, that  
the Towne of Douer was of abilitie in the time of King  
Edward the Confessour, to arme yerely 20. vessels to  
the Sea by the space of 15. dayes together, eache vessell  
hauing therein. 21. able men. For in consideration  
thereof, the same King graunted to the inhabitants of  
Douer, not onely freedome from payment of Tholl, and  
other priuileges throughout the Realme, but also par=  
doned them all manner of suite and seruice, to any his  
Courts whatsoever. The Towne it selfe was neuer=  
thelesse (at those dayes) vnder the protection and gouer=  
nance of Godwine, the Earle of Kent: for I read, that it  
chaunced Eustace, the Earle of Bolloine, (who had married  
Goda, the Kings sister) to come ouer the seas into England,

1051.

The towne  
of Douer.

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of a desire that he had to visite the King his Brother, and  
that whiles his herbeneger demeaned him selfe vnwise=  
ly in taking vp his lodgings at Douer, he fel at variance  
with the Townesmen, and slewe one of them: But  
'Nocuit temeraria virtus.' For that thing so offended the  
rest of the inhabitants, that immediatly they ranne to  
weapon, and killing eighteene of the Earles seruautes,  
they compelled him and all his meiny to take their  
feete, and to seeke redresse at the Kings handes.

Godwine  
resisteth  
the King.

The King hearing the complaint, ment to make cor=  
rection of the fault, but the Townesmen also had com=  
plained themselues to Godwine, who determining vn=  
advisedly to defend his clients and seruautes, opposed  
himselfe violently against the King his Leige Lord and  
Maister. To bee short the matter waxed (within a  
while) so hote betweene them, that either side for main=

tenance of their cause, arraied and conducted a great armie into the field. Godwine demaunded of the King, that Eustace might be deliuered vnto him, the King commaunded Godwine (that armes laide aside) hee would answere his disobedience by order of the Lawe: and in the ende, Godwine was banished the Realme by the sentence of the King and Nobilitie, wherevpon hee and his Sonnes fled ouer the Sea, and neuer ceassed to vnquiet the King, and spoyle his subiects, til they were reconciled to his fauour, and restored to their auncient estate and dignitie.

1295. This towne, was so sore wasted with fire, soone after the comming in of King William the Conquerour, that it was wholly (saue onely nine and twentie dwelling houses) consumed, and brought to ashes. And in the time of King Edward the first also, whiles two of the Popes Cardinales were here in the treatie of an antonement, to be made betweene England and Fraunce

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the Frenchemen landed at Douer in a night, and burned a great part of the towne, and some of the religious buildings. So that in those times, it was muche empayred by those misfortunes. But nowe in our memorie, what by decay of the hauen (whiche King Henrie the eight, to his great charge, but that all in vayne, sought to restore) and what by the ouerthrowe of the religious houses, and losse of Calaiice, it is brought in manner to miserable nakednesse and decaye: whiche thing were the lesse to be pitied, if it were not accompanied with the ruine of the Castell it selfe, the decay whereof, is so much the more grieuous, as the fame therof is with our ancient stories (aboue al other) most blasing and glorious. The Castell of Douer (sayth Lidgate and Rosse) was firste builded by Iulius Cæsar the Romane Emperour, in memorie of whome, they of the Castell kept till this day, certeine vessels of olde wine, and salte, whiche they affirme to be the remayne of suche prouision as he brought into it. As touching the whiche (if they be natural, and not sophisticate) I suppose them more likely to haue beene of that store, whiche Hubert de Burghe layde in there, of whome I shall haue cause to say more hereafter: But as concerning the building, bycause I finde not in Cæsar his owne Commentaries, mention of any fortification that he made within the Realme: I thinke that the more credible reporte, whiche ascribeth the foundation to Aruiragus (a King of the Britons) of whome Iuuenal the Poet hath mention, saying to the Emperour Nero, in this wise,

Douer Castell.

<stories>

†r. 'keepe'

Iuuenal in the ende of his. 4. Satyre.

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

Some King thou shalt a captaine take,  
or else from Bryttish wayne  
Shall Aruiragus tumble downe.

†r. 'Captiue'

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And of whome others write, that he founde suche fauour in the eye of Claudius the Emperour, that he obtained his daughter to wife. But whosoeuer were the authour of this Castell, Mathewe Parise writeth, that it was accounted in his time (which was vnder the reigne of King Henry the third) 'Clauis, & Repagulum, to=

tius Regni,' the very locke and key of the whole Realme of England. And truly it seemeth to me, by that which I haue read of King William the Conquerour, that he also thought no lesse of it: For at suche time as Harold, being in Normandie with him (whether of purpose, or against his will, I leaue as I finde it, at large) made a corporall othe, to put him in possession of the Crowne, after the death of King Edward: It was one parcell of his othe, that he should deliuer vnto him this castell, and the Well within it. The same King had no soner ouerthrowne Harolde in the felde, and reduced the Londoners to obedience, but forthwith he marched with his armie toward Douer, as to a place of greatest importance, and <sup>†</sup>spede in that iourney, as is already declared.

<sup>†</sup>r. 'sped'

1067. Not long after whiche time also (when he had in his owne opinion) peaceably established the gouernment of this Realme, and was departed ouer into Normandie, of purpose to commit the order of that countrie to Robert his sonne, diuers of the shyre of Kent, knowing right well, howe muche it might annoy him to lose Douer, conspired with Eustace, the Earle of Boloine, for the recouerie and surprise of the same. And for the better atchieuing of their desire, it was agreed, that the Earle should crosse the seas, in a night by them appointed, at whiche time they woulde not faile with all their force to meete him, and so (ioyning handes) soudainly assaile and enter it. They met accordingly, and marched

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by darke night toward the Castell, well furnished with scaling ladders, but by reason that the watch had discovered them, they not only fayled of that whiche they intended, but also fell into that whiche they neuer feared: for the Souldiours within the Castell (to whome Odo the Bishop of <sup>†</sup>Borieux, and Hughe Mountfort, which then were with the King in Normandie, had committed the charge thereof) kept them selues close, and suffered the assaylants to approche the wall, and then, whiles they disorderly attempted to scale it, they set wide open their gates, and made a soudaine salie out of the peece, and set vpon them with suche furie, that they compelled Eustace with a fewe others, to returne to his Shippe, the reste of his companie, beeing eyther slayne by the sworde, destroyed by fall from the Clyffe, or deuoured by the Sea.

Odo, the Earle of Kent.

The same King also, beeing worthely offended with the disobedience, auarice, and ambition of Odo (his bastarde brother, whome he had promoted to the Bishopricke of <sup>†</sup>Borieux, and to the Earldome of Kent,) for that he had not onely by rauine and extortion, raked together greate masses of Golde and treasure, whiche he caused to be grounde into fine powder, and (filling therewith dyuers pottes and crockes) had sunk them in the bottomes of Riuers, intending therewithall to haue purchased the Papacie of Rome: But also bycause he refused to render vnto him the Countie of Kent, and was suspected for aspiring to the Crowne of this Realme, consulted with Lanfranc (the Archebishop of Canterburie, and a professed enemy to Odo) howe hee might (safely and without offence to the Ecclesiasticall estate, for that hee was a Bishoppe) bothe conteyne that treasure within

<sup>†</sup>r. 'Baieux'



the Realme, and also deteyne hys person from

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going into Italie, whether warde he bothe addressed him selfe with all speede, and gathered for his trayne, great troupes of valiaunt, and seruiceable men out of euerie quarter: Lanfranc counseled the King, to commit him to safe custodie, and for his defence armed him with this pretie shift: 'If it be layde to your charge' (quoth he) 'that you haue layde violent handes vpon a sacred Bishop, Say, that you imprisoned, not the Bishop of †Borieux, but the Earle of Kent.' The King liked well the conceit, and causing Odo to be apprehended, caste him into prison, whence he was not deliuered, during al the time of his reigne. That done, he made diligent inquisition for the hourdes of golde, and by feare of torture, caused the Bishops seruants to bewray the whole treasure.

†r. 'Baieux'

Fynes, the first Constable of Douer Castell, and the beginning of Castlegard.

Then also tooke he new order for the gouernement of this Shyre, and bycause he was persuaded, that nothing within the same was of more importance, then Douer Castell, he seised it into his handes, forthwith fortified it, and chose out a noble man, called Iohn Fynes, (of whose prowesse and fidelitie he had made good tryal) and committing vnto him, not only the custodie thereof, but the gouernment of the rest of the Portes also, by gift of inheritance, he named him Constable of Douer, and Wardein of the Cinque Portes. And to the end that he shoulde be of sufficient abilitie to beare the charge of the defence thereof, he gaue him to the number of sixe and fiftie Knightes fees of lande and possession, willing him, to communicate some partes of that gift, to suche other valiaunt and trustie persons, as he should best like of, for the more sure conseruation of that his most noble and precious peece.

He accordingly called vnto him eight other worthie knightes, and imparting liberally vnto them, of that whiche he had receiued of the King, bounde them by te=

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nure of their lande receiued of the King, to mainteine one hundreth and twelue souldiours amongst them: whiche number he so diuided by monethes of the yeare, that fise and twentie were continually to watche and warde within the Castell, for their seuerall stintes of time: and all the rest ready at commaundement, vpon whatsoever necessitie.

The names of these eight were, William of Albrance, Fulbert of Douer, William Arsicke, Galfride Peuerell, William Maynemouth, Robert Porthe, Robert Creuer (called in the Latine Records, 'De crepito corde,' that is, Crackt harte: And Adam Fitz Williams. Eche of al whiche, had their seuerall charges, in sundry towres, turrets, and bulworks of the castel, and were contented of their owne dispence, to mainteine and repaire the same, in token wherof, diuers of them beare the names and titles of these newe chosen Captaines, euen till this our present time. And thus Douer being dispatched of a busie Bishop, fenced by the Kings appointment, furnished, fraught, and planted with a moste faithfull Constable, vigilant Captaines, and diligent warders, gained and retained the opinion and name of a most important, commodious, and necessarie peece, not only with the natiue Princes and Nobilitie of our owne Realme,

But also with suche foreigne Potentates, as had warre and contention with vs: in so muche as in sundry troubles ensuing, at sundry times afterwarde within this Realme, it did plainely appeare, that this Castell was the chiefe marke, whereat eche man directed his shot.

Estimation of Douer Castell.

For King Stephan, in the contention that arose betweene him and Maude the Empresse, for the title of the Crowne, thought that no one thing stode him more in hande, then to get the possession of Douer Castell, and therefore he neuer ceased to sollicite Walkelm (that then

1137.

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had the custodie thereof) till he had obteyned it.

1217.

Lewes also, the French Dolphine, which by the instigation of the Pope, and the inuitating of the Nobilitie, inuaded King Iohn, (vpon such cause as shall hereafter appeare) hauing gained, partly by tenure, and partly by surrender of the Barons, that were of his faction, almost all the Castels and Holdes, lying on the Southe parte of the Realme, coulde not yet thinke him selfe assured, onlesse he had Douer also. For his Father Philipe, hearing that he had the possession of sundry other strong places, and that he wanted Douer, Swore by Sainct Iames arme, (whiche was his accustomed othe) that he had not gathered one foote in Englande: and therefore, he made thither with all his power, and besieged it streightly:

†r. 'terror'

Hubert of Brough, a noble captaine.

But that noble Captaine Hubert of Borroughe, (of whome I lately spake) whiche was in his time, Constable of the Castell, Wardein of the Portes, Earle of Kent, and chiefe Iustice of all Englande, defended it with suche couragious constancie, that it was bothe a comforte to the Englishe subiecte, and a wonder to the Frencheemie to beholde it: in so muche, as I can not worthely impute the deliuerie of this Realme, from the perill of forreigne seruitude (wherein it then stode) to any one thing so muche, as to the magnanimitie of this man. Of whome also (by the waye)

1263.

I thinke good to tell you this, that in his time of Constablership at Douer, and by his meanes, the seruice of Castlegarde there, whiche had contained (as I shewed before) from the time of William the Conquerour, was with the assent of King Henrie the thyrde, conuerted into a payment of money, the lande being charged with tenne shillings for euery Warder, that it was bounde to finde, and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice, and at

†r. 'continued'

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tendance for euer: At whiche time also, he caused the same King to release by his free Chartre, the custome of Forrage due to this Castell, and that done, him selfe instituted newe lawes amongst the watchemen, and increased the number of the Warders. But nowe to my purpose againe.

Simon, the Earle of Leycester, and leader of the Barons warre againste King Henrie the thirde, euen at the first wrested the Castell of Douer, out of the Kings possession, and keeping the same during all his life, vsed to sende thither (as vnto a place of most assurance) all suche as he had taken prysoners.

After his ouerthrowe, Edward (then Prince, and afterwarde the first King of that name) assayed it with all speede, and (by the ayde of the prisoners within,

1266. whiche had taken the great towre to his vse) obtained it: There lefte he prisoned, Guy the sonne of this Simon, but he escaped sone after, by corruption of his keepers.

To make an ende, the Nobilitie of that time were fully persuaded, that bothe the safetie and daunger of the whole Realme, consisted in this one Castell: And therefore (saythe Mathewe Parise) at suche time as King Henrie the thirde, called ouer from beyonde the Seas his owne brother, Richarde (then King of the Romanes) the Noble men (who had him in some lealouzie) would not agree, that he, or any of his, should once enter within this Castell. Not without good cause therefore, hath Douer by greate preeminence, beene reported the chiefe of the Fiue Portes, assigned by lawes of Parleament, as a speciall place for passage and exchange, and by auncient tenure acknowledged for Lady and Maistresse of many Manors: To it alwayes some man of great apparaunce is appoynted

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as Captaine and gouvernour. To it sundry <sup>†</sup>Gentlemen of the Shyre, paye yet money for the auncient duetie of their attendance and seruice: And to it finally, the countrey men in all times of trouble, haue an especiall eye and regarde.

Reparation of Douer Castell.

As concerning the mayntenaunce of this Castell in fortification, and building, I finde not muche more in storie, then I haue already opened, whiche happeneth the rather (as I thinke) for that many priuate persons within the Shyre of Kent, were of long time, not onely bounde by their tenures of Castle garde, to be ready in person for the defence, but also stode charged in purse, with the reparation of the same. Onely I reade in Iohn Rosse, that King Edwarde the fourth, to his great expence, (whiche others reckon to haue beene ten thousand poundes) amended it throughout: Hauing therefore none other memorable thing touching the Castell it self, I will leaue it, and passe to the Religious houses.

S. Martines in Douer.

Lucius the first christened King of the Britons, builded a Churche within Douer Castell, to the name and seruice of Christe, endowing it with the tolle or custome of the hauen there. And <sup>†</sup>Eabaldus (the sonne of Ethelbert, the firste christened King of the Saxons) erected a College within the walles of the same, whiche Wyghtrud (a successour of his) remoued into the towne, stored with two and twentie Chanons, and dedicated it to the name of S. Martine: This house, was afterward new builded by King Henrie the seconde (or rather by William Corbeil, the Archebishop in his time,) stuffed by Theobalde his successour with Benedicte Monkes, and called the Pryorie of S. Martines, though commonly afterward, it obtained the name of <sup>†</sup>a newe worke at Douer. Betweene this house and Christes Churche in Canterbury (to the whiche King Henrie the seconde had

725.

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Contention betweene the Religious persons for trifles.

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1234.

giuen it) there arose (as it chaunced vsually amongst houses of Religion) muche contention, for certaine superiorities of iurisdiction, and for voice and suffrage in the election of the Archebishop. For on the one side, the Pryor and Couent of Douer, claymed to haue interest in the choice of the Archebishop, whiche the Pryor of

<sup>†</sup>r. 'the'

Christes Church would not agree vnto: And on the other side, the Pryor of Christes Church pretended to haue such a soueraintie ouer S. Martines, that he would not onely visite the house, but also admit Monkes and Nouices at his pleasure, whiche the other coulde not beare: So that they fell to suing, prouoking, and brawling (the ordinarie and onely meanes, by which Monkes vsed to trie their controuersies) and ceased not appealing, and pleading at Rome, tyll they had bothe wearyed them selues, and wasted their money. Howbeit, as it commonly falleth out, that where respect of money and reward guydeth the iudgement and sentence, there the mightie preuaile, and the poore goe to wracke: So the Monkes of Canterbury, hauing to giue more, and the Pope and his ministers being ready to take al, poore Douer was oppressed, and their Pryor in the ende constrained to submission. And here, bycause I am false into mention of controuersie betweene ecclesiastical persons, of whiche sorte our hystories haue plentie, I will touche in fewe wordes, the euill intreatie that William Longchampe, the iolly Bishop of Elye, and Chaunceller of al England, vsed toward Godfrey the Kings brother, and Bishop of Yorke electe, within this Pryorie.

Longchamp  
the lustie bi  
shop of Ely.

King Richard the first, being persuaded by the Pope and his Clergie, to make an expedition for the recouerie of the holy lande, partely for the performauce of that whiche the King his father had purposed to doe in person, and partly for satisfaction of his owne vowe, (which

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he made when he tooke the crosse, as they called it, vpon him) set to <sup>†</sup>port sayle his Kingly rights, iurisdictions, and prerogatiues, his <sup>†</sup>crowne, landes, fermes, customes, and offices, and whatsoever he had beside, to rayse money withall: and so committing the whole gouernement of his Realme, to William the Bishop of Ely his Chancellour, he committed him selfe, and his company to the winde and Seas.

<sup>†</sup>r. 'portsale'  
<sup>†</sup>r. 'Crownelandes'

This Prelate, hauing nowe by the Kings commission the power of a Viceroy, and besides, the Popes gifte, the authoritie of a Legate and Vicar, and consequently, the exercise of both the swordes, so ruled and reigned, ouer the Clergie and Laitie in the kings absence, that the one sort founde him more then a Pope, the other felt him more then a King, and they bothe endured him an intollerable Tyrant: for he not onely ouer ruled the Nobilitie, and outfaced the Clergie, spoyling bothe the one and the other, of their liuings and promotions, for maintenaunce of his owne ryot, pompe, and excesse: But also oppressed the common people, deuouring and consuming wheresoeuer he became, the victuall of the countrey, with the troupes and traines of men and horses (being in number a thousand or fifteene hundreth) that continually followed him. Amongst other his practises, hauing gotten into his handes, the reuenues of the Archebishopricke of Yorke (whereof Godfrey, the Kings brother was then elected Bishop, and busie at Rome for to obtaine his consecration) and fearing that by his returne, he might be defrauded of so sweete a morsell, he first laboured earnestly to hinder him in his suite at Rome, and when he sawe no successe of that attempt, he determined to make him sure, when soeuer he should returne home. And for that purpose, he

tooke order with one Clere, (then Sheriffe of Kent, and

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Constable of the castel of Douer, to whom he had giuen his sister in marriage) that he should haue a diligent eye to his arriuell, and that so soone as the Archebishop did set foote on lande, he shoulde strip him of all his ornaments, and commit him to safe custodie within the Castell. Whiche thing was done accordingly: for the Archebishop was no sooner arriued, and entered the Church, to offer to Saint Martine, sacrifice for his safe passage (as the Gentiles that escaped shipwracke, were wont to doe to Neptune:) But Clere and his compaignie came in vpon him, and doing the Chancellours commaundement, violently haled him and his Chaplaines to prison.

Hereat Iohn (then the Kings brother, but afterward King) taking iust offence, and adioyning to him for reuenge, the vttermost aide of the Bishops and Barons, his friendes and alies, raised a great power, and in short time so †strengthened the Chancellour, that he not only agreed to release Godfrey, but was fayne him selfe also (abandoning his late pompe and glorie) to get him to Douer, and lye with his brother Clere, as a poore, priuate, and despoyled person.

†r. 'straightned'

Howbeit, not thus able to endure long, the note of infamie and confusion, whereinto he was falne, he determined within him selfe to make an escape, and by shift of the place, to shroud his shame, in some corner beyond the Seas: And therefore, shaueing his face, and attyring him selfe like a woman, he tooke a peece of linnen vnder his arme, and a yard in his hand, minding by that disguising, to haue taken vessell amongst other passingers vnknown, and so to haue gotten ouer: But he was not at the first, in al his authoritie, more vnlike a good man, then he was now in this poore apparel vnlike an honest woman:

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and therefore being at the verie first discovered, he was by certaine rude fellowes openly vncased, well boxed about the eares, and sent to the nexte lustice, who conueyed hym to Iohn his great enimie. And thus was all the gaye glorie of this gallant brought to shame and confusion, his Pecoockes feathers pulled, his black feete bewraied, his fraude vnfolded, his might abated, and him selfe in the ende suffered to sayle ouer with sorowe and ignominie. Besides this Pryorie of S. Martines, (which was valued at a hundreth fourscore and eight poundes by yeare) there was lately in Douer also an Hospitall, rated at fiftie nyne poundes: An other house of the same sorte, called Domus Dei, (or Maison Dieu) reputed worth one hundreth and twentie poundes: And long since a house of Templers (as they call it) the which (together with al other of the same kind throughout the Realme) was suppressed in the reigne of King Edward the seconde: The foundation of any of these, I haue not hitherto founde out, and therefore can not deliuer therof any certaintie at all: Onely as touching this Temple, I dare affirme, that it was erected after the time of Conquest, for as muche as I am sure, that the order it selfe was inuented after that Godfrey, of Bolein, had wonne Ierusalem, whiche was after the coming in of the Conquerour. To these also may be ad=

Religious houses in Douer.

The order of the Templers, when it began.

1096.

ded for neighbourhoode sake (if you will) the Monasterie of S. Radegundes on the hyll, two myles off, valued at fourescore and eighteene pounds by yeare. And here, hauing perused the Towne, Castle, and religious buil= dings, I woulde make an ende of Douer, saue that Ma= thewe Parise putteth me in mynde of one thing (not vn= worthy rehearsall) that was done in this Temple: I meane, the sealing of that submission, whiche King Iohn made to Pandulphe (the Popes Legate) wherin he yeal=

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ded his Realme tributarie, and him selfe an obediencia= rie, and vassall, to the Bishop of Rome: And bycause this was almost the last acte of the whole Tragedie, and can not well be vnderstoode without some recourse to the former parts and beginning, and for that some men (of late time) haue taken great holde of this matter, to aduance the Popes authoritie withall, I will shortly (after my manner) recount the thing as it was done, and leaue the iudgement to the indifferent Reader.

1205.

The Pope  
and king  
Iohn fall  
out for Ste=  
phan Lang=  
ton.

After the death of Hubert (the Archebishop of Can= terbury) the Monkes of Christes Church agreed among them selues to chose for their Bishop, Reginald the Subpryor of their house. King Iohn (hauing no notice of this election, wherein no doubt he receiued greate wrong, since they ought to haue of him their Conge desli= er) recommended vnto them, Iohn Graye, the Bishop of Norwiche, a man that for his wisedome and learning, he fauoured muche. Some part of the Monkes, taking soudaine offence at Reginalde (for that he had disclosed a secrete out of their house) and being glad to satisfie the Kings desire, elected this Graye for their Bishop also. Hereof grewe a great suite at Rome, between the more part of the Monkes on the one side, and the Suffraganes of Canterbury, and the lesse number of the Monkes on the other side.

The Pope (vpon the hearing of the cause) at the first ratifieth the election of Iohn Graye: Howbeit after= warde he refuseth both the electes, and preferreth Ste= phan Langton, whom the Monkes (bycause the matter was not before litigious enough) elected also.

Nowe King Iohn, hearing, that not only the election of Graye (contrarie to the Popes owne former determi= nation) was made frustrate, but that there was also thruste into his place a man familiarly entertained by

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the Frenche King (his greatemie) disliked much of the choice, and forbad Stephan the elect, to enter the Realme: The Pope againe, who (as Mathewe Parise writeth) sought chiefly in this his choice, 'Virum strenuum,' a stoute man, that is (in plaine speache) a man that could exact of the Clergie, keep in awe the Laitie, and encounter the King and Nobilitie) seeing his champion thus reiecte, be ginneth to startle for anger: first therefore, he moueth the King by minacing letters to admitte Stephan, and (not so preuailing) he enterditeth him, and his whole Realme: And finally, bothe prouoketh al Potentates to make o= pen warre vpon him, and also promiseth to the King of Fraunce, full and free remission of all his sinnes, and the kingdome of England it self, to inuade him: this done, he solliciteth to rebellion the Bishops, nobilitie, and commons of the Realme, loosing them (by the plenitude of his †Apos=

The Gol=  
den Bull.

to like power) from al duetie of allegiaunce toward their Prince. By this meanes diuine seruice ceased, the King of Fraunce armed, the Bishops conspired, the nobilitie made defection, and the common people wauered, vncertaine to what part to incline: To be short, King Iohn was so pressed with suspition and feare of domesticall and forreigne enemies on al sides, that (notwithstanding he was of great and noble courage, and seemed to haue forces sufficient for resistance also, if he might haue trusted his souldiers) yet he was in the end compelled, to set his seale to a Chartre of submission, wherby he acknowledged himselfe to holde the Crowne of England of the Popes Mitre, and promised to pay yerely for the same and for Ireland, 1000. Markes, to the holy father and his successours for euer: this Chartre, because it was afterward with great insultation and triumph closed in Golde, was then commonly called, Aurea Bulla, the Bull of Golde.

Thus, omitting the residue of this storie, no lesse tra=  
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gical and troublesome, then that which I haue alreadie recited: I report me to all indifferent men, what cause Paulus louius, or any other popishe parasite hathe (by colour of this Bull) to claime for the Pope, superioritie and Dominion ouer the King of this Realme, since Iohn without the assent of the estates, (I meane his nobilitie and commons) could not (in such a gifte) either binde his successours, or charge the kingdome.

And for plaine declaration, that his submission proceeded not with their consent, I read in a treatise of one Simon de Boraston (a Frier Preacher, in the time of King Edward the third) the which he wrote concerning the Kings right to the Crowne of Ireland, that in the reigne of Henrie the third (whiche next of all succeeded King Iohn) there were sent from the King, the nobilitie and the commons of England, these Noble men: Hughe Bigod, Iohn Fitz Geffray, William Cantlowe, Phillip Basset, and a Lawier named William Powicke, to the generall Counsel, then assembled at Lions in Fraunce, of purpose, and with commission, to require that the saide Bull, sealed by King Iohn, might be cancelled, for as muche as it passed not by the assent of the Counsel of the Realme: and the same Authour writeth, that the Pope for that tyme did put them of, by colour of more waigtie affaires, whiche the Counsel had then in hand. I know, that it may wel be thought needlesse, to labour further in confuting a †ittle, so weightles: (for it is true, that Aristotle saith, 'Stultum est, absurdas opinionones accuratius refellere') It is but a follie, to labour ouer curiously, in refelling of absurdities. And therefore I will here conclude the treatise of Douer, and proceede particularly to the rest of the places that lye on this shoare.

†r. 'title'

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Folkstone in Saxon, folcestane, Id est, Populi Lapis, or else, flostane, which signifieth a rocke, or a flawe of stone.

Amongst the places lying on this shoare (worthy of note) nexte after Douer, foloweth Folkstone, where Eanfled, or rather Eanswide, the daughter of Ead=

640.

S. Eanswide  
and her mi=  
racles.

balde, the sonne of Ethelbert, and in or=  
der of succession, the sixte King of Kent)  
long since erected a religious Pryorie of women, not in  
the place where S. Peters Church at Folkstone nowe  
standeth, but Southe, from thence, where the Sea ma=  
ny yeares agoe hath swallowed and eaten it. And  
yet, least you shoulde thinke S. Peters Parische church  
to be voyde of reuerence, I must let you knowe †of Noua  
Legenda Angliæ, that before the Sea had deuoured all,  
S. Eanswides reliques were translated thither: The  
author of that worke reporteth many wonders of this  
woman, as that she lengthened a beame of that building  
three foote, when the Carpenters (missing in their mea=  
sure) had made it so muche too shorte: That she haled  
and drew water, ouer the hilles against nature: That  
she forbad certain rauenous birdes the countrey, which  
before did muche harme there abouts: That she resto=  
red the blynde, caste out the Diuel, and healed innume=  
rable folkes of their infirmities. And therefore af=  
ter her death, she was by the policie of the Popishe  
priestes, and follie of the common people, honoured for a  
Saint.

†r. 'out of'

A popishe  
policie.

And no maruail at all, for it was vsuall in Papistrie,  
not onely to magnifie their Benefactours of all sortes,  
but to †edifie also (so many of them at the leaste) as were

†r. 'deifie'

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of noble Parentage, knowing that thereby, triple com=  
moditie ensued: the first, for as muche as by that meane,  
they assured many great personages vnto them: second=  
ly, they drewe (by the awe of their example) infinite  
numbers of the common people after them: And lastly,  
they aduentured the more bouldly (vnder those honou=  
rable, and glorious names and titles) to publishe their  
peuishe and pelting miracles. And this sure=  
ly was the cause that Sexburge in Shepie, Mildred in  
Tanet, Etheldred at Elye, Edith at Wilton, and sundrie  
other simple women of Royall blood in eache quarter,  
were canonized Saints: for generally the Religious, of  
those tymes, were as thankfull to their Benefactors, as  
euer were the heathen nations to their first Kings and  
founders: The one sort Sanctifying suche, as did either  
builde them houses, or deuise them orders: And the o=  
ther Deifying suche, as had made them Cities, or prescri=  
bed them Lawes and gouernement.

This was it that made Saturne, Hercules, Romulus,  
and others moe, to haue place (in common opinion) with  
the Gods about the starres, and this caused Dunstane,  
Edgar, Ethelwould, and others, first to be †shryued here  
in earth, and then to sit amongst the Saints in Heauen.  
But let me now leaue their policie, and returne to the  
Hystorie. The Towne of Folkestone was sore spoyled  
by Earle Godwine and his Sonnes, what time they  
harried that whole coast of Kent, for reuenge of their  
banishment, as we haue often before remembered.

†r. 'shryned'

1052.  
Folkestone  
spoiled.

The Hun=  
dred.

The Hundred of Folkstone, contained in the time of  
King Edward the Confessour, a hundethe and twentie  
ploughe landes, it had in it fiue Parish Churches, it  
was valued at a hundrethe and ten poundes, and belonged  
to the Earle Godwine before named.

The Ma=  
nor.

The Manor was giuen to William Albranc (of

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whome, I made mention in Douer) with condition, to finde one and twentie warders toward the defence of that Castle, and it grewe in time to be the head of an honour or Baronie, as in the Records of the Exchequer, remaineth as yet to be seene.

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Saltwood.

That Saltwood was long sithence an Honor also, it may appeare 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 suche goodes, landes, and fees, as were taken from him, during the displeasure betweene them: whiche writ bothe for shewe of the auncient forme, and bycause it conteineth the matter of hystorie, I wil not stick to exemplifie, word for woord, as Mathewe Parise hathe recorded it. 'Sciatis, quod Thomas Cant. Episcopus pacem mecum fecit ad voluntatem meam, & ideo præcipio tibi, vt ipse, & omnes sui, pacem habeant, & faciat 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 iuramento faciatis inquiri, quid ibi habetur de feodo Archiepiscopatus Cant. & quod recognitum fuerit esse de feodo ipsius, ipsi faciatis habere: valete.'

The Pontifical iurisdiction, of William Courtney the Archbishop

But if this Recorde of the Kings, suffice not to proue the honour of this place, then here (I pray you) a woorde of the honourable (or rather the Pontificall) dealing of William Courtney the Archbishop, who taking offence that certaine poore men, his Tenants, of the Manor of Wingham, had brought him rent hay and littar to Canterbury, not openly in cartes for his glorie, as they were accustomed, but closely in sakes vpon their horses as their abilitie would suffer, cited them to this his castle, of Saltwood, and there after that he had shewed himself (Adria iracundiozem) as hote as a taste with the matter, he first bound them by othe to obey his owne ordinaunce,

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and then inioyned them for penance, that they should each one marche leisurely after the procession, bareheaded and barefooted, with a sacke of hey or strawe on his shoulder, open at the mouthe, so as the stuffe might appeare hanging out of the bag to all the beholders. Nowe I beseeche you, what was it els for this proude Prelate thus to insult ouer simple men, for so small a fault, (or rather for no fault at all) but 'Laureolam in Mustaceis querere,' and no better. Thus muche (at this present) of the Place, for as touching the first matter, concerning Thomas, that shall appeare at large in Canterbury following. And therefore leauing on our right hand, the stately partes of Syr Edward Poynings vnperfect buylding at Ostenhangar, let vs see what is to be said of Hyde.

Ostenhangar.

Hyde, is written in Saxon  
 hybe, that is, the Hauen: and called of  
 Leland in Latine, Portus Hithinus,  
 in some Recordes, Hethe.

The name of this place importing (as  
 it should seeme) by the generalitie ther=  
 of some note of worthinesse, and the  
 long continued priuileges therevnto  
 belonging (it self being long since one  
 of the fiue principal Portes) at the  
 first led me (and happely may hereaf=  
 ter moue others also) to thinke that it had beene of more  
 estimation in tyme past, then by any other thing nowe  
 apparant may well be coniectured: Howbeit, after that  
 I had somewhat diligently searched the Saxon antiqui=  
 ties, from whence (if from any at all) the beginning of the  
 same is to be deriued, and had perused the booke of Domes=  
 day, wherein almoste nothing (especially that might bee  
 profitable) was pretermitted, and yet found litle, or (in  
 manner) nothing, concerning this Towne committed  
 to memorie: I became of this minde, that either the place  
 was at the first of litle price, and for the increase there=  
 of indowed with Priuileges, or (if it had beene at any  
 time estimable) that it continued not long in that plight.

The Cause  
 of the decay  
 of Hauens  
 in Kent.

And truly, whosoever shall consider, eyther the Vni=  
 uersall vicissitude of the Sea in all places, or the particu=  
 lar alteration, and chaunge, that in tymes passed, and  
 now presently it worketh on the coasts of this Realme,  
 he will easely assent, that Townes bordering vpon the  
 Sea, and vpholded by the commoditie thereof, may in  
 short time decline to great decay, and become (in man=  
 ner) worthe nothing at all. For, as the water ei=  
 ther floweth, or forsaketh them, so must they of necessitie,  
 either flourish, or fall: flowing (as it were) and ebbing with  
 the Sea it selfe. The necessitie of whiche thing, is

euery where so ineuitable, that all the Popish ceremo=  
 nies of espousing the Sea (whiche the Venetians yeare=  
 ly vse on Saint Markes day, by casting a Golden ring  
 into the water) cannot let, but that the Sea continual=  
 ly by litle and litle, withdraweth it selfe from their Ci=  
 tie, and threatneth in time, vtterly to forsake them.

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

From this Towne (saith Henrie Huntingdon) Ear=  
 le Godwine, and his Sonnes in the time of their exile,  
 fetched away diuers vessels, lying at roade, euen as they  
 †had at Rumney also, whereof we shall haue place to  
 speake more hereafter. Before this Towne (in the  
 reigne of King Edward the first) a great fleete of French  
 men shewed themselues vpon the Sea, of which one  
 (being furnished with two hundrethe Souldiours) set  
 her men on land in the Hauen, where they had no sooner  
 pitched their foote, but the Townesmen came vpon them  
 †to the last man, wherewith the residue were so afraide,  
 that forthwith they hoysed vp saile, and made no fur=  
 ther attempt. This Towne also was grieuous=

†r. 'did'

†r. 'and slue them to'

Hyde miserably scourged.

ly afflicted, in the beginning of the Reigne of King Henrie the fourth, in so much as (besides the furie of the pestilence, whiche raged all ouer) there were, in one day, two hundred of the houses consumed by flame, and fiue of their ships with one hundred men, drowned at the Sea: By whiche hurte the inhabitants were so wounded, that they began to deuise, howe they might abandon the place, and builde them a Towne else where: Wherevpon they had resolued also, had not the King by his liberal Chartre (which I haue seene vnder his seale)

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released vnto them, for fiue turnes next following (unless the greater necessitie should in the meane time, compell him to require it) their seruice of fiue ships, of one hundred men, and of v. garsons, whiche they ought of duetie, and at their owne charge without the helpe of any other member, to finde him, by the space of fiftene dayes together.

The shortest passage betweene England & Fraunce.

Finally, from this Towne to Boloigne (which is taken to be the same, that Cæsar calleth Gessoriacum) is the shortest cutte ouer the Sea, betweene England and Fraunce, as some holde opinion: Others thinke that to be the shortest passage, which is from Douer to Calais: But if there be any man, that preferreth not hast before his good speede, let him (by mine aduise) proue a third way, I meane from Douer to Withsand: for if Edmund †Badhenham, the penner of the Chronicles of Rochester, lye not shamefully, (whiche thing you knowe how farre it is from a Monke) then at suche time as King Henrie the second, and Lewes the French King, were after long warre reconciled to amitie, Lewes came ouer to visite King Henrie, and in his return homeward saluted saint Thomas of Canterbury, made a princely offer at his tombe, and (because he was very fearefull 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 Douer and Withsand, should suffer any manner of losse or shipwracke. But of this Saint (sauing your reuerence) we shall haue fitt place to speake more largely hereafter, and therefore let vs nowe leaue the Sea, and looke toward Shipwey.

†r. 'Hadhenham'

Thomas Becket graunteth a petition after his death.

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

Betweene Hyde and Westhanger, lieth Shipwey, the place that was of auncient time honested with the Plees and assemblies of the Fiue Ports: although at this day, neither by good building extant, it be much glorious, nor by any common meeting, greatly frequented.

I remember, that I haue read in a book of Priuileges of the Fiue Portes, that certeine principall pointes, concerning the Port townes, be determinable at Shipwey only: And likely it is, that the withdrawing of the triall of causes from thence to Douer Castle, hath

brought decay and obscuritie vpon the place.

Of this place, the whole Last of Shipwey, (containing twelue Hundrethes) at the first tooke, and yet continueth the name: At this place, Prince Edward, the Sonne to King Henrie the third, exacted of the Barons of the v. Portes their othe of fidelitie to his Father, against the maintainers of the Barons warre: And at this place onely our Limenarcha, or Lord Wardein of the Ports, receaueth his oathe, at his first entrie into the office.

Lord Wardein of the Portes.

Shipwey, sometime a Hauen towne.

Whether this were at any time a Harborow for ships, (as the Etymologie of the name giueth likelihoode of coniecture) or no, I dare neither affirme nor denie, hauing neither read, nor seen, that may lead me to the one, or the other: only I remember, that Robert Talbot (a man of our time, and which made a Commentarie vpon the Itinerarie of Antoninus Augustus) is of the opinion

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that this was called Shipwey, because it lay in the way to the Hauen, where the ships were wont to ride: And that hauen taketh he to be the same, whiche of Ptolome is caled <kainos limēn>, Nouus Portus: of Antoninus, Limanis, of our Chroniclers Limene Mouthe, and interpreted by Leland to betoken, the mouthe of the riuer of Rother, whiche nowe in our time openeth into the Sea at Rye, but before at Winchelsey.

The Hauen Limene, & the Towne Lymne.

† <it>

His coniecture is grounded, partly (as you see) vpon the Etymologie of the name, partly vpon the consideration of some antiquities that be neare to the place, and partly also vpon the report of the countrie people, who holde fast the same opinion, which they haue by tradition receaued from their Elders.

In deede, the name, both in Greeke, and olde English, whiche followethe the Greeke, that is to say, Limen and Limene Mouthe, doth signifie a Hauen, wherof the Town of Lymne adioyning, and the whole Deanrie, or limit of the Ecclesiastical iurisdiction, in whiche it standeth (for that also is called Lymne) by likelyhoode tooke the name. This Hauen (saith he) stode at the firste, vnder a highe Rocke in the Parishe of Lymne, vnder the whiche there was situate a strong Castle for the defence of the Porte, the ruines of whiche buylding be yet apparent to the eye. There is excellent also, a faire paved cawsey, some myles of length, leading from Canterbury toward the same Porte: and they of the Towne enioye the Priuileges of the Fiue Portes, and doe reserue a brazen Horne, and a Mace, as ensignes of Castle Garde, and administration of iustice, in olde time exercised there. Finally they affirme, that (the water forsaking them by litle and litle) decay and solitude came at the length vpon the place.

For, whereas at the first, ships were accustomed to

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discharge at Lymne, the Sea afterwarde (either hindered by the sandes, or not helped by the fresh water) shortened his fludde, and caused the Merchants to vnlade at Westhithe: Neither did it yet ascend so highe any long season, but by continuall decreasinges, withdrew it self, and at the length compelled them to lay their wares on land at this Hithe, whiche nowe standeth in deede, but yet without any great benefit of the Sea, for asmuche as at this day, the water floweth not to the Towne by

Apledore.  
The Riuer  
Lymen, now  
Rother.

halfe a myle and more. These coniectures, and reports, be resonable, but yet, as I am sure that they be vtterly at variaunce with that opinion, whiche Leland would plante of the present course of the Riuer of Rother (as wee will shewe in Newendene, when, wee shall come to the place) so am I in doubt also, what meanes may be found, to reconcile them with the relations of Asserus Meneuensis, Henrie Huntingdon, and our olde Saxon Chronicles, al which seeme to affirme, that Apledore stode vpon the water Lymen, whiche if it be so, then I see not (the places considered) howe this Towne of Lymne could euer be situated vpon the same Riuer.

Their woordes in effect, be these. 'In the yeare, after Christ, 893. the great armie of the Danes, lefte the East part of Fraunce, and came to Boloigne, and from thence with. 250. vessels sayled into the mouthe of the Riuer Lymen, in Kent, whiche floweth from the great woode that is called Andred: Thence they towed vp their boates foure miles into that wood from the mouthe of the Riuer, where they found a Castle halfe built, and a fewe Countrie men in it, all whiche together with the Village, they destroyed, and fortified at a place called A= pultree.' By which it may in deed at the first face seeme, that the Riuer Lymen led from Apledore to the Sea, and came not by Lymne: but yet that I may say somewhat

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for Talbot, these woordes do not necessarily enforce so muche, for that they be not, that they towed their ships vp to Apledore, but foure miles †to the woode, and buil= ded at Apledore, whiche they might well doe, although they had come in at Hithe. To the whiche sense also the woordes of Asserus Meneuensis (whiche liued in that verie time) do giue somewhat the more place and libertie, when he saith. 'They towed vp their ships, foure miles into the wood, where they threwe downe a cer= taine Castle (halfe built, in whiche a fewe Churles of the Countrie were placed) and the Towne also, and they raised an other stronger in a place called Apledore:' For these words (an other †in a place stronger called Apledore) seem to importe, that Apledore was not the Towne foure miles within the Riuer's mouthe, whiche they pulled downe, but some other: Whiche, as for the distance it might happely be Lymne that we haue in hand: so bicause there is no apparant memoriall of any suche course of the Riuer, I will not affirme it to haue beene the same, but referre the decision of the whole controuersie, to the learned and inquisitiue reader, that will bestowe his labour to trie, and trace out the very trueth.

†r. 'into'

†r. 'stronger in a place'

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Courtopstrete, commonly: but truly Court at Strete.

The enemie of mankinde, and Prince of darkenesse, Sathan the Deuill, percei= uing that the glorious and bright shi= ning beames of Gods holy truthe and gladsome Gospell, had pearced the mi= stie thicke cloudes of ignorance, and shew= ed (not onelie to the people of Germanie, but to the †inha= tants of this Islande also) the true way of their deliue=

†<inhabitants>

raunce, from damnable error, idolatrie, and Popishe superstition: And fearing, that if he did not nowe bestir him busily, he was in peril to lose infinite numbers of his subiects, and consequently, no small parte of that his spirituall kingdome, practized most carefully in all places, with Monkes, Friars, Priestes, Nonnes, and the whole rablement of his Religious armie, for the holding of simple soules in wonted obedience, and the vpholding of his vsurped Empire in the accustomed glory, opinion, and reuerence. And for this purpose (amongst sundry sleightes, set to shewe in sundry places, about the latter end and declination of that his reigne) one was wrought by the Holy maide of Kent, in a Chappel at this towne, in deuse as malicious, in deede as mischeuous, and in discoverie as notorious, as any other whatsoeuer. But bycause the midst, and end of this Pageant, is yet fresh in the knowledge of many on liuing, and manifested to al men in bookes abroade: And for that the beginning thereof is knowne to verie fewe, and likely in time to be hid from all, if it be not by some way or other continued in mynde: I will laboure only to bewray the same, and in suche sorte, as the mainteiners thereof them selues

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haue committed it to writing.

For not long since, it chanced me to see a litle Pamphlet, containing foure and twentie leaues, penned I wote not by what doltishe dreamer, printed by Robert Redman, Intituled: 'A marueilous woorke of late done at Court of Streete in Kent, and published (as it pretendeth) to the deuout people of that time for their spirituall consolation:' in whiche I founde the very first beginning, to haue beene as followeth.

1525.

The holy  
Maide of  
Kent.

About the time of Easter, in the seuateenthe yeare of the Reigne of King Henrie the eight, it happened a certaine maiden named Elizabethe Barton, then seruauent to one Thomas Kob, of the Parishe of Aldington, twelue myles distant from Canterbury, to be touched with a great infirmitie in her body, whiche did ascend at diuers times vp into her throte, and swelled greatly: during the time whereof, she seemed to be in grieuous paine, in so muche as a man would haue thought, that she had suffred the panges of deathe it selfe, vntill the disease descended, and fell downe into the bodie againe.

Thus she continued by fittes, the space of seuen monethes, and more, and at the laste, in the Moneth of Nouember (at whiche time also a yong Childe of her Maisters lay desperatly sicke in a cradle by her) she being vexed with the former disease, asked (with great pangs and groning) whether the Childe were yet departed this life, or noe: And when the women that attended vpon them bothe in their sicknesse, aunswered no, she replied that it should anone: whiche woord was no sooner vttered, but the childe fetched a great sighe, and withall the soule departed out of the body.

This her diuination and foretelling, was the first matter, that moued her hearers to admiration: But

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after this, in sundry of her fits following, althoughe she seemed to the beholders to lye as still as a deade body (not mouing any part at all) as well in the traunces

themselves, as after the pangs passed also, she told plainly of diuers things done at the Church, and other places where she was not present, whiche neuerthelesse she seemed (by signes proceeding from her) most liuely to be holde (as it were) with her eye: She tolde also, of heauen, hell, and purgatorie, and of the ioyes, and sorrowes, that sundry departed soules had, and suffered there: She spake frankly againste the corruption of manners and euill life: She exhorted repaire to the Church, hearing of Masse, confession to Priestes, prayer to our Lady and Saintes, and to be short, made in all pointes, confession and confirmation of the Popish Creede and Catechisme, and that so deuoutly and discretely (in the opinion of mine authour) that he thought it not possible for her to speake in that manner.

But amongst other things, this one was euer much in her mouthe, that 'She woulde goe home,' and that she had beene at home, whereas (to the vnderstanding of the standers by) she had neuer beene from home, nor from the place where she laye: wherevpon being (in a tyme of another traunce) demaunded where That home was, she answered, Where she sawe and hearde the ioyes of heauen, where S. Michael wayed soules, where Saint Peter carried the keyes, and where she her selfe had the companie of our Lady at Court of Strete, and had hartely besought her to heale her disease, who also had commaunded her, to offer vnto her a Taper in her Chappell there, and to declare boldly to all Christian people, that our Lady of Court of Strete, had <sup>†</sup>receiued her from the verie point of death: and that her pleasure was, that it shoulde be rong for a miracle.

<sup>†</sup>r. 'recouered'

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Whiche wordes when her Maister heard, he sayde, that there were no Belles at that Chappell, wherevnto the Mayden answered nothing, but the voice that spake in her proceeded, saying, 'Our blessed Lady wil shew moe miracles there shortly, for if any departe this life suddenly, or by mischance, in deadly sinne, if he be vowed to our Lady heartely, he shal be restored to life againe, to receiue shrift, and housell, and after to depart this worlde with Gods blessing.' Besides this, she tolde them what meate the Heremite of that Chappell of our Lady at Court of Strete had to his supper, and many other things concerning him, whereat they maruailed greatly.

And from that time forward, she resolued with her selfe, to goe to Court of Strete, and there to pray and offer to our Lady, whiche also she did accordingly: And was there delayde of her cure for a certaine season, but yet (in the meane time) put in assured hope of recouerie. During whiche meane while, the fame of this marueylous Mayden was so spread abroad, that it came to the eares of Warham the Archebishop of Canterbury, who directed thither Doctour Bocking, Master Hadleighe, and Barnes, three Monkes of Christes Church in Canterbury, father Lewes, and his fellowe, two obseruants, his Officiall of Canterbury, and the Parson of Aldington, with commission to examine the matter, and to infourme him of the truth.

These men opposed her of the chiefe pointes of the Popishe believe, and finding her sounde therein, not only waded no further in the discouerie of the fraud, but gaue

it great countenance, and ioyned with her in setting fourth of the same: So that at her nexte voyage to oure Lady of Court of Strete, she entered the Chappell with 'Aue Regina Cælorum,' in pricksong, accompanied with these

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Commissioners, many Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen of the best degree, and three thousande persons besides, of the common sort of people.

There fell she eftsones into a marueilous passion before the Image of our Lady, muche like a body diseased of the falling Euill, in the whiche she vttered, sundrye metricall and ryming speaches, 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 dayly singing Priest) tending also to her owne bestowing in some Religious house, for suche (sayde she) was our Ladies pleasure, and to the aduancement of the credite, of suche feyned miracles, as myne authour reporteth. This done and vnderstoode to the Archebishop, she was by him appointed to S. Sepulcres, a house of Nonnes in Canterbury, where she laboured sundry times of her disease, and continued her wonted working of wonderous myracles, resorting often (by way of traunce onely) to our Lady of Court of Strete, who also ceased not to shewe her selfe mightie in operation there, lighting candels without fire, moystning womens breastes that before were drye and wanted mylke, restoring all sortes of sicke to perfect health, reducing the deade to life againe, and finally doing all good, to al suche as were measured and vowed (as the manner was) vnto her at Court of Strete.

Thus Elizabeth Barton was aduanced from the condition of a base seruaunt, to the estate of a glorious Nonne. The Heremite of Court of Strete was enriched by dayly offring, S. Sepulcres got the possession of a Holy Mayden, God was blasphemed, the holy Virgine his mother mishonoured, the silly people were miserably mocked, The Bishops, Priestes, and Monkes, in the meane time with closed eyes wincking, and the Deuill

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and his lymmes, with open mouthe laughing at it. And thus the matter stode sundry yeares together, vntill at length, the question was moued about King Henries marriage, at which time this holy Mayden (not conteining her selfe within her former boundes of hypocrisie) stepped into this matter also, and feyned that she vnderstoode by reuelation, that if the King proceeded to the diuorce, he shoulde not be King of this Realme one moneth after: Wherevpon, her doings were once againe examined (not by men giuen ouer to beleeeue illusions, but by suche as had the prudent power of prouing spirites) and in the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popishe comforters were bewrayed, the deceiver people were well satisfied, these dangerous deceivers were worthely executed, and the Deuill their Maister was quite and cleane confounded.

The circumstances of all whiche doing, I doe of purpose omit (knowing that it is in the statute of. 25. yeare of King Henrie the eight, and eche where else, in manner, to be read, and thinking my selfe to haue performed promise, in that I haue disclosed



the first attemptes) and will nowe  
therefore make towardes  
Rumney.

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Bylsington.

After the deceasse of King Edwarde the  
thirde, and against the day of the Coro=  
nation of King Richarde the seconde  
whiche succeeded him, Iohn the King of  
Castile †aud Lions, Duke of Lancaster,  
and Earle bothe of Leycester and Lin=  
colne, clayming in the right of his Earldome of Leyce=  
ster, to be highe Seneschall (or Steward) at that solem=  
nitie, and thereby to haue the authoritie of hearing and  
determining of the claimes, of al such as by their tenure  
pretended to haue any office or fee at the Kings inthro=  
nization, amongst other suites receiued a petition, exhi=  
bited by Richarde then Earle of Arundale and Surrey,  
in whiche the same Earle claimed the office of chiefe  
Butler, and recognised him self ready to perfourme the  
same. Wherevpon, foorthwith one Edmund Staple=  
gate, exhibited another petition, and likewise made his  
claime to this effect. That whereas he, the sayde Ed=  
mund helde of the King in chiefe, the Manor of Bylsing=  
ton in Kent, by the seruice to be his Butler at the Coro=  
nation, as plainly appeared in the booke of Fees and  
Serieancies in the Exchequer: And whereas also by  
reason of that tenure, the late King Edwarde the thirde  
had both seised the landes 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 Iefferau Chawsier (to whom  
he payde. 104. l'. for the same) he nowe proffered to doe  
that seruice, and praied to be admitted to the office ther=  
of, with allowance of the fees that belonged therevnto.  
These claimes and the replies also, bothe of the Earle,

Butler the  
Coronation.

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and of Staplegate, being hearde and considered, It was  
then †order (partly for the shortnesse of the time, whiche  
would not permit a full examination of the matter, and  
partly bycause that on the Earles side it was proued,  
that his auncestors had beene in possession of that office,  
after the alienation of the Manor of Bylsington, where=  
as on the other part it appeared not, that the auncestors  
of Staplegate had euer executed the same) that (for the  
present Coronation) the Earle shoulde be receiued, and  
the right of Staplegate, and all others shoulde be neuer=  
thelesse to them saued. Thus muche of the Manor of  
Bylsington, (whiche lyeth here on the right hande) I  
thought meete to impart with you, to occupy vs withall  
in our way to Rumney: for as touching the Pryorie that  
there was, althoughe I suppose it to haue begon by the  
liberalitie of some of the Earles of Arundale, yet can  
I assure you of nothing touching it, saue onely  
of the yearely value, whiche you shall  
finde in the Particular of this  
shyre, amongst the rest  
of the suppressed  
houses.

†r. 'ordered'

Pryorie at  
Bylsington.

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Rumney, called in Saxon,  
Rumen ea, that is to say, The large  
watrie place, or Marishe: It is  
written in the Records  
corruptly, Rume=  
nal, and Ro=  
mual.

The participation of like Priuilege,  
might wel haue moued me to haue pla=  
ced the Portes together, but the purpose  
of myne order already taken, calleth me  
another way, and byndeth me to prose=  
cute them, as they lye in order of my  
journey.

There be in Kent therfore, two townes of this name,  
the Olde and the New Rumney, as touching the latter  
whereof I minde not to speake, hauing not hitherto  
founde eyther in Recorde or Hystorie, any thing pertai=  
ning therevnto: but that little whiche I haue to say,  
must be of olde Rumney, whiche was long since a prin=  
cipal Port, and giueth cause of name to the new towne,  
as it selfe first tooke it, of the large leuell, and territorie  
of Marishe grounde that is adioyning.

This Towne (sayth the Recorde of Domesday) was  
of the possession of one Robert Rumney, and holden of  
Odo (then Bishop of †Borieux, Earle of Kent, and bro=  
ther to King William the Conquerour) in the which the  
same Robert had thirteene Burgesses, who for their  
seruice at the Sea, were acquitted of all exactions,  
and customes of charge, excepte felonie, breache of  
the peace, and forstalling. It was sometyme a  
good, sure, and commodious Hauen, where many ves=  
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†r. 'Baieux'

1053. sels vsed to lye at Roade: For Henrie (the Arche=  
deacon of Huntingdon) maketh report, that at suche  
time as Godwine (Earle of Kent) and his Sonnes were  
exiled the Realme (vpon suche cause of displeasure, as  
hathe alreadie appeared in Douer) they armed vessels  
to the Sea, and sought by disturbing the quiet of the  
people, to compell the King to their reuocation: And  
therfore, (among sundry other harmes that they did on  
the Coast of this Shyre) they entred the hauen at Rum=  
ney, and lead away all suche shippes, as they found  
in the Harborow.

1168. Thomas Becket (the Archebishop) hauing by fro=  
ward disobedience and stuborne pertinacitie, prouoked  
King Henrie the second to indignation against him, and  
fearing to abide the triall of ordinarie lustice at home,  
determined to appeale to the Popes fauour at Rome,  
for whiche purpose he secretly tooke boate at Rumney,  
minding to haue escaped ouer: but he was driuen backe  
by a contrary wynde, and so compelled to land againste  
his will. The vnderstanding of whiche matter, so ex=  
asperated the King against him, that forthwith he sea=  
sed his goods, and gaue commaundement by his writte  
to the Sheriffes of all coastes, to make arrest of al such,  
as for any cause prouoked to the Pope. He caused al=  
so his subiectes (from twentie yeares of age vpwrd)  
through out the whole Realme, to renounce by othe, all  
wonted obedience to the See of Rome, and sollicitated ear=  
nestly the Emperour Frederic, and Lewes the Frenche

The Popes  
authoritie  
was aboli=  
shed in Eng  
land, in the  
time of  
King Hen=  
rie the se=  
cond.

King, to haue ioyned with him in deposing Pope Alexander, for that he so commonly receaued runnegates, and suche as rebelled against their lawfull Princes.

But suche was eyther the enimitie of Lewes the Frenche King, againste King Henrie the second, or his dull sight in discerning the profit of the whole Christian

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common weale, that he refused to assist the other twain, by meanes whereof, both Frederic the Emperour, was afterward compelled to yeelde him to the Pope, and King Henrie the second glad (†withall submission) to reconcile himselfe to the Archebishops fauour.

Rumney  
Marshe.

Rumney Marshe is famous throughout the Realme, as wel for the fertilitie and quantitie of the soile and leuell, as also for the auncient and holesome ordinances there vsed, for the preseruacion and maintenance of the bankes, and walles, against the rage of the Sea.

It containeth (as by due computation it may appeare) 24000. Acres: For the taxation of Rumney Marshe onely (not accompting Walland Marshe, Guilford Marshe. &c. amounteth to 50. pounds, after the rate of one halfe peny the Acre) and it is at this day gouerned by certaine lawes, made by one Henrie Bathe, a lustice and Commissioner for that purpose in the time of King Henrie the third. Of whiche his statutes, experience in time hath begotten suche allowance, and liking, that it was afterward not onely ordered, that all the lowe groundes betweene Tanet in Kent, and Pemsey in Sussex, should be guided by the same: But they are also nowe become a paterne, and exemplar to all the like places of the whole Realme, to be gouerned by. The place is not muche inhabited, bycause it is 'Hyeme malus, Æstate molestus, Nunquam bonus,' Euil in Winter, grieuous in Sommer, and neuer good. As Hesiodus (the olde Poet) sometime saied of the Countrie where his Father dwelt. And therefore, very reasonable is their conceits, whiche doe imagine, that Kent hathe three steps, or degrees, of whiche the first (say they) offereth Wealth without healthe, the second giueth bothe Wealth and healthe, and the third affoordeth healthe onely, and no Wealth. For, if a man, minding to passe through

The three  
steppes of  
Kent.

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Kent toward London, should arriue, and make his first step on land in Rumney Marshe, he shall rather finde good grasse vnder foote, then holesome Aire aboute the head: againe, if he step ouer the Hylles, and come into the Weald, he shall haue at once the commodities, bothe 'Cæli, & Soli,' of the Aire, and the Earth: But if he leaue that, and climbe the next step of hilles, that are betweene him, and London, he shall haue woode, and corne, for his wealth, and (toward the increase of his healthe) if he seeke, he shal finde, 'Famem in agro lapidoso,' a good stomake in the stonie field. No marueile it is therefore, if Rumney Marshe be not thicke peopled, seeing most men be yet still of Porcius Cato his minde, who helde them starke madde, that would dwell in an vnholosome Aire, were the soyle neuer so good and fertile. And this thing being well vnderstood to the estates of the Realme, they †vsed in Parleamentes, to allure men hither, by exemption from paiement of Subsidies, and suche like charges, wherewith the inhabitants of

†r. 'haue vsed'

other places be burde=  
ned.

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Neshe, called in Saxon  
(Nesse) which signifieth a Nebbe,  
or nose of the land, extended  
into the Sea.

This Cape lyeth in Walland Marshe,  
Southe from Rumney, and is of the  
number of those places, that Earle  
Godwine afflicted in the time of his  
banishment: from hence he passed  
toward London, and there (by the help  
of his confederates) shewed suche an assemblie, that the  
Bishops, and Noble men (for verie feare) became suters  
to the King for his peace, and in the ende procured it.  
Before this Neshe, lyeth a flatte into the Sea, threat=  
ning great daunger to vnaduised Sayers.

And nowe hauing thus viewed such places a long  
the Sea shoare, as auncient Hystories haue put me in  
remembraunce of: I might readely take occasion, bothe  
to recommend vnto you, the vigilant studie of our Aun=  
cestours, in prouiding for the defence of the Sea Coastes,  
and withall shewe you a President or two of theirs,  
containing the assesse of suche particular Watche and  
Warde, as they vsed there in the Reigne of King Ed=  
ward the third, in whose time also it was first ordered,  
that Beacons in this Countrie should haue their pitche  
pots, and that they should be no longer made of wood=  
stackes or piles, as they be yet in Wilshire, and else=  
where. But because those assesses were not perma=  
nent, and alwaies alike (as not growing by reason of any  
tenure) but arbitrable from time to time, at the discre=  
tion of suche, as it liked the Prince to set ouer the Coun=  
trie in time, of warres, And for that also we at this day

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†

(God be thanked therfore) haue besides the like watche=  
full indeuour of our present gouernours, sundrie stan=  
ding platformes (as you haue seene) erected to the very  
†end, and mainteined at the continual charge of the Prince,  
I will not here stand vpon that matter, but forsaking the  
shore, betake me Northward to passe along the Riuier  
Rother, whiche diuideth this Shyre from Sussex: where  
after that I shall haue shewed you Apledore, Stone,  
and Newenden, I wil pearce through the Weald, to  
Medwey, and so laboure to perfourme  
the rest of my purpose.

†r. 'same end'

The order  
of this de=  
scription.

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Apledore, in Saxon Apul=  
tre, in Latine, Malus, that is,  
an Apletree.

In the time of King Alfred, that great  
swarme of the Danes whiche annoyed  
this Realme, and found not here wher=  
with to satisfie the hungrie gut of their  
rauenous appetite, brake their compa=  
nie into twaine: whereof the one passed  
into Fraunce, vnder the conducte of Hasten, and the o=  
ther remained here vnder the charge of Guthrune.

The Danes  
doe spoile,  
Fraunce, &  
England, at  
one time.

This Hasten with his company, landed in †Pontein, ranged ouer al Picardie, Normandie, †Angeon, Poieton and passed ouer Loire, euen to Orleance, killing, bur= ning, and spoiling whatsoeuer was in his way, in so much that besides the pitifull butcherie committed vp= on the people, and the inestimable bootie of their goods taken away, he consumed to ashes about nine hundred religious houses, and Monasteries.

This done, he sent away. 250. of his ships laden with riche spoile, whiche came hither againe, entring into the Riuer of Rother, (then called as Leland weeneth, Lymen, at the mouth wherof olde Winchelsey sometime stode) and by soudaine surprise tooke a small Castle, that was foure or fiue miles within the land, at Apultre (as some thinke) whiche bycause it was not of sufficient strength for their defence and †conuerture, they abated to the ground, and raised a newe, either in the same place, or els not farre from it.

Shortly after commethe Hasten himselfe also, with eightie saile more, and sailing vp the Riuer of Thamise, he fortifieth at Middleton nowe Mylton, ouer against

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the Ile of Shepey: Whiche thing when King Alfred vnderstoode he, gathered his power with all haste, and marching into Kent, encamped betweene the two hostes of his enemies, and did so beare him selfe, that in the end he constrained Hasten to desire peace, and to giue his owne othe and two of his Sonnes in hostage, for obseruation of the same.

But howe soone after, Hasten forgot his distresse, and how litle he esteemed either his owne truth plighted, or the liues of his children so pledged, it shall appeare when we come to fitt place for it: In the meane while I let you know, that the booke of Domesday speaking of Apuldore, laieth it in the hundredreth of Blackburne, and describeth it to containe eight †Carnes, or Ploughlandes.

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Stone, in the Ile of Oxney, called in Saxon (*Stana*) that is, a stone, or as the Northren men yet speake, A Steane.

In the dayes of King Ethelred, when almost al parts of the Realme felt the Danische furie, this place also was by them pitieously spoyled and brent, whiche done, they departed to Sandwiche, and did there, as hathe alreadie appeared.

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Newendene, in Saxon, *Niweldene*, that is, The lowe or deepe valley: Leland calleth it Nouiodenum, whiche worde is framed out of the Saxon *Niwan=dune*, & soundeth

†r. 'Pontieu'  
†r. 'angeou, poietou'

†r. 'couerture'

†r. 'Carews'

as much as the  
Newe Hill.

The situation of Newendene is such, as it maye likely enoughe take the name, eyther of the deepe and bot= tome (as I haue coniectured) or of the Hill and highe grounde, as Le= land 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. How= beit, I would easily yealde to Leland in this matter (the rather, because the common people of that quarter speak muche of a fayre Towne, that sometime stode vpon the hill.) Sauing that bothe many places there aboutes are vpon like reason termed Denes, and that Iohn Bale (who had seene an auncient hystorie of the house it selfe) calleth it plainly Newendene.

<Bale 1559:82>

The course  
of the Ry=  
uer Lymen,  
nowe Ro=  
ther.

It is a frontier, and Marche Towne of this Shyre, by reason that it lyeth vpon the Ryuer, that diuideth Kent and Sussex in sunder, whiche water Leland affir= meth to be the same, that our auncient Chronicles call Lymene, though nowe of the common sorte, it is kno= wen by the name of Rother only: It riseth (sayth he) at Argas hil in Sussex, neare to Waterdowne Forrest, and falleth to Rotherfield, thence to Hichingham, and so to Roberts bridge (corruptly so termed, for Rother'sbridge) from whence it descendeth to Bodyam Castell, to Newen=

<Leland 1545:K4v>

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dene, Oxney, and Apultree, and soone after openeth into the Sea. The place is not notable for any other thing, then that it harboured the first Carmelite Fryars, that euer were in this Realme. For about the midst of the reigne of King Henrie the thirde, that order came o= uer the Sea, arriued in this lande, and made their neste at Newendene, whiche was before a wooddy, and solita= rie place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much the more fit for Religious persons to inhabite.

1241.

The first  
Carmelites  
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 liued solitarily, were drawne into compa= nies by one Ioan (the Patriarche of Ierusalem) in the dayes of King Henrie the firste: And after that com= ming into Europe, were by Honorius Quartus, the Pope, appointed to a rule and order, by the name of the Bro= thers of Mary, whiche title liked them selues so well, that they procured †the Pope Vrbane the sixte, three yeares pardon, for all suche as would so call them: But certaine merry felowes, (seing their vanitie, and know= ing how litle they were of kin to Mary the blessed Vir= gine) called them the brothers of Mary Aegiptiaca, the harlot, whereat the Pope was so offended, that he plain= ly pronounced them Heretikes for their labour. I read, that in the reigne of King Richard the seconde, one William Starnefeld was Pryor of this house, and that he committed to writing, the originall and beginning of the same, But hi= therto (though to no great losse) it hath not chaun= ced me to see it.

†r. 'of the'

<Bale 1559:82>

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The Weald, so named of the Sax=  
on worde *weald*, which signifieth A woodie countrie. The Britons called it *Andred*, of which worde the Sax=  
ons called it *AnSreSesleag*, in Latine, *Saltus An=  
dred* the chase of *Andred*. This latter name  
was imposed for the exceeding great=  
nesse of it: for *Anrhse* in Brit=  
tish, is as much as great,  
or wonderfull.

Nowe then we are come to the Weald  
of Kent, which (after the common opi=  
nion of men of our time) is contained  
within very streight and narrowe li=  
mits, notwithstanding that in times  
paste, it was reputed of suche exceeding  
bignesse, that it was thought to extende into Sussex,  
Surrey, and Hamshyre, and of suche notable fame with=  
all, that it left the name to that part of the Realme, tho=  
rough which it passed: for it is manifest, by the auncient  
Saxon Chronicles, by *Asserus Meneuensis*, *Henrie* of  
*Huntingdon*, and almost all others of latter time, that  
beginning at *Winchelsey* in Sussex, it reached in length  
a hundreth and twentie myles towarde the West, and  
stretched thirtie myles in breadth towarde the Northe:  
And it is (in mine opinion) moste likely, that in respecte  
of this wood, that large portion of this Islande (whiche in  
*Cæsars* time †contained foure seuerall Kings) was called  
of the Bryttish word (*Cainc*) *Cancia* in Latine, and now  
commonly *Kent*: Of which deriuation, one other infallible  
monument remaineth, euen til this day in *Staffordshyre*,  
where they yet call their great woodie Forrest, by the  
name of (*Kanc*) also.

Kent, why  
so called.

†r. 'contented'

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On the edge of this wood (in Sussex) there stode som=  
time a Citie, called (after the same) *Andredes Chester*,  
whiche *Ella* (the founder of the Southsaxon kingdome)  
after that he had landed with his three sonnes, and cha=  
sed the Brytons into the wood, rased, and made equall  
with the grounde: And in this wood, *Sigbert*, a King of  
*Westsex*, was done to death by this occasion following.

755.

About the yeare after the Incarnation of Christe.  
seuen hundreth fiftie fiue, this *Sigbert* succeeded Cu=  
thred his cousine in the kingdom of the Westsaxons, and  
was so puffed vp with the pride of his dominion (mighte  
ly enlarged by the prosperous successes of his predeces=  
sour) that he gouerned without feare of God, or care of  
man, making lust his lawe, and mischiefe his minister:  
Wherevpon one *Cumbra*, (an Earle and Counselour)  
at the lamentable suite of the Commons, moued him to  
consideration: But *Sigbert*, disdainig to be directed,  
commaunded him most dispitefully to be slayne: Here=  
at the Nobilitie and Commons were so mucche offended,  
that assembling for the purpose, they with one assent  
deprived him of his crowne and dignitie, and he (fearing  
worse) fled into the wood, where after a season, a poore  
*Hogheard* (sometime seruaunt to *Cumbra*) founde him  
(in a place, which the Saxon Hystories cal *Prifetsflode*)  
and knowing him to be the same that had slaine his Ma=  
ster, slue him also without all manner of mercy.

The Hystorie of this *Hoghearde*, presenteth to my  
minde, an opinion that some men mainteine touching

The Weald was some time a wilderness.

this Weald: whiche is, that it was a great while together in manner nothing else but a Desert, and waste Wildernesse, not planted with Townes, or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shyre were, but stoared and stuffed with heardes of Deare, and droues of Hogs onely: whiche conceit, though happely it may seeme to

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many but a Paradoxe, yet in mine own fantasie, it wantheth not the feete of sounde reason to stande vpon: For, besides that a man shall reade in the Hystories of Canterbury and Rochester, sundry donations, in whiche there is mention onely of Pannage for Hogges in Amdred, and of none other thing: I thinke verely that it cannot be shewed out of auncient Chronicles, that there is remayning in †Weald of Kent, or Sussex, any one monument of great antiquitie. And truly this thing I myselfe haue obserued, in the auncient rentalles and surveys, of the possessions of Christes Church in Canterbury, that in the rehearsall of the olde rentes and seruices, due by the Tenaunts dwelling without the Weald, the entrie is commonly after this forme,

†r. 'the weald'

This Beneth, is the seruice which the tenant doth, with his Carte & Ploughe.

De redditu. vii. s'. vi. d'.  
De viginti ouis. i. d'.  
De gallinis, & benerth. xvi. d'.  
Summa viii. s'. xi. d'. quieti redditus.

But when they come to the Tenautes inhabiting within the Wealdy countrey, then the stile and Intituling, is first,

Redditus de Walda,

Then after that followeth, De tenementis loanis at Stile in loose. iii. s'. iiiii. d'.

Without shewing for what auncient seruice, for what manner of custome, or for what speciall cause, the same Rent grew due and payable, as in the first stile †or entrie is expressed.

†<of>

Wherevpon I gather, that although the propertie of the Weald, was at the firste belonging to certaine known owners, as wel as the rest of the countrey, yet was it not then allotted into Tenancies, nor Manured like

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vnto the residue: But that euen as men were contented to inhabite it, and by peecemeale to rid it of the wood, and to breake it vp with the ploughe: So this latter rent (differing from the former, bothe in quantitie and qualitie, as being greater than the other, and yealded rather as recompence for fearme, then as a quiterent for any seruice) did long after by litle and litle, take his beginning.

The boundes of the Weald.

And hereout also springeth the diuersitie of opinions, touching the true limits of this Weald: Some men affirming it to beginne at one place, and some at another, whereas (in my fantasie) there can be assigned, none other certaine boundes thereof, then suche as we haue before recited out of the auncient Hystories: For euen as in the olde time (being then a meere solitude, and on no part inhabited) it might easily be circumscribed: So since (being continually from time to time made lesse by industrie) it coulde not long haue any standing or permanent termes. And therefore, what so euer difference in common report there be, as touching the



same, for as much as it is now (thanked be God) in manner wholly replenished with people, a man may more reasonably mainteine, that there is no Weald at all, then certainly pronounce, eyther where it beginneth, or maketh an ende.

And yet if question in Lawe shoulde fortune to be moued, concerning the limits of the Weald, (as in deede it maye happen vpon the Statute of Woods, and otherwise) I am of opinion, that the same ought to be decided by the verdict of twelue men, grounded vpon the common reputation of the countrey thereabouts, and not by any other meanes.

But bycause I wote not, howe the naturall and aun-

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cient inhabitantes of this countrey will beare it, that a young Nouesse, and lately adopted Denizen, shoulde thus boldly determine at their disputations, I will here (for a while) leaue 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 vpon Medwey, belonged sometime to the Monkes of Christes Church in Canterbury, to whom it yealded in the dayes of King Edward the Confessour, twelue hundreth Eeles for a yearely rent. This I exemplifie to the ende that it may appeare, that their reseruations (in auncient time) were as well in victuall, as in money, and that thereof the landes so leased, were called Fermes, of the Saxon worde, *feormian*; whiche is to feede, or yeald victuall. Whiche Etymologie of the worde, although it might suffice to the prooue of that matter, yet to the end, that my coniecture may haue the more force, I will ad vnto it the authoritie of Geruasius Tilberiensis, a learned man, that flourished in the dayes of King Henrie the seconde, who in his Dialogue, of the obseruations of the Exchequer, hath in effecte as followeth. 'Vntill the time (sayth he) of King Henrie the first, the Kings vsed not to receiue money of their lands, but victuals, for the necessarie prouision of their house. And towards the payment of the Souldiours wages, and suche like charges, money was raysed out of the Cities and Castles, in whiche husbandrie and tillage was not exercised. But at the length, when as the King, being in the partes beyonde the Seas, needed ready money, towarde the furniture of his warres, and his subiectes and farmers complayned, that they were grievously troubled by cariage of victuals, into sundry parts

Fermes  
why so termed.

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of the Realme, farre distant from their dwelling houses.

The king directed comission to certaine discrete persons, whiche hauing regarde of the value of those victuals, should reduce them into reasonable summes of mo-

ney: The leueying of whiche summes, they appointed to the Sheriffe, taking ordre withall, that he should pay them at the Scale, or Beame, that is to say, that he should pay sixe pence ouer and aboue euery pound waight of money, because they thought, that the money in time would waxe so muche the woorse for the wearing. &c.'

Thus farre Geruasius.

I am not ignorant, that Geruasius him selfe in another place of that Booke, deriueth the woord (Ferme) from the Latine (Firma) Howbeit, for asmuche as I know assuredly, that the terme was vsed here amongst the Saxons, before the comming of the Conquerour, and that the Etymon therof, descended from the Saxon language (whereof happely Geruasius being a Norman, was not muche skilfull) I am as bolde to leaue his opinion for the deriuation, as I was readie to cleaue to his reporte for the Hystorie.

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Maidstone, contractly for Medweys Towne: in Saxon *MeSwegestun*, that is, the Towne vpon Medway: it is taken to be that whiche in Antoninus, is called Duropronis. One auncient Saxon boke, which I haue seene writeth it thus, *Mægpanstane*, whiche is as muche to say, as the mightie, or strong stone: a name (belike) giuen for the Quarrey of hard stone there.

The name of this Towne (being framed, as the moste part thinke, out of the name of the water) might easily moue a man to iudge, that it had been long since the Principall towne vpon the Riuer whereon it is situated: The rather for that the Saxons (in imposing the names of their chiefe places) vsed to borrowe (for the moste parte) the names of the waters adioyning, as Colchester was so by them called, of the water Colne: Ciceter (or rather Cyrenchester) of the water Cyren, in Latine Corinius: Donchaster of the Riuer of Done: Lyncolne of Lindis: and (to come to our owne Shyre) Eilesford, of Eile, Dartford of Darent, Crayford, of Cray, and suche other.

Howebeit, for asmuche as I finde not this place, as boue once named in any auncient hystorie, and but seldom mentioned in any Recordes that I haue seene, I dare not pronounce it of any great antiquitie, but speak

†delete

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chiefly of that whiche it hathe gotten within the compasses of late memorie.

In the time of King Edward the sixt therefore, this Towne was incorporated, and endowed with sundrie liberties, all whiche soone after it forfeited by ioyning in a Rebellion moued within this Shyre, vnder the

Townes  
named of  
the Riuers.

Reigne of Queene Marie. Neuerthelesse, of late time the Queenes Maiestie (that nowe is) of her great clemencie, hathe not onely restoared to the Towne the former incorporation, but endowed it also with great Priuilege, appaireling the Maior with the authoritie of a Iustice of the Peace, exempting the Townesmen from forreigne Sessions, and creating the Towne it selfe a Boroughe, enabled to haue voice in Parleament.

The Col=lege.

1260.

In it were foure principall ornamentes of building, the College, the Bishops Palaice, the house of the Brothers of Corpus Christi, and the Bridge: Of whiche the first, was built by Boniface (the Archebishop of Canterbury, and Vncle to Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the third) to the honour of Peter, Paule, and Saint Thomas (the Martyr, as they would haue it) and endowed with great possessions, by the name of an Hospitall, but commonly termed the newe woorke. This had not stode fully a hundreth and fourtie yeares, but that William Courtney (a successour in that See, and a Noble man, as the other was) pulled it downe, and erecting a newe, after his owne pleasure, gayned thereby the name of a founder, and called it, a College of Secular Priestes. The Palaice, that yet standeth, was begonne by Iohn Vfford, the Archebishop, but for as much as he died, before he had brought the worke to the midst, Simon Islepe (the next in succession sauing one) took this matter in hand, and not onely pulled downe a house of the Bishops

1395.

The Palaice

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1359.

The Schole

which had long before stode at Wrotham, but also charged his whole Prouince with a tenth to accomlishe it. I finde in a Recorde, that Thomas Arundell (another Bishop of the same See) founded a Chaunterie at Maidston, which whether it be the same, that was sometime called the house of the Brothers, and but lately conuerted by the Townesmen into a Free schoole, or no, I will not boldely affirme, but I thinke it rather so, then other wise. Of the Bridge I finde no beginning, but I suspect, that it rose by the Archebishops, whiche were not onely owners of the Palaice hard by, as you see, but Lords and Patrones of the whole Towne, and Church also.

The Riuer of Medway and wherof it tooke the name.

And thus mucche onely of the Town: as touching the Riuer of Medway, it seemeth to haue beene so named, either because it stood in the midle of the Kentish Kingdome, or els for that it ranne midde betweene the two Bishopricks: For the woord (MiSweg) signifieth nothing els, but the Midway as (MiSSeg) dothe noone, or Midday, onlesse happely some man would rather haue it called (Medwœg) because of the meddowe that it maketh all along the course of the same.

This Riuer is increased by the foure principall Brookes that runne into it, whereof (to beginne at the West) the first springeth about Crowherst in Surrey (not farre from the head of Darent) it falleth to Etonbridge, and taking in the way Heuer, †Penshreste, and Tunbridge, ioyneth with the second at Yealding.

The second ariseth at Blackbrooks in Waterdown forest, not fully a mile from Eredge, the Lord Aburgenies house, and commeth to Beyham, to Lamberhirst streete, and to a place in Scotney ground, called litle Sussex, where it meeteth with a small brooke called Beaul,

(that springeth at Tishirst three miles of, and giueth the  
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name to Beauldbridge) from whence they ioyne in iour=  
ney to Horsmondon and Merden, and there mingling  
with the third, they runne altogether to Yalding.

The third Brooke taketh beginning aboute Greate  
Charte, and descendeth to Hedcorne, Stilebridge, and  
Merden.

The fourthe, and last, breaketh out of the ground at  
Lineham, washeth the Castle of Ledes, a litle from  
whence it receaueth the small water of Holingburne,  
and in †a companie of the same passeth toward Maidstone:  
At whiche place (as I thinke) the name of Medwey, first  
beginneth, the rather, bycause it hathe there receaued  
all his helpes, and crossing the Shyre, as it were in the  
midst, laboureth from thence in one entier Chanel to  
finde out the Sea. For otherwise the Riuer it selfe  
is properly called Egle, or, Eyle, of whiche bothe the  
Towne of Ailesford, and the Castle of Alington (or ra=  
ther Eylington) doe take their names.

The Riuer  
Aile, or Eile

†r. 'the'

If I faile in this deriuation, the fault (for the firste  
part) is his that made the Chart of this Shyre, and then  
the follie is mine that followe him, but the trueth not=  
withstanding is easily to be found out, by any man  
that wil make inuestigation and examine it,  
and our trespasse also herein more  
veniall, for that we go not  
about to shadowe it.

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Piccendene Hothe, commonly,  
but aunciently written Pinenden, of Pi=  
nian, to punishe: and so it soun=  
deth the place of Ex=  
ecution, or  
punish=  
ment.

The name  
of Harlot,  
whereof it  
beganne.

Robert, the Duke of Normandie, had  
issue by a Concubine (whose name,  
as the Annales of S. †Augustine  
reporte, was Harlothe, and after  
whom, as I coniecture, suche incon=  
tinent women haue euer since been  
called Harlots) three Sonnes, that  
is to say, William that afterward subdued this Realm,  
Robert, that was created Earle of Moretone, and Odo  
that was first consecrated Bishop of Baieux, then Earle  
of Kent, and lastly Lieutenaunt, or Vicegerent of this  
whole Realme, vnder William his Brother.

†r. 'Augustines'

Odo the  
Earle nf  
Kent.

Robert, was reputed a man of small courage, wise=  
dome, and learning, and therefore passed his time inglo=  
riously: But Odo, was found to be of nature so bu=  
sie, greedie, and ambitious, that he moued many Trage=  
dies within this Realme, and was in the end throwen  
from the Stage, and driuen into Normandie, as hereaf=  
ter in fitte place shal be more amply declared. In the  
meane while, for this present place, and purpose, I finde  
that during his aboade in Kent, he had so incroched vp=  
on the landes and Priuileges of the Archebishopricke of  
Canterbury, and Bishopricke of Rochester, that Lan=  
franc (being promoted to that See of dignitie, and fin=

The aunci=  
ent manner  
of the triall  
of right.

ding the want) complained to the King, and obtained,

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that with his good pleasure they might make triall of their right with him. To the which end also, the same King gaue commission to Goisfrid (then Bishop of Constance in Normandie) to represent his owne person, for hearing of the controuersie: caused Egelric the Bishop of Chichester (an aged man, singularly commended for skill in the Lawes, and Customes of the Realme) to be brought thether in a Wagon, for his assistance in Counsell, commaunded Haymo (the Sheriffe of Kent) to summon the whole Countie to giue in euidence: and charged Odo his brother to be present, at suche time and place. as should be notified vnto him. Pinnendene Heathe (lying almost in the midst of the Shyre, and therefore very indifferent for the assembly of the whole Countie) was the appointed place, and therevnto not onely the whole number of the moste expert men of this Shyre, but of sundrie other Countries also, came in great frequencie, and spent three whole dayes in debate of these Bishops controuersies, concluding in the end, that Lanfranc, and the Bishop of Rochester should be restored to the possession of Detling, Stoce, Preston, Danitune, and sundry other landes, that Odo had withholden: And that neyther the Earle of Kent, nor the King him selfe had right to claime any thing in any the lands of the Archebishop, sauing only these three customes, whiche concerne the Kings high waies that leade from one citie to an other: that is to say: 'That if any of the Archebishops tenants should digge in suche a highe way, or fell a tree crosse the same, to the hinderaunce of common passage, and be taken with the manner, or conuincd thereof by Lawe, hee should make amendes to the King therefore:

And likewise when hee did committe bloudsheade, manslaughter, or any other criminall offence in suche

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†were 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 trial and the amends pertained to the Archebishop him self, and that the King had not to medle therewith.' On the other side also they agreed, that the Archebishop had many Priuileges throughout all the Landes of the King, and of the Earle, as namely, the amerciamento of bloudshed from suche time as they ceasse to say Alleluia in the Churche seruice, till the Octaues of Easter: the whiche howe long it is, let them see whiche can turne the Pie and the Portuse: and at the least the one half of euerie amerciamento, due for the vnlawfull begetting of children, commonly called †CySwite, whiche last thing, I do the rather note, to the end that it may appeare, that in those dayes the Bishops had not wholly gotten into their hands, the correction of adulterie and fornication, whiche of latter times they haue chalenged from the Laitie, with suche pertinacie: and whiche they haue punished (bothe in the Laitie, and clergie) with suche lenitie, that not onely the Princes commoditie is thereby greatly decreased, but also incontinencie in his subiects intollerably augmented. Neither is to be proued by this testimonie only,

†<wise that hee were>

†r. 'cyISwite'

The Clear=  
gie haue in  
croched vp=  
on the  
Prince, in  
the punish=  
ment of  
adulterie.

that suche was the order in olde time, but by the booke of Domesday it selfe also, where it is plainly said. 'De adulterio Rex habebit hominem, Archiepiscopus mulierem.' In case of adulterie, the King shall haue the man, and the Archebishop the woman. &c. But to returne to Pinnendene: the commoditie of the situation it selfe, and the example of this notable assemblie, haue been the cause, that not only the Sheriffes vse to holde their Countie Courtes, but also to appoint the meeting for choise of Knights to the Parleament, most commonly at this place.

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Boxley, may take the name eyther of the Saxon word (*boxeleage*) for the store of Box= trees that peradventure sometime grewe there, or of (*bucesleag*) whiche is as muche to say, as a place lying in Vmbelico, in the midst, or Nauell of the Shyre, as in deede this Box= ley dothe.

Abbaies do beget one another.

1146. As touching the foundation of Boxley Abbay, I finde an obscure note in ancient Chronicles of S. Wereburges in Chester, where it is thus reported, 'Anno, 1146. fundata est Boxleia in Cantua, filia Clareuallis propria.' Whiche I call obscure, bycause it appeareth not to me by the word (*filia*) whether it be ment, that Boxley were erected by the liberalitie of the Monasterie of Clareualley, or else instituted onely after the possession, rule, and order of the same. For the like notes I finde in the same Chronicle of diuers other houses within England, to whiche the same Monasterie of Clareuale (and others also) were like good mothers: and amongst the rest, that not many yeares after, this Monasterie of Boxley it selfe was deliuered of suche another spirituall childe, called the Abbay of Robertsbridge in Sussex.

†r. 'profession'

1172. Neuerthelesse, I make coniecture, that the authourment by (*filia*) nothing else, but that one Abbay eyther furthered by exhortation the building of another, or else furnished it after the building with Monkes of her own broode: And for more likelyhoode that this shoulde be his minde, Heare (I pray you) what he sayth in another place, 'Comes Cornubiæ fundauit Hayles, filiam Belliloci in

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1144. Anglia,' whiche his wordes, distinguishe plainely betweene the founder that bare the charge of the building, and the Abbay, after the order and patterne whereof it was instituted. But leauing to comment any longer vpon that doubtfull texte, I will take to witness the Chronicles of Rochester, whiche (putting the matter out of doubt) saye plainely, that one William de Ipre (a noble man, and Lieuetenant to King Stephan, in his warres againste Maude the Empresse) founded the Abbay of Boxley, and planted it with a Couent of white Monkes. And so haue you at once, the name of the Authour, the time of the foundation, and the rule of the profession, at Boxley: wherevnto if you shall adde the yearely value (whiche I reade in the Recorde to haue beene two hundreth and foure poundes) you haue all that I finde written concerning the same.

But yet if I shoulde thus leaue Boxley, the fauourers of false and feyned Religion, woulde laughe in their sleeues, and the followers of Gods trueth might iustly crye out, and blame me.

For, it is yet freshe in mynde to bothe sides, and shall (I doubte not) to the profite of the one, be continued in perpetuall memorie to all posteritie, by what notable imposture, fraud, luggling, and Legierdemain, the sillie lambes of Gods flocke were (not long since) seduced by the false Romishe Foxes at this Abbay. The manner whereof, I will set downe in suche sorte onely, as the same was sometime by them selues published in printe †(as it is sure) for their estimation and credit, and yet remayneth deeply imprinted in the mynds and memories of many on liue, to their euerlasting reproche, shame, and confusion.

†delete

The vngracious Rood of Grace.

It chaunced (as the tale is) that vpon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our country, was taken pry-

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soner in the warres betweene vs and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and hauing good leysure to deuise for his deliuerance) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make him selfe some money withall: And therefore, getting together fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood wyer, paste, and paper, a Rood of suche exquisite arte, and workmanship, that it not onely matched in comelynesse, and due proportion of the partes, the beste of the common sorte: but in straunge motion, varietie of gesture, and nimblenesse of ioyntes, passed all other that before had beene seene: the same being able to bowe downe, and lift vp it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the heade, to rolle the eyes, to wagge the chappes, to bende the browes, and finally, to represent to the eye, bothe the proper motion of eche member of the bodye, and also a liuely, expresse, and significant shewe of a well contented, or displeased mynde, bytyng the lippe, and gathering a frowning, frowarde, and disdainefull face, when it woulde pretende offence: and shewing a most mylde, amyable, and smyling cheare and countenance, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased.

So that now it needed not Prometheus fire, to make it a liuely man, but onely the helpe of the couetous Priestes of Bell, or the ayde of some craftie College of Monkes, to deifie and make it passe for a very God.

This done, he made shifte for his libertie, came ouer into the Realme, of purpose to vtter his Merchandise, and layde the Image vpon the backe of a lade, that he draue before him. Nowe when he was come so farre as to Rochester on his waye, he waxed

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drye by reason of trauaile, and called at an alehouse for drinke to refreshe him, suffering his horse neuerthelesse to goe forwarde alone thorowe the Citie.

This lade was no sooner out of sight, but he missed the streight western way that his Maister intended to haue gone, and turning Southe, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driuen (as it were) by some diuine furie, neuer ceassed til he came at the Abbay church

doore, where he so beate and bounced with his heeles,  
that diuers of the Monkes hearde the noyse, came to the  
place to know the cause, and (marueiling at the strange=  
nesse of the thing) called the Abbat and his Couent to  
beholde it.

These good men seeing the horse so earnest, and dis=  
cerning what he had on his backe, for doubt of deadly  
impietie opened the doore, whiche they had no sooner  
done, but the horse rushed in, and ranne (in great haste)  
to a piller (which was the verie place where this Image  
was afterwarde aduanced) and there stopped him self,  
and stode still. Nowe while the Monkes were busie  
to take off the loade, in commeth the Carpenter (that by  
great inquisition had followed) and he chalengeth his  
owne: The Monkes, lothe to loose so beneficiall a stray,  
at the first make some denyal, but afterwarde, being as=  
sured by all signes that he was the very Proprietarie,  
they graunt him to take it with him. The carpenter  
then taketh the horse by the heade, and first assayeth to  
leade him out of the Churche, but he woulde not stirre  
for him: Then beateth he and striketh him, but the lade  
was so restie and fast nayled, that he would not once re=  
moue his foote from the piller: At the laste he taketh off  
the Image, thinking to haue carried it out by it self, and  
then to haue led the horse after, but that also cleaued  
so fast to the place, that notwithstanding all that euer he

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and the Monkes also, (which at the length were conten=  
ted for pitie sake to helpe him) coulde doe, it woulde not  
be moued one inche from it, So that in the ende, parte=  
ly of wearinesse in wrestling with it, and partely by  
persuasion of the Monkes, whiche were in loue with  
the Picture, and made him beleue, that it was by God  
him selfe destinate to their house, the Carpenter was  
contented for a peece of money, to go his way and leaue  
the Roode behinde him. Thus you see the generati=  
on of this the great God of Boxley, comparable (I war=  
rant you) to the creation of that olde beastly Idol Pria=  
pus, of whiche the Poet sayth.

<Horace>

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum.  
Cum faber incertus SCAMNVM, FACERETNE PRIAPVM,  
MALVIT ESSE DEVM: Deus inde ego furum. &c.

A Figtree blocke sometime I was,  
A log vnmeete for vse:  
Til Caruer doubting with him selfe,  
WERT BEST MAKE PRIAPVS,  
OR ELSE A BENCHE? resolute at last  
To make a God of me:  
Thencefoorth a God I am, of birdes  
And theeues most drad, you see.

But what? I shall not neede to report, howe leude=  
ly these Monkes, to their owne enriching, and the spoyle  
of Gods people, abused this wooden God after they had  
thus gotten him, bycause a great sorte be yet on liue,  
that sawe the fraude openly detected at Paules Crosse,  
and others maye reade it disclosed in bookes extant, and  
commonly abroad. Neyther will I labour to com=  
pare it throughout, with the Troian Palladium, whiche  
was a picture of woode, that coulde shake a speare, and  
rolle the eyes as liuely as this Roode did: and whiche



falling from heauen, chose it self a place in the Temple,

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as wisely as this Carpenters horse did: and had other= wise so greate conuenience and agreement with this our Image, that a man woulde easily beleeeue the deuice had beene taken from thence: But I will onely note, for my purpose, and the places sake, that euen as they fansied that Troy was vpholden by that Image, and that the taking of it away by Diomedes and Vlysses, brought destruction (by sentence of the Oracle) vpon their Citie: So the towne of Boxley (whiche stooode chiefly by the Abbay) was through the discouerie and defacing of this Idol, and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwel) according to the iust iudgement of God, hastened to vt= ter decay and beggerie.

S. Rumwald,  
and his mi=  
racles.

And nowe since I am falne into mention of that o= ther Image, whiche was honoured at this place, I will not sticke to bestowe a fewe wordes for the detection thereof also, as well for that it was, as very an illusion as the former, as also for that the vse of them was so lincked together, that the one can not throughly be vn= derstoode without the other: for this was the order.

If you minded to haue benefit by the Roode of Grace, you ought firste to be shryuen of one of the Monkes: Then by lifting at this other Image (whiche was vn= truely of the common sorte called Sainct Grumbald, for Sainct Rumwald) you shoulde make prooffe whether you were in cleane life (as they called it) or no: and if you so founde your selfe, then was your waye prepared, and your offering acceptable before the Roode, if not, then it behoued you to be confessed of newe, for it was to be thought, that you had concealed somewhat from your ghostly Dad, and therefore not yet worthy to be admit= ted 'Ad Sacra Eleusina.'

For none  
might en=  
ter into the  
Temple of  
Ceres in E=  
leusis, but  
such as were  
innocent.

Nowe that you may knowe, howe this examination was to be made, you must vnderstande, that this Sainct

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Rumwald was a preatie shorte picture of a Boy Sainct, standing in the same Churche, of it selfe so small, hollow, and light, that a childe of seuen yeares of age might easi= ly lift it, and therefore of no moment at all, in the hands of suche persons as had offered frankly: But by meane of a pyn of wood, stricken through it into a poste (whiche a false knaue standing behinde, coulde put in, and pull out, at his pleasure) it was to suche as offered faintly, so fast and vnmoueable, that no force of hande coulde once stirre it: In so muche, as many times, it moued more laughter, then deuotion, to beholde a great lubber to lift at that in vayne, whiche a young boy or wenche had easily taken vp before him.

I omit, that chaste Virgines, and honest married matrones, went oftentimes away with blushing faces, leauing (without cause) in the myndes of the lookers on, suspicion of vnckleane life, and wanton behaiour: for feare of whiche note and villanie, women (of all other) stretched their purse strings, and sought by liberall of= fering, to make Sainct Rumwalds man their good friend and Maister.

But marke here (I beseeche you) their prettie policie in picking playne folkes purses. It was in vaine (as they persuaded) to presume to the Roode without

shrifte, yea, and money lost there also, if you †offer before you were in cleane life. And therefore, the matter was so handled, that without trebble oblation, (that is to say) first to the Confessour, then to Sainct Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Roode, the poore Pilgrimes coulde not assure them selues, of any good gayned by all their labour: No more then suche as goe to Pa=risgardein, the Bell Sauage, or some other suche common place, to beholde Beare bayting, Enterludes, or Fence playe, can account of any pleasant spectacle,

†r. 'offered'

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vnlesse they first paye one penny at the gate, another at the entrie of the Scaffolde, and the thirde for a quiet standing. I my selfe can not coniecture, what reason shoulde moue them, to make this Sainct Rumwald the Touchstone of cleane life and innocencie, vnlesse it be vpon occasion of a myracle that he did, in making two holy Priestes to lift a greate stone easily, whiche before diuers laye persons coulde not stirre, with all their strength and abilitie: Whiche thing (as also his whole life and death) to the ende that the tale shall want no part of due credite, I will shortly recite, as in the worke called Noua Legenda Angliæ, I finde reported.

626.

The Nati=uitie of S. Rumwald.

A Pagan or vnchristened King of Northumberland, had married a Christian woman, daughter to Penda, the King of Midle Englande, who woulde not (by any meanes (be known carnally of her husband, til such time as he had condescended to forsake Idolatrie, and to be=come a Christian with her. The husband (with much to doe) consented to the condition, and she not long af=ter waxed great with chylde, and as (vpon a time) they were ryding towarde their Father Kyng Pen=da, she fell into trauayle of chylde byrthe, and was deliuered by the waye (in a faire medowe) at Sut=ton of a man childe, whiche so soone as he was come out of his mothers belly, cried with a loude voice, three seuerall times, 'Christianus sum, Christianus sum, Christianus sum.' I am a Christian, I am a Christian, I am a Christi=an. And not ceassing thus, made foorthwith plaine pro= fession of his faith, desired to be baptised, chose his God= fathers, named himselfe Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers by to fetche him a great hollowe stone, that he would haue to be vsed for the Fonte: here= vpon sondrie of the Kings seruaunts, assayed to haue brought the stone, but it was so farre aboue al their

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strengthes, that they could not once moue it: when the Childe perceaued that, he commaunded the two Priestes (his appointed Godfathers) to goe and bring it, whiche they did foorthwith moste easily. This done he was Baptised, and within three dayes after (hauing in the meane while discoursed cunningly sundrie misteries of Popishe religion, and bequeathing his bodie to remaine at Sutton one yeare, at Brackley two, and at Buc=kingham for euer after) his Spirit departed out of his bodie, and was by the hands of the Aungels conueied into heauen.

<190> ~ 191 ~ 190

Mylton, in Saxon MiSetun, so called

of the situation, for it lyeth in the midst betweene two places, the termination of whose names be in **tun** also, that is to say, Newen=  
tun, and Marstun.

Euen at suche time as King Alfred diuided this Shyre into Lathes and hundrethes, the Towne of Midle=  
ton, or Milton (as we now call it, by our common manner of contraction) was in his owne hands, and therefore set fourth in our auncient Hystories by the name and title of, Regia Villa de Midleton. In whiche respect (of like) he gaue to the hundreth, the name of the same Towne, as of a place more eminent then any other within that precincte. Kemsley †Towne, in the Parishe of this Midleton, is the verie place, †wherein the time and reigne of the same King Alfred, Hasten the Dane (that so muche annoyed Fraunce) arriued and fortified, as we haue at ful disclosed in Apledore before.

893.  
Kemsley  
Downe.

†r. 'downe'

This Towne, continued of good estimation, vntill the Reigne of King Edward the Confessour, in whose dayes, and during the displeasure betweene him, and Earle Godwine, suche as were of the deuotion of the Earle at home, burned the Kinges house at Midleton, while he and his Sonnes abroad ransacked, herried and spoiled the skirts, and out sides, of the whole shyre be=  
sides, after whiche time, I haue not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any price, or estimation.

1052.

<191> ~ 190 ~ 191

Sedingbourne, in Saxon **Sætungbur=  
na**; that is, the Hamlet along the Bourne, or small Riuier. One interpreteth it, as if it were, Seething=  
bourne, Riuus Feruiens, aut Bulliens, but howe likely let others see.

<Talbot>

For want of pertinent matter, tou=  
ching either the beginning, in=  
crease, or present estate of this place, I am driuen to furnishe the roome with an impertinent Ser=  
mon, that a Mytred Father of Ro=  
chester long since bestowed vpon his auditorie there. In the time of King Henrie the third, and after the death of Richard, the Archebishop of Canterbury (surnamed the great) The Monkes of Christes Churche were determined to haue chosen for their Archebishop, Ralfe Nouille, the Bishop of Chi=  
chester, and Chancellour to the King: but Gregorie the Pope, fearing that Ralfe would haue trauailed ear nestly for release of the tribute, whiche his innocent pre=  
decessour had gained by King lohns submission (for the storie sayeth, that Nouille was a good man, and true harted †in his Countrie) bare the Monkes in hand, that he was rashe in woorde, and presumptuous in acte, and therefore muche vnworthie of suche a dignitie: Neuerthelesse, bicause he would not seeme vterly to infringe the libertie of their election, he gaue them free licence to take any other man besides him. Where=  
vpon, the Monkes agreed, and chose one lohn, the Pry=  
or of their owne house.

1231.

†r. 'to'

The Popish  
manner of  
preaching.

Now, when this man should go to Rome (as the man=ner was) for to buie his confirmation, Henrie (then Bi=shop of Rochester) addressed himselfe to accompanie him to his Ship, and when they were come to this Towne, the Bishop of Rochester stept into the Pulpit, like a pretie man, and gaue the Auditorie, a clerkly collation, and Preachement †(after many other thinges) he braste foorth into great ioye, (as a man that had beene rapt into the third Heuen) and said. 'Reioice in the Lord (my brethren all) and knowe ye assuredly, that now of late in one day, there departed out of purgatorie, Richard (sometime) King of England, Stephan Langton, the Archebishop of Canterbury, and a Chaplein of his, to goe to the diuine Maiestie. And in that day, †thereis=sued no moe, but these three, out of the place of paines: and feare not to giue full and assured faith to these my woordes, for this thing hathe beene now the third time reuealed vnto me, and to another man, & that so plainly, as from mine owne minde all suspicion of doubt is farre remoued.'

†r. 'in which (after'

These fewe words, I haue in manner translated out of Thomas Rudburne, and Mathewe of Westminster, to the end that you might see, with what wholesome and comfortable bread, the preaching Prelates of that time fedde their Auditories, and that you might hereby consider, that, 'Si lux sit tenebræ,' If the Bishops, the great tor=ches of that time, were thus dimme, 'Ipsæ tenebræ quan=tæ?' What light was to be looked for at the little candels, the soule Priestes, and seely Syr lohns. Beleeue me, if his Fatherhood had not plainly confessed, that he came to the knowledge of this matter by reuelation, I would easily haue beleeued, that he had beene with Anchises in Hell, as Aeneas sometime was, where he learned, what soules should come next to life, and where he hard

Popish pur= gatorie, is deriued out of Poetrie.

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the liuelyest description of Poetical, or Popish Purga=torie, (for all is one) that is any where to be found. Whiche to the end that you may see what agreement there is betweene the olde and the newe Romanes, tou=ching this article of religion, I will shewe it you, in a fewe of Virgils owne verses.

Quin & supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,  
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes  
Corporeæ excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est  
Multa diu concreta, modis inolescere miris.  
Ergo exercentur pænis, veterumque malorum  
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes  
Suspensæ ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto  
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni:  
Quisque suos patimur manes. Exinde per amplum  
Mittimur Elysium, & pauci læta arua tenemus:  
Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe  
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit  
Ætherium sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.

Whiche Thomas Phaer translated  
after this manner.

<Phaer 1558>

Moreouer, when their end of life,  
and light doth them forsake,  
Yet can they not their sinnes, nor so=

rowes all (poore soules) of shake,  
 Nor all contagions fleshly from  
 them voides, but must of neede  
 Muche things congendred long, by won=  
 derous meanes at last out spread:  
 Therefore they plagued beene, and for  
 their former faultes and sinnes,  
 Their sundrie paines they bide: some highe  
 in aire doe hang on pinnes,

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Some fleeting bene in floodes, and deepe  
 in gulfes themselues they tyer,  
 Till sinnes away be washt, or clen=  
 sed cleane with purging fyer.  
 Eche one of vs our pænance here  
 abide, that sent we bee  
 To Paradise at last: wee fewe  
 these fieldes of ioye do see.  
 Till compasse long of time, by per=  
 fect course hathe purged quite,  
 Our former cloddred spots, and pure  
 hathe left our Ghostly Sprite,  
 And senses pure of soule, and sim=  
 ple sparkes of heauenly light.

Nowe therefore, if this Bishops Poetrie may be al=  
 lowed for diuinitie, me thinketh that with great reason I  
 may intreate, that not onely this woorke of Vir=  
 gils Aeneides, But Homers Iliades, Ouides  
 Fastes, and Lucians Dialogues also, may be  
 made Canonically: for these al  
 excell in suche kinde  
 of fiction.

195

Tong Castle, or rather Thong  
 Castle, in Saxon þwangceastre, in Britthish  
 Caerkerry, of (Thwang, and Karry)  
 both whiche woords, signifie  
 a Thong of leather.

The Britthish Chronicle, discoursing the  
 inuitation, arriuall, and interteinment  
 of Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon cap  
 taines, mentioneth, that among o=  
 ther deuises (practised for their owne  
 establishment and securitie) they beg=  
 ged of King Vortiger, so muche land  
 to fortifie vpon, as the hyde of a beast (cut into thonges)  
 might incompasse, and that thereof the place should bee  
 called †Thongraster, or Thwangraster: after suche a like  
 manner, as Dido (long since beguiling Hiarbas, the  
 King of Lybia) builded the Castle Byrsa, conteyning  
 twentie and two furlonges in circuit, of whiche Virgil  
 spake, saying.

†for 'r' r. 'c' twice

Meratique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
 Taurino possint quantum circundare tergo. &c.

They bought the soile, & Byrsa it cald,  
 when first they did beginne,  
 As muche as with a Bul hide cut,  
 they could inclose within.

But Saxo Grammaticus applieth this Act to the time of the Danes, affirming that one Iuarus (a Dane) obtained by this kinde of policie, at the handes of Etheldred, the Brother of Alfred to build a fort. And as these men agree, not vpon the builder, so is there variance between written storie, and common speeche, touching the true place of the building: for it should seem by Galfrid, Hector Boetius, and

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Ric Cirencester, that it was at Doncaster in the North Countrie, because they lay it in Lindsey, whiche now is extended no further then to the North part of Lincolne shyre: But common opinion (conceaued vpon report, receaued of the elders by tradition) chalengeth it to Tong Castle in this Shyre: Wherevnto if a man do adde, that both the first planting, and the chief abiding, of Hengist and Horsa, was in Kent, and adioyne thereto the authoritie of Mathewe of Westminster: which writeth plainly, that Aurelius Ambrose, the captaine of the Britons, prouoked Hengist to battaile at Tong in Kent, he shall haue cause, neither to falsifie the one opinion lightly, nor to faithe the other vnaduisedly.

And as for mine owne opinion of Doncaster, (which is taken to be the same, that Ptolome called Camulodunum) I thinke verely, that it was named of the water Done, whereon it standethe and not of Thong, as some faine it. Whiche deriuation, whether it be not less violent, (and yet no lesse reasonable,) then the other, I dare refer to any resonable and indifferent Reader. To this place therefore, of right belongeth the storie of King Vortigers Wassailing, whiche I haue already exemplified in the generall discourse of the auncient estate of this Countrie, and for that cause do thinke it more meete to referre you thither, then here to reape it.

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Tenham, in Saxon *Tynham*, that is to say, a Towne (or Hamlet) of ten houses, as Eightam, had the name of *Eahtham*, a Hamlet (or Towne) of eight dwellings.

1205.

At Tenham was long since a mansion house, pertaining to the See of Canterbury, where, in the time of King Iohn, Hubert the Archebishop departed this life, as Mathewe Parise reporteth, who addeth also, that when the King had intelligence of his death, he brast forth into great ioy, and sayde, that he was neuer a King (in deede) before that houre.

It seemeth, that he thought him selfe deliuered of a shrewe, but litle forsawe he that a shrewder shoulde succede in the roome, for if he had, he woulde rather haue prayed for the continuance of his life, then ioyed in the vnderstanding of his death. For after this Hubert, followed Stephan Langton, who brought vpon King Iohn suche a tempestious Sea of sorowfull trouble, that it caused him to make shipwracke, bothe of his honour, crowne, and life also: The storie hath appeared at large in Douer before,

and therefore needeth not  
nowe eftsoones to  
be repeated.

198

Shepey, in Latine, *Insula ouium*,  
& Ouinia, in Saxon, *Sceapige*, the  
Ile of Sheepe.

660. Sexburga (the wife of Ercombert, a King of Kent) folowing the ensample of Eanswide, the daughter of King Ethelbald) erected a Monastery of women in the Ile of Shepey, called *Minster*, whiche (in the late lust, and generall suppression) was founde to be of the yerely value of an hundreth and twentie pounds.
832. This house, and the whole Ile was scourged by the Danes, whome I may well call (as Attila, the leader of the like people, called him self) *Flagellum Dei*, the whip or flaile of God, three times within the space of twentie yeares, and a litle more: Firste, by thirtie and fiue sayle of them, that arriued there and spoyled it: Secondly, and thirdly, by the armies of them, that wintered their ships within it: Besides all whiche harmes, the followers of the Earle Godwine and his sonnes (in the time of their proscrition) landed at Shepey, and harried it.
851. It shoulde seeme by the <sup>†</sup>dedication of the name, that this llande was long since greatly esteemed, eyther for the number of the Sheepe, or for the finenesse of the fleese, although auncient foreigne writers ascribe not muche to any parte of all Englande, and muche lesse to this place, eyther for the one respect, or for the other: But whether the Sheepe of this Realme were in price before the comming of the Saxons, or no, they be nowe (God be thanked therefore) worthy of great estimation, bothe for the exceeding finenesse of the fleese (whiche
- 855.
- 1052.

<sup>†</sup><deriuation>

The English shepe and wooll.

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passeth all other in Europe at this daye, and is to be compared with the auncient delicate wooll of Tarentum, or the Golden Fleese of Colchos, it selfe) and for the abundant store of flockes, so increasing euery where, that not only this litle Isle, whiche we haue nowe in hande, but the whole realme also, might rightly be called Shepey.

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Quinborowe, called in Latine, *Regius Burgus*, in Saxon, *Cyningburh*, That is to say, The Kings Castle.

King Henry the eighth fortifieth his Realme.

At the West ende of Shepey, lyeth Quinborowe Castle, the occasion of the first building whereof, was this. King Edward the third, determining (aboute the thirteenth yeare of his reigne) to make demaunde of his right to the Crowne of Fraunce, first

quieted Scotland by force, then entered amitie with his neighbours of Holland, Seland, and Brabant, and lastly (fortifying at this place for defence of the Thamise) made expedition by Sea, and lande, againste the Frenche King, and moued warre that had long continuance, wherin, neuerthelesse after sundry discomfitures giuen, before Sluse, Cressey, Calaice, and Poitiers, he was in the ende, right honourably satisfied.

1366. During this building, William of Wickam (surnamed Perot) a man not so plentifully endowed with good learning, as abundantly stored with Ecclesiasticall liuing, (for he had nine hundreth poundes of yearely reueneue, fourteene yeares together, and was afterwarde by degrees aduanced to the keeping, firste of the priuie, and then of the broade Seale) was Surueyour of the kings workes, whiche is the very cause (as I coniecture) that some haue ascribed to him the thanke of the building it selfe. This platforme was repayred by King Henrie the eight, at suche time as he raised Blockhouses along the Sea coastes, for the causes already rehearsed in Dele.
- 1536.

201 <sig 2C>

Of Quinborowe, Leland sayth thus,

Castrum Regius editum †recipit  
Burgus, fulmina dira, & insulanos  
Tutos seruat, ab impetu vel omni.

†<recept>

A Castle highe, and thundring shot,  
At Quinbroughe is now plaste:  
Whiche keepeth safe the llanders,  
From euery spoyle and waste.

The name is fallen (as you see) by deprauation of speache from Kingesborowe, to Quinborowe: howbeit, the Etymologie is yet conserued, both in our ancient histories, and in the style of the Court (or Lawday) there. I may adde, that in memorie of the first name, the Ferrie or passage from the Ile to the maine lande, is yet called The Kings ferrie also.

202

Feuersham, in Saxon.  
Fafresham;

903. As it is very likely, that the Towne of Feuersham receiued the chiefe nourishment of her increase from the Religious house: So there is no doubt, but that the place was somewhat of price long time before the building of that Abbay there. For it is to be seene, that King Ethelstane helde a Parleament, and enacted certeine lawes at Feuersham, about sixe hundreth and fortie yeares agoe: at which time (I thinke) it was some Manor house belonging to the Prince, the rather, for that afterwarde King William the Conquerour (to whose handes at length it came) amongst other thinges, gaue the aduowson of the Church, to the Abbay of S. Augustines, and the Manor it selfe to a Normane in recompence of seruice. But what time king Stephan had in purpose to build the Abbay, he recouered the Manor againe, by exchange made with one William de Ippe (the founder of Boxley) for Lillychurch: and raying there a stately Monasterie (the tem=
- 1072.
- 1140.



poralities whereof did amount to a hundreth fiftie and fiue poundes) he stored it with Cluniake Monkes.

1151. This house, was firste honoured with the buriall of  
Adelicia the Queene, his wife: Then with the Sepul=  
1152. ture of Eustachius his only sonne: and shortly after him  
selfe also was there interred by them. I reade none o=  
1154. ther thing worthy remembraunce touching this place,  
Saue that in the reigne of King Iohn, there brake out a  
great controuersie betweene him and the Monkes of S.  
Monkes do  
contend  
with the  
King force=  
ably.  
1202. Augustines, touching the right of the Patronage of the  
Churche of Feuersham. For, notwithstanding that  
King William the Conquerour, had giuen it to the Ab=  
bay (as appeareth before) yet, there wanted not some  
(of whiche number Hubert the Archebishop was one)

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that whispered King Iohn in the eare, that the right of  
the Aduouson was deuoluted vnto him: which thing he  
beleeuing, presented a Clarke to the Churche, and be=  
sides commaunded by his writ, that his presentee should  
be admitted. The Abbat on the other side withstoode him,  
and for the more sure enjoying of his possession, not onely  
elected the Kings Clarke, but also sent thither diuers of  
his Monkes to keepe the Church by strong hand. When  
the King vnderstoode of that, he commaunded the She=  
riffe of the Shyre, to leuie the power of his countie, and  
to restore his presentee: Which commaundement the  
officer endeuoured to put in execution accordingly: But  
suche was the courage of these holy hoorsons, that before  
the Sheriffe coulde bring it to passe, he was driuen to  
winne the Churche by assault, in the which he hurt and  
wounded diuers of them, and drewe and haled the reste  
out of the doores, by the haire and heeles.

Nowe it chaunced that (at the same time) Iohn the  
Cardinall of Sainct Stephans, (the Popes Legate into  
Scotland) passed through this Realme, to whome (as he  
soiourned at Canterbury) the Monks made their mone:  
and he againe, both encouraged them to sende their Pry=  
or to Rome for remedie, and furnished them with his own  
Letters, in commendation of their cause: In whiche, a=  
mongst other things, he tolde the holy father Innocenti=  
us plainly, that if he would suffer Monkes to be thus in=  
treated, the Apostolique authoritie wold soone after be  
set at nought, not only in England, but in al other coun=  
tries also. Herevpon the Pope sent out his commission,  
for the vnderstanding of the matter: but the Monks (be=  
ing now better aduised) tooke a shorter way, and sending  
to the King two hundreth marks in a purse, and a faire  
Palfrey for his owne sadle, they bothe obeyned at his  
handes restitution of their right, and also wan him to be=  
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come from thencefoorth their good Lord and Patrone.

But here (I praye you) consider with me, whether  
these men be more likely to haue been brought vp in the  
Schole of Christe, and Paule his Apostle (who teach, 'Ne  
resistatis malo: & vincatis bono malum) Or rather to haue  
drawne their diuinitie out of Terence Comedie, where  
the counsell is, 'Malumus nos prospicere, quam hunc vlcis=  
ci accepta iniuria,' yea, and out of the worste point of all  
Tullies Philosophie, where he permitteth, 'Lacessitis in=  
iuria, inferre vim & iniuriam,' seing they be so ready, not of  
euen ground onely, but before hande, not to aunswere,

but to offer, force and violence, euen to Kings and Prin= ces themselues. I wis they might haue taken a better lesson out of Terence him selfe, who aduiseth wise men, 'Consilio omnia prius experiri, quam armis,' and therefore I pitie their beating so muche the lesse. But by this and suche other Monkishe partes of theirs, you may see, 'Quid otium & ci= bus faciat alienus.'

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Genlade, and Gladmouthe.

Beda hathe mention of a water in Kent, running by Reculuers, whiche he calleth Genlade: This name was afterward sounded Yenlade, by the same misrule, that gearS is nowe Yard, geoc Yoke, gylS Yeeld, gemen Yeomen, and suche other. Henrie of Huntingdon also reporteth, that King Edward (the Sonne of Alfred builded at Gladmouth: This place I coniecture to haue stooode at the mouthe of that Riuer, and thereof to haue beene called first Gen= lademouthe, and afterward (by contraction, and corruption of speach) Glademouthe. For, to com= pound the name of a Towne, out of the mouthe of a Ri= uer adioining, was most familiar with our auncestours: as the name Exmouthe was framed out of the Riuer Ex: Dartmouthe of the water Dert: Stourmouth in this Shyre, of Stowre, and such other like: And no lesse com= mon with vs of later time is it, to corrupt (by contrac= tion) the true names almoste of al places, but especially of so many of the same, as consisted at the first of three sillables, or aboue.

For, of Medweys Towne, we make Maidstone, of Eglesford, Ailsford, of Otanford Otford, of Seuennocke Sennock, and so fourth infinitely bothe through= out this Shire, and the whole Realme: and that so rude= ly (in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same: For Maildulphesbyrig we call Malmes= bury, Eouesham Esham, and Hagustaldham we cut of by the waste, and nickname it, Hexam: Neyther hath this our manner of abbreviatiou, corrupted the names of townes and places only, but infected (as it were with a certaine contagion) almoste our whole speache and lan= guage, calling that which in old time was heofoS, now Head, Kyning King, Hlaford Lord, Sunu Sonne, and in

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numerable suche other, so that our speech at this day (for the moste part) consisteth of wordes of one sillable. Whiche thing Erasmus obseruing, merily in his Eccle= siast. Compareth the Englishe tongue to a Dogges bar= king, that soundeth nothing els, but Baw, waw, waw in Monosillable.

If this roueing arrow of mine own coniecture, haue missed the marke of Glademouthe wherat I directed my shotte, yet will I pricke at Yenlade with an other out of the same quiuer, and happely go nearer it. Beda spea= keth there of the Northeast mouth of the floud Genlade: whiche speache of his were ydle, if that water had none other mouthe but that one. And therefore, hauing read that the Northwest mouth of the same water, running

The names of Townes framed out of the mouthes of Riuers.

The corrup= tion of our Eng= lish speach.

<Erasmus 1536:542-3>

betweene Shepey and Hoo, is called Yenlade also (though our Statute bookes, misplacing some letters, name it corruptly Yendal) I suppose, that Yenlade is a name proper to the whole streame that passeth betweene Shepey and the maine Land, hauing the two mouths, Eastswale and Westwale, well inough knowne.

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Reculuers, in Saxon *Raculf Mynster*; deriued (as I gesse) of the Brittiſh woord, *Racor*, that signifieth forward, for so it standeth, toward the Sea.

The present estate of Reculuers, descriueth not many words: As touching the antiquitie therefore, and beginning of the place, I read, first that Ethelbert, the first King of Kent, hauing placed Augustine at Canterbury, withdrewe himselfe to Reculuer, and their erected a Palaice for him self and his successours: Furthermore, that Ecgbrighte, (the seuenth King of Kent, in succession after Hengist) gaue to one Bassa, the land at Reculuer, to builde him a Mynster vpon, whiche stode at the one side of the water Wantsume, that ranne two sundrie ways into the Sea, and made Tanet an Iland: And finally, that not long after the same time, one Brightwald (being Abbat there) was aduanced to the Archebishopricke of Canterbury, and was the first of all the Saxon Nation, that aspired to that dignitie. In which behalf, Reculuers, (how poore and simple soeuer otherwise) hath (as you see) somewhat whereof to vaunt it selfe: As it may also, of the body of Ethelbert the second (a King of Kent) whiche (as the Annales of Saint Augustines report) remaineth likewise interred there. Thus haue I walked about this whole Diocœse: now therefore let me cutte ouer to Watlingstreete, whiche I will vse for my way to Rochester, and tell you of the places that lye on eche side. But first, heare (I pray you) of Stouremouthe, and Wyngham, which be in my way to Watlingstreete.

The Riuer called Wantsume.

659.

692.

The order of this description.

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Stouremouthe, in Latine, Ostium Sturæ, that is to say, the mouth of the Riuer Stoure.

King Alfred, hauing many times (and that with much losse, and more daunger) encountred his enemies the Danes, and finding that by reason of the sundrie swarmes of them, arriuing in diuers parts of his Realme at once, he was not able to repulse them beeing landed, he rigged vp a royall Nauie, and determined to keep the highe Seas, hoping thereby either to beate them vp on the water, or to burne their vessels if they should fortune to arriue. Soone after this, it fortuneth his Nauie to meete with the Danish fleete at the mouth of the Riuer Stoure, where at the first encounter, the Danes lost sixteene saile of their ships: But, (as many times it falleth out, that securitie foloweth victory) so the Kings armie kept no watch, by reason whereof the Danes ha-

884.

uing repaired their forces, came freshly vpon the English Mariners at vnwares, and finding them fast a sleepe, gaue them a great and bloudie ouerthrowe.

The likenesse, or rather, the agreement, of the names, would leade a man to thinke, that the true place of this conflict, should be Stouremouthe in this Shyre, the rather for that it is deriued of the mouth of the riuer Stoure and that by the circumstance of the storie it appeareth, that King Alfred was in Kent when he made determination of this iourney.

Howbeit, he that shall aduisedly read the storie, as it is set downe by Asserus, shall confesse it to haue been

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in Eastangle, whiche containede Norfolke and Suffolke, &c. And for the more certeinty, I take it to haue chaunced at the same place, whiche we now calle Harwiche Hauen. For that Riuer diuideth Essex from Suffolk, and not farre from the head therof in Essex, there standeth a Towne yet called Sturmere, whiche (in my fantasia) sufficiently mainteineth the knowledge of this matter. Thus muche I thought fitte to say of the name Stowremouth, least otherwise the Reader (whome I would keepe within the limits of Kent) might be shipped in the boate of this errour, and be soudainly caried from me. Againe, it shall not be amisse (for the better vnderstanding of this selfe same Hystorie, penned by Henrie Huntingdon) to note that in this place, he calleth the Danes, not 'Paganos,' as in the rest of his book he vseth, but by a strange name 'Wicingas,' as the Saxon Chronicles, in report of the same matter, do terme them: which word (I thinke) he tooke out of some Saxon Chronicle that he followed, and happely vnderstood not what it signified: For if he had, why should he not rather (since he wrote Latine) haue called them 'Piratas,' as the woord in deede meaneth, and as Asserus in the rehersall of the same fight, had done before him. It may be, that he was a Norman borne: but truly I suppose rather, that the Saxon speach was well nighe worne out of vre, in the reigne of King Stephan, (vnder whome he liued) seeing that euen immediatly after the comming in of the Conquerour, it began to decline. For it is plaine, that the Normans at †the very first entrie, laboured by al means, to supplante the English, and to plante their owne language amongst vs: and for that purpose, they both gaue vs the lawes, and all manner of pastimes, in the French tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conquerour, and consider the termes of Hawking, Hun-

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ting, Tenise, Dice playe, and other disportes, shall easily perceaue: They reiected also, the Saxons Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing, as writeth Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland (whiche came ouer with them) and as a man may yet see in the booke of Domesday it self, which (notwithstanding that it was written within a few yeares, after the arriual of the Conquerour) yet being penned by Normans, it reteineth very few letters of the Saxon Alphabet. Thus farre by occasion of the water Stoure in Suffolke: as touching the course of our owne Riuer of the same calling (which bothe giueth the present name to Stourey, and Stouremouthe, and the olde name to

The decay  
of the olde  
Englishe  
tongue.

†r. 'their'

Canterbury, also) I will referre  
you wholly to the Map of  
this Shyre.

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Wingham.

The Arche  
bishops  
were well  
housed.

Besides the statelie, and Princelike  
Palaces at Canterbury, Maidstone  
Oxford, Knoll, Croyden, and Lamb=  
hythe, which the Archbishops of this  
Shyre kept in their handes, bothe to  
perfourme their set solemnities of  
housekeping, and to sojourne at, with  
their whole traines, when they traueiled toward the  
Court, and Parleament, or remained for busines about  
the same: they had also of auncient time diuers other  
Manor houses of lesse cost and capacitie, planted in di=  
uers partes of this Countrie, in whiche they vsed to  
breathe themselues, after their great feasts and affaires  
finished, and to lodge at, when they trauailed the Coun=  
trie to make their visitations. Of this number (a=  
mongst other) were Foorde, Charte, Charing, Charte=  
ham, Tenham, and this our Wingham: at the whiche,  
Baldwyne (the Archebishop in the Reigne of King Hen=  
rie the second) lay, at suche time, as he had contention  
with his couent of Christes Church, for making a Chap=  
pell at Hakington, as in fitte place you shall finde more  
largely disclosed. In the meane season, I will only tel  
you, that (as the Annales of Saint Augustines re=  
porte) when two of his Monkes came to this house on  
horsbacke, in great hast to serue the processe of that suite  
vpon him, he receiued the Processe dutifully, but he cau=  
sed them to dismount, and to walke home on foote faire  
and softly. At this house also, King Edward the  
first rested for a season, with Robert of Winchelsey (then  
newly made Archebishop) whilst he tooke order for the  
defence of the Sea Coastes, charging bothe the spiritu=  
altie and commons with horse and armour, according to  
the quantities of their liuelyhoodes and possessions.

Prouision  
of armour

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†

And here was he aduertised, that one of his familie  
(called Syr Thomas Turbeuille, whome hee had sent  
into Gascoine with commission) was fallen into the hands  
of the French King hisemie, and imprisoned in Paris,  
and that for his deliuerance he had conspired with the  
Frenche King, and promised to betraie the King, his  
maister: wherevpon king Edward caused suche diligent  
watche to be laide for him, that he was taken, and suche  
speedie and seuere iustice to be executed vpon him, that  
he was forthwith condemned, drawen thorowe Lon=  
don, and hanged on liue. Of this man a Poet of that  
age, alluding to his name, made this verse folowing, and  
some other.

Turbat tranquilla clam, Thomas Turbida Villa. &c.

Our things now in tranquillitie,  
Thom. Turbuill troubleth priuillie.

The names  
of Lathes,  
and of Wa=  
pentakes.

It is no small token of the auncient estimation of  
this place, that it giueth the name to the whole hun=  
dred in whiche it is situate: for that is moste vsuall,  
bothe in this Shyre, and elsewhere, that the whole terri=

torie, (be it Lathe, Wapentake, or Hundreth) 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 happily at this day, some other place doe much exceede it. To make an end, here was sometime a religious College, the gouernour whereof was called a Prouost, whiche I suppose to haue beene founded by some of the Archebishops, and I finde to haue beene valued at fourescore and foure pounds of yearely reuenue.

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Watlingstreete in Saxon, *weatlingastrete*, of one Weatle, whome the printed booke of Mat. West. calleth vntruly Wading.

The Priuileges of high waies.

King Molmutius, the Brittish Solon, and first Law maker, decreed amongst other things: that such as were found praying in the Temple, labouring at the plough, or traouailing in the high waies should not be impeached by any officer, but that they should enjoy peaceable freedome and libertie, bothe for their goods and persons: But, forasmuche as he had not (in his life time) described those wayes that he would haue thus priuileged, great contention arose after his death, which wayes should be taken for high and royall, and whiche not: and therefore, Belinus, (his Sonne and successor) to cease all controuersie, limited in certaine, foure especiall high wayes: whereof the first was called, Ermingstreete, and lead (after the opinion of some) from Southampton to S. Davids in Wales, or (as others write) to Carlile in the Northe: the second was named Fosseway, and extended from Cathnes in the North of 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 Tinnmouth to S. Dauides, whiche is from North-east to Southwest. Watlingstreete, where we nowe are, was the fourth, and it beganne at Douer (after the opinion of Ralfe Higden) passed through the midst of Kent, crossed the Thamise at the West end of London, (howbeit others, to whom I rather incline, thinke that it ranne through London, and there left the name to Watlingstreet there) from thence to S. Albons, Dunstable, Stretford, Towcester, Lilburne, and Wrecken, thence ouer

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the riuier of Seuerne to Stretton, and so through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, and to the banke of the Irishe Sea. And this is the common and receyued opinion (although in deede there be diuers) touching the firste beginning and description of this way. But Simon the Chaunter of Durham, and he that made the continuation to the Hystorie of Asserus Meneuensis (both very good authors) ascribe bothe the beginning and the name also of this way, to the sonnes of a Saxon King, whome they called Weatle: which their opinion, as I doe not greatly receiue, because I finde not that name (Weatle) in a

†r. 'greedely'

ny Catalogue of the Kings that I haue seene: So will I not rashely reiecte it, for the estimation that I otherwise reteine of the writers them selues: But doe leaue the Reader to his free choice, to take or leaue the one, or the other.

And, as there is difference concerning the first beginning and name of this way: So al agree not in the trace and true course of the same. For Henrie (the Arche deacon of Huntingdon) affirmeth, that it stretched from Douer to Chester. And this Simon reporteth, that it extended it selfe from the East Sea, to the West. Whiche third and laste opinion, may well inough stand, eyther with the firste, or the seconde. But nowe, as touching this priuilege graunted by Molmutius, althoughe it continue not altogether in the same plight, yet some shadowe thereof remaineth euen to this daye, as by the lawes of King Edward the Confessour, whiche confirmed the protection of the foure wayes by name, and by the Statute of Marlbridge, whiche forbiddeth distresses to be taken in any the Kings highe wayes, or common streetes, and by the Statute (called Articuli Cleri) whiche commaundeth that such as abiured, should not be molested while they be in the highe wayes, may

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euidently appeare. I finde in Hystorie, that this Watlingstreete, hath heretofore, not onely serued for the free passage of the people, but that it hath been (at times also) a marke and bounder betweene some Kings, for the limits of their iurisdictions and authoritie: For so it was betweene Edmund and Anlaf, Alfred and Guthrum, and others. But, bycause these matters reache further then this Shyre extendeth, I will reserue them to fit place, and shew you in the meane while, what I count note worthy on both sides of this way, till I come to the Diocesse of Rochester.

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Lyminge.

On the South side of Watlingstreete, and vnder the Downes, Lyminge is the first that offereth it selfe: concerning the which, I haue found a note or twaine, that make more for the antiquitie, then for the estimation of the place: for I reade in the Annales of S. Augustines of Canterbury, that Eadbald (the sonne of King Ethelbert, the first Christened King of Kent) gaue it to Edburge his sister, who foorthwith clocked together a sorte of simple women, whiche vnder her wing there, tooke vpon them the Popishe veile of widowhood. But that order in time waxed colde, and therefore Lanfranc the Archebishop, at suche time as he builded Saint Gregories in Canterbury (as we haue touched in Tanet before) reckoning it no small ornament of his dotation, to bestowe some renowned Relique, that might procure estimation to his worke, translated the olde bones of Edburge from Lyminge to Saint Gregories, and veriefied in Papistrie, the olde Maxime of

The order of this description.

S. Gregories in Canterbury first builded.

1084.

Reliques.

Philosophie, 'Corruptio v= nius, generatio alterius.'

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Baramdowne, in the Saxon, BarhamSune; That is to say, the hill where the Bores do abide.

As this place is of it selfe very fit (by reason of the flat leuel and playnesse thereof) to array an hoast of men vpon: So haue we testimonie of three great armies that haue mustred at it: The one vnder the conduct of Iulius Cæsar, who landing at Dele (as we haue before shewed) surueyed his hoast at Baramdowne, and marching from thence against the Britons, so daunted their forces, that he compelled them to become tributarie: No lesse infortunate, but muche more infamous to this countrie, was the time of the seconde muster, whiche happened in the reigne of King Iohn: who hearing that Philip (the king of Fraunce) had by incitation of the Pope (as hath already appeared in Douer) prepared a great army to inuade him, and that he was ready at Calaiçe to take shipping, determined to incounter him vpon the Sea, and (if that assay succeeded not) then to giue him a battaile on the lande also: For whiche seruice he rigged vp his shippes of warre, and sent to the Sea, the Earle of Salisburie, (whome he ordeined Admirall) and calling together fit men from al the parts of the Realme, he found (by view taken at this place) an armie of sixtie thousande men to incounter his enemies, besides a sufficient number of able and armed souldiours, to defende the lande withal: Now, whilest he thus awaited at Baramdown, to heare further of his aduersaries comming, Pandulph (the Popes Legate) sent vnto him, two Knightes of the order of the Temple, by whose mouthe he earnestly desi=

King Iohn yealdeth to the Pope.

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red the King to graunt him audience. The King assented, and the Legate came vnto him, and sayde in summe as followeth.

Beholde (O Prince) the King of Fraunce is in armes against thee, not as against a priuateemie to him self alone, but as an open and common aduersarie bothe to the Catholike Church, to the Popes holynesse, to whole Christendome, and to God him self: Neyther commeth he vpon opinion of his owne power and strength, but is armed with great confidence of Gods fauourable ayde, accompanied with the consent of many great Princes, furnished with the presence of suche as thou haste banished out of thy Realme, and assured by the faythful promises of sundry of thine owne Nobilitie, whiche nowe are present in person with thee. Consider therefore in what daunger thou standest, and spare not to submit thee, while space is: leaste if thou persist, there be no place left of further fauour. The King hearing this, and being (vpon causes knowne to him selfe) more distrustfull of Traitours at home, then fearefull of enemies abroad, agreed to serue the time, and taking the Legate to Douer with him, sealed the Golden Bull of submission, whereby Englande was once againe



made a tributarie Prouince to the Citie of Rome, and that in so much the more vile condition, then it was before: as an vsurped Ierarchie, is inferiour to a noble, lawfull and renoumed Monarchie. For it is truely sayd, 'Dignitate domini, minus turpis est conditio serui.' Now when the Frenche King on the other side of the Seas, had worde hereof, he retired with his armie in a great choler, partely for that he was thus deluded, but chiefly bycause he had lost his Nauie, whiche the Earle of Salisbury had set on fire in the hauen at Calaiice.

The Barons warre.

Simon Mountfort (the Earle of Leycester,) that was

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elected by the Barons of this Realme, general of that armie which they rayseed against King Henrie the thirde, arrayed thirdly a very great hoast of men here, at suche time as he feared the arriuall of Eleonar the Queene, who being daughter to the Earle of Prouince, and then lefte in Fraunce behinde the King and the Earle, (which also had been bothe there a litle before, to receiue the Frenche Kings <sup>†</sup>rewarde, touching their con=trouersie) ceassed not by all possible meanes, to sollicite the King of Fraunce, and to incite other her friendes and allies, to ayde King Henrie against the Nobilitie. But whether it were, that presently they could not, for their owne affaires, or that at al they durst not, knowing that their comming was awayted, they serued not her de=sire: by meanes whereof, the Lordes waxed strong, and soone after gaue the King a battayle in Sussex, where= in they bothe tooke him, and his brother Richard, and his eldest sonne prisoners. But as touching the ori=ginnall, proceeding, and euent of these warres, I willingly spare to speake muche in this place, knowing that I shall haue opportunitie <sup>†</sup>often hereafter to discourse them. Nowe therefore, let vs consider, a few other places, and then haste vs to Canterbury.

<sup>†</sup>r. 'awarde'

<sup>†</sup><offered>

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Charteham.

After suche time, as King Iohn had made him selfe the Popes tenant of the Crown and Realme of England, (as euen now I tolde you) the Clergie of this countrie was so oppressed with Romishe exactions, that they were become, not onely vnable, but thereby vnwilling also, to relieue the necessitie of the Prince, with any prest of money, as in times paste they had accustomed to do. Wherat the King on the one side taking offence, pressed them many times very hard, not ceasing till he had wroong somewhat from them: And <sup>†</sup>on the other side, appealing to their holy fathers ayde, procured (by their great coste) many sharp prohibitions, and proud menacies against him. So that sundry times in the reigne of King Henrie the thirde, this Balle was busily tossed between the King and the Pope, the Clergie (in the mean while) looking vpon, but nothing laughing at the game. Amongst other things done for the manife=station of the Popes rauine, the same King at one time com=maunded a generall suruiew to be made of the Popes

<sup>†</sup>r. 'they on'

The Popes reuene in England.

1246. yerely reuene within this realme, and found it to surmount the yearely receipt of his owne Eschequer, in very rent, besides innumerable secret gifts and rewardes, wherof no account could be made. Herevpon the Prince, by aduise of his Realme, sent special messingers to the generall counsell, that was then holden at Lions in Fraunce, with commission to sue for redresse: The like complaint also, was at the same time, and for the same cause, exhibited by the King of Fraunce: Neither was the state of the Empire free from the heauy yoke of that Popish op=

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pression: for M. Parise reporteth that euen then, the Emperour him self wrote an earnest letter to the King and Nobility of this realme, solliciting them to ioyne with him in withstanding the tyranie of the Romish See. Howbeit, all this could not help, but that the Popes (labouring daily more and more with this incurable disease of Philargyrie) continually pilled the English Clergie, and so encountred King Henrie, that in the end he was driuen to vse the meane of the Popes authoritie, whensoever he needed aide of his owne spiritualtie.

After Henrie, folowed his Sonne Edward the first: who being more occupied in Martiall affaires then his Father was: And thereby more often inforced to vse the helpe of his subiectes, for the raising of some necessary Masses of money, nowe and then borrowed of his Clergie, till at the length, Pope Boniface the eight (treading the path of his predecessours pride) toke vpon him to make a constitution, 'That if any Clerke gaue to a lay man, or if any lay person should take of a Clerke, any spirituall goods, he should forthwith stand excommunicate.' By colour of whiche decree, the Clergie of England, at suche time as the King next desired their contribution towards his warres, made answere with one assent, 'That they would gladly, but they might not safely without the Popes licence, agre to his desire.' Hereat the King waxed wrothe, 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 subiect to confiscation, vnlesse they would by submitting themselues redeeme his fauour. It was then a world to see howe the welthie Bishops, fatte Abbats, and riche Pryors, in eache quarter bestirred them, each man contenting with liberall offer to make his raunsome, in so much as the house of Saint Augustines in Canterbury

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1296. (as the Annales of their own Abbay report) gaue to the King two hundrethe and fiftie poundes in money for their peace, hauing lost before (notwithstanding al their haste) two hundreth and fiftie quarters of their wheat, whiche the Kings Officers had seised to his vse, and shipped to be sent into Gascoine for the victualing of his men of warre. Onely Robert of Winchelsey (then Archbishop of Canterbury) refused to aide the King, or to reconcile himselfe, in so muche as of very stomacke he discharged his familie, and abandoned the Citie, and withdrew himselfe to this Towne: from whence (as mine Author saith) he roade each Sunday, and Holyday to the Church adioyning, and preached the woord of GOD. Polidore, in his own opinion, giueth him an apt Theme

A Parliament without the Clergie.

The traitorous behaviour, of Robert of Winchelsey, the Archbishop.

†r. 'churches'

Polidore,  
was the  
Popes crea  
ture.

writing that he preached vpon this text, 'Melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus;' 'It is better to obey God, then men' whiche, if he will haue to serue the turne, 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 whome the Pope would seeme to deriue, and Polidore the Apostle of the Pope (for he first sent him hither, to gather his Peter pence) were not of one minde  
<i>n this point: For he inioyne vs plainly. 'Subditi estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, siue Regi, tanquam præcellenti. &c.' 'Be ye subiect to all humane ordinance, for the Lordes sake, whether it be to the King as to the most excellent. &c.' making the King the moste excellent vnder God, (who no doubt) if he commaund not against God, it is to be obeyed before the Pope, concerning whome, we haue no commaundement at all in Gods Scripture. Howbeit, since Polydore and the Bishop serued one common Maister, namely, the man of Rome, it is the lesse meruaile, if he commend his endeuour in this part, and that is of the lesse credit also

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which he writeth of him in an other place, where he bestoweth this honourable Elogium vpon him, 'Quantum in eo fuit, de Religione iuxta atque de Repub. promereri studuit, a qua nunquam discessit, nunquam oculos deiecit: ita officio suo atque omnium commodis sibi seruiendum censuit.' 'As much as in him was, he studied to deserue well, bothe of religion, and of the common wealth, from the whiche he neuer departed, ne turned away his eyes: so thought he it meete to serue his owne duetie, and the profit of all men:' As concerning his desert in religion, I will say nothing, bycause it may be thought the fault of that age and not of the person only: but as touching his behaiour toward his Prince and Countrie (wherein also consisteth our small part of religion and feare of God) since our lawe alloweth of the trial 'De vicineto,' I will bring you one of his next neighbours to depose for him, a man that liued in the same time with him, I meane the writer of the Annales of Saint Augustines, who vpon the yeare 1305. hathe 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, vt Regem a Regni solio deiicerent, & filium eius Eduardum, ipsius in trono subrogarent, & patrem perpetuo carceri manciparent) a Rege calumniaretur, & inficiari non posset obiecta: vltra quam credi potest timore percussus, ad Regis pedes pronus cadens in terram, vt eius mereretur assequi clementiam, sese per singula flens & eiulans, Regis subdidit voluntati: Sic igitur humiliatus est ille Deo odibilis & superbus, qui per totum Anglorum orbem, oris sui flatu, more meretricio, Sacerdotium deturpauit, & 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 inuitus ei deuotius seruiendo.

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'The same yeare, the 25. of April, when as the often named Robert the Archebishop, was chalenged by the

King for many pointes of great enormitie, and especially for the treason whiche he had imagined with certaine Earles and Noble men, to the end that they should displace the King from the seate 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 obiected against him, being stroken with an incredible feare, and falling downe prostrate vpon the earth at the Kings feete, that he might deserue to obtaine his fauour, with weeping and wayling he submitted himselfe wholly to the Kings pleasure: & thus was that proude, & most hateful man to God, brought lowe and humbled, the whiche defiled throughout all England, with the breath of his mouthe, like an harlot, the state of the Priesthode and Clergie, and exercised intollerable tyrannie ouer the people: and he, whiche before writing vnto the King, refused in his letters for pride to call him his Lord, nowe being humbled, both acknowledgethe and calleth him his Lord and King, being made obedient, and to serue him with great deuotion, but yet against his will.'

Againe, when as in the same yeare, he was cited to appeare at Rome (vpon complaint that he had wastefully spoyled the goods of his Churche) and came to the Court to sue for licence to passe ouer the Seas, the King as soone as he came to his presence, and had moued his suite, caused the presence chamber dore to be set wide open, willed the standers by to giue eare, and spake a loude 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, reuertendi autem licentiam nullam damus, memores doli, ac prodicionis quas in Parlamento Lincolniae cum Baronibus nostris in Regiam machinatus es Maiestatem, cuius rei litera signo tuo sigillata testis est, & testimonium perhibet contra te euidenter. Sed propter amorem beati Thomae Martyris, & Ecclesiae cui praees reuerentiam, vindictam hucusque distulimus, reseruantes eam Papae, qui nostras iniurias vlciscetur, vtpote speramus. A protectione vero nostra, te prorsus excludimus, omnem gratiam negantes & misericordiam, quia re vera semper immisericors fuisti: Cumque Wintoniensis Episcopus pro eo intercederet, & Archiepiscopus Dominum suum esse diceret, Rex affirmavit, se omnium Praelatorum regni, & Regem, & Dominum esse principalem.

'Wee willingly graunt you licence to passe ouer the Seas, according as you are come to desire, but to re tourne again we giue you no licence at al, being mindfull of the deceit and treason, whiche you did practise with our Barons, against our Kingly Maiestie in the Parleament at Lincolne, of the whiche thing your letter signed with your owne seale is a witnes, and euidently giueth testimonie against you: Howbeit, for the loue of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and for the reuerence of the Church, ouer the which you are set, we haue hither to differred the reuenge, reseruing it to the Pope, which, as we hope, wil make reuenge of our iniuries. But we vterly exclude you from our protection, denying you all grace & mercy, because in dede you haue alwais ben an vnmerciful man: And when as the Bishop of Winchester made intercession for him, & said, that the Archbishop

was his Lord, the King affirmed, that he himself was the King and cheif Lord of al the Prelats of the Realm.'

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King Ed=  
ward the  
first, clay=  
meth su=  
premacie  
ouer the  
Clergie,

1313.

This I haue exemplified the more at large, bothe to the end that you may see how great a traitour to his Prince, howe vnmercifull a tyrant to the Common people, and howe foule a blemishe to the Ecclesiasticall order, this Bishop was, quite contrary to that which M. Polydore affirmeth of him: and also that you may vn=derstand, what authoritie King Edward the first in plaine termes chalenged ouer his Cleargie, not such as Anselme offered King William Rufus, when he tooke Canterbury of his gifte, saying, 'Summo pontifici debeo obe=dienciam, tibi consilium.' 'I owe my obedience to the highe Bishop, and my counsel to you.' But suche as a true subiect oweth to his Liege King, and lawful souereigne, and suche as differeth no more from that which we at this day attribute to our Prince, then 'Principalis Do=minus,' and 'supremus Gubernator' do varie in sunder. And yet (beholde the madnes of the time) after the deathe of this Bishop, the common people forsoothe resorted to his tumbre, and would needes haue made a Sainct of him, had not the Sepul=chre been defaced and their follie staied, by pub=lique ordi=nance.

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Chilham Castle, in Saxon  
Cyleham, that is, the colde  
dwelling.

In the allotment of Landes, for the defence of Douer Castle (whereof we haue before spoken) Chilham fell to Fulbert of Douer, who, in considera= tion thereof, vndertooke to finde at his owne charge, fifteene able Soul=diours, whereof three should warde in the Castle, euery moneth, by the space of 20. weeks in the yeare. I suspect, that it came afterwarde to the possession of the Archebishop: For I remember that I once read, that King Iohn came thither to treat with Stephan Langton the Archebishop, for reconciliati= on to be had betweene them.

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Wye, the word in Britnish  
signifieth, an Egge.

What time king William the Conque  
rour endowed his Abbay of Battel in  
Sussex, he gaue thervnto (amongst o=  
ther) his Manour of Wye, conteining  
at that time, seuen hydes, or ploughe  
landes, and being (before that time)  
of the Demeasnes of the Crowne.

The Chronicles of Battell Abbay affirme, that there were sometimes two and twentie Hundrethes, subiect to the iurisdiction of this Towne: whiche if it be true,

The olde,  
and newe  
manner of  
wrecke, at  
the Sea.

then (as farre as I can reache by coniecture) the territo=  
rie of Wye was the very same in compasse, that nowe  
the Last of Screy, or Sherwinhope describeth, that is  
to say, the fift part of this whole Shyre, consisting of  
two and twentie Hundrethes in number. The same  
King, graunted to his Monks of Battel, wrek of the Sea,  
falling vpon Dengemarishe a portion of Wye, and wil=  
led further by his †Chart of donation, that if any fish (cal=  
led a Craspeis) that is, Crasse pisse, a great or royall fishe,  
as whales, or suche other, (whiche by the Lawe of Pre=  
rogatiue pertained to the King himselfe) should happen  
to be taken there, that the Monkes should haue it whol=  
ly: And if it fortun'd to arriue in any other mans land,  
(lying betwene Horsmede, and Withburn) that yet the  
Monkes should enjoy the whole tongue, and two third  
partes of the rest of the body.

†r. 'charter'

Nowe, in the Reigne of King Henrie his Sonne it  
fortun'd, that a shippe laden with the Kings owne goods  
was wrecked within the precinct of this libertie, which  
his Officers would haue taken, and saued to his vse: but  
Geffray, (then Abbat of Battell) withstoode them, and that  
so stoutly, that the matter by complaint came to the  
Kings owne hearing: who (to make knowen how muche  
he valued his fathers graunt) yeelded the matter wholly,  
into the Abbats owne courtesie.

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The same Storie obserueth a thing touching Wreck,  
(or rather Varech, as the custome of Normandie from  
whence it came calleth it) not vnworthy the recital, that is,  
that of auncient time, if a ship were cast on shoare, torne  
with tempest, and were not repaired by suche as esca=  
ped on liue within a certaine time, that then this was  
taken for Wreck, and so vsed along the coast: But Hen=  
rie the first (sayth the booke) disliking the †iustice of that  
custome, ordeyned, that if from thencefoorth any one thing  
(being within the vessell) arriued on liue, then the ship  
and goods should not be seised for wrecke. This decree  
had force during all his reigne, and ought of congruence  
to haue endured for euer: Howbeit, after his death, the  
owners of lande on the Sea shoare, shewing themselues  
more carefull of their owne gaine, then pitifull of other  
mens calamities, returned to the olde manner: Which  
their vnmerciful couetise, (as I suppose) prouoked king  
Edward the first, by the statute, (that we call Westmin=  
ster the first) to make restitution of King Henries lawe,  
whiche (euen to this daye) remayneth in force, though  
not altogether so heaue against poore men (afflicted by  
misfortune of the Sea) as that former vsage was, yet in  
deede, neyther so easie as Christian charitie would, nor  
so indifferent as the lawes of other countries do afford,  
And therefore, I will leaue it, as a thing worthy (amongst  
other) of reformation, when God shall giue time.

†r. 'iniustice'

The Col=  
lege

1308.

There was at this place, a Colleege, valued in the Re=  
cordes, at ninetie three pounds of yearely reueneue,  
In whiche king Edward the seconde (after  
the buriall of his father, and be=  
fore his owne Coronation)  
helde the solemnitie of a  
whole Christ=  
mas.

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Motindene, of Mod and dene, that is,  
the proude valley, a name imposed (as I  
thinke) for the fertilitie.

I haue not hitherto, found any thing touching  
the house of Motindene in Hetcorne, saue  
onely, that the heade therof was called Mi=  
nister, and that the house it selfe was of the  
yearely value of sixtie poundes: Neyther  
would I haue aforded it so much as paper, or place here,  
but only that you might vnderstande, with what num=  
ber of buildings, varietie of sectes, and plentie of posses=  
sions, Poperie was in olde time prouided for, and fur=  
nished. No corner (almoste) without some religious  
house, or other: Their suites and orders were hardly to  
be numbred: and as for their lands and reuenues, it  
was a world to beholde them. I finde, that the yerely  
extent of the clere value of the Religious liuings with=  
in this Shyre, amounted to fiue thousande poundes,  
Bishopricks, Benefices, Friaries, Chaunteries, and  
Sainctes offerings, not accounted, whiche thing also I  
doe the rather note, to the ende that you may see, howe  
iuste cause is giuen vs, bothe to wonder at the hoate  
zeale of our auncestours in their spirituall fornication,  
and to lament the coldenesse of our owne charitie, to=  
wardes the maintenaunce of the true spouse of  
Iesus Christ. For, if euer, nowe moste  
truly, is that veriefed, which the  
Poet long since sayde,  
'Probitas laudatur,  
& alget.'

The value  
of the Reli  
gious hou=  
ses in this  
Shyre.

<Juvenal>

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Canterbury, is called in Saxon  
Cantwarabyrig, that is to say, The citie (or court)  
of the men of Kent: whiche also agreeth with  
the Brittishe worde Caer Kent, signifying the  
Citie of Kent. It is termed in Latine diuersly, of  
some Doruernum, and Daruernum, of others, Du=  
rouernum: of some Dorobernia, and of some Doro=  
brinia, All whiche names, Leland coniectureth  
to proceede, eyther of the Riuer called Stowr (as  
we haue shewed) or else of the Brittishe worde  
Dour, whiche signifieth water, bycause the  
countrie thereaboutes, is plentuously stored  
therwith. One other late writer, taketh  
it to be called Daruernum, as if it  
were, Dour ar guerne, that is,  
the water neare the  
Fenne or Marish.

<Talbot>

To the ende, that (confusion auoyded)  
eche thing may appeare in his pro=  
per place, it shal not be amisse, to part  
the treatise of this Citie into twaine,  
whereof the firste shall containe the  
beginning, increase, and declination  
of the Citie it selfe: The seconde shal  
set foorth, the erection, and ouerthrowe of the Religious  
houses and buildings within the same. The authour of  
the Brittishe storie affirmeth, that one Rudhurdibras,  
or (as some copies write it) Lud Rudibras, (a King of the  
Britons, almost nine hundreth yeares before the Incar=  
nation of Christ) builded a Citie, whiche he called Car=

The Citie,  
when it be=  
gan.  
890.

lem, or (as Henrie of Huntingdon, in his recitall of the  
†cient Brittithe Cities, nameth it) Caer Kent, that is to

†<ancient>

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605.

say, the Citie (or rather) the chiefe Citie of Kent. For, in the processe of the same Hystorie it appeareth in deed, that at suche time as Vortiger, King of the Brittons in=tertaind the Saxon Captaines, Hengist and Horsa, he sojourned at Canterbury, the heade Citie of all that countrie, and that prerogatiue, it retained in the time of the Saxons them selues also: For by the testimonie of Beda, and Mathewe of Westminster, it was (when Au=

gustine arriued in Kent) 'Caput Imperii, Regis Ethelberti,' the chiefe place in all the dominion of King Ethelbert. To this Augustine, the †sade King gaue (after a man=ner, as I coniecture) the Lordship, or royaltie of the same citie: For, I reade (as I haue before shewed) that he gaue him his owne Palaice, and builded another for him selfe at Reculuer: and it is to be seene in the aunci=ent Saxon lawes, that of olde time the Archebishops had their Coynage within the Citie.

I finde also in the booke of Domesday, that King Edward the Confessour, had onely one and fiftie Bur=

gesses, whiche yealded him rent within this Citie, and two hundreth and twelue other persons owing him suite, and that the Castle of Canterbury, and the resi=

due of the inhabitauntes were subiecte to the Bishop, and the Religious houses. Howbeit, the Bishops were neuer absolute owners hereof, till the time of King William Rufus, who (as the Annales of Saint Augustine say) 'Dedit ciuitatem Cantuariæ Anselmo ex solido, quam Lanfrancus tenuerat ex beneficio.'

This Citie (since the vnion of the Kentishe king=

dome to the West Saxon) hath beene chiefly mayntei=

ned by two things: Firste, by the residence and hospi=

talitie of the Archebishop, and Religious persons, and then by the liberalitie and expence of such, as either gad=

ded to S. Thomas for helpe and deuotion, or trauailed

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towards the Sea side, for their priuate affaires and bu=

sinesse.

Amongst the Bishops, Theodore (a Grecian borne, and the seuenth and last of those that came out of Italy) Lanfranc (the first Norman, aduanced by the Conque=

rour) and Simon Sudburie (that liued vnder King Ed=

ward the thirde) haue beene the most beneficiall vnto it.

Of the whiche, Theodore, by licence of Vitelianus (then Pope) founded within the Citie, a Schole (or Col=

lege) wherein he placed Professours of all the liberall Sciences, which also was the very paterne to the schole that Sigbert the King of Eastangle afterwarde builded: but whether that were at Cambridge, or at some other place besides within his kingdome, I leaue to Doctour Caius of Cambridge, and Maister Key of Oxforde to be

disputed, and to indifferent Readers to be adiudged.

The Reuerend father, Mathew, nowe Archebishop of Canterbury (whose care for conseruation of learned Monuments can neuer be sufficiently commended) she=

wed me not long since, the Psalter of Dauid, and sundry Homelies in Greeke, Homer also, and some other Greke authours, beautifully written in thicke paper, with the name of this Theodore prefixed in the fronte, to whose

The olde  
Schole at  
Canterbury.



Librarie, he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shewe of great antiquitie) that they sometime belonged.

The other two, Lanfranc, and Simon of Sudbury, did cost vpon the gates and walles, bringing thereby bothe strength and beautie to the Citie.

Suche was then the firste beginning, and increase of Canterbury: Let vs nowe therefore see also, what harmes it hath <sup>†</sup>now sustained, and to what decay it is falne. Besides sundry particular harmes, done to diuers of the Religious places, the towne it selfe hath often receiued detriment by casualtie of fyre. For the author

†delete

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754. of the additions to the Chronicle of Asserus Meneuensis affirmeth, that about the yeare after Christ seuen hundredreth fiftie and foure, it was sore wasted with fire. Againe, in the yeare, nine hundredreth and eighteene, Alfleda the mightie Lady of Mercia, besieging and burning the citie it self, spoiled, kylled, and expelled the Danes, that then possessed it: In reuenge wherof, they afterward, about the end of the reigne of King Ethelred, did not only besiege, take, and burne this citie, but also put to moste barbarous and cruell death, Alphegus the Archebishop, (for that he refused to charge his farmours and the citizens towardes his raunsome about their abilitie) and they slue of the Monkes, Townesmen, and other common people, the whole nynes throughout the multitude, reseruing on liue the tenthe man onely: So that they left of all the Monkes but foure, and of the Lay people foure thousande and eight hundredreth: Where (by the waye) it is to be noted, that this citie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof, be like, fled thether for succour) was at that time very populous, hauing to loose fortie three thousande and two hundredreth persons: in whiche behalfe, there want not some (I wote well) whiche doe affirme, that it had then more store of buildings, then London it selfe:

1009. And truely it is well knowne, that they were very riche at Canterbury also, for not long before (by the aduise of Siricius, their Archebishop) they bought their peace at the handes of the Danes, with thirtie thousande poundes of ready money. But let me proceede: fourthly, in the dayes of King Henrie the seconde, euen streight after the election of Thomas Becket the Archebishop, this citie of Canterbury was wholly consumed with fire: And nowe lately and lastly, in the reigne of King Henrie the eight, it was in some partes blasted

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with flame, wherein (amongst other things) diuers good bookes, whiche a Monke of S. Augustines had brought from beyonde the Seas, were brought to ashes. I had almoste forgotten a storie in Beda, where he maketh, Mellitum mendacium, (mention of Mellitus, I shuld haue sayde) and reporteth, that when as (vpon a time) a great parte of this citie was touched with fire, and that the flame hasted towarde the house of this Mellitus (then Archebishop there) he commaunded, that they shoulde beare him against it, euen into the greatest furie thereof. And that whereas before it coulde not be quenched by any water, (though neuer so plentifully poured vpon it) foorthwith at his presence the winde turned, and at the vehemencie of his prayer, the fyre not only ceased to

goe any further, but also immediatly went out, and was extinguished. I wote wel, this writer is called, Venerabilis: but when I reade this, and a number of suche, which make the one halfe of his worke, I say with my selfe, as sometime did the Poet,

<Horace>

Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi:

What euer thing thou shewest me so, I hate it as a lye.

The decay of Canter= bury, and other pla= ces.

To proceede therefore in my former course, and to tell the trueth, litle had all these casualties of fire and flame beene to the decay of this towne, had not the dissolution and finall ouerthrowe of the Religious houses also come vpon it. For, where wealth is at commaundement, howe easily are buildings repayed? and where opinion of great holynesse is, howe soone are cities and townes aduanced to great estimation and riches? And therefore, no maruaile, if after wealth withdrawn, and opinion of holynesse remoued, the places tumbled headlong to ruine and decay: In whiche part, as I can not on the one side, but in respect of the places them selues, pitie and lament this general desolation, not only in this Shyre,

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but in all other places of the Realme: So on the other side, considering the maine Seas of sinne and iniquitie, wherein the worlde (at those dayes) was almost whole drenched, I must needs take cause, highly to prayse God, that hath thus mercifully in our age deliuered vs, dissolved Satan, vnmasked these Idoles, dissolved the Synagoges, and rased to the grounde all Monumentes of building, erected to superstition and vngodlynesse: And therefore let euery godly man cease with me from hencefoorth to marvail, why Canterbury, Walsingham, and sundry suche like, are nowe in these our dayes become in manner waste, since God in times paste was in them blasphemed most: And like the souldiours of Satan, and superstitious Mawmetrie, howle, and crye out with the heathen Poet.

†r. 'there'

†r. 'let'

<Virgil>

Excessere omnes, aditis, arisque relictis,  
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat. &c.

The Gods eche one, by whose good ayde  
This Empire stoode vpright  
Are flowne: their entries and their altars eke abandond quight.

For, seeing God in all ages hath not spared to extend his vengeaunce, not only vpon the persons, but vpon the places also, where his name was dishonoured, striking the same with solitude and exterminion, as we reade of Sodome, Ierusalem, and others: Howe then shoulde he forbear these harborowes of the Deuill, and the Pope, whiche in horrible crimes contended with Sodome, in vnbelief matched Ierusalem, and in folly of superstition, exceeded all Gentilitie.

By the iust iudgement of God therefore, Canterbury came soudenly from great wealth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings, to extreme pouertie, nakednes, and decay: hauing at this day, Parishes more

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in number, then well filled, and yet in al not aboue twelue, in whiche plight, for pitie I will leaue it, and (referring

you to the statutes. 32. and 33. of Henrie the eight, provided for the reedifying of decayed houses, aswel in this Citie, as also in Rochester, Feuersham, and the Fiue ports) I will tourne me to the Hystorie of the religious buylings.

Continuall contention, betweene the two great houses in Canterbury.

There was in Canterbury, within the time of late memorie (besides others) two houses of great estimation and lyuelyhoode, the one being called Christes church, and the other Saint Augustines, the Monkes of the whiche places, were as farre remoued from all mutual loue and societie, as the houses themselues were neere linked together, either in regarde of the time of their foundation, the order of their profession, or the place of their situation: And therefore in this part it might wel be verified of them, which was wont to be commonly said,

Vnicum Arbustum, non alit duos Erythacos.

<Erasmus>

For in deede, one whole Citie, nay rather one whole Shyre and Countrie, could hardly suffice the pride and ambitious auarice of such two Religious Synagogues, The which as in all places, they agreed to enrich themselves by the spoyle of the Laitie: So in no place they agreed one with another: But (eche seeking euerie where, and by all wayes, to aduance them selues) they moued continuall, (and that moste fierce and deadly) warre, for landes, priuileges, reliques, and suche like vaine worldly preeminences: In so muche (as he that will obserue it, shall finde) that vniuersally the Chronicles of their owne houses, conteine (for the moste parte) nothing else, but suing for exemptions, procuring of reliques, struggling for offices, wrangling for consecrations and pleading for landes and possessions: For prooffe wherof,

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I might iustly alledge innumerable brawles, stirred betwene the Religious houses of this Citie, wrastling, sometime, with the Kings, sometime with the Archbishops, and oftentimes the one with the other, al which be at large set forth by Thomas Spot the Chronicler of S. Augustins: But, for asmuch as I my self delight litle in that kind of rehearsal, and do think that other men (for the more part of the wiser sort) be sufficiently persuaded of these their follies, I wil lightly passe them ouer, and labor more largely in some other thing. And bycause that the Monasterie, or Priorie of Christes Church, was of the more fame, I will first begin with it.

Christes-Churche in Canterbury

After that <sup>†</sup>Augnstine, the Monke, whiche was sent from Rome, had found suche fauour in the sight of King Ethelbert, that he might freely Preache the Gospell in his Countrie, he chose for assembly and prayer, an olde Church in the East part of this Citie, whiche was long time before builded by the Romanes, and he made thereof (by licence of the King) a Church for himselfe and his successours, dedicating the same to the name of our Sauiour Christ, whereof it was called afterward, Christes Church. After his death, Laurence his successor, brought Monkes into the house, the head whereof was called a Pryor, whiche woord (howsoeuer it soundethe) was in deede but the name of a second officer, because the Bishop himselfe was accompted the very Abbat.

For in olde time, the Bishops were for the moste part chosen out of suche Monasteries, and therefore moste commonly had their Palaces adioyning, and gouerned

as Abbats there: by meanes whereof it came to passe, that suche Abbies were not only muche amplified in wealth and possessions, but also by fauour of the Bishops, their good Abbates, ouerlooked all their neere neighbours, as hereafter in further course shall better

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appeare.

1099. I finde not, that any great coste was done vpon this Church, till Lanfrancs dayes, who not only builded it almoste wholly of newe, and placed Benedicte Monkes therein, the number of whiche hee aduanced from thirtie, to one hundreth and fourtie, but also erected certaine Hospitals, whiche hee endowed with one hundreth and fourtie poundes by yere, and repaired the walles of the Citie it selfe: And here by the way, it is to be noted out of Mathewe Westminster, that there were Monkes in this house, euer since the time of Laurence the second Archebishop, although some reporte, that Elfricus, was the first that expulsed the Seculer Priestes, and brought the Monkes in place.
- 988.
1130. Not long after Lanfrancs time, succeeded William Corboile, during whose gouernment, this lately aduanced building was blasted with flame, but he soone after reedified it of his owne purse, and dedicated it with great pompe and solemnitie, in the presence of the King and his Nobles. After him followed Theobaldus (whome Pope Innocent the second, honoured with the title of Legatus natus: and then commeth Thomas Becket, the fift in order after Lanfranc, by whose life, death, and burial, the estimation of this Church was aduanced beyond all reason, measure and wonder. For, notwithstanding that it had beene before that time honoured with the arme of S. Bartholmew, (a Relique that King Canutus gaue) with the presence of Augustine that brought in Religion, with the buriall of eight Kentishe Kings, that succeeded Wightred, and of a great number of Archebishops after the time of Cuthbert: Likewise afterward with the famous assembly at the homage done by the Scottishe King William, to King Henrie the second, and at the Coronation of King Iohn: with the seueral
- 725.
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Thomas Becket, the Archbishop & his historie.

1202. Mariages also of King Henrie the third, and King Edward the first: and finally with the interments of that Noble Edward (called commonly the Blacke Prince) and of King Henrie the fourth: yet the death of this one man not martyred (as they feigne, for the cause only, and not the death, maketh a Martyr) but murdered in his Church, brought therevnto more accesse of estimation and reuerence, then all that euer was done before, or since. For after his death, by reason that the Pope had canonized his soule in Heauen, and that Stephan Langton had made a Golden shrine for his body on earth, and commaunded the Annuall day of his departure to be kept solemne, not only the Lay and Common sort of people, but Bishops, Noble men, and Princes, as well of this Realme, as of forreigne partes, resorted on Pilgrimage to his tumber, and flocked to his lubile for remission: In so muche, that euery man offering according to his abilitie, and thronging to see, handle, and kisse, euen the vilest partes of his Reliques, the Church became so riche in Iewels and ornaments, that it might compare
- 1228.

with Midas, or Cræsus, and so famous and renowned (euery pillar resounding Saint Thomas, his miracles, praiers and pardons) that now the name of Christ was cleane forgotten, and the place was commonly called, Saint Thomas Church of Canterbury.

I passe ouer the stately buildings, and monuments, (I meane Churches, Chapels, and Oratories) raised to his name: the lewde bookes of his lyfe, and iestes, written by foure sundrie persons to his praise: The blasphemous Hymnes, and collectes, deuised by churchemen for his seruice: and sundrie suche other thinges, whiche as they were at the first inuented to strike into the heades of all hearers and beholders, more then wonderfull opinion of deuotion and holynes: So now the trueth being

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tried out, and the matter well and indifferently weighed) they ought to worke with all men, an vtter detestation, both of his, and all their, hypocrisie and wickednesse.

For, as touching himself (to omitte that which truly might be spoken in dispraise of the former part of his lyfe, and to beginne with the very matter it selfe, wherupon his death ensued) it is euident, bothe by the testimony of Mathewe Paris (a very good Chronicler, that liued vnder King Henrie the third) and by the foure Pseudo Euangelistes themselues that wrote his lestes, that the chiefe cause of the Kings displeasure towardes him grew vpon occasion, that he opposed himself against his Prince, Gods lawfull and Supreame minister on earth, in maintenance of a moste vile and wicked murder. The matter stode thus. Within a fewe of the first yeares of King Henrie the seconds Reigne, the Clergie of the Realme had committed aboute a hundreth seuerall murders vpon his subiectes, as it was infourmed him: for remedie of whiche outrage, the King (by assent of his Nobilitie and Bishops, of whiche number Thomas Becket himself was one) tooke order at †Clare=

1146.

†r. 'Clarendune'

downe, that if any Clerke from thencefoorth committed felonie, or treason, he should first be degraded, and afterward deliuered to the Lay power, there to receaue as to his offence belonged.

Not long after, it chaunced one Philip Broic (a Chanon of Bedford) to be apprehended for murder, and to be brought before the temporal iustice, where he not onely shewed no remorse of the wicked fact, but also (in hope of Ecclesiasticall exemption) gaue very euill language to the Iudge: the Iudge complained therof to the King, and the Chanon belike made meanes to the Archebishop.

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For the King no sooner endeuoured to put his Lawe in execution, but the Archebishop, (bothe forgetfull of his duetie to God, and his Prince, and vnmindefull of his owne oth) set him selfe against it, affirming plainly, that he neither could, ne would suffer it.

Hereupon the Prince waxed wrothe, and by litle and litle his indignation so kindeled, (by matter that the obstinacie of the Bishop daily ministred) that in the end it was to hote for Becket to abide it: Then speedeth he himself to Rome, and poureth into the Holy Fathers bosome, complaint of moste grieuous oppression, extended against the Clergie: The Popes Holynesse, sory to

discourage so good a Souldiour, as the Bishop was, and withal lothe to loose so mightie a friend, as King Henrie was, by letters and Legates, praieth, commaundethe, persuadethe, and threatneth reconciliation and attone=ment, whiche after great a doe by the meanes of the Frenche King, and other his instruments, was in a sort brought to passe.

Then Thomas Becket retourneth with the Kings fauour into the Realme, from whence he had six yeares before departed without licence, and therefore without, or rather against Lawe, and immediately seeketh to re=uege himself vpon suche the Bishops, as had in his ab=sence assisted the King. Whiche when the King (being then in Normandie) vnderstoode, it chaunced him, in greate grieue of minde to caste out some woordes, that gaue occasion and hardines, to Reginald Bere, William Tracy, Hughe Moruill, and Richard Bryton (foure of his Gentlemen) to addresse themselues for his re=uege: These foure therefore, passed the Seas, came to Canterbury, found out the Bishop, followed him into his Churche, and vpon the Staires of the same, did him very cruelly, and dispitefully to deathe.

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This shortly is the chiefe substance, and circum=stance of all this Tragedie, drawne out of our owne Countriemen, and Thomas his faouurers, howsoeuer otherwise Erasmus (led by some sinister information) hathe reported it, as shall hereafter appeare in Ot=ford.

Wherein, as I can not on the one side allowe this murther, (executed, not by any publique Minister of Ius=tice, but by a priuate and iniurious arme:) So on the o=ther side, I report me to al indifferent and Godly Readers, whether suche a lyfe deserued not suche a death, and whether these Popishe Parasites, that haue painted fourth his prayses, make not themselues, thereby parte=ners of all his pride and wilfull rebellion.

I might here rest long, vpon diuerse other thinges concerning the King and this Archebishop, namely, how that he suffered the King to holde his stirup twice in one day in Normandie, but in Prato Proditorum, as Mathewe Parise very pretely <sup>†</sup>writeth it: Howe the King came with bare and bleeding feete to Canterbury, to purge himselfe of the murther: Howe he bared his body to the Monkes of this house, and receaued of euery Religi=ous Person there, foure, or fiue stripes, in whiche selfe yeare (by the way) their whole churche was consumed with fire: and some other matters besides, which make manifestly for the prooffe of great presumption in the Cler=gie, and of vile abiectiion of the Princes of those dayes: But, bicause that I am fearefull that I growe to long, I will leaue Saint Thomas him selfe, and after (a fewe woordes more of this Churche) step ouer to Saint Augustines.

†r. 'twyteth'

1395. After Thomas, this Church found three especiall main teiners of the building, William Courtney which by his

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1400. Testament bequeathed one thousand Markes towards the amendment of the bodie of the Church, the walles, and the Cloister: Thomas Arundel, which erected one of the Bell Towers, gaue fiue Belles, and Christened

them after the Popish manner: And Henrie Chicheley, who both repaired the librarie with books and building, and did great cost vpon one of the Bell Towers also.

Saint Au=  
gustines.

Nowe to Saint Augustines. Augustine, hauing thus established a See for him selfe and his successours, obtained further of King Ethelbert (for the better fur=  
therance of the seruice, that he had in hand) a Church, that then stode betweene the walles of the Citie, and S. Martines, wherein the King himselve vsed before to make his prayers, and offer sacrifice to his Idoles: This Church, he purged from Prophane abuse and name (as they say) and dedicated it to the seruice of God, and to the honour of Saint Pancrace: Neither ceased he thus, but shortly after intreated the same King to build a Monasterie in the soyle adioyning, whiche he also ap=  
pointed to the honour of Saint Peter, and Saint Paule and placed Monkes therein: This Monasterie, in me=  
morie of his benefite, lost the first name, and was euer after called Saint Augustines.

603.

The deade,  
in old time  
were buried  
out of the  
Cities.

Nowe whereas the true meaning, bothe of the King and Augustine was, that this Church (for so much as bothe then, and long after, it was not †their manner to burie their dead within the walles of any Citie, a thing forbidden of olde, by the law of the twelue tables) should be from thencefoorth a common Sepulchre to all their successours, as well in the Kingdome, as in the Archebshopricke, yet suche was the fauour of the Bi=  
shops, folowing Augustine towards their own church, that in the processe of time Saint Augustines was de=  
frauded of the Sepultures, bothe of the one and the other.

725.

†r. 'the'

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For in Brightwaldes dayes, the buriall of the Kings was taken from it: and Cuthbert the Archebshop in his life begged of King Eadbert, that for the aduaunce=  
ment of Sainct lohns (a newe Church, that he had e=  
rected for that purpose, and for the execution of iudge=  
ments by the Ordale, and whiche was afterwarde fired with the flame of Christes Church, wherenvto it was neare adioyning) the Bishops also might from thence=  
foorth be buryed there. And for the more suretie to at=  
taine that his desire, he tooke order in his life (by othe of all his Couent) that they shoulde suffer his corps to lye three dayes in the grounde after his death, before any Bell shoulde be rong, or other open solemnitie vsed, that might notifie his departure to the Monkes of S. Au=  
gustines. Onely leanbright (the fourteenth Bishop) whom other copies cal Lambright) was conueyed to the grounde at Sainct Augustines, by this occasion.

746.

After the death of Bregwine (the Archebshop) this leanbright (then being Abbat of Sainct Augustines, and fearing that he shoulde be deceiued of the bodye of Bregwine, as Aldhun his predecessour had beene begui=  
led of Cuthberts before) he came appoynted with ar=  
med men, determining to take it away by force, if he might not by faire meanes obtaine it. But the craftie Monkes of Christes Church, had buried the body before he came, so that he was driuen to depart home frustrate of his desire, and to seeke his amendes by action in the lawe. Notwithstanding, bycause they perceiued here=  
by, that he was a man of good courage, and therefore very meete in their opinion to be their Captaine, they shortly after chose him Archebshop, in hope that he woulde

haue maintained their quarrell: but he neuerthelesse  
tooke suche order, that he was buried in S. Augustines  
with the rest of his predecessours.

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Popishe  
braules.

Thus you see, howe soone after the foundation, these  
houses were at dissention, and for howe small trifles,  
they were ready to put on armes, and to moue greate  
and †trouble some tragedies: Neyther doe I finde,  
that euer they agreed after, but were eyther at conti=  
nuall brawling within them selues, eyther suing before  
the King, or appealing to the Pope, and that for mat=  
ters of more stomacke, then importaunce: As for ex=  
ample, whether the Abbat of Saint Augustines should  
be consecrate or blessed in his owne Church, or in the  
others: whether he ought to ring his belles to seruice,  
before the other had rong theirs: whether he and his te=  
nants ought suite to the Bishops Courte: and suche  
like, wherein it can not be doubted, but that they con=  
sumed inestimable treasure, for maintenaunce of their  
moste peuishe and Popishe pryde and wilfulness. If  
any man delight to knowe the particulars, let him  
reade the writing of Thorne and Spot, their own Chro=  
niclers, as for my selfe, I thinke it too long to haue sayde  
thus muche in generall, and therefore will haste me to  
the rest. After the death of Ethelbert, Eadbaldus (his  
sonne) at the instance of Laurence, the Archebishop, buil=  
ded a faire Church in this Monasterie, whiche he called  
Saint Maries. In whiche place many yeares after  
(if at the leaste you will beleue Thomas Spot) Saint  
Dunstane sensibly hearde, and sawe, our Lady Saint  
Adryan, and a †sorte of Angels singing and dauncing to=  
gether. After Eadbaldus, King Canute (the great Mo=  
narch of this Realme) Egilsine (the Abbat that fled for feare  
of the Conquerour) Scotlandus (whome the same King  
put in Egelsins place.) Hugo de Floriaco (that was of kin=  
red to king William Rufus, and by him made Abbat) were  
the persons that chiefly increased the building: some bestow=  
ing Churches and Chapels: some Dorters and dnyng

618.

S. Maries,  
in Canter=  
bury.

1017.

1059.

1099.

†<? hoste>

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places, and others other sortes of edefices. The Saints,  
whose deade bodies and reliques, brought to this church  
great veneration, and gaine, were these specially, Adry=  
an, Albin, Iohn. &c. religious persons: Eadbald, Lo=  
thar, Mul, and Wightred, sometimes Kings: S. Sexburg, and  
S. Myldred of Thanet, (whose body was giuen †then  
by King Canute,) And Saint Augustine their founder  
him self.

The Saints  
and Reli=  
ques, at Can=  
terbury.

†r. 'them'

S. August.

1011.

Of this last man (to let slip a many of others) this one  
myracle they reporte, that at suche time as the Danes  
entred Kent, and spoyling this Citie, ransacked almoste  
euery corner thereof, this house of Saint Augustines  
(onely of all other) was neuer touched, By reason (say  
they) that when a Dane had taken holde of Saint Au=  
gustines Pall or cloake, (wherewith his tumbe was co=  
uered) it stacke so fast to his fingers, that by no meanes  
possible, he coulde lose it, till he came and yealded himself  
to the Monkes, and made sorrowfull confession of his  
fulte. Much like to this, it is written, that at the ouer=  
throw of Carthage, the hande of one that woulde haue  
spoyled the God Apollo of his Mantel, was founde a=  
mongst the fragments. This our good felowe was not so



cunning (belike) as Dionysius, for he tooke a golden cloke from Iupiter, and had no hurt at all thereby. But eyther this our Pall was weaved, 'Ex auro Tholosano,' or els (which I rather beleue) this Canterbury tale was forged 'A rabula Romano.' Besides all these, the Monkes seeing howe litle their reliques were esteemed, in comparison of Thomas Becket, and beleueing (as the Romanes somtimes did of Dea Pessenuntia) that their house should be highly aduanced, if they might get thither so glorious a God as he was, they made a foule shift for a peece of him also. There was a Monk of Christs Church, called Roger, who had in charge to keepe the Altar where

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1176.

Thomas Becket had two heads.

Becket was slaine. This man they chose to their Abbat, in hope (sayth mine authour) that he woulde bring somewhat with him: in whiche doing they were not altogether deceiued, For he conueyed to them a greate part of Thomas his bloude that was shed, and a peece of his Crowne that was pared off. But here by the way, marke (I beseeche you) the grose iugling that these slow bellyed syres vsed to delude the worlde withal. Erasmus (in his Colloquies) writeth, that the whole face of S. Thomas, being sumptuously set in golde, was religiously kept within a Chapell beyonde the highe altar, and that they tolde him, the rest of the body lay in a shryne of golde, and of great Maiestie, which they shewed besides.

But the truth is, that at suche time as the late godly and most Christian Archebishop Cranmer, and the wise and noble counseler Cromwell, were at Canterbury, in commission for defacing of this Shryne, they found an entier body, and complete in all his partes within the same, as some yet on liue, and then present, can testifie: so that eyther this their great God, was a bishop Biceps, and lacked but one head more to make him Cerberus, or Chimæra: or else (whiche is most certaine) these Monks were marueylous and monstrous magnifiers, of suche deceiuable trumperie, and wanted nothing at all to make them, Cretenses or Cecropes. But to my purpose againe, as touching the priuileges, possessions, estimation and maiestie of this house, it were too muche to recite the one halfe, and therefore I will onely let you knowe, that of auncient time the Abbat had allowance of a Coynage, or Mynte within him selfe, by graunt of King Ethelstane: That he had place in the general counsell, by gift of the Pope Leo: That the house had fiue Couents, conteining in all, sixtie fiue Monkes: And finally, that (besides iurisdiction ouer a whole Last of thir-

1056.

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teene Hundreds (it had possession of liuelyhoode to the value of eight hundreth and eight pounds by yeare.

Nowe, besides these two great houses, there were in Canterbury some other also of lesse note: As S. Gregories (a Church of Chanons, belonging to the Hospital that Lanfranc built) whiche was fired in the time of King Stephan, and valued in the Recordes at thirtie poundes by the yeare: The Hospital of S. Laurence, edified by Hughe (the Abbat of S. Augustines) for his sicke Monkes, and rated at twentie poundes yearely: S. Iames Hospital, erected by Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the thirde: S. Sepulchres, a house of Nonnes, prepared (belike) to serue the necessitie of the hoat Mon-

S. Gregories in Canterbury.

1145

S. Laurences Hospital.

S. Iames Hospital. S. Sepulchers.

1207

White friars.  
S. Mildrede

The Bishop's Palace.

kes, esteemed at twelue pounds by yeare: The White Friers translated by one Iohn Digge, to the Isle of Bynwhite, lately the house of one Rolph: And S. Myldreds in the South side of the Citie, long since (but not lately) an Abbay. There is extant in Canterbury also, the auncient and stately Palaice of the Archebishops, not that whiche King Ethelbert first gaue to Augustine at Staplegate, for it was but a meane dwelling house, answerable to his smal company, and first beginnings: but the very same which he secondly bestowed on him (when he left Canterbury, and went to Reculuer) which was his owne, and his predecessours, the Kinges stately Court and Palaice. This house, by that time Hubert the Archebishop had aspired to the See, was decayed, either by age, or flame, or bothe: Who therfore pulled downe the most part of it, and in place thereof layde the foundation of that great Hall, and other the offices, that are nowe to be seene: But by reason that he himselfe wanted time, (being preuented by death) and some of his followers lacked money (hauing otherwise, bestowed it lauishly) to perfourme the worke, it rested †till

†<vnperfect till>

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the dayes of Boniface, who both substantially, and beautifully finished it.

1250.

S. Martines was a Bishop's See.

Lastly, a litle without the East wall of the citie stood S. Martines, where was sometime an auncient Church, erected by the Romanes, in which (before the comming of Augustine) Bertha, the wife of King Ethelbert, hauing receiued the Religion of Christ before him, was accustomed to pray. In this smal Oratorie, Augustine (by the Kings permission) celebrated diuine seruice, and administered the Sacraments, vntil that by further taste of the Kings fauour, he obtained larger roome to build his Monasterie vpon. And this Church was long time after, euen vntil the comming in of the Normanes, the See of a Bishop, who (alwayes remaining in the countrie (supplied the absence of the Metropolitane, that for the most part followed the Court: and that as wel in gouerning the Monkes, as in perfourming the solemnities of the Church, and exercising the authoritie of an Archedeacon. Godwine was the last whiche sate in that chaire, after whose death, Lanfranc (being as ielouze of a partner in his spirituall lerarchie, as euer was Alexander in his temporall Empire) refused to consecrate any other, affirming plainly, that 'Two Bishops were to many for one Citie.' Neuerthelesse, bycause he needed the helpe of a substitute, he created in place therof, one of his Chaplaines, Archedeacon of Canterbury.

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Hakington.

S. †Sepulchres by Canterbury.

Baldwine (an Archebishop of Canterbury, vnder the reigne of King Henrie the seconde) minding to aduance the estimation of Thomas Becket, his lately murdered predecessour, and withall to make him self memorable to posteritie, thought this one waye the best for obtaining his double desire, namely, to build

†r. 'Stephans'

The Monkes contend with the Archbishop and do preuaile.

some stately Church Monument, and to matche in the patronage thereof, Thomas that Prototraitour and rebell to his Prince, with Stephan the Protomartyr, and true seruauant of Almightye God. For which purpose, and to the ende that his acte might haue the more countenance and credite, he obtained a licence from Pope Vrban, in this fourme as Mathewe Parise reporteth it. 'Presentium tibi autoritate mandamus, vt 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, vt quarta parte oblationum, reliquiis Sancti Thomæ monachorum vsibus concessa, quarta fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pauperibus deputata, quartam portionem reliquam liceat tibi in alios vsus, pro tuæ voluntatis arbitrio erogare. &c.' This done, he pulled downe an olde timber Chapell that stooode at Hakington, and rayseed in place therof, a faire Church of hewed stone. But, for as much, as not only the charge to furnish that present building, was fetched from S. Thomas offering at Canterbury, (much to the decay of the Monkes gaine) but also the yerely maintenance therof, was to be drawn from the same Hanaper, and to be bestowed vpon certaine Seculer Chansons, (a sort of religious persons, that the monks despised)

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who yet might happely in time to come, be made equall with the Monkes themselues in the election of the Archbishop, to the generall discredite of their holy order, and vtter violation of their former Priuileges, therefore the Couent of Christes Church, thinking it fit to withstande suche beginnings, complayned hereof to Pope Innocents holynesse (for Vrban was then deade) and were so well hearde in their suite, that the Archebishops building was countermaunded, and he with forced patience, † contented to cease the worke. Neuerthelesse, hauing hope, that if the thing were by great distance of place, remoued out of the Monks eye, he might with better quiet bring his desire to the wished effect, he attempted the like platfourme at Lambhithe, his owne house neare London: But before he had finished that worke, he went into the holy Lande with King Richarde the first, and dyed without returne, in whiche meane while, the Chapell of Hakington, being destitute of her Patronne, was quite and cleane demolished.

†<? consented>

Hubert succeeded Baldwine in the See, and put his hande to perfourme the building at Lambhithe, that his predecessour had begonne, but the Monkes (fearing still the former inconuenience) intercepted the whole profits of Saincte Thomas offering, renued their suite at Rome, and (feeding the Pope with that whiche should haue mayntained the building) made his holy eares so attentiu, that he became wholly of the Monkes deuotion, and compelled Hubert at his owne dispenche, and to his great dispyght, † to (Mauger his Myter) race that Chapell also, and to make it equall with the grounde.

†r. '(maugre his myter) to

And thus you may see howe the enuious Monkes hindered the felicitie of Hakington, whiche otherwise by this kynde of spirituall robberie, might in time haue proued as famous as Boxley, Walsingham, or any other

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Den of Idolatrie, whereas then it was with muche a

doe, and great difficultie obtained, that a poore Chapell (serued with a single Syr lohn, and destitute, both of Font, and Churchyard) might remaine standing in the place. Howebeit since that time, it is become the Parish Church there.

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Harbaldowne, by Canterbury.

The vanitie of Man, and the subtilty of the Deuill, be the cause of Idolatrie.

Suche hathe beene the nature of man, euen from that time (in whiche not contenting himself to abide man, but aspiring by knowledge of good and euill to become God, he defaced the image of his Creator, to the similitude of whome he was created) that he hath continually euer since, and that in matters concerning God, more trusted his owne witte, then the wisdom of God him selfe, better liked his owne inuention, then Gods holy institution, and preferred wil worship, deuised of his own braine, before reuerent religion inioyned by the mouthe of the Almightye. And suche also hathe 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 feede his euill humour, suggesting innumerable (and those moste subtile) sleights to withdrawe him from God, and drawe him to Idolatrie and superstition: So that in time by policie of the one, and pronesse in the other, it was by degrees brought to passe, that not onely the excellent and glorious creatures of God, the Angels, and men (I mean) the Sunne and Moone, the Stars and Elements, were worshipped as Gods, But also, diuine honour and reuerence, was transferred from the highest God, to the moste inferiour, and basest partes of all his woorkmanship, the world at the length becomming so madde, that it would crouche and kneele, kisse, and knocke, bowe,

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bend, and make all signes of honour and reuerence, not only to stockes and stones (that represented the bodies of mortall men) but to whatsoever trifle, trumperie, or baggage besides, that the Deuill or his Ministers would haue preferred as a monument, or relique of them. And therefore, no maruaile was it, if God (seeing the world to abuse it selfe after a moste froward and peruerse kinde of superstition) did by his iust vengeance beare vnbaleuers of al vnderstanding and iudgement, so that without any further doubt, or inquisition) they sticke not to embrace deuoutly, whatsoever was commended, were it neuer so lewdly. For example whereof, beholde here at Harbaldowne (an Hospital builded by Lanfranc the Archebishop, for reliefe of the poore and diseased) the shamefull Idolatrie of this latter age, committed by abusing the lippes (whiche God hath giuen for the sounding foorth of his praise) in smacking and kissing the vpper leather of an olde shoe, reserued for a Relique, and vnreuerently offered to as many as passed by. Erasmus, setting foorth (in his Dialogue intituled, Peregrinatio religionis ergo) vnder the name of

Saint Thomas Becket Relique.

one Ogygius, his owne trauaile, to visite our Lady of Walsingham, and Saint Thomas Becket, sheweth that in his retourne from Canterbury towards London, he found (on the high way side) an Hospital of certain poore folkes: of which, one came out against him and his companie, holding a holy water sprinkle in the one hand, and bearing the vpper leather of an olde shoe (faire set in Copper and Christal) in the other hand: This dotting father, first cast holy water vpon them, and then offred them (by one and one) the holy shoe to kisse, Whereat as the most part of the company (knowing the manner) made no refusal: So amongst the rest one Gratianus (as he faineth) offended with the follie, asked halfe in anger what it

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was: Saint Thomas Shoe, quoth the olde man: with that Gratianus turned him to the company, and said: 'Quid sibi volunt hæ pecudes, vt osculemur calceos omnium bonorum Virorum? Quin eadem opera porrigunt osculandum sputum, aliaque corporis excrementa?' 'What meane these beasts, that we should kisse the shoes of al good men? why do they not, by the same reason offer vs their Spittle, and other excrements of the body to be kissed?' This to the wiser sorte, and suche as haue any light, may suffice for the vnderstanding of Erasmus opinion and iudgment touching such vnreuerent Reliques: but yet lest some blinde and wilfull worshipper should thinke it but merily spoken of him, and in another mans person, (as in deed Erasmus had many times 'Dextrum pedem in calceo, sinistrum in pelui,' according to the old Prouerb) I wil likewise adde a few woordes, vsed in the end of his booke, for explication of his own full minde in that matter. 'Notantur, qui reliquias incertas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, & qui questum ex his sordide faciunt.' 'In this Dialogue all suche are taxed, whiche shewe vnto the people vncertaine reliques, for true and certaine: or which doe ascribe vnto them more then of right is due: or whiche do raise filthie gaine and lucre by them.'

But peraduenture the authoritie of D. Erasmus is nowe (since the late Tridentine Counsell) of no weight with them, since by the sentence of the same, his workes without choice be condemned as Heretical. Truly, that Counsel shewed it selfe, more hastie to suppress al the good workes of Godly men, then redie to correct or abolish any of their owne fabulous books, or superstitious follies. And therefore let indifferent men iudge whether the opinion of any one true speaking man, be not worthely to be preferred, before the determination of suche a whole vnadvised Synode. And as for suche as

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in this light of the trueth, I will shewe themselues maintainers of such Mawmetrie, I deeme them like the Sabees, whose senses, (as Strabo writeth) are offended with sweet smelling sauours, and delighted with the filthie smoke of burned goates haire, and therefore I say vnto them, 'Sordescant adhuc,' and so leaue them.

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Norwood, that is to say,

the North wood.

In the dayes of King Edward the confessor, one hundreth Burgesses of the Cite of Canterbury, ought their suite to the Manor of Norwood, as in that part of the booke of Domesday which concerneth Kent, may yet moste evidently appeare. The building is nowe demolished, but the Manor was long time in the possession of certaine Gentlemen of the same name, (of whiche race, one lyeth buried in the body of the church at Adington, in the yeare a thousand foure hundreth and sixeteene. And hereby it is probable (as me thinketh) to be coniectured, that in auncient time, men were vsually named of the places of their dwelling: For whereas before the coming in of the Conquerour, places (for the most part) had their appellations, either of their situation, or of some notable accident, or noble man, as Northwood in regard 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) eyther of some note of the body, as Swanshalse, for the whitenes of her necke: or for some propertie of the mind, as Godred, for his good counsel, and that by one single Surname only and no more, now immediatly after the arriual of the Normanes (which obtened those landes, and which first brought into this Realme, the names of Thomas, Iohn, Nicholas, Fraunces, Stephan, Henrie and such like, that now be most vsual) men began to be knowen and surnamed, not of their conditions and properties, but of their dwellings and possessions: So that the Norman that was before Thomas, and had gotten the Towneship of Norton,

The olde manner of nameing men.

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Sutton, Inglefield, or Combe, was thencefoorth called, Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, of Inglefield, of Combe, or such like, al which be (vndoubtedly) the names of places and not of persons. Neyther 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, leauing out the particule (of) whiche before denoted his dwelling place: And thus (the Norman manner preuailing) the auncient custome of the Saxons and Englishe men vanished quite out of vre. This whole thing, is best discerned by auncient euidences, and by the names of our Chesshyre men yet remaining: For, olde writings haue commonly, Ioannes de Norton, Wilmus de Sutton, For such as we call nowe, Iohn Norton, and William Sutton: and amongst the Gentlemen of Chesshyre (euen to this day) one is called (after their maner) Thomas a Bruerton, another Iohn a Holcroft, and suche like, for Thomas Bruerton, Iohn Holcroft. &c. as we here vse it. Thus muche shortly of mine owne fantasie, I thought not vnmeete to impart, by occasion of the name of Norwood, and now forward to my purpose againe.

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Leedes, in Latine of some

Lodanum, of others Ledanum  
Castrum.

Robert Creuequer, was one of the eight, that Iohn Fynes elected for his assistance in the defence of Douer Castle (as we haue already shewed) who, taking for that cause the Manor of Leedes, and vndertaking to finde fiue Warders therefore, builded this Castle, or at the least, an other, that stode in the place. For I haue read, that Edward (then Prince of Wales, and afterward the first King of that name) being Wardein of the Fiue Portes, and Constable of Douer, in the life of Henrie the third his Father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministerie he vsed, as a substitute in bothe those offices) to rase the Castle that Robert Creuequer had erected, bicause Creuequer (that was then owner of it, and Heire to Robert) was of the number of the Nobles that moued and mainteined warre against him. Whiche, whether it be true, or no, I will not affirme, but yet I thinke it very likely, bothe bicause Badlesmere (a man of another name) became Lord of Leedes shortly after (as you shall anone see) and also for that the present woorke at Leedes pretendeth not the antiquitie of so many yeares, as are passed since the age of the conquest. But let vs leaue the building, and goe in hand with the storie.

Maude the  
Empresse,  
true Heire  
to the  
Crowne.

King Henrie the first, hauing none other issue of his bodie then Maude (first married to Henrie the Emperour, whereof she was called the Empresse, and after coupled to Geffray Plantaginet the Earle of Angeow) and fearing (as it happened in deed) that after his death, trouble might arise in the Realme, about the inheritance of the

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Crowne, bycause she was by habitation a straunger and farre of, so that she might want bothe force and friends to atchieue her right: And for that also, Stephan (the Earle of Boloine, his sisters sonne) was then of greate estimation amongst the noble men, and abiding within the Realme, so that with great aduauntage, he might offer her wrong: he procured (in full Parleament) the assent of his Lordes and Commons, that Maude, and her heires, shoulde succee in the kingdome after him: And to the ende, that this limitation of his, might be the more surely established, he tooke the fidelitie and promise by othe, bothe of his Clergie and Laytie, and of the Earle of Boloine him selfe.

Howbeit, immediatly after his decease, Stephan (being of the opinion, that 'Si ius violandum est, certe regnandi causa violandum est.'

If breache of lawes, a man shall vndertake:  
He must them boldly break, for kingdomes sake.)

Inuaded the Crowne, and by the aduice of William the Archebishop of Canterbury (who had first of al giuen his fayth to Maude) by the fauour of the common people, whiche adheared vnto him) and by the consent of the holy father of Rome (whose will neuer wanteth to the furtheraunce of mischiefe) he obtained it, whiche neuertheless (as William of Newborowe well noteth) being gotten by †patterne, he held not past two yeres in peace,

†r. 'periurie'

but spent the residue of his whole reigne in dissention, warre, and bloudshed: to the great offence of God, the manifest iniurie of his owne cousine, and the grievous vexation of this countrie and people.

For soone after the beginning of his reigne, sundry of the Noble men, partely vpon remorse of their former

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promise made, and partly for displeasure (conceiued by= cause he kepte not the othe taken at his Coronation) made defection to Maude, so soone as euer she made her challenge to the Crowne: So that (in the end, after many calamities) what by her owne power, and their assistance, she compelled him to fall to composition with her, as in the storie at large it may be seene.

Nowe during those his troubles, amongst other things that muche annoyed him, and furthered the part of Maude his aduersarie, it was vpon a time sounded (by his euil willers) in the eares of the common sort, that he was dead: And therewithall soudenly diuers great men of her deuotion, betooke them to their strong holdes, and some others seised some of the Kings owne Castles to the behalfe of the Empresse: Of whiche number was Robert, the Earle of Gloucester, and bastarde brother to Maude, who entred this Castle of Leedes, mynding to haue kept it. But King Stephan vsed against him suche force, and celeritie, that he soone wrested it out of his fingers.

1137.

1318.

Bartholmew Badelesmere.

King Edwarde the seconde, that for the loue of the two Spensers, incurred the hatred of his wife and Nobilitie, gaue this Castle (in exchange for other landes) to Bartilmew Badelesmere (then Lorde Steward of his housholde) and to his heires for euer: who shortly after (entering into that troublesome action, in whiche Thomas, the Duke of Lancaster with his complices, maugre the King, exiled the Spensers) bothe loste the Kings fauour, this Castle, and his life also. For, whilst he was abroade in ayde of the Barons, and had committed the custodie thereof to Thomas Colpeper, and left not onely his chiefe treasure in money, but also his wife and children within it for their securitie: It chaunced, that Isabell the Kings wife, mynding a Pilgrimage towards Canterbury, and being ouertaken with

1321.

Thomas Colpeper.

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† might, sent her Marshal to prepare for her lodging ther. But her officer was proudly denied by the Captaine, who sticke not to tell him, that neyther the Queene, ne any other, shoulde be lodged there, without the commandement of his Lord the owner. The Queene, not thus answered, came to the gate in person, and required to be let in, But the Captain most malepertly repulsed her also, in so much that shee complained greauously to the king of the misdemenour, and he forthwith leuied a power, and personally sumoned and besieged the peice so straightly, that in the end, through want of rescue and victuall, it was deliuered him. Then tooke he Capitaine Colpeper, and hong him vp: The wife and children of the Lord Badelesmere, he sent to the Towre of London: The treasure and munition, he seised to his owne vse: and the Castle he committed to such as liked him. But, as the last acte of a Tragedie is alwayes more heaue and sorowful then the rest: so (calamitie and woe increasing vpon him) Badelesmere him self was the yere folowing, in the

†r. 'night'



company of the Duke of Lancaster and others, discomfited at Borowbrig, by the Kings armie, and shortly after sent to Canterbury, and beheaded. I might here iustly take occasion, to rip vp the causes of those great and tragical troubles, that grewe betwene this King and his Nobilitie, for Peter Gaueston, and these two Spensers, the rather, for that the common sort of our English storiers, do lay the whole burthen of that fault vpon the King, and those fewe persons: But bycause the matter is not so plaine as they make it, and withal requireth more wordes for the manifestation therof, then I may now afoorde, and for that also there is hope, that a special hystorie of the reigne (penned by S. Thomas Delamore, which liued in the very time it self) may be hereafter imprinted and made common,

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I will onely exhort the Reader (for his owne information in the trueth, and for some excuse of such as be ouercharged) to peruse that worke, wherein (I assure him) he shall finde matter, bothe very rare, and credible.

The Pryorie at Leedes.

As touching the Pryorie at Leedes (whiche was a house of Regular Chanons, and valued in the Recordes of the late suppression at three hundreth, three score and two poundes of yearely reuenue) I finde, that one Robert Creuequer (the authour of the Castle peradventure, for this was done in the reigne of Henrie, sonne to the Conquerour) and Adam his sonne and heire, firste founded it. Whiche thing might probably haue beene coniectured, althoughe it had neuer beene committed to Hystorie. For in auncient time, euen the greatest personages, helde Monkes, Friars, and Nonnes, in suche veneration and liking, that they thought no citie in case to flourish, no house likely to haue long continuance, no Castle sufficiently defended, where was not an Abbay, Pryorie, or Nonnerie, eyther placed within the walles, or situate at hande and neare adioyning. And surely (omitting the residue of the Realme) hereof only it came to passe, that Douer had S. Martines, Canterbury Christes Church, Rochester S. Andrewes, Tunbridge the Friars, Maydstone the Chanons, Grenewiche the obseruants, and this our Leedes her Pryorie of Chanons at hande. Howbeit, I finde in a Heralds note (who belike made his coniecture, by some coate of Armes lately apparant) that one Leybourne, an Earle of Salisburie, was the founder of it. In deede, it is to be seene in the Annales of S. Augustines of Canterbury, that a noble man (called Roger Leybourne) was sometime of great authoritie within this Shyre, notwithstanding that, in his time he had tasted of bothe fortunes: for in the dayes of King Henrie the thirde, he

†r. 'defenced'

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was firste one of that coniuration, which was called the Barons warre, from whiche faction, Edward the Kings sonne, wonne him, by faire means to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse.

Afterwarde they agreed not vpon the reckoning, so that the Prince (charging him with great arrearage of account) seised his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by whiche occasion Roger once more, became of the Barons deuotions: But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsones receiued to fauour, and was made Wardein of the Fiue Portes, and Lieuuetenant of

this whole Shyre. Nowe, though it can not be true, that this man was the builder of this Pryorie (for the same Annales say, that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heyre, he might truly be termed the Patrone or founder thereof, for by that name, not only the builders themselues, but their posteritie also (to whom the glory of their deedes did descend) were wont to be called, as well as they.

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The description, and hystorie, of the See, and Diocesse of Rochester.

The learned in Astronomie, be of the opinion, that if Iupiter, Mercurie, or any other Planet, approche within certain degrees of the Sunne, and be burned (as they terme it) vnder his beames, That then it hath in maner no influence at all, But yealdeth wholly to the Sunne that ouershineth it: And some men beholding the nearenesse of these two Bishopricks, Canterbury and Rochester, and comparing the bright glory, pompe, and primacie of the one, with the contrarie altogether in the other, haue fansied Rochester so ouershadowed and obscured, that they reckon it no See or Bishoprick of it self, But only a place of a meere Suffragan, and Chaplain to Canterbury. But he that shall either aduisedly weigh the firste institution of them bothe, or but indifferently consider the estate of eyther, shall easily finde, that Rochester hath not only a lawfull, and canonicall Cathedrall See of it selfe, But the same also more honestly won and obtained, then euer Canterbury had: For, as touching Rochester, Augustine (whome the Monkes may not deny to be the English Apostle) ordained Iustus Bishop there, Ethelbert (the lawfull king of Kent) both assenting thereto by his presence, and confirming it by his liberall beneficence. But, howe Canterbury came to haue an Archebishops Chayre, if you thinke that it hath not in that title already so sufficiently appeared, as that it therfore needeth not now eftsones to be rehearsed, then reade (I pray you) Garuas. Tilberiens. and he (in his booke 'De otis Imperialibus') wil tel you,

By what meanes the Archebishops chair came to Canterbury.

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in 'Sanguine sanctorum, Dorobernensis ecclesia primatiam obtinuit.' The Church of Canterbury obtained the Primacie, by the sheading of the bloud of Saints. Rochester moreouer, hath had also a continuall succession of Bishops, euen from the beginning, whiche haue gouerned in a distinct Diocesse, containing foure Deanries, and therefore wanteth nothing (that I knowe) to make it a compleat and absolute Bishopricke. In deede, the yearly value is but small, the slendernesse whereof (ioyned with some ceremoniall duties to the Archebishop) happily haue beene the cause of abasing the estimation of it. But for all that, let vs not sticke with auncient Bede, and others, to saye, that the Bishops See at Rochester was at the first instituted by Augustine, That a Cathedrall Church was builded there, by King Ethelbert, to the name of S. Andrewe, and that he endowed it with

604.

certaine lande for liuelyhood, which he called Priestfield, in token (as I thinke) that Priestes should be sustained therewithall. This Bishopricke may be sayd to be seuered from Canterbury Diocesse (for the most parte) by the water of Medway, and it consisteth (as I sayde) of foure distincte Deanries, namely, Rochester, Malling, Dartford, and Shorham: Howbeit, with this latter, the Bishop medleth not, the same being a peculiar (as they terme it) to the Archebishop of Canterbury, who holdeth his prerogatiue wheresoeuer his lands do lye, as in this Deanrie he hath not only had of olde time certain mansion houses, with Parkes and Demeanes, but diuers other large territories, rentes, and reuenues also. In it therefore are these Churches following.

The Deanrie of shorham.

Shorham, with the Chapell of Otford.  
Eynesford, with the Vicarage there.  
Dernth, and the Vicarage there.  
Fermingham, and the Vicarage.

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Bexley, and the Vicarage.  
Eareth, alias Eard.  
Northfleete, and the Vicarage.  
Mepham, and the Vicarage.  
Clyue.  
Grean, with the Vicarage.  
Farleigh, with the Vicarage.  
Huntington, alias, Hunton.  
Peckam, with the Vicarage.  
Wrotham, with the Chapell and Vicarage.  
Eightam.  
Seuenocke, with the Vicarage.  
Penshurst.  
Chydingstone.  
Heuer.  
Gillingham, with the Vicarage.  
Brasted.  
Sundriche.  
Cheuening.  
Orpington, with the Chapell and Vicarage.  
Hese.  
Kestan.  
Halstede.  
Woodland.  
Eastmalling, with the Vicarage.  
Ifeild.

A Popishe myracle.

As touching the Bishops of this See, Iustus, (one of the same, that Pope Gregorie sent hither from Rome) was the firste, that sate in the chaire, who was afterwarde translated to Canterbury, and of whome they reporte this for a singular myracle: That when his body (many yeares after the interment) was to be remoued, it yelded a most pleasaunt sauour, in the senses of all that

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were present: Whiche thing, howe meruailous it was, when they had (after the common manner then vsed) before his buriall, enbaulmed his body with moste precious, delectable, and odoriferous spices, I dare make any man Iudge, if he be not more then a pore blinde Papist, giuen ouer to beleeuie al manner (be they neuer so grosse, and beastly) illusions.

In the whole race of the Bishops succeeding lustus in this See, three amongst others, be read of, moste 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 euer their Church found: The third was so hatefull and iniurious to the Monkes, that they neither esteemed him while he was on liue, nor wailed him at all, after that he was dead. But of all these, we shall haue place to speake more largely, when we shall come to the Church and Monasterie: In the meane time therfore, it shalbe fitte to shewe, with what cowrage this church vpheld her rightes and priuileges, not only agaynst the Monkes of Canterbury (which laboured much to bringe it vnder) but also against the See of the Archbishops it self, which was (for the most parte) the chiefe patrone and promoter of it. In the reigne of Kyng Henry the third, and after the deathe of Benedicte, (the Bishop of Rochester) the Monks made choise of one Henrie Sanford (that greate Clearke, which afterward preached at Sedingburne) whearof when the Monks of Christes Church had gotten vnderstandinge, they resisted the election, challenginge that the pastorall staffe or crosyer of Rochester ought of verie right to be brought to their house, after the decease of the Bishop, and that the election ought to be made in their Chapter. The Monkes of Rochester mainteined their owne choise and so (the matter waxing warme

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between them (it was at the length referred to the determination of the Archebishope: he againe posted it ouer to certaine delegates, who hearing the parties, and weighing the proofes, gaue sentence with the monks of Rochester, and yet †loste (as they thought) good loue and amitie among them: But (as the Poet saith) 'Male sar= ta gratia, nequicquam coit, & rescinditur,' 'Fauour, that is, euill peece, will not ioyne close, but falleth a sunder againe.' And therefore this their opinion fayled them, and that their cure was but patched: for soone after the sore brake out of newe, and the Canterbury Monkes reuiued their displeasure with suche a heate, that Hubert of Borrow (the chief lustice of the Realme) was driuen to come into the Chapter house to coole it, and to woork a second reconciliation betweene them. Neither yet for all that (as it may seeme) was that flame clene extinguished. For not long after, the Monkes of Christes Church, seeing that they themselues could not preuaile, intituled their Archebishop Edmund with whom also the Rochester Monks waged law at Rome before the holy Father, (as touching the election of one Richard Wendene, or Wendeouer, whom they would haue had to Bishop) by the space of three whole yeares together, and at the length, eyther thorow the equitie of their cause, or the weight of their purse, ouerthrewe him vpon Saint Cuthberts day, in ioye whereof, they returned home †withall hast, and enacted in their Chapter house, that from thencefoorth for euer, Saint Cuthbertes feast (as a Tropheum of their victorie) should be holden double, bothe in their Church and Kitchin. And not thus only, but otherwise also, hath the See at Rochester, well holden her owne: for during the whole succession of threescore and three Bishops, which in right lyne, haue followed lustus, she hath continually main=

1227.

Monkes contend for the election of the Bishop.

1238.

Saint Cuthbertes feast why holden double.

†r. 'leftte'  
<Horace>

Bishops  
Sees, are  
translated  
from Vil=  
lages to  
Cities.

teined her Chaire at this one place, whereas in moste partes of the Realme besides, the Sees of the Bishops haue suffred sundrie translations, by reason that in the Conquerours time, order was taken, that suche Bishops, as before had their Churches in Countrie townes and Villages, should forthwith remoue, and from thence fourth remaine in walled Townes and Cities: whiche ordinance could not by any meanes touche 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 haue prescribed, I will set fourth a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rochester by name, referring †recitall of their actes and doings, to their peculiar and proper places, as I haue in Canterbury before.

†r. 'the recitall'

The Cata=  
logue of  
Rochester  
Bishops.

Iustus.  
Romanus.  
Paulinus.  
Ithamarus.  
Damianus.  
Putta.  
Cuichelmus.  
†Gibmandus.  
Tobias.  
Aldulphus.  
Duime, or Duno:  
Eardulphus.  
Diora.  
Permundus, alias, Wermundus.  
Beornmodus. After him, these be inserted in a Catalogue that is before the Chronicle of Rochester.  
Tathnodus, Batenodus, Cuthwulfus, Swithulfus, Buricus, Chuelmundus, and Kyneferdus.

†r. 'Gibmundus'

Burhricus.  
†Alstanus.  
Godwinus.  
Godwinus, the second.  
Siwardus. Before, and at the tyme of the Conquest.  
Arnostus.  
1077. Gundulphus.  
1108. Radulphus.  
1114. Ærnulphus.  
Ioannes. After whome, in the former Catalogue, one other Ioannes followeth.  
Ascelimus, or Anselimus: and hitherto they were all Monkes.  
Guelterus.  
†Gualeramus.  
Gilebertus Glanuille.  
Benedictus.  
Henricus  
Richardus Wendene, or Wendeouer.  
1250, Laurentius de Sancto Martino.  
Gualterus de Merton: Chancellour of England.  
Ioannes de Bradfield.  
Thomas de Inglethorp.  
1291. Thomas de Wuldham.  
Hamo de Heth.  
Ioannes de Sepey.  
Wilmus Witlesey.

†r. 'Aelfstanus'

†r. 'Gualerannus'

Thomas Trelege.  
Thomas Brynton, or Braton.  
Richardus Barnet, elected, and not consecrated.  
Willelmus de Botelesham.  
Ioannes de Botelesham. elected only.  
Ghelyndon. elected only.  
Richardus Young: he made the windowes at Friends=

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- bury, and there †it is to be seene in picture. †delete
1418. Ioannes Kempe.  
Ioannes Langdon.  
Thomas Broune.  
Willielmus Wellis.  
Ioannes Lowe.  
Richardus Peckam. Elected only.  
Thomas Rotheram.  
Ioannes Alcocke.  
Ioannes Russel.  
Eadmundus Audeley.  
Thomas Sauage.  
Richardus Fitz Iames.
1504. Ioannes Fisher.  
Ioannes Hylsey.
1539. Nicholaus Hethe.
1544. Henricus Holbeache.
1547. Nicholaus Rydley.
1549. Ioannes Ponet.
1550. Ioannes Skorey.  
Mauritius Griffin.
1559. Eadmundus Allen. Elected only.
1559. Eadmundus Gest.
1571. Eadmundus Freake.

And thus much shortly being said, touching the See, and Bishops of Rochester in generalitie, it followeth, that I enter into the particular description of the Diocesse, wherein I meane to follow the order that I haue taken in Canterbury before: Namely to begin at the North= east corner, and from thence (first descending along the bankes of Medwey, and then passing by the Frontiers of Sussex and Surrey, and lastly returning by the Tha= mise shore to the same point) to enuiron the whole Bi= shoprick: whiche done, I will peruse what it containeth in the inner partes also, and then betake me to rest.

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Gillingham.

The Har=  
borowe of  
the Nauie  
Royall.

Euen at our first entrie into the Dio=  
cesse of Rochester, on the Northeast  
part thereof, the Harborowe of the  
Nauie Royall at Gillingham presen=  
teth it selfe vnto vs, a thing of al other  
most worthie the first place, whether  
you respect the richesse, beautie, or benefite of the same.  
No towne, nor Citie, is there (I dare say) in this whole  
Shyre, comparable in value with this our Fleete: Nor  
shipping any where els in the whole world to be found,  
either more artificially moalded vnder the water, or  
more gorgeously decked aboue: And as for the benefite  
that our Realme may reape by these most stately and  
valiant vessels, it is euen the same that Apollo by the mouth  
of Aristonice promised to Grece, when his Oracle was

consulted against the inuasion of Xerxes, and that his wonderful armie (or rather world of men in armes) saying,

Iupiter e ligno dat mœnia facta Mineruæ,  
Quæ tibi sola tuisque ferant inuicta salutem.

<?>

Highe loue doth giue thee walles of wood.  
appointed to Minerue,  
The whiche alone inuincible,  
may thee, and thine, preserue.

And therefore, of these suche excellent ornaments of peace, and trustie aides in warre, I might truely affirme, that they be for wealthe, almoste so many riche treasures, as they be single ships: for beautie, so many princely Palaces, as they be seuerall peices: and for strength, so many mouing Castles, as they be sundrie sayling vessels. They be not many (I must confesse, and you may see) and therefore in that behalfe nothing aunswearable, either to that Nauie whiche fought against Xerxes at Salamis, or to many other auncient Fleetes of Forreigne Kingdomes, or of this our owne Iland: how=

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beit, if their swiftnes in sayling, their furie in offending, or force in defending, be duly weighed, they shalbe found as farre to passe all other in power, as they be inferiour to any in number. For looke what the armed Hauke is in the aire amongst the feareful Byrdes, or what the couragious Lyon is on the land amongst the cowardly Cattell of the field, the same is one of these at the Sea in a Nauie of Common vessels, beeing able to make hauocke, to plume, and to pray vpon the best of them at her owne pleasure. Whiche speache of mine, if any man shall suspecte as Hyperbolical, let him cal to minde how often, and howe confidently (of late yeares) some fewe of these ships (incertaine of their interteinement) haue boorded mightie Princes Nauies of a great number of Sayle, and then I doubt not but he will change his opinion. But what do I labour to commend them, whiche not onely in shewe, and all reason, doe commend themselues, but also are lyke in deedes and effect to perfourme more, then I, in woord or wryting can promise for them. Yea rather, I am prouoked, at the contemplation of this triumphant spectacle, first to thanke God our mercifull Father, and then to thinke duetifully of our good Queene Elizabeth, by whose vigilant ministerie, care, and prouidence, (drawing as it were, the net for us, whylest we sleepe) not only the drosse of superstition, and base moneis were first abolished, the feare of outward warre remoued, rustie armour reiected, and rotten Shipping dispatched out of the way: But also, in place thereof, religion and coyne restored to puritie, the Domesticall and forreigne affaires of the Realme managed quietly, the land furnished with new armour, shot, and munition, abundantly, and this Riuer fraught with these strong and seruiceable

The benefites that God hath giuen this Realme in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

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Ships sufficiently. Whiche so apparant and inestimable benefites, the like whereof this Realme neuer at any one time, (and muche lesse so long time together) hath enjoyed, if any man perceaued not, he is more then blockishe: if he consider not, he is exceeding carelesse: and

if he acknowledge not, he is to vnkinde, bothe to God to her Maiestie, and to his owne Countrie. But here againe, for asmuche as it neither standeth with my present purpose, to depainte out her Maiesties praises, neither it lyeth at all in my power, to set them foorth in their true colours (for it requireth an Apelles, to haue Alexander well counterfaieted) I will conteine my selfe within these narrowe termes, and tell you the names of these Ships, as they lye in order,

Bonaduenture.  
 Elizabeth Ionas.  
 White Beare.  
 Philip and Marie.  
 Triumphe.  
 Bull.  
 Tygre.  
 Antelop.  
 Hope.  
 Lyon.  
 Victorie.  
 Marie Rose.  
 Foresight.  
 Cadishe.  
 Swift suer.  
 Aide.  
 Handmaide.  
 Dreade not.  
 Swalowe.  
 Iennet.  
 Barke of Bulloigne.

The names of the Quenes  
 Maiesties Ships and Galleys.

†r. 'Achates'

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Amongst all these (as you see) there is but one that beareth her Maiesties name, and yet all these (the Philip and Marie which beareth her sisters name, onely excepted,) hath she (as it is sayd) since the beginning of her happy reigne ouer vs, either wholly built vpon the stocks or newly reedified vpon the olde moaldes. Her highnesse also knowing right well, that,

Non minor est virtus, quam parere, parta tueri:

Like vertue it is, to saue that is got:

As to get the thing, that earst she had not.

Hath planted Vpnor Castle for the defence of the same. But besides these great ships, three good Galleys lye here on the side, whiche be thus called,

The Speedwell.  
 The Trye Right.  
 Blacke Galley.

Thus muche of the Nauie: As touching the harbo= rowe it selfe, I haue heard some wishe, that for the better expedition in time of seruice, Some part of this Nauie might ride in some other hauen, the rather bycause it is many times very long before a ship can be gotten out of this Riuer into the Sea: In deede I remember, that I haue reade in Vegetius, that the Romanes diuided their Nauie, and harboured the one part at Miseno (neare Naples) vpon the Tyrrhene Sea, and the other part at Rauenna, vpon the Sea Adriaticque, to the end, that when occasion required, they might readily sayle to any part of the worlde without delay, or windlassing:



'By cause' (sayth he) 'in affaires of warre, celeritie dothe as good seruice, as force it selfe.' But for all that, whether the same order be necessarie for vs, or no, whoe though we haue the vse of sundrie Seas, yet wee enioy not so large and distant dominions as they helde, it is not our partes to dispute, but their office to determine, whoe for

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their great wisdom and good zeale, bothe can and will prouide things conuenient, as well for the safetie of the Nauie, as for the seruice of the Realme. And therefore leauing al this matter to the consideration of them that are well occupied at the helme, let vs apply our oares, that we maye nowe leaue the water, and come to the lande at Gillingham.

1042. After the soudaine departure of king Hardicanutus the Dane, (whiche died of a surfeit of drinke, taken at a noble mans marriage at Lambhith) the English Nobilitie thought good to take hold of the oportunitie then offered, to restore to the royall dignitie, the issue of King Ethelred, which he in his life had for feare of the Danes, conueyed into Normandie. For which purpose, they addressed messengers to Richard the Duke of Normandie, requiring him to sende ouer Edward the onely sonne (then left) of king Ethelred, and promising to do their indeuour to set him in his fathers seate, So that he woulde agree to come accompanied with a smal number of strangers: The which condition was deuised, bothe for their owne excuse and for the yong Princes safetie: For before this time, and after the deth of king Canutus, they had likewise sent for the same Edward, and Alfred (his elder brother that then was on liue) putting them in like hope of restitution, to which request, the duke their grandfather assented, and for the more honourable furniture of their iourney, gaue them to company, diuers yong Gentlemen, of his own Country, whom he ment to make from thenceforth partners of their prosperitie, as they had before tyme been companions of their misfortune: But when they were come into the realme, the Earle Godwine (who sought more the aduancement of his own house to honour, then the restitution of the Englishe bloude to the crowne,) perceiuing that by no meanes he could make a
- 1036.

A barba=  
rous cruel=  
tie, execu=  
ted vpon  
Straungers.

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marriage betweene Alfrede (the elder of the two) and Edgith his daughter, and yet, hauing hope, that Edward the younger woulde accept the offer, if he might bring to passe to set the garlande vpon his heade, he quarelled at the company which came ouer with them, insinuating to the peeres of the Realme, that Alfrede ment (so soone as he should obtaine the crowne) to place in all roomes of honour, his Normane Nobilitie, and to displace the Englishe, his owne countrey men. Whiche suspicion, he bet so deeply into the heades of many of the Noble men, and especially of his nearest friends and allies, that forthwith (vpon his persuasion) they fell vpon the straungers at Gillingham, and firste killed nyne throughout the whole number of the company, reseruing on liue eche tenth man only: And afterward, (thinking the remainder to great) tythed the number also, sleaing in the whole, about sixe hundred persons: As for Alfred (the elder of the yong Princes) they apprehended, and conueyed him to the Isle of Ely, where first they put

†r. 'that'

out his eyes, and afterwarde, moste cruelly did him to death. But this Edwarde, fearing their furie, escaped by handes, and fled into Normandie: Howbeit, being nowe eftsoones (as I sayde) earnestly sollicitated by Godwine, and more faythfully assured by the Noble men, he once againe aduentured to enter the Realme, and taking Godwines daughter to wife, obtained the Crowne, and enjoyed it all his life long.

I am not ignoraunt, that Simeon of Durham, and diuers other good wryters, affirme this slaughter to haue beene committed at Guylford in Surrey, and some other (of late tyme, and of lesse note) at Guild downe, a place neare Lamberhirst in the edge of this Shyre: but bycause I finde it expressely reported by Thomas Rudborne, and also the authour of the Chronicle of

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Couentrie, to haue been done at Gillingham, 'luxta Thamesim,' I sticke not (being nowe come to that place) to exemplifie it, giuing neuerthelesse free libertie to euery man, to lay it, at the one, or the other, at his owne free will and pleasure: Onely my desire is to haue obserued, that in this one Storie, there doe lye folded vp, bothe the meanes of the deliuerie of this realme of England from the thraldome of the Danes, and the causes also of the oppression and conquest of the same by the Normanes: For, as touching the first, it pleased the Almightye (nowe at length) by this manner of King Hardicanutus death, (whiche I haue shewed) to breake in sunder the Danish whip, wherwith he had many yeares together, scourged the English nation, and by the meane of drinke (the Danishe delight) to worke the deliuey of the one people, and the exterminion of the other, euen in the midst of all their securitie, and pleasaunce: In which behalfe, I can not but note the iust iudgement of God, extended against those deepe drinkers, and in their example to admonishe all such, as doe in like sort most beastly abuse Gods good creatures, to his great offence, the hurte of their owne soules and bodies, and to the euill example of other men: For, whereas before the arriual of these Danes, the Englishe men, or Saxons, vsed some temperaunce in drinking, not taking thereof largely, but only at certain great feasts and chearings, and that in one only wassailing cup, or boule, which walked round about the boorde at the midst of the meale, much after that manner of intertainment, whiche Dido sometime gaue to Aeneas, and is expressed by Virgil in these verses.

Hic Regina grauem, auro gemmisque poposcit  
Impleuitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes  
A Belo soliti: Tum facta silentia tectis,  
Iupiter (hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur)

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Et vos O cætum Tirii celebrate fauentes,  
Dixit: Et in mensam laticum libauit honorem,  
Primaque libato summo tenus attigit ore. &c.

The Queene commaunds a mightie Bolle,  
Of golde and precious stone  
To fill with wine: whom Belus King  
And all King Belus line  
Was wont to holde: †than through them all  
Was silence made by signe,

Excessiue  
drinking,  
and how it  
came into  
England.

O loue (quoth she) for thou of hostes  
 And gestic both great and small  
 (Men say) the lawes haste put: giue grace  
 I pray, and let vs all  
 O you my Moores nowe do our best,  
 These Troians for to chere,  
 Thus sayd she, and when grace was done,  
 The Bolle in hand she clipt,  
 And in the liquor sweete of wine  
 her lips she scantly dipt.

But now after the comming in of the Danes, and after such time as King Edgar, had permitted them to inhabit here, and to haue conuersation with his own people: †Quassing and carousing so increased, that Didoes sipping was cleane forsaken, and Bitias bowsing came in place, of whome the same Poet writeth,

†<Quaffing>

Ille impiger hausit  
 Spumantem pateram, & pleno se proluit auro.

And he anon,  
 The fomie bolle of gold vpturnd,  
 And drewe till all was gon.

So that King Edgar him self, seing (in his own reigne) the great outrage wherevnto it was growne, was compelled to make lawe therefore, and to ordaine drinking measures (by publique Proclamation) driuing certaine

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nayles into the sides of their cups, as limits and bounds, which no man (vpon great payne) should be so hardie as to transgresse. But this vice in that short time had taken such fast roote, as neyther the restraint of law, nor the expulsion of the first bringers in therof, could supplant †yet.

†<yt>

Great trou= pes of ser= uingmen. came in with the Normanes.

For William of Malmesburie (comparing the manners of the Englishe men, and Normanes together) complained, that in his time, the Englishe fashion was, to sit bibbing, hole houres after dinner, as the Normane guise was, to walke and iet vp and downe the streates, with great traines of idle Seruing men folowing them. And I woulde to God, that in our time also we had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of vnmeasurable Boalling: which whether it be sprong vp out of the olde roote, or be newly transported, by some Danish enemie to all godly temperaunce and sobrietie, let them consider, that with pleasure vse it, and learne 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 graunt vs the lawe of the Heluetians, whiche prouided that no man shoulde prouoke other in drinking, or else if that may for courtesie be permitted, bycause (as the prouerbe is,) 'Sacra hæc non aliter constant,' yet God (I say) styrrer vp some Edgar, to strike nayles in our cuppes, or else giue us the Greekishe †<oinoptēs>, 'Potandi arbitros,' 'Cup Censors,' as I may call them, that at the leaste we may be dryuen to drinke in some manner of measure: For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men shoulde thus labour with great contention, and striue, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gracious benefits.

†r. 'oinoptas'

In this Hystorie is couched also (as I haue already tolde you) the firste cause of the displeasure †receyued by the Normanes against this Realme, and consequent=

†r. 'conceiued'

The cause  
of the Con=  
quest of En=  
lande.

ly the cause of their inuasion succeeding the same:  
For, whereas (after this crueltie, executed by the insti=  
gation of Godwine) it happened Harolde (his sonne) to  
arryue at †Pountion, against his will, by occasion of a  
soudaine perry or contrarie winde, that arose while he  
was on seaboorde, whether for his owne disporte onely,  
as some write: or for the execution of the Kings mes=  
sage, as others say: or of purpose to visite Wilnote  
and Hacun, his brother and kinseman (as a thirde  
sorte affirme,) or for what so euer other cause, I will  
not dispute: But vpon his arriuall, taken he was, by  
Guy the Earle of †Pountion: and sente to William  
the Duke of Normandie, where, being charged with  
his fathers faulte, and fearing that the whole re=  
uenge shoulde haue lighted vpon his owne heade, he  
was dryuen to deuise a shifte for his deliuerance: He  
put the Duke in remembraunce therefore of his neare  
kinred, with Edwarde the King of Englande, And fed  
him with greate hope and expectation, that Edwarde  
shoulde dye without issue of his body, by reason that he  
had no conuersation with his wife: So that, if the  
matter were well and in season seene vnto, there was  
no doubtte (as he persuaded) but that the Duke through  
his owne power, and the ayde of some of the Englishe  
Nobilitie, might easily after the Kings deathe, obtaine  
the Crowne. For the atchieuing wherof, he both vowed  
the vttermost of his owne help, and vndertooke that his  
brethren, his friends, and allies also, should do the best of  
their indeuour: The wise Duke, knowing wel, 'Quam  
malus sit custos diurnitatis metus,' 'How euil a keper of con=  
tinuance feare is.' And therefore reposing much more sure=  
tie in a frendly knot of alliance, then in a fearful offer, pro=  
ceeding but onely of a countenance, accepted Haroldes  
othe for some assuraunce of his promise, but yet withall,

†r. 'pountiou'

†r. 'pountiou'

Harold, the  
King.

The vncur=  
tesie of the  
English na=  
tion, toward  
straungers.

Busyris, was  
a tirant that  
sacrificed  
straungers:  
and was  
therefore  
slaine by  
Hercules.

for more safetie, affied him to his daughter, to be taken in  
marriage: And so, after many princely gifts, and much  
honorable enterteinment bestowed vpon him, he gaue  
him licence to depart. But Harolde, being nowe retur=  
ned into England, forgetteth cleane, that euer he was in  
Normandie, and therefore so soone as King Edward was  
deade, he (violating both the one promise and the other)  
reiecteth Duke Williams daughter, and setteth the  
Crowne vpon his owne heade: Hereof followed the  
battaile at Battel in Sussex, and consequently, the Con=  
quest of this whole Realme and Countrie. In con=  
templation whereof, we haue likewise to accuse the  
olde <axenian>, or rather <miso xenian>, the inueterate fierce=  
nesse, and cancred crueltie of this our English nation a=  
gainst foreignes and straungers: which ioyning in this  
butcherly sacrifice with bloudie Busyris, deserued wor=  
thely the reuenging club of heauenly Hercules: whiche  
fearing (without cause) great harme, that these fewe  
might bring vnto them, did by their barbarous immani=  
tie, giue iust cause to a great armie to ouerrunne them:  
And whiche dreading that by the arriuall of this small  
troupe of Norman Nobilitie, some of them might lose  
their honorable roomes and offices, prouoked the wrath  
of God, to sende in amongst them the whole rable of the  
Norman slauerie, to possesse their goods and inheritances.

It were worthy the consideration, to call to memo=  
rie, what greate Tragedies haue beene stirred in this  
Realme, by this our naturall inhospitalitie and disdaine  
of straungers, both in the time of King Iohn, Henrie his  
sonne, King Edward the seconde, Henrie the sixte, and in  
the dayes of later memorie: But, since that matter is  
parergon, and therefore the discourse woulde proue te=  
dious and wearisome, and I also haue beene too long al=  
ready at Gillingham: I will rather abruptly end it,

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onely wishing, that whatsoever note of infamie wee  
haue heretofore contracted, amongst Forreigne wry=  
ters, by this our ferocitie against Aliens, that now at  
the least (hauing the Light of Gods Gospell before our  
eyes, and the persecuted partes of his afflicted Church,  
as Guestes and Straungers in our Countrie) wee so be=  
haue our selues towards them, as we may both vtterly  
rubbe out the olde blemishe, and from hencefoorth staye  
the heauie hand of the iuste Iupiter Hospitalis,  
whiche, otherwise, must needes light  
vpon suche stubburne and  
vncharitable chur=  
lishnesse.

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Chetham.

Our Lady,  
& the Rode  
of Chetham  
& Gilling=  
ham.

Althoughe I haue not hytherto at any  
time, read any memorable thing recor=  
ded in hystorie, touching Chetham it self  
yet, for so muche as I haue often heard  
(and that constantly) reported, a Popish  
illusion done at the place, and for that also  
it is as profitable to the keeping vnder of fained and supersti=  
tious religion, to renew to minde, the Priestly practises of  
olde time (which are declining to obliuion) as it is pleasant  
to reteine in memorie, the Monuments and antiquities of  
whatsoever other kinde, I thinke it not amisse, to com=  
mit faithfully to writing, what I haue receiued credi=  
bly by hearing, concerning the Idols, sometime knowen  
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 shipwracke belike)  
was cast on land in the Parishe of Chetham, and being  
there taken vp, was by some charitable persons com=  
mitted to honest burial within their Churchyard: which  
thing was no sooner done, but our Lady of Chetham,  
finding her selfe offended therewith, arose by night, and  
went in person to the house of the Parishe Clearke,  
(whiche then was in the Streete a good distance from  
the Churche) and making a noyse at his window, awa=  
ked him: This man at the first (as commonly it fareth  
with men disturbed in their rest) demaunded somewhat  
roughly, who was there: But when he vnderstoode by  
her owne aunswere, that it was the Lady of Chetham,  
he chaunged his note, and moste mildely asked the cause  
of her comming: She tolde him, that there was lately  
buried (neere to the place where she was honoured) a  
sinfull person, whiche so offended her eye with his gast=  
ly grinning, that vnles he were remoued, she could not,

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but (to the great griefe of good people) withdrawe her selfe from that place, and ceasse her wonted miraculous working amongst them. And therefore she willed him, to go with her, to the end that (by his helpe) she might take him vp, and cast him againe into the Riuer: The Clerke obeyed, arose, and waited on her toward the Church: but the good Ladie (not wonted to walk) waxed wearie of the labour, and therefore was inforced for very want of breath to sit downe in a bushe by the way, and there to rest her: And this place (forsooth) as also the whole track of their iourney, (remaining euer after a greene pathe) the Towne dwellers were wont to shew: Now after a while, they go forward againe, and coming to the Churchyard, digged vp the body, and conveyed it to the water side, where it was first found. This done, our Ladye shrancke againe into her shryne, and the Clerke peaked home to patche vp his broken sleepe, but the corps now eftsoones floted vp and downe the Riuer, as it did before. Whiche thing being at length espyed by them of Gillingham, it was once more taken vp and buried in their Churchyard. But see what followed vpon it, not onely the Roode of Gillingham (say they) that a while before was busie in bestowing Myracles, was nowe depriued of all that his former vertue: but also the very earth and place, wher this carcasse was laide, did continually, for euer after, setle and sinke downeward.

This tale, receaued by tradition from the Elders, was (long since) both commonly reported and faithfully credited of the vulgar sort: which although happely you shal not at this day learne at euery mans mouth (the Image being now many yeres sithence defaced) yet many of the aged number remember it well, and in the time of darkenesse, 'Hæc erat in toto notissima fabula mundo.'

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But here (if I might be so boulded, as to adde to this Fable <epimythion>, or 'Fabula significat') I would tell you, that (I thought) the Morall and minde of the tale to be none other, but that this Clerkly <mythoplastēs>, this Talewriter, (I say) and Fableforger, being eyther the Fermer, or Owner, of the offrings giuen to our Lady of Chetham, and enuying the common haunte and Pilgrimage to the Roode of Gillingham, (lately erected 'Ad nocumentum' of his gayne) deuised this apparition, for the aduancement of the one, and the defacing of the other. For no doubt, if that age had ben as prudent in examining spirits, as it was prone to beleue illusions it should haue found, that our Ladies pathe was some such greene trace of grasse, as we daily behold in the fields, proceeding in deed of a naturall cause, though by olde wiues, and superstitious people, reckoned to be the dauncing places of night Spirites, whiche they call Fayries:) And that this sinking graue, was nothing els, but a false filled pitte, of Maister Clearks owne digging.

The man was to blame, thus to make debate betweene our Lady and her Sonne, but since the whole Religion of Papistrie it selfe, is Theomachia, and nothing els, let him be forgiuen, and I will go forward.

Alfred of Beuerley, †aud Richard of Ciceter, haue mention of a place in East Kent, where Horsa (the Brother of Hengist) was buried, and which euen till their dayes did continue the memorie of his name. Wee

haue in this Shyre a Towne called Horsmundene, whiche name resolued into Saxon Orthographie, is *HorsgemynSene*, and soundeth as muche as, the Valley of the monnment (or memoriall) of Horsa.

But for as muche as that lyeth in the Southe part of this Countrie toward Sussex, and for that I read that Horsa was slaine at Ailesford, as you shall

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see anone) in an encounter wherein he ioyned with his Brother Hengist †against the Britons, which at that time inhabited Kent, it is the moste reasonable to affirme, that he was buried at Horsted a place lying in this Parish, toward Ailesford, and nowe yet knowne by the same name, whiche signifieth, the place or steede of †Horse.

This Horsa, and his Brother Hengist (both whose names be Synonuma, and signifie a Horse) were the Capitaines, and chiefe leaders of the first Saxons that came in aide of King Vortiger, as we haue before shewed: And after the death of Horsa, his Brother Hengist neuer ceased to warre vpon the Brittons, till he had driuen them out of Kent, and made himselfe King, as hereafter in fitte place we will further declare.

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Frendsbury, in some Saxon copies *freondesbyrig*, that is, the Friends Court: in others, *frinondesbyrig*.

It befell in the reigne of King Edward the first, by occasion of a great and long drought of the aire, that the Monkes of Rochester were agreed amongst themselues, to make a solemne procession from their owne house thowre the citie, and so to Friendsbury on the other side of the water, of a speciall intent and purpose to pray to God for raine. And bycause the day of this their appointed iourney happened to be vehemently boisterous with the winde, the which would not onely haue blowne out their lightes, and tossed their banners, but also haue stopped the mouthes of their Synging men, and haue toiled themselues in that their heauie and masking attire, they desired lycence of the Maister of Stroud Hospital, to passe through the Orchard of his house, whereby they might bothe ease their company, and saue the glorie of their shewe, whiche otherwise through the iniurie of the weather must needs haue bene greatly blemished. The Maister assented easily to their desire, and (taking it to be a matter of no great consequence) neuer made his brethren of the house priuie therevnto. But they, so soone as they vnderstoode of this determination, called to minde that their Hospitall was of the foundation of Gilbert Glanuille, (sometime a Bishope of Rochester) betweene whom and the predecessours of these Monkes, ther had been great heates for the erection of the same: and therfore fearing that the Monkes (pretending a procession) intended to

Horsted  
borne in  
Ailesford.

Hengist &  
Horsa two  
famous  
Captaines.

A religious  
Skirmish  
betweene  
the Monkes  
of Rochester,  
and the  
Brethren  
of Stroud.

†r. 'against'  
†r. 'barne, nere'

†r. 'Horsa'

attempt somewhat against their priuileges (as in deede all orders in Papistrie, were exceeding ielous of their prerogatiues) they resolued with all their might to resist them. And for that purpose, they bothe furnished themselues, and procured certaine companions also (whom the Hystorie calleth Ribaldes) with clubbes and battes to assist them, and so (making their ambushe in the Orchyard) they awaited the Monkes comming. It was not long, but the Monkes (hauing made all things redy) approched in their battell array, and with banner displayed, and so (minding no harme at al) entred boldly into the house, and through the house passed into the Orchard, merely chaunting their latine Letaine. But when the Brethren and their Ribaldes had espied them within their daunger, they ranne vpon them, and made it raine suche a shoure of clubbes and coulestaues vpon the Monks Copes, cowles, and Crownes, that for a while the miserable men knew not what way to turne them. After a time, the Monkes called their wittes and spirites together, and then (making vertue of the necessitie) they made eache man the best shift for himselfe, that they could: some, trauersing their ground, declined many of the blowes, and yet now and then bare off with head and shoulders: others, vsed the staues of their crosses, behaving themselues like pretie men: others made pykes of their banner poles: And others (flying in to their aduersaries) wrested their weapons out of their hands: amongst the rest, one (sauing his charitie) laide lode vpon a married Priest, absolving him (as mine author saith) 'A culpa,' but not 'A pæna.' Another, draue one of the Brethren into a deepe ditch: and a third (as big as any Bul of Basan) espied (at the length) the postern, or back doore of the Orchyard, wherat he ran so vehemently with his head and shoulders, that he bare it cleane downe before him, and so both escaped

Friendsbury clubbes.

Eslingham.

Appropriations of benefices.

him selfe, and made the way for the rest of his fellowes who also, with all possible haste conueyed them selues out of the iurisdiction of the Hospital, and then (shaking their ears) fel a fresh to their Orgia, I should haue said to their former Orisons. After this storme thus blowen (or rather born) ouer, I do not meruail if the Monkes (as the reporter saith) neuer sought to carrie thir procession through Stroud Hospital for auoiding of the winde, for indeede it couldnot lightly blow more boisterously out of any quarter. And thus out of this tragical hystorie, arose the bywoord of Friendsbury Clubs (a terme not yet forgotten. The land of Friendsbury, was long since giuen by Offa the King of Midle England, to Eardulph then Bishop of Rochester, vnder the name of Eslingham 'cum appendiciis,' although at this day this other beareth countenance, as the more woorthie of the twaine: The benefice of Friendsbury (together with that of Dartford) was at the suite of Bishop Laurence, and by graunt of the Pope, conuerted to an appropriation, one (amongst many) of those monstrous byrthes of couetousnes, begotten by the man of Rome, in the dark night of superstition, and yet suffered to liue in this day light of the Gospell, to the great hinderance of learning, the empouerishment of the ministerie, and the infamie of our pro=



fession.

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Rochester is called in Latine, Durobreuum, Durobernum, Dorubernia, and Durobris, in Britische, Dourbryf, that is to say, a swift streame: in Saxon, hrofesceastre, that is, Roficiustas, Rofes citie, in some olde Chartres, Rofi breui.

Some men, desirous belike, to aduance the estimation of this Citie, haue left vs a farre fetched antiquitie, concerning one peece of the same, affirming that Iulius 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, hauing not hitherto read any such thing, eyther in Cæsars own Commentaries, or in any other credible Hystorie, dare not avow any other beginning of this citie or castle then that which I find in Beda, least if I shuld aduventure as they do, I might receiue as they haue, I meane, 'The iust note of more reading & industrie, then of reason or iudgement.' And although I must, (and wil freely) acknowledge, that it was a Citie, before that it had to name Rocester (for so a man maye well gather of Beda his wordes) yet seing that by the iniurie of the ages between the monuments of the first beginning of this place, and of innumerable suche other, be not come to our handes, I had rather in suche cases vse honest silence, then rashe speache, and doe preferre plaine vnskill and ignorance, before vaine lying and presumptuous arrogance. For truely, the credite of our Englishe Hystorie, is no one

The Citie.

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waye somuche empayred, as by the blinde boldnesse of some, which taking vpon them to commit it to wryting, and wanting (either throughe their owne slothfulnesse, or the iniquitie of the time) true vnderstanding of the originall of many things, haue not sticked (without any modestie or discretion) to obrude newe fantasies and folies of their owne forgerie, for assured truthes, and vndoubted antiquitie. 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 grieuous for my selfe, to enter into them, I will not make enumeration of any: But staying my selfe vpon this general note, I will proceed with the treatise of the place that I haue taken in hand, the which maye aptly (as me thinketh) be broken into foure seuerall portions. The Citie it selfe, The Castle, the Religious buildings, and the Bridge.

The Citie of Rochester, tooke the name (as Beda writeth) of one Rof (or rather Hrof, as the Saxon boke hath it) which was sometyme the Lorde and owner of the place.

This name, Leland supposeth, to haue continued in Kent till this our time, meaning (as I suspect) Rolf, a familie well inough knowne. What so euer the

<Leland 1545:F2v>

estate of this Citie was, before the comming in of the Saxons, it seemeth, that after their arriuell, the mayntenaunce thereof, depended chiefly vpon the residence of the Bishop, and the religious persons: And therefore no meruaile is it, if the glory of the place were not at any time very great, Since on the one side the abilitie of the Bishops and the Chanons (inclined to aduaunce it) was but meane, and on the other side, the calamitie of fyre and sworde (bent to destroye it) was in maner con=

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680. tinuall. For I read, that at suche time as the whole Realme was sundred into particular kingdomes, and eche parte warred for superioritie, and inlarginge of

884. inuaded Lothar the king of this Countrie, and findinge him vnable to resiste, spoyled the whole Shyre, and layd this Citie waste.

The Danes also, whiche in the dayes of king Alfred came out of Fraunce sailed vp the ryuer of Medwey, to Rochester, and (beseiging the towne) fortified ouer against it in suche sorte, that it was greatly distressed, and like to haue ben yelded, but that the king (Pæonia manu) came speedely to the reskewe, and not onlye raysed the siege, and deliuered his subiectes, but obtayned also an honourable bootie of horses and captiues, that †they besiegers had left behind them.

†<the>

999. The same people, hauing miserably vexed the whole Realme in the dayes of King Ethelred, came at the laste to this Citie, where they founde the inhabitaunts ready in armes to resiste them, but they assayled them with suche furie, that they compelled them to saue them selues by flight, and to leaue the place a pray to their enemies: The whiche was somewhat the lesse †worthy

†r. 'worth'

986. vnto them, bycause King Ethelred him selfe (not long before) vpon a displeasure conceiued against the Bishop, had besieged the Citie, and woulde by no meanes depart thence, before he had an hundreth pounds in ready money payd him. And these harmes, Rochester receiued before the time of king William the Conqueror, in whose reigne it was valued in the booke of Domesday at. 100. s'. by the yere, and after whose dayes (besides sundry particular damages done to the citie, during the sieges layd to the castle, (as shall appeare anon) it was muche defaced by a great fire that hapned in the reigne of King Henrie the first,

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1130. the King him self, and a great many of the Nobilitie, and Bishops being there present, and assembled for the consecration, (as they call it) of the great Church of Saint Andrewes, the whiche was euen then newly finished:

1177. And it was againe in manner wholly consumed with flame, about the latter ende of the reigne of King Henrie the seconde, at whiche time that newly builded Church was sore blasted also: But after all these calamities, this Citie was well repaired and ditched about,

The Castle. in the reigne of King Henrie the third. As touchinge the castle at Rochester, although I finde not in wryting any other foundation therof, then that which I alledged before, and recon to be mere fabulous, yet dare I affirme, that ther was an old Castle aboue eight hundreth yeres agoe, in so much as I read, that Ecgbert (a king of Kent) gaue certeine landes within the walles of Rochester ca=

763. stle, to Eardulfe, then Bishop of that See: And I coniec=  
 ture, that Odo (the bastard brother to king William the  
 Conquerour) whiche was at the first, Bishop of †Bor=  
 ieux in Normandie, and then afterwarde, aduaun=  
 ced to the office of the chiefe lustice of Englande, and to  
 the honour of the Earledome of Kent, was eyther the  
 first authour, or the best benefactour to that which now  
 standeth in sight: and herevnto I am drawne, somewhat  
 by the consideration of the time it selfe, in whiche many  
 Castles were rayseed to keepe the people in awe, and  
 somewhat by the regarde of his authoritie, whiche had  
 the charge of this whole Shyre, but most of all, for that  
 I reade, that about the time of the Conquest, the Bishop  
 of Rochester receiued lande at Ailesford, in exchange  
 for grounde to builde a Castle at Rochester vpon. Not  
 long after whiche time, when as William Rufus (our  
 Englishe Pyrrhus, or Readhead) had stepped betweene  
 his elder brother Robert and the crowne of this realme,  
 1088. 297 <sig 2P>

†r. 'Baieux'

and had giuen experiment of a fierce and vnbridled go=  
 uernment: the Nobilitie (desirous to make a change)  
 arose in armes againste him, and stirred his brother to  
 make inuasion: And to the ende that the King shoulde  
 haue at once many yrons (as the saying is) in the fire to  
 attende vpon, some moued warre in one corner of the  
 Realme, and some in another, But amongst the reste,  
 this Odo betooke him to his castle of Rochester, accom=  
 panied with the best, both of the English and the Norman  
 nobilitie: This when the king vnderstood, he sollicitid his  
 subiects, and specially the inhabitants of this country, by al  
 faire meanes and promises to assist him, and so (gathering  
 a great armie) besieged the Castle, and †strengthened the  
 Bishop and his complices the defendants in suche wise,  
 that in the ende, he and his company were contented to  
 abiure the Realme, and to leade the rest of their life in  
 Normandie. And thus Odo, that many yeres before had  
 bene (as it were) a Viceroy, and second person within  
 this realme, was now depriued of al his dignitie, and driuen  
 to keepe residence vpon his benefice, till suche time as  
 Earle Robert (for whose cause he had incurred this daun=  
 ger (pitying the cause, appointed him gouernour of Nor=  
 mandie his owne countrie. After this, the Castle was  
 much amended by Gundulphus, the Bishop, who (in con=  
 sideration of a Manor giuen to his See, by King William  
 Rufus) bestowed three score poundes in building that  
 great Towre, whiche yet standeth. And from that time,  
 this Castle continued (as I iudge) in the possession of the  
 Prince, vntill King Henrie the first, by the aduice of his  
 Barons, graunted to William the Archebishop of Can=  
 terburie and his successours, the custodie, and office of  
 Constable ouer the same, with free libertie to builde a  
 Towre for him selfe, in any part therof at his pleasure.  
 By meanes of which cost done vpon it at that time, the  
 1126. 298

†r. 'strengthened'

Castle at Rochester was muche in the eye of suche as  
 were the authors of troubles folowing within the realme  
 so that from time to time it had a parte, almost in euery  
 Tragedie.  
 For, what time King Iohn had warre, with his  
 Barons, they gotte the possession of this Castle, and  
 committed the defence therof to a noble man, called Wil=  
 1215.

liam Dalbinet, whome the king immediatly besieged, and (through the cowardise of Robert Fitz Walter, that was sent to rescue it) after three monethes labour, compelled him to render the peece: The next yere after, Lewes (the Frenche Dolphine) by the ayde of the Englishe Nobilitie, entered the same Castle, and tooke it by force:

And lastly, in the reigne of King Henrie the thirde, Simon Mountford, (not long before the battaile at Lewes in Sussex) girded the citie of Rochester about with a mightie siege, and setting on fire the wooden bridge, and a Towre of timber that stooode thereon, wanne the firste gate (or warde) of the Castle by assaulte, and spoyled the Churche and Abbay: But, being manfully resisted seuen dayes together, by the Earle Warren that was within, and hearing soudainly of the Kings comming thitherwarde, he prepared to meete him in person, and lefte others to continue the siege, all whiche were soone after put to flight by the kings armie. This warre (as I haue partly shewed before) was specially moued against strangers, whiche during that kings reigne, bare suche a sway (as some write) that they not onely disdayned the naturall borne Nobilitie of the Realme, But did also (what in them lay) to abolishe the auncient lawes and customes of the same. In deede, the fire of that displeasure was long in kindeling, and therefore so much the more furious, when it brast fourth into flame: But amongst other things, that ministred nourishment therto, this was not

1251.

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the least, that vpon a time it chaunced a Torneament to be at Rochester, in which the English men, of a set purpose (as it should seeme) sorted them selues against the strangers, and so ouermatched them, that following the victory, they made them with great shame, to fly into the Towne for couert: But I dwel to long (I feare) in these two parts: I will therefore nowe visite the Religious building, and so passe ouer the bridge to some other place.

S. Andrews Church in Rochester.

604.

1080.

Priests had wiues, in England, of olde time.

The foundation of the Churche of S. Andrewes in Rochester, was first layd by King Ethelbert (as we haue touched before) at suche time as he planted the Bishops chaire in the Citie, and it was occupied by Chanons, till the dayes of Gundulphus, the Bishop, who bycause he was a Monke, and had hearde that it was sometimes stored with Monkes, made meanes to Lanfranc the Archebishop, and by his ayde and authoritie, both builded the Churche and Pryorie of newe, threwe out the Chanons, and once more brought Monkes 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 William of Malmesburie ascribeth to Lanfranc, the whole thanke of all that matter, for in deede bothe he and Anselme his successour, were wonderfully busied in placing Monks, and in diuorcing Chanons, and Secular Priests from their wiues, the whiche (in contempte) they called, Focalia, no better then White kerchiefes, or kitchenstufte: although bothe the law of God maketh the †accomplement honorable amongst al men, and the law of this countrie had (without any checke) allowed it in priests, til their own time: For Henrie of Huntingdon writeth plainely, that Anselme in a Synode, at London, 'Prohibuit sacerdotibus vxores, ante non prohibitas' Forbad Priestes

†r. 'accomplement'

1102. their wiues whiche were not forbidden before. And William of Malmesburie affirmeth, that he there decreed, 'Ne in posterum filii presbyterorum sint hæredes ecclesiarum patrum suorum,' 'That from thencefoorth Priestes sonnes shoulde not be heires to their fathers benefices.' Whiche I note shortly, to the end, that men should not think it so straunge a matter (in this Realme) for Priestes to haue wiues, as some peuishe Papistes goe about to persuade. But to return to Gundulphus, from whom I am by occasion digressed: he (as I said) reedified the great Church at Rochester, erected the Pryorie, and where as he found but halfe a dozein secular Priestes in the Churche at his comming, he neuer ceased, till he had brought together at the leaste three score Monkes into the place. Then remoued he the dead bodies of his predecessors, and with great solemnitie, translated them into this new worke: and there also Lanfranc was presented with his purse, and of his owne charge incoffened the body of Paulinus (the thirde Bishop of Rochester, who had left there the Palle of the Archebishopricke of Yorke, that was not recouered long after) in curious worke of cleane siluer, to the whiche shryne there was afterwarde (according to the superstitious manner of those times) muche concourse of people, and many oblations. Besides this, they bothe ioyned in suite to the King, and not onely obtained restitution of sundry the possessions withholden from the Churche, but also procured by his liberalitie and example, newe donations of many other landes and priuileges besides. To be short, Gundulphus (ouerliuing Lanfranc) neuer rested building and beging, tricking and garnishing, till he had aduanced this his creature, to the iust wealth, beautie, and estimation, of a right Popish Pryorie. But God (who moderating all things by his diuine prouidence) shewed him

1138. selfe alwayes a seure visitour of these irreligious Synagogues) God (I say) set fire on this building twise with in the compasse of one hundreth yeares after the erection of the same: and furthermore suffered suche discorde to arise betweene Gilbert Glanuille, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Monkes of this house, that he for displeasure bereaued them, not onely of all their goods, ornaments, and writings, but also of a great part of their landes, possessions and priuileges: and they bothe turmoyled themselues in suite to Rome for remedie, and were driuen (for maintenance of their expences, to coine the siluer of Paulinus his Shryne into ready money which thing tourned bothe to the great empouering of their house, and to the vtter abasing of the estimation and reuerence of their Churche: for that (as in deede it commonly falleth out amongst the simple people, that are muche led by the sense) the honour and offring to this their Saint, ended and dyed together, with the gay Glorie and state of his Tumbe.
1177. By this meanes therefore, Gilbert became so hated of the Monkes, that when he died, they committed him obscurely to the ground without ringing of Bell, Celebration of seruice, or dooing of any other funerall Obsequies. But to these their calamities, was also added one other great losse, susteined by the warres of King
1212. 1214.

1215.

John, who in his siege against the Castle of Rochester, so, spoiled this Church and Pryorie, that (as their owne Chronicles reporte) he left them not so muche as one poore Pixe to stand on their Altar.

It was nowe highe time therefore, to devise some way, whereby the Pryorie and Church of Rochester, might be, if not altogether restored to the auncient wealth and estimation, yet at the least somewhat relieved from this penurie, nakednes, and abiection. And

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therefore, Laurence of Saint Martines, the Bishop of Rochester, perceauing the common people to be somewhat drawne (by the fraude of the Monks) to thinke reuerently of one William, that lay buried in the Church, and knowing well that there was no one way so commendous to gain, as the aduancement of a Pilgrimage procured at the Popes Court, the canonization of that man, with indulgence to all suche as would offer at his Tumbe, vnderpropping by meane of this newe Saint, some manner of reuerent opinion of the Church, which before, through defacing the olde Bishops shryne, was declined to naught. But to the ende that it may appeare, to what hard shift of Saints these good Fathers were then driuen, and how easily the people were then deluded, you shal heare out of Noua Legenda it self, what great man this Saint William of Rochester was. He was by birth, a Scot, of Perth (nowe commonly called Saint Johns Towne) by trade of life a Baker of bread, and therby got his liuing, in charitie so abundant, that he gaue to the poore the tenth loafe of his workmanship, in zeale so feruent, that in vowe he promised, and in deede attempted, to visite the holy land (as they called it) and the places where Christ was conuersant on earth: in whiche iourney, as he passed through Kent, he made Rochester his way, where, after that he had rested two or three dayes, he departed toward Canterbury: But ere he had gone farre from the Citie, his seruant 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 seruaunt escaped, and the Maister (because he died in so holy a purpose of minde) was by the Monkes conueyed to Saint Andrewes, laid in the quyre, and promoted by the Pope, as you heard from a poore Baker, to a blessed Martyr. Here (as they say) shewed he miracles plentifully, but certein it is, that madde folkes offe-

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red vnto him liberally, euen vntill these latter tymes, in whiche, the beames of Gods trueth, shining in the heartes of men, did quite chase away, and put to flight, this and suche other grosse cloudes, of will worship, superstition, and idolatrie. Besides this Pryorie (which was valued by the Commissioners of the late suppression, at. 486. pounds by yeare) there was none other religious building in Rochester) onely I read, that Gundulphus (the Bishop before remembred) builded there an Hospitall without the East gate, whiche he called Saint Bartilmewes. Now therfore am I come to the Bridge ouer Medway, not that alone which we presently beholde, but an other also, muche more auncient in time, though lesse beautifull in woorke, whiche neither stooode in the selfe place where this is, neither yet verie

1256.

Saint William of Rochester.

Saint Bartholmewes Hospitall.

Rochester Bridge both the olde, & the newe.

farre off, for that crossed the water ouer against Stroud Hospitall: and this latter is pitched some distance from thence toward the South, and somewhat nearer to the Citie walle, as to a place more fitte, bothe for the fastnes of the soile, and for the breaking of the swiftnes of the streame, to builde a Bridge vpon. That olde worke, (being of timber Building) was fyered by Simon the Earle of Leycester, in the time of King Henrie the third, as hath already appeared: and not fully twentie yeares after, it was borne away with the Ise, in the reigne of King Edward his Sonne. Wherefore, least that as the Frost and flame, hath alredy consumed the thing it selfe: So the canker of time should also deuoure all memorie thereof, I haue thought meete to impart such antiquities, as I haue found concerning that bridge, wherof the one was taken out of a booke (somtime) belonging to the late worthie and wise Counselour, Doctor Nicholas Wotton, and whiche he had exemplified out of an auncient monument of Christes Church in Canterbury, bearing this Title.

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Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi, &c.

1      Episcopus Roffensis debet . . . . .

††††

305 <sig 2Q>

Stokebery . . . . .

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Snodeslond, . . . . . in eadem valle,

The other antiquitie I founde in an olde volume of Rochester Librarie, collected by Ernulfus the Bishop, and entituled, 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi:' in whiche, that whiche concerneth this purpose, is to be read bothe in the Saxon, (or auncient Englishe) tong, and in the Latine also, as hereafter followeth.

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This is the Bridgewoorke at Rochester.

<DRc/R1, fo 166v>

Here be named the landes, . . . . .

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and two yardes and a half, . . . . .

309

and of Horstede, . . . . .

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Then is the sixte peere . . . . .

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and to Mepham: . . . . . three plates to laye;

Hæc descriptio demonstrat aperte, vnde debeat pons de Rouecestre restaurari, quotiens fuerit fractus.

<DRc/R1, fo 164v>

Primum, eiusdem Ciuitatis Episcopus . . . . .

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Horsteda, . . . . . in illa valle.

Et sciendum est, . . . . . desuper transeunti=

um rerum."

By these it may appeare, that this auncient bridge consisted of nyne Arches, or peres, and contained in length, about twentie and sixe roddes, or yardes, as they be here termed, Toward the reparation and maintenance wherof, diuers persons, parcels of lands, and townships (as you see) were of dutie bounde to bring stuffe, and to bestow both cost and labor in laying it: This dutie grew, either by tenure, or custome, or both: and it seemeth, that <sup>†</sup>ac-

<sup>†</sup><according>

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ding to the quantitie and proportion of the Land to be charged, the carriage also was either more or lesse.

For here is expresse mention, not of Townes and Manors only, but of Yokes and Acres also, whiche were contributorie to the aide of carrying, pitching, and laying of piles, plankes, and other great timber. And here (by the way) it is to be obserued, that so muche of the worke as ariseth of stone and earth, is called, Pera, of the Latine word, Petra: that the great ground posts, plates, or beames, be termed (Sulliuæ) of the olde Saxon word (Sylle) whiche we yet euery where knowe by the name of a Ground Sille: And that the Tables, or Boordes, whiche are laide ouer them, are named (Plan-cæ) or Plankes, as we yet also in our vulgar language doe sound it. But nowe in our time, by reason that diuers Landes are purposely giuen to mainteine the newe Bridge, all this auncient dutie of reparation is quite and cleane forgotten, although by the statute 21. <sup>†</sup>and 2. the forenamed landes remaine liable, as before, yea and the newe Bridge it selfe also (for want of the execution of that, or some other suche politique way of maintenance) bothe presently lacketh helpe, and is like hereafter (if remedie in time be not applied) to decline to great ruine and decay: Whiche thing is so muche the more to be foreseene, and pittied, as that the worke is to the founder a Noble monument, to this Citie a beautifull ornament, and to the whole Countrie a great benefite, commoditie, and easement.

<sup>†</sup>r. 'Ric.'

Syr Robert  
Knolles a  
valiant Capitaine.

Of this latter worke (being not muche aboue eight score yeres of age) Syr Robert Knolles (a man aduanced by valiant behauiour, and good seruice vnder King Edward the third, from a common Souldiour, to a most commendable Capitaine) was the first Authour: who after that he had beene sent Generall of an armie into

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Fraunce, and there (in despite of all their power) had driuen the people like sheepe before him, wasting, burning and destroying, Townes, Castles, Churches, Monasteries, and Cities, in suche wise and number, that long after in memorie of his acte, the sharpe points and Gable endes of ouerthrowne Houses and Mynsters, were called Knolles Miters: he returned into England, and meaning some way to make himselfe as well beloved of his Countrie men at home, as he had been euery way dread and feared of Straungers abroad, by great policie maistred the Riuer of Medway, and of his owne charge made ouer it the goodly work that now standeth, with a chapel and Chauntrie at the end, and ended full of yeres in the midst



of the Reigne of King  
Henrie the  
fourth.

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Stroude, aunciently called Strodes,  
of the Saxon worde (*Strogd*) which signifieth  
Scattered, bicause it was a Hamlet of a few  
houses, that lay scattered from  
the Citie.

The Hos=  
pitall.

About the beginning of the Reigne of  
King Henrie the third, Gilbert Glan=  
uille, the Bishop of Rochester, (of  
whom you haue already heard) foun=  
ded an Hospitall at Stroude, whiche  
he dedicated to the name of the bles=  
sed Virgin, and endowed with liue=  
lyhode to the value of fiftie and two pounds by yeare.

The begin=  
ning of this  
scoffing by  
word, Ken=  
tische tailes.

A name, or familie of men, sometime inhabiting  
Stroude (saith Polydore) had tailes clapped to their  
breeches by Thomas Becket, for reuenge and punish=  
ment of a dispite done to him, in cutting of the taile of  
his horse: The Author of the new Legend saith, that af=  
ter Saint Thomas had excommunicated two Brothers,  
(called Brockes) for the same cause, that the Dogges  
vnder the table would not once take Bread at their  
handes. Suche (belike) was the vertue of his curse,  
that it gaue to brute beastes, a discretion and know=  
ledge of the persons, that were in daunger of it. Boe=  
tius (the Scotische Chronicler) writeth, that the lyke  
plague lighted vpon the men of Midleton in Dorset=  
shyre: Who, bicause they threwe Fische tailes in great  
contempt at Saint Augustine, were bothe themselues  
and their posteritie, stricken with tailes, to their perpe=  
tuall infamie and punishment. All whiche their Re=  
portes (no doubt) be as true, as Ouides Hystorie of Dia=  
na, that in great angre bestowed on Acteon a Deares  
head, with mightie browe anthlers.

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Muche are the Westerne men bound (as you see) to  
Polydore, who taking the miracle from Augustine, ap=  
plieth it to S. Thomas, and remouing the infamous re=  
uenge from Dorsetshyre, laieth it vpon our men of Kent.  
But litle is Kent, or the whole English Nation behold=  
ding, either to him, or his fellowes, who (amongst them)  
haue brought vpon us this ignominie and note with other  
Nations abroad, that many of them beleue as verely, that  
we haue long tailes, and be monsters by nature, as other  
men haue their due partes and members in vsual number.

Angle  
Queene.

Polydore (the wisest of the company) fearing that issue  
might be taken vpon the matter, ascribeth it to one spe=  
ciall stocke and familie, whiche he nameth not, and yet  
(to leaue it the more vncertain) he saith, that, that fami=  
ly also is worne out long since, and sheweth not when:  
And thus affirming, he cannot tel of whome, nor when,  
he goeth about in great earnest (as in sundrie other  
things) to make the world beleue he cannot tell what:  
he had forgotten the Lawe wherevnto an Hystorian is  
bound, 'Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.' That  
he should be bolde to tell the trueth, and yet not so bolde  
as to tell a lye. Howbeit his Hystorie (without all

doubte) in places not blemished with suche folies, is a worthie work, but since he inserted them many times without all discretion, hee must of the wiser sorte be read ouer with great suspicion, and †wearines: For, as he was by office Collector of the Peter pence to the Popes gaine and lucre, so sheweth he himselfe throughout by profession, a couetous gatherer of lying Fables, fained to aduance the Popish Religi= on, Kingdome, and Myter.

†r. 'warinesse'

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Halling, in Saxon *haling*, that is to say, the holsome lowe place, or Meadowe.

Many kinges at once, in Kent.

I haue seene in an auncient booke contei= ning the donations to the See of Roche= ster, collected by Ernulphus the Bishop there, and intituled 'Textus de Ecclesia Rof= fensi') a Chartre of Ecgbert (the fourthe christened King of Kent) by the which he gaue to Dioram, the Bishop of Rochester, ten plough= landes in Halling, together with certeine Denes in the Weald, or common wood. To the which Chartre, ther is (amongst others) the subscription of leanbert the Arch= bishop, and of one Heahbert, a King of Kent also, as †is in that booke tearmed. Which thing I note for two speci= all causes, the one to shewe, that aboute that age there were at one time in Kent, moe Kinges then one: The o= ther, to manifest and set fourth the manner of that time in signing and subscribing of Deedes and Charters, a fashi= on much different from the insealing that is vsed in these our dayes: and as touching the firste, I my selfe woulde haue thought, that the name King, had in that place been but onely the title of a second Magistrate (as Prorex, or viceroy) substituted vnder the very King of the countrie for administration of iustice in his aide or absence: sauing that I read plainly in an other Chartre, of another do= nation 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 †on Sigaered also (by the name of 'Rex dimidiæ partis prouinciæ Cantuariorum') both confir= med it by writing, and gaue possession by the deliury of a clod of earth, after the maner of seison that we yet vse.

†r. 'he is'

778.

764.

†<one>

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Neither was this true in Heahbert onely, for it is eui= dent by sundrie Chartres, extant in the same Booke, that Ealbert the King of Kent, had Ethelbert, (another Kinge) his fellowe, and partener: who also in his time was ioyned in reigne with one Eardulfe, that is called, 'Rex Cantuariorum,' as well as hee. So that, for this sea= son, it should seeme, that eyther the kingdome was di= uided by discent, or els, that the title was litigious, and in controuersie, though our hystories (so farre as I haue seene) haue mencion of neyther. This old man= ner of signing and subscribing, is (in my fantasie) also not vnworthy the obseruation: wherein we differ from our auncestors, the Saxons, in this, that they subscribed their names (commonly adding the signe of the crosse) to= geather with a great number of witnesses: And we, for

The olde manner of Signing, & Sealing, of deedes.

more suertie, both subscribe our names, †put our seales, and vse the help of testimonie besides. That former fashi= on continued throughout, vntill the time of the conquest by the Normans, whose manner by litle and litle at the length preuailed amongst vs. For the first sealed Char= tre in England, that euer I read of, is that of King Ed= ward the confessours to the Abbey of Westminster: who (being brought vp in Normandie) brought into this Realme, that, and some other of their guises with him: And after the comming of William the Conquerour, the Normans, liking their owne countrie custome (as natu= rally all nations doe) reiected the maner that they found heere, and retheyned their owne, as Ingulphus, the Ab= bat of Croyland, which came in with the conquest, wit= nesseth, saying: 'Normanni, cheirographorum confectionem, cum crucib. aureis, & aliis signaculis sacris, in Anglia firmari soli= tam, in ceræ impressionem mutant, modumque scribendi angli= cum reiciunt.' The Normans, doe chaunge the making of writinges, which were woont to be firmed in Englande with Crosses of golde, and other holie signes into the

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1280.

printing with wax: and they reiect also the manner of the English writing. Howbeit, this was not done all at once, but it incresed and came forward by certen steps and de grees, so that first and for a season, the King onely, or a few other of the Nobilitie besides him, vsed to seale: Then the Noble men (for the most parte) and none other, whiche thinge a man may see in the Hystorie of Battell Abbie, where Richard Lucy chiefe Iustice of Englande, in the time of King Henrie the second, is reported to haue bla= med a meane subiect, for that he vsed a priuate seale, when as that pertained (as he saide) to the King, and Nobilitie onely. At which time also (as Iohn Rosse noteth it) they vsed to ingraue in their seales, their owne pictures, and counterfeits, couered with a longe coate ouer their ar= mours. But after this, the Gentlemen of the better sort tooke vp the fashion, and because they were not all war= riors, they made seales of their seueral cotes, or sheelds of armes, for difference sake, as the same author repor= teth. At the length, about the time of King Edwarde the third, Seales became very common, so that not onely suche as bare armes, vsed to seale, but other men also fashioned to them selues, signetes of their owne deuise, some taking the letres of their owne names, some flow= ers, some knots, and flowrishes, some birds, or beastes, and some other things, as we now yet dailie beholde in vse.

I am not ignoraunt, that some other manner of sea= lings besides these, hath beene hearde of amongst vs, as namely that of King Edward the third, by which he gaue,

To Norman the Hunter, the hop and the hop towne,

withe all the boundes vp side downe:

And in wittnes, that yt was soothe,

He bitt the wax withe his fong toothe.

And that of Alberic de veer also, containing the donation of Hatfield, to the which he affixed a short black hafted knife,

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like vnto an olde halpeny whitle, in stead of a seale: and such others, of which happely I haue seene some, and heard of moe. But all that notwithstanding, if any man shall thinke, that these were receiued in common vse and cus=

tome, and that they were not rather the deuises and pleasures of a few singular persons, he is no lesse decaued, then such as deeme euery Chartre and writing, that hath no seale annexed, to be as ancient as the Conquest: wheras (indeede) sealing was not commonly vsed tyl the time of King Edward the third, as I haue alreadie tolde you.

1184.

Thus farre, by occasion of this olde Chartre, I am straied from the hystorie of Halling, of whiche I fynde none other report in wryting, saue that in the reigne of king Henrie the second, Richard the <sup>†</sup>Archbishop of Canterburie, and imediat successour to Thomas the Archtraytour of this Realme, ended his lyfe, 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 wyll reserue tyll I come to Wrotham, where I shall haue iust occasion to discouer it.

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Ailesforde, or Eilesforde, called in some Saxon copies, Egelesford, that is the Foorde, or passage ouer the Riuer Egle, or Eyle: In others AngelesforS, which is, the passage of the Angles, or Englishe men. It is falsly tearmed of some, Alencester, Allepord, Aelstrea, by deprauation of the writers of the sundrie copies (as I suspect) and not otherwise.

Within a few yeares after the arrival of the Saxons, the Britons (perceiuing that Vortiger their Kinge was withdrawne by his wyfe from them, and drawne to the parte of their enemies) made election of Vortimer his sonne, for their Lorde and leader: by whose manhood and prowesse, they in short time so preuailed against the Saxons, that (sleying Horsa, one of the Chieftaines, in an encounter geuen at this place, and discomfiting the residue) they firste chased them from hence, as farre as Tanet, (in memorie of whiche flight, happely 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 toward their countrie, and to seeke a new supplie: And truly, had not the vntimely death of Kinge Vortimer immediately succeeded, it was to be hoped, that they should neuer haue returned.

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But the want of that one man, both quayed the courage of the Britons, gaue new matter of stomack to the Saxons to repaire their forces, and brought vpon this Realme an alteration of the whole Estate and <sup>†</sup>Gouernment.

There landed within the Realme in the time of Alfred, two great swarmes of Danish Pyrates, whereof the one arriued neare Winchelsey, with two hundred and fiftie sayle of Shippes, and passing along that

893.

Riuer fortified at Apledore, as we haue shewed before:  
 The other entred the Thamise, in a fleete of eighty saile,  
 wherof parte encamped themselues at Midleton on the  
 other syde of Kent, and part in Essex ouer against them.  
 These latter, King Alfred pursued, and pressed them  
 so hardly, that they gaue him, both othes and hostages to de=  
 part the Realme, and neuer after to vnquiet it. That  
 done, he marched with his army against those other also.  
 And because hee vnderstoode, that they had diuided  
 themselues, and spoyled the Countrie in sundrie partes  
 at once, he lykewise diuided his army, intending (the ra=  
 ther by that meane) to meete with them in some one  
 place or other, which when they harde of, and perceiued  
 that they were vnmeete, to incounter him in the face,  
 they determined to passe ouer the Thamise, and to ioyne  
 with their countremen in Essex, of whose discomfiture  
 they had as yet receiued no tideings. But when they  
 came at a place in this parish, called both now and aun=  
 ciently Fernham, that is the ferny Towne or dwelling,  
 one part of the Kings power couragiously charged them  
 and finding them geuen to flight, folowed the chase vp=  
 pon them so fercely, 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  
 hauing inough to doe to saue their owne liues, and to

Fernham.

The Danes  
 compelled  
 to take the  
 Thamise.

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conuey ouer their Capitaine, that had receiued a dead=  
 lye wounde.

1016.

The Danes,  
 are chased  
 from Ot=  
 forde.

No lesse notable was that other chase, wherein (ma=  
 ny yeares after) Edmond Ironside, most fiercely pur=  
 sued the Danes from Otforde to this towne: in whiche  
 also (as some write) he had geuen them an irreparable  
 ouerthrow, had he not (by fraudulent, and trayterous  
 persuasion of one Edric, then Duke of Mercia, or midle  
 England, and in the Saxon speach surnamed, for his co=  
 uetousnesse Streona, that is to say, the Getter, or gather=  
 er) withdrawne his foote, and spared to follow them.

Earle Edric  
 an infamus  
 traytour.

No doubt, but that it is many times a part of good  
 wisdom, and warlyke policie, not to pursue ouer fierce=  
 ly thine enemie that hath already tourned his back to=  
 wardes thee, least thou compell him, to make vertue of  
 that necessitie, and he (turning his face againe) put thee  
 in d<a>unger to be ouercome thy selfe, which before had=  
 dest in thine owne hande assuraunce to ouerthrowe  
 him: In which behalfe, it was well sayde of one, 'Hosti  
 fugienti, pons aureus faciendus,' If thine enemie will flye,  
 make him a bridge of Golde. Neuerthelesse, for as much  
 as this aduice, proceeded not from Eadric, of any care  
 that he had to preserue King Edmonds power out of pe=  
 rill, but rather of feare, least the whole army of Canutus  
 should be ouerrunne and destroyed: he is iustly taxed for  
 this, and other his treasons by our auncient historians,  
 who also make report of the worthy rewarde, that in the  
 ende he receiued, for all his trecherie. For, this was hee  
 (as William Malmsb. writeth, though some others as=  
 cribe it to his sonne) that afterwardes (when these two  
 Kings had by composition diuided the Realme betwene  
 them) most villanously murdered King Edmonde at  
 Oxford, and was therefore done to death by King Canu=  
 tus: who, in that one act shewed singular arguments, both  
 of rare iustice, and of a right noble harte: Of iustice, for

A noble ex  
 ample of  
 Kinge Ed=  
 monde  
 Ironside.

that he would not winke at the faulte of him, by whose meanes, hee obeyned the Monarchie of the whole Realme, and of great Nobilitie of minde, in that he plainly declared himselfe, to esteeme more of his owne honour, then of another mans Crowne and Scepter, and to haue digested quietly, that impatiencie of a partener in kingdome, which great Alexander thought as intollerable as two sunnes in the world at once: and which Romulus could in no wise brooke, since he would not suffer one kingdome to content him and Remus, whom one belly had conteyned before.

There was sometime at Eilesford, a house of Carmelite Friers: of the time of the foundation, or name of the founder whereof, I haue not yet learned any thing.

Mallinge, in Saxon, *Mealung* of *Mealuing*, that is, the Lowe place flourishing with meale, or Corne, for so it is euer where accompany where accomped.

The names of Townes, ending in ing.

This Towne, (the name whereof hauing his termination in, ing, betokeneth plainely, that it is situate along the water, euen as Yalding, Berming Halling, and others thereby) was first giuen to Burhricus, the Bishop of Rochester by King Edmund the Brother of Athelstane, vnder the name of three Plough landes in Mealinges.

945.

About one hundreth and fiftie yeares after whiche time, Gundulphus (a successour in that See, as you haue read before) hauing amplified the buildings, and multiplied that number of the Monkes in his owne Citie,

The Abbay

raised an Abbay of women here also, which (being dedicate to the name of the Blessed Virgin) during all his life he gouerned himself, and lying at the point of death, he commended to the charge of one Auice, (a chosen woman) to whome notwithstanding he would not deliuer the Pastorall staffe, before she had promised Canonically Obedience, fidelitie, and subiection, to the See of Rochester, and protested by othe, that there should neither Abbasse nor Nonne, be from thenceforthe receaued into the house, without the consent and priuitie of him, and his successours. Now, whether this 'Rus propinquum,' and politique prouision, were made of a blinde zeale that the man had to aduaunce superstition, or of a vain glorie to increase authoritie in his succession, or els

†r. 'the'

1106.

The Solaces, of Sole life.

multiplied the number of the Monkes in his owne Citie,

of a foresight that the Monkes, (whiche were for the moste part called Monachi, of Sole liuing, by the same rule, that Montes haue their name of remouing) might haue a conuenient place to resort vnto, and where they might ('Caute,' at the least) quenche the heates, kindled of their good cheare and idlenesse, God knoweth, and I wil not iudge. But well I wote, that this was a very

common practise in Papistrie: for as Saint Augustines had Sepulchres, Saint Albans Sopewell, Shene Sion, the Knightes of the Rodes, the Nonnes of Clerkenwel, all adioyning, or subject to suche obedience: so Sempringham, and some other of that sort, had both Male and Female within one house, and wall togeather, the world being (in the meane while) borne in hand, that they were no men, but Images, as Phryne said sometime of Xenocrates. This house was valued in the Recordes, at two hundreth and eighteene pounds of yearly reuene.

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Tunbridge, called of Mat. Par. Thunebrugge, corruptly for ~~tonebrycge~~, that is, the Bridge ouer Tone: but if it be truly written ~~tunbrycge~~, then it signifieth, the towne of Bridges, as in deed it hath many.

The Castle.

Although I find no mention of Tunbridge in that copie of Domesdaye booke, whiche I haue seene, concerning the description of this Shyre: yet read I in history, that there was a castle at Tunbridge sone after the conqueste, if not euen at the same time when that booke was compiled: For omitting that which Hector Boetius writeth, concerning a battell at Tunbridge, wherein the Conquerour (as he saith) should preuaile against Harold, bicause it is evidently false and vntrue, vnlesse he mean it of the continuance of the chase after the fight euen to Tunbridge, I haue read, that at suche time, as Odo (ioyning with others of the Nobilitie) made defection from William Rufus, to Robert his elder brother, the King besieged at Tunbridge, one Gilbert, then keeper of the Castle, and compelled him to yeelde it. Happely this Odo (being the Kings Vncle, and of great authoritie within the Shyre, as we haue before shewed) had erected this Castle, and giuen the charge to Gilbert, but howsoeuer that were, certaine it is, that the Castle was long time holden of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and continued many yeares togeather in the possession of the Earles of Clare, afterwards called of Gloucester.

1088.

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1163.

For, in the dayes of King Henrie the second, Thomas the Archbishop, required homage of Roger, then Earle of Gloucester, for his Castle of Tunbridge, who knowing the King to be halfe angrie with the Archbishop, and wholly on his owne side, shaped him a short answere, affirming stoutly that it was none of his, but the Kings owne, as a Lay Fee. Falcasius, (a hyred Souldiour, that was entertained by King Iohn, during the warres with his Nobilitie) toke by force this Castle from the Earle of Gloucester, and kept it for a season to the Kings behoofe:

1215.

King Henrie the third also, after the death of Gilbert the Earle of Gloucester, seised the Wardship of his Heire, and committed the custody of this Castle to Hu-

1231.

bert of Burghe: But Richard the Archebishop, (surnamed the great) being offended therat, came to the King in great haste, and made his claime, by reason, that the Earle Gilbert died in his homage: the King gaue answer, that the whole Earledome was holden of him, and that hee might lawfully committe the custodie of the Landes to whome soeuer it liked himselfe. Hereat the Bishop waxed warme, and tolde the King plainly, that since he could not haue right within the Realme, he would not spare to seeke it abroad: and forthwith hasted him to the holy Father at Rome, where he so vsed the matter, that he obtained iudgement for his part, but he for all that neuer had execution, by reason that he died in his returne toward home: yet you may here see, by the way, that in those dayes, there was no Lawe in England to rule the proude Prelacie withall, no not so muche, as in things meere Lay and temporall: To be short, the same King Henrie, not long before the battel at Lewes in Sussex, burned the Citie of Rochester, and tooke this Castle by

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The Clear=gie was lawlesse.

1263.

a soudaine surprise, wherein he found (amongst other) the Countesse of Gloucester: But it was not long before he stored the Castle with men of warre, and restored the Ladie to her former libertie.

The Pryorie at Tunbridge.

1558.

There was sometime neare to this Castle a Pryorie, whereof the Earles of Gloucester, and their Heires, were reputed the first Authors, and Patrones: And in our memorie, there was erected a faire Free Schoole, by the honest <sup>†</sup>liberalitie of Syr Andrew Iudde, a Citizen, and Maior of London, whiche submitted the same to the order and ouersight of the company of Skinners there, whereof himselfe had beene a member.

The Lowy of Tunbridge.

Round about the Towne of Tunbridge, lyeth a territorie, or compasse of ground, commonly called, the Lowy, but written in the auncient Recordes and Histories, Pencata, or Lenga, and being (in deede) a French League, of ground, whiche (as I finde in the Chronicles of Normandie) was allotted at the first vpon this occasion following: There was in Normandie, a Towne (and land therevnto adioyning) called Bryonomie, whiche was of the auncient possession of the Duke-dome, and had continually remained in the handes of the Dukes there, till suche time as Richard (the second Duke of that name) gaue it amongst other Landes to Godfrey, his natural brother, for his aduancement in liuing. This Godfrey enioyed it all his lyfe, and left it to one Gislebert his Sonne (which happely was Gilbert, the Capitain of Tunbridge Castle, of whom we had mention before) who also held it so long as he liued. But after the death of Gislebert, Robert (the Duke of Normandie, and Eldest Sonne to King William the Conquerour) beeing earnestly laboured to bestowe it vpon <sup>†</sup>on Robert, Earle Mellent, (whose ofspring were sometimes Earles of Leycester within

<sup>†</sup><one>

~ tories <sup>†</sup>peucata, or Leuga, and being (in deede) a French

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<sup>†</sup>r. 'Leucata'

this Realme) seized it into his owne hands, pretending to vnite it to the Dukedome againe. But when Richard (the Sonne of Gislebert) vnderstoode of this, he put to his claime, and making his title by a long



1264.  
42. H. 3.

continued possession, (euen from Godfrey his ground= father) so encountered the suite of Earle Mellent, that to stoppe Richards mouthe withall, it was by the deuice of the Earle, and by the mediation of Duke Robert, which he made to his brother William Rufus, brought to passe, that Richard should receaue in recompence, the Town of Tunbridge in England, and so much land about it, as Bryonnie it selfe contained in circuit: And to the end that the indifferencie of the dealing might appeare, and his full satisfaction be wrought, they caused Bryonnie, and the land about it, to be measured with a line, whiche they afterward brought ouer with them into England, and applying the same to Tunbridge and the land adioyning, laide him out the very like in quantitie: in so much that long time after, it was a common and receaued opinion in Normandie, that the Leagues of Bryonnie and Tunbridge, were all one in measure and compasse. This, together with the Towne and Castle, came at the length (as you haue seene) to the handes of the Earles of Gloucester, betweene whome, and the Archebishops of Canterbury, there arose oftentimes contention, bothe for the limits of this league, and for the preeminence of their priuileges. At the last, Boniface the Archebishop (next but one in succession after Richard, of whome we spake before) and Richard the Earle (and Heire to Gilbert) agreed in the reigne of King Henrie the third, vpon a perambulation to be made betweene them, and so the strife for their boundes was brought to an end. But as touching their priuileges, and iurisdiction in the place, it fell out by inquisition in

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the time of King Edward following, that the Archebishop had nothing to do within the league, that the Earle had returne of writtes, creation of certain Officers, an especiall sessions in Eire. &c, most of whiche things the Towne hath not these many yeares enjoyed: But yet it was agreed, after the perambulation so made betweene Boniface and the Earle Richard, that the Earle and his heires should holde the Manors of Tunbridge, Vielston, Horsmund, Melyton, and Pettys, of the Archebishop and his successours, by the seruice of 4. Knightes fees, and to be highe Stewardes, and highe Butlers, to the Archebishops, at the great feast of their inthronizations, taking for their seruice in the Stewardship, seuen competent Robes of Scarlet, thirtie gallons of wyne, thirtie pound of waxe for his light, liuery of Hay and Oates for fourescore Horse by two nights, the dishes and salt which should stand before the Archebishops in that Feast, and at their departure the dyet of three days at the costes of the Archbishops at foure of their next Manors, by the foure quarters of Kent, wheresoeuer they would, 'Ad minuendum sanguinem,' So that they repaired thither, but with fiftie Horses only: And taking also for the Office of Butlership, other seuen like Robes. 20 Gallons of wyne, fiftie pound of waxe, like liuery for threescore Horses by two nights, the cuppe wherewith the Archebishops should be serued, all the emptie hogsheds of drinke, and for sixe tunne of wyne, so many as should be dronke vnder the barre also.

The Arche= bishop hath an Earle to his Butler.

The Articles of whiche their composition, were afterward accordingly perfourmed, firste betweene Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, and Robert Winchelsey

1295. the Archebishop, next betweene the same Earle, and  
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the Archebishop Reignoldes: Then betweene Hughe  
Audley the Earle of Gloucester, and the Archebishop  
Iohn Stratford: After that betweene the Earle of  
Stafford, (to whome the Lordship of Tunbridge at  
the length came) and Simon Sudbury Archebishop, in  
that See: and lastly betweene William Warham  
the Archebishop, and Edward the late Duke of Bucking  
ham, who also executed the Stewardship in his owne

1504. person, and the Butlership by his deputie Syr  
Thomas Burgher Knight: the whole pompe,  
and Ceremonie whereof, I haue  
seen at greater length set forth,  
and described, then is  
meete for this time  
and place to be re=  
counted.

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Asherst, in Saxon,  
Acsehyrst, that is, the Wood  
~ consisting of Ashes.

In the Southwest corner  
of this Shyre, towarde the  
confines of Sussex and Sur=  
rey, lyeth Asherst, a place

The Roode  
of Asherst  
was a gro=  
wing Idole

now a daies so obscure (for  
it is but a Towne of two  
houses) that it is not wor=  
thy the visiting: but yet in  
olde time so glorious for a  
~ Roode that it had of rare  
propertie, that many vouchsafed to bestowe bothe their  
labour and money vpon it. It was beaten (forsooth) into  
the heades of the common people (as what thing was so  
absurde, which the Clergie coulde not then make the  
world to beleue?) that the Roode (or Crucifix) of this  
church, did by certaine incrementes continually waxe 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  
bodie it selfe. By meanes whereof it came to passe,  
that whereas the fruites of the Benefice weare hardly  
able to susteine the Incumbent, nowe by the benefite of  
this inuention (which was in papistrie, 'Nouum genus au=  
cupii') the Parson there was not onely furnished by the  
offering to liue plentifully, but also well ayded towarde  
~ the makinge of a Hoorde, or increase of Wealth and  
Riches.

But as Ephialtes, and Oetus, the Sonnes of Nep=  
tune who (as the Poets feigne, waxed nine inches eue=  
~ rie moneth) being heaued vp with opinion, and conceite  
~ of Ashes.

~ Roode which it had of rare

~ the makinge of a Hoorde, wealthie and riche.

~ rie moneth) being heaued vp with theopinion, and conceit

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† ceipt of their owne length and hautines, assaulted hea=

uen, intending to haue pulled the Gods out of their places, and were therefore shot through, and slayne with the arrowes of the Gods: Euen so, when Popish Idolatrie was growne to the full height and measure, so that it spared not to rob God of his due honour, and most violently to pull him (as it were) out of his seate, then this growing Idole and all his fellowes, were so deadly wounded, with the heauenly arrowes of the woorde of God (Qui non dabit gloriam suam sculptilibus) that soone after they gaue up the ghost, and leaft vs. Betweene this Towne and Depeforde (which is the whole bredthe of the Shyre, on the west ende) I finde nothing committed to hystorie: and therefore let vs hast, and take our next way thither.

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Depeforde, in Latine Vadum profundum, and in auncient Euidences West Greenewiche.

This towne, being a frontier betwene Kent and Surrey, was of none estimation at all, vntil that King Henrie the eight, aduised (for the better preservation of the Royall Fleete) to erect a Storehouse, and to create certaine officers there: these he incorporated by the name of the Maister and Wardeines of the Holie Trinitie: for the building, keeping, and conducting of the Nauie Royall.

The masters of the nauie Royal.

There was lately reedefied a fayre Bridge also, ouer the Brooke, called Rauensbourne, whiche ryseth not farre of in the Heath about Bromley.

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Greenewiche, in Latine, Viridis sinus: in Saxon, *grenawic*; that is to say, the Greene Towne. In auncient euidences, Eastgreenewiche, for difference sake from Depeforde, which in olde Instruments is called westgreene wiche.

In the time of the turmoyled King Ethelred, the whole fleete of the Danish army, lay at roade, two or three yeares together before Greenwich: And the Souldiours, for the moste parte, were incamped vpon the hill about the towne, now called Blackheath: Duringe this time, they pearced this whole Countrie, sacked and spoyled the Citie of Canterburie, and brought from thence to their ships, Ælphey, the Archbishop: And here, a Dane (called Thrum) whom the Archebishop had confirmed in Christianitie the daie before, strake him on the head behinde, and slewe him, because he woulde not condescend to redeeme his lyfe with three thousande poundes, which the people of the Citie Diocesse were contented to haue geuen for his ransom: Neither would the rest of the Souldiours suffer his bodie to be committed to the earth, after the maner of Christian decencie, till such time (saieth William of

1011.

Alphey, the Archbishop was cruelly slaine.

A popish ~ minde.

~ miracle

Malmsb.) as they perceiued that a dead stick, being anointed with his bloud, waxed greene againe, and began the next day to blossom.

But referring the credite of that, and suche other

~ cause he woulde not condescend to redeeme his lyfe with three thousand poundes, which the people of the Citie and  
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32. Shyres  
in England.

1013.

Great summs  
of money  
paied to the  
Danes.

1015.

vnfruitfull miracles (wherwith our auncient monkish stoaries doe swarme) to the iudgement of the godly and discreete Readers, most assured it is, that aboute the same time, such was the storme and furie of the Danish insatiable rauine, waste, spoyle, and oppression, with in this Realme besides, that of two and thirtie Shyres (into which number the whole was then diuided) they herried and ransacked sixteene, so that the people being miserably vexed, the Kinge himselfe (to auoyde the rage) first sent ouer the Seas his wyfe and children: afterward compounded, and gaue them a yerely tribute: and lastly for verie feare forsooke the Realme, and fled into Normandie himselfe also.

They receiued (besides daylie victuall) fourtie eight thousande poundes in ready coyne, of the subiectes of this Realme, whilst their King Swein lyued: and twentie one thousand after his death vnder his sonne Canutus: vpon the payment whereof, they made a corporall oth, to serue the King (as his feodaries) against al strangers, and to liue as freendes and allies without endamaging his subiectes. But how litle they performed promise, the harms that daily folowed in sundry parts, and the exalting of Canutus their owne councillmen to the honour of the Crowne, were sufficient witnesses.

In memorie of this Campe, certeine places within this parishe, are at this day called Combes, namely Estcombe, Westcombe, and Midlecombe almoste forgotten: For Comb and Compe in Saxon (being somewhat declined from Campus in Latine) signifieth a field or Campe, for an Armie to sojourne in.

And in memorie of this Archebishop Aelpheg, the parish Church at Greenewiche (being at the first, dedi-

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cated to his honour) remaineth knowne by his name euen till this present day. Thus much of the antiquitie of the place: concerning the latter hystorie, I reade, that it was soone after the conquest, parcel of the possessions of the Bishop of Lysieux in Fraunce, and that it bare seruice to Odo, then Bishop of Baieux, and Earle of Kent: After that, the Manor belonged to the Abbat of Gaunt in Flaunders, till such time as Kinge Henrie the fift, seising into his handes (by occasion of warre) the landes of the Priors Aliens, bestowed it, togeather with the manor of Lewsham, and many other lands also, vpon the Priorie of the Chartrehouse Monks of Shene, whiche he had then newly erected: to this it remayned, vntill the time of the reigne of Kinge Henrie the eight, who annexed it to the Crowne, wherunto it now presently belongeth.

1416.

The Priorie  
of Shene.

The frierie.

1480

The Obseruant Friers, that sometime lyued at Greenewiche (as Iohn Rosse writeth) came thither about the latter end of the reign of king Edward the fourth, at whose handes they obtained a Chauntry with a litle Chapel

1509 of the holy crosse, a place, yet extant in the towne: And (as Lilley saith) Kinge Henrie the seuenth buylded for them that house adioyning to the Palaice, which is there yet to be seene. But now least I may seeme to haue saide much, of small matters: and to haue forgotten the principall ornament of the towne: I must (before I end with Greenewiche) say somewhat of the Princes Palaice there.

The Palaice Humfrey therefore (the Duke of Gloucester, and protectour of the Realme, a man no lesse renowned for approued vertue, and wisdom: then honoured for his high estate and parentage) was the first that layde the foundations of the faire building in the towne, and towre in the Parke, and called it, his Manor of plea=

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1516. sance: After him Kinge Edward the fourthe bestowed some cost to enlarge the woorke: Henrie the seuenthe folowed, and beautified the house with the addition of the brick front, toward the water side: but King Henrie the eight, as he exceeded all his progenitours in setting vp of sumptuous housinge, so he spared no coste in garnishing Greenewiche, til he had made it a pleasant, perfect, and Princely Palaice. Marie his eldest daughter (and after Queene of the realme) was borne in this house: Queene Elizabeth his other daughter, our most gracious and gladsom Gouvernour, was likewise borne in this house: And his deare sonne King Edward (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his lyfe in the same house.

One accident more touching this house, and then an ende: It hapened in the reigne of Queene Marie, that the Master of a Ship, passing by, whilest the court lay there, and meaning (as the manner <sup>r</sup>aad dutie is) with saile and shot to honour the Princes presence, vnaduisedly gaue fyre to a peice, charged with a pellet in sted of a tampion, the which lighting on the Palaice wall ranne through one of the priuie lodgings, and did no further harme.

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Blackheathe.

Adioyninge to Greenewiche, lyethe the plaine, called (of the colour of the soyle) Blackheathe, the which, besides the burthen of the Danishe Campe (whereof we spake euen now) hath borne three seueral rebellious assem=

The rebel= lion of lack Straw.

1380

blies: One in the time of Kinge Richard the second, moued (as it shal appeare anon in Dartford) by lack Straw, whom William Walworth, then Mayor of London, slewe with his Dagger, in Smithfielde: in memorie whereof, the Citie had geuen them (for increase of honour) a Dagger, to be borne in their shield of armes.

The rebel= lion of lack Cade.

lack Cade (that counterfeit Mortimer) and his fellows, were leaders of the second: who passing from hence to London, did to death the Lord Say, and others in the time of King Henrie the Sixt.

These two (besides other harmes, that vsually accompany the mutinie and vprere, of the common and rascal sort) defaced foully the Records and monuments

The rebel  
lion of the  
black smith

both of the law, and Armourie: The parts of Rolles re= mayning yet halfe brent, doo witnessse the one: And the Heraldes vnskill, (comming through the want of their olde Bookes) is sufficient testimonie of the other.

The third insurrection was assembled by Michael Ioseph (the black Smith) and the Lorde Audley, vnder the reigne of Kinge Henrie the Seuenth: at whiche time they and their complices, receaued their iust deserte, the common number of them being slaine and discomfited, and the leaders themselues taken, drawne and hanged.

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Of this last, there remaineth yet to be seene vpon the Heathe, the places of the Smithes Tente, called commonly his forge: And of all three, the graue hilles of suche as were buried after the ouerthrowe: These hillockes in the West Countrie (where is no smal store of the like) are called Barowes, of the olde Englishe word †Burgher; which signifieth Sepulchres, or places of burying, which word, (being a spring of that olde stocke) we doe yet reteine alieue.

†r. 'burhes'

The first and last of these commotions, were stirred of a grieffe that the common people conceaued, for the demaund of two subsidies, of whiche the one was vnreasonable, bycause it was taxed vpon the Polls, and emptied none, were he neuer so poore: The other was vnseasonable, for that it was exacted, when the heades of the common people were full of Parkin †Warber.

The third and midlemoste, grewe vpon a grudge, that the people tooke, for yeelding vp the Duchie of Angeow, and Maynie, to the King of Sicil: The coming in of whose daughter (after that the King would needes haue her to wife, notwithstanding his precontract made with the Earle of Armenac) was not so ioyfully embraced by the Citizens of London vpon Blackheathe, wearing their red Hoodes, Badges, and blew gownes: as in sequele, the Marriage, and whole gouernment it self, was knowne to be detested of the countrie Commons, by bearing in the same place, Harnesse, Bowes, Billes, and other Weapon: But bicause I cannot (without paine and pitie) enter into the consideration of these times, and matters, I will discourse no farther thereof, but crosse ouer the next way to Lesnes, and prosecute the rest of the bounds of this Bishopricke.

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Lesnes, mistaken, as I thinke  
for Leswes (Leswes) whiche signifieth, Pastures.

I could easily haue beleeued, that the name Lesnes, had been deriued out of the Frenche, and that it had been first imposed at the foundation of the Abbay, sauing that I finde the place registred in the Booke of Domesday, by the very same, and none other calling. And therefore I am the rather led to thinke that the name is Saxon, and there miswritten, (as many other be, by reason that the Normans were the penners of that booke) Lesnes, for Leswes, the †word whiche (in the Saxon tongue) signifieth Pastures, and is not

†r. 'which worde'

1179.

Lord Richard Lucy.

as yet vtterly forgotten, forasmuche as till this day Pastures be called Lesewes in many places: This is my fantasie touching the name, wherein if I fayle, it forceth not greatly, since the matter is no more weightie: Concerning the Hystorie of the place, only I finde, that Richard Lucy a priuie Counselour of the State, and chiefe Iustice of the Realme, in the time of King Henrie the second, founded an Abbay there: the temporalties wherof amounted (as I finde) to seuen poundes sixe Shillings and eight pence: But as for the extent of the whole yearely value, I haue not learned it.

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Earethe, in some olde euidences, Eard, deriued (as I gesse) of *Ærre hyðe*, that is the olde Hauen.

The ancient manner, of the triall of right to Landes.

For plaine example, that oure Elders before the conquest, had their trialles for title of land, and other controuersies, in each shire, before a Iudge, then called Alderman, or Shyreman, of whom there is very frequent mention in the Lawes of our auncestours the Saxons, the whiche some yeares since were collected and published in one volume: and for assured prooffe also, that in those dayes they vsed to proceede in suche causes, by the oathes 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 vre, and called commonly Wager of Lawe, is to be seene: I haue made choice of one Hystorie, conteining briefly the narration of a thing done at this place, by Dunstane, the Archbishop of Canterbury, almost a hundreth yeares before the comming of King William the Conquerour.

970.

A rich man (saith the text of Rochester) being owner of Cray, Earithe, Ainesford, and Woldham, and hauing none issue of his body, deuised the same lands (by his last wil, made in the presence of Dunstane, and others) to a kinswoman of his owne, for life, the Remainder of the one halfe thereof, after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other halfe to Saint Andrewes of Rochester, for euer: he died, and his wife toke one Leofsun to husband, (who ouerliuing her) reteined the Land, as his owne, notwithstanding that by the fourme of the deuise, his interest was determined, by the deathe of his wife: Herevpon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the *Scyreman* (or Iudge

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of the Countie, (as the same booke interpreteth it) before whome, bothe Dunstane the Archebishop, the parties them selues, sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the Lay people, appeared, all by appointment at Eareth: and there in the presence of their whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a crosse in his hand) made a corporal oath vpon the booke of the Ecclesiastical lawes, vnto the Shyreman, (whiche then tooke it to the Kings vse, bicause Leofsun himselfe refused to receaue it) and affirmed that the right of these landes, was to

Wager of Lawe.

Christes Church, and to Saint Andrewes.

For ratification and credit of which his othe, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East, and West Kent, Eastsex, Midlesex, and Sussex) tooke their othes also, vpon the Crosse, after him. And thus, by this manner of iudgement, Christes Church, and Saint Andrewes were brought into possession, and Leofsun vtterly †reiected for euer. The towne of Eareth, is an ancient corporation, but whether it hath been at any time, of greater accompt, I finde not: and therefore, hauing alreadie declared in manner, whatsoever it hath the note woorthie, I will set down this one thing, and leaue it. Toward the latter end of the reigne of King Henrie the sixt, there were taken at this Towne, foure very great and rare fishes, of whiche one was then named to be Mors Marina, another a sword fishe, and the rest were supposed to be Whales.

†r. 'elected'

1457.

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Crayforde, in Saxon *CreccanforS*, that is, the Ford, or passage ouer the water Crecca, now called Cray.

Hengist, & Horsa.

After the death of Horsa, (of whome we haue spoken in Ailesford before) The Saxons made his brother Hengist their only King and leader. And he, minding forthwith to shewe himselfe woorthie of his newly attayned Honour, and willing to supplie in himselfe the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gaue them sundrie great encounters: in diuers of whiche, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting with them at Crayford, he slewe foure of their chief capitaines, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abandoned this Countrie, and with great feare fled to London before him. After this fight, the Britons not only neuer inuaded Hengist (as Rafe Higden writeth) but fled him like fire, as the Saxon Hystorie reporteth: so that euen then, and not before, it might truely be saide, that he had gained the possession of the Kentish Kingdome. The place is named of the water Cray, whiche beginning at Orpington (vntruelly so termed for Dorpendun, whiche signifieth the head, or spring of the Hille water) runneth by Saint Marie Cray, Poules Cray, Fotescray, and Crayford (to all whiche it likewise giueth name) and commeth at length to Dartford, where it mingleth with the Riuer Darent, and so openeth into the Thames.

457.

The beginning of the Kentishe Kingdome.

Orpington, & the course of Cray water.

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Dartford, in Saxon, *DerentforS*; in latine, *Derenti vadum*: it signifieth, the ford, or passage ouer the Riuer Derent.

Mesopotamia signifieth a country encompassed with riuers

Now be we returned into Mesopotamia, for so me thinketh that this countrie, lying betwene the Riuers of Darent and Medway may wel be termed. And here you must call to minde that, whiche you heard in Rochester before: namely, that King



John won the Castle of Rochester from William Dalbyne, through the faint heart and cowardize of Robert Fitzwalter, whom the Nobilitie 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 hapned.

Rochester castle besieged

1215

The Noble men, that maintained the warre against King John, understanding that he laide siege to the Castle at Rochester, and fearing that William Dalbyne (or Dalbinet) the Capitaine thereof, could not long defend it without supplie of suche thinges as he wanted, and they could not well minister: determined to giue some aduenture to raise the siege. And for that purpose, made Robert Fitzwalter generall of a greate armie: This man, when he came to Dartford, mette with a Gentleman of the order of the Temple, of whom he demaunded sundrie questions, for intelligence of the nombre of the Kings campe: Who (finding him to be afraide) tolde him (of set purpose) that the Kings armie was muche greater then his, whereas in deede his power was thrise so bigge as the Kings: Herevpon Robert, (being with this false terrour stricken into an exceeding great feare, whose companion is flight, as Homer well saithe,) without further inquisition, sought to saue him selfe by the swiftnes of his feete, and so through fainte heart left Rochester to the vttermost aduenture.

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If King John had followed, I thinke it would haue become of him, as it sometime chaunced of a certaine white liuered man: who, hearing great praise of Hercules strengthe, forthwith conueyed himself into a caue, and when he had spied him (by chaunce) passing that way, he died out of hand for extreame feare. I read, that in the time of King Henrie the third, Frederic the Emperour, sent hither the Archebishop of Colein, accompanied with sundrie Noble personages, to demaunde Isabell the Kings sister to be giuen him in marriage: the whiche (for asmuche as the Embassadors liked the young Ladie well) was (after suche a solemnization, as in absence may be perfourmed) married vnto him at this Towne, and then deliuered to the Orators to be caried ouer. Whereby I make coniecture, that although there be not in storie, mention of any great building at Dartford, before the time of the Abbay, whiche was raised long after this marriage, yet there was some faire house of the Kings, or of some others, euen at this time there: For otherwise I knowe not howe to make it a meete place, for so honourable an appointment. But leauing all coniecture, certaine it is, that afterward King Edward the third, founded there a faire Monasterie for women, which at the general dissolution, was founde to be woorth three hundreth: and eightie pounds by yeare, and of whiche King Henrie the eight (not without great cost) made a fit house for himselfe and his successours.

1235

Princes, may woode by picture and marye by proctor.

The Abbay

The old manner of Tourneament.

The same King Edward the third, at one time in his returne from Fraunce, proclaimed a generall Torneament, or lustes, to be holden at Dartford, whiche he and his Nobles perfourmed moste honourable.

This manner of exercise, beeing then vsed, not at the Tilt (as I thinke) but at Randon, and in

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the open field, was accompted so daungerous to the persons hauing to do therein, that sundrie Popes had forbidden it by decree, and the Kings of this Realme (before King Stephan) would not suffer it, to be frequented within their land: so that, suche as for exercise of that feate in armes, were desirous to proue themselues, were driuen to passe ouer the Seas, and to performe it in some indifferent place in a forreigne Countrie: But afterward, King Stephan in his time permitted it: and then after him King Richard the firste, not only allowed it, but also encouraged his Nobilitie to vse it: And so by litle and litle, the danger being sufficiently prouided for, and the men waxing expert, it grewe in the time of the Kings that followed (especially in the reigne of this Edward the third) to a moste pleasaunt, vsuall, and familiar pastime.

The occasion, of lacke Strawes his rebellion.

But, to returne to Dartford againe: The first motiue of the rebellious assembly of the Common people of this Shyre, that chaunced in the time of King Richard the second (whereof you heard somewhat in Blackheath before) was giuen at this Towne, by occasion that a naughtie fellowe (being appointed to leuye the groates, that were by Parleament taxed vpon euery Polle) dishonestly intreated a young Damosel (Daughter to one Iohn Tyler) that dwelt in Dartford, which thing when the Father heard of, he fell at wordes with the Officer, and from wordes to worse, so that in the end he slewe him: This done, the Common people of the Towne, partly for grudge at the imposition, partly for maintenance of the thing, whiche they thought well done: and partly to eschewe the punishment that by execution of Iustice might fall vpon them, assembled their neighbours, and growing to some number, made this Tyler their Capitaine, named him lacke Strawe: and did further, as you

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in part heard before, and may at more large read almost in euerie English Chronicle.

The course of the riuer of Derent.

This Towne (as Crayford before) hath the name of the water running by, commonly called Derent, but corruptly, after the opinion of Lelande, who thinketh the true name to be Dorquent, which in Brittain soundeth the Cleere water: It springeth at Titsey in the edge of Surrey, and taketh in the way Westram, where Iohn Frith was borne, Otford, Ainsford, and Darent (where to it leaueth the name) and comming to this Towne, carrieth Craye with it into the Thamise.

Grauesende, in Saxon,  
Gerefesens: in Latine,  
Limes Prætorius.

The name of Portreue whereof it commeth.

The originall cause of the name of this place, lyeth hidde in the vsuall name of the officer, lately created in the Towne: He is commonly called Portreue, but the worde (aunciently and truly sounded) is Portgereue, that is to say, the Ruler of the Towne. For Porte (descending of the Latine woorde Portus) signifieth a Porte Towne, and Gereue (being deriued of the Saxon verbe gereccan to rule) was first called gereca, and then gerefa, and betokeneth a Ruler: So that, Portreue, is the Ruler of the Towne, and Greues=

end, is as much to saye, as the Limit, Bounde, or Precinct of such a Rule or Office.

Of the very same reason, they of the lowe and high Germanie (whence our language first discended) call

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The name of Sherife.

one ruler, Burgreue, another Margreue, and the thirde Landsgreue: And of the same cause also, our Magistrat nowe called a Sherif, or (to speake more truely, Shyre=reue) was at the first called (Shyre gereue) that is to say, Custos Comitatus, the Reue, or Ruler of the Shyre. The head officer of Maydston, long since had this name: yea the chiefe gouernour of the citie of London likewise, before the time, eyther of Maior, or Baylife there, was knowne by the name of Portreue, as in the Saxon Chartre of King William the Conqueroure (sundry examples wherof be yet extant) may appeare. It began thus, *william cyng greit william bisceop, + goSfreges portgerefan, + ealle þa burhwaren þe on lun=Sen beon*; 'William the King, greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreue, and all the Citizens that in London be. &c.'

London had a Portreue.

The office of a Reue.

To make short, in auncient time, almost euery Manor had his Reue, whose authoritie was, not onely to leuie the Lords rents, to set to worke his seruants, and to husbandle his Demeasnes to his best profit and commodity: but also to gouerne his tenants in peace, and to leade them forth to warre, when necessitie so required. And although this name, and so much of the authoritie as remained, was (after the comming in of the Normanes) transferred to another, whiche they called Baylife: yet in sundry places of the Realme (especially in Copiholde Manors, where old custome preuaileth) the worde, Reue, is yet well inoughe knowne and vnderstanded: Neyther ought it to seeme any what the more straunge, bycause I call nowe Reue, that whiche in olde time was Gereue, for as muche as this particule (Ge) was in processe of time, in some places chaunged in sounde to (y) and in some other partes cleane lost and forgotten: As for example, wheras the Saxons vsed to

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say, he was Geboren, they of the West cuntrye pronounce it, he was yborne, and we of the countries nearer London, he was borne.

1379.

Thus farre the Etymon of the name (Greues end) hath carried me out of the Hystorie, whereto I did the rather yealde, bycause I had not muche to write concerning the place it selfe. Howbeit I reade, that in the beginning of the reigne of King Richarde the seconde, whilst the Lorde Neuell was by the Kings appointment, entred into Fraunce, with a great company of English souldiours, the Frenchmen entred the Thamise with their Gallies, and brent diuers townes, and at the last, (comming to Grauesend) spoyled and set it on fire also: The feare of the like harme to followe, caused the noble King Henrie the eight, to builde a platforme at the same towne, and three or foure others, in places adjoining, euen at suche time as he fortified along al the coastes of the Realme, vpon suche cause as we haue already opened.

Cliffe at Hoo, written  
commonly in auncient Bookes,  
Cloueshoo, for Clifeshoo,  
which is as much to say,  
as Clifs hoo, or Cliffe  
at Hoo.

Theodore the seuenth Archebis=  
shop of Canterburie, and the  
first (in the opinion of William  
Malmsb) that exercised the au=  
toritie of an Archbishop, which  
appeared (as others say) in that  
he tooke vpon him to depose Wil=  
frid of Yorke, called together a  
Synode of bishops at Hereford:

in which it was agreed amongst them, that for the more  
speedie reformation of abuses that might creepe into the  
Churche, they should all assemble once euey yeare at  
Cloueshoo vpon the Kalends (or first day) of August:

By vertue of which decree, Cuthbert, the eleuenth Arch=  
bishop, somoned the bishops of his Prouince to the same  
place, and there (amongst other things worthy note) it  
was enacted, that priests themselues should first lerne,  
and then teach their parishoners, the Lords prayer, and  
the Articles of their beleefe in the English tongue: To  
which decree, if you list to adde the testimonie of King Al=  
fred, who in his preface vpon the Pastoral of Gregorie,  
that he translated, saith, that when he came first to his king=  
dome, he knew not one prieste on the South side of the  
riuer of Humber, that vnderstoode his seruice in Latine  
or could translate an Epistle into English. And if you  
wil adioyne that also, which Alfric writeth in his Proeme  
to the Grammar, that is to say, that a litle before the time  
of Dunstane the Archebishop, there was neuer an english  
priest that could ether endite, or vnderstand a latine epistle,

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Then I doubt not but you shall euidently see, howe ea=  
sie it was for the Diuell and the Pope to creepe into the  
Churche of Englande, when (whole ages together) the  
Clergie was so well fed, and so euill taught. But to our  
matter againe. By vertue of the same decree and ordi=  
nance also, two other Councelles were holden at Cliffe  
at Hoo: one vnder Kenulph, the King of Mercia, or mi=  
dle England, and the other in the reigne of Beornwulfe  
his successour. This place would I haue coniectured to  
haue lien in the hart of England, both bycause it seemeth  
likely that the common place of meeting should be most  
fitly appointed in the midst of the Realme, and for that  
it is manifest by the hystorie, that it was in the †domini=  
of the King of Mercia, whiche I feare not to call midle  
England. But, for as much as I once read a note, made  
by one Talbot (a Prebendarie of Norwiche, and a dili=  
gent trauayler in the Englishe hystorie) vpon the mar=  
gine of an auncient written copie of William Malms=  
buries booke 'De Pontificibus,' in whiche he expounded  
Clouesho, to be Cliffe at Hoo neare Rochester: and for  
that I doe not finde the expresse name (Cloueshoo) in  
all the catalogue of that precinct whiche was sometime  
the kingdome of Mercia (although there be diuers pla=  
ces therin that beare the name of Cliffe, as wel as this)

A learned  
age in which  
priestes had  
more latine  
then english,  
and yet al=  
most no la=  
tine at all.

870.

803.

824.

†<dominion>

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 bounde to followe him.

The order of this description.

And thus haue I now visited the places of chief note that lye in the skirtes of the Diocese, whervnto if I had added a fewe other that be within the body of the same, I would no lesse gladly, then I must necessarily, finishe and close vp this winters trauayle.

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Swanscombe, called in Saxon, *Swegenscomb*, that is, the camp of Sweyn, the Dane, that encamped at Grenehithe hard by.

As the whole Shyre of Kent oweth to Swanscomb euerlasting name, for the fruition of her auncient franchises obtained there: So I for the more honourable memorie of the place, can gladly afoord it roome, both at the beginning, and towarde the ende of my labour.

The matter for the whiche it is especially renowned, is already bewrayed in the discourse of the auncient estate of this Shyre, wherevnto I will referre you: And at this time, make note of a thing, or twaine besides, and so passe ouer to the residue.

The Manor.

The Manor of Swanscombe, is holden of Rochester Castle, and oweth seruice towarde the defence of the same, being (as it were) one of the principall Captaines to whome that charge was of auncient time committed, and hauing subiect vnto it, sundry Knightes fees, as petie Captaines, or inferiour souldiours, bound to serue vnder her banner there.

The church of S. Hildeferthe.

The Churche at Swanscombe, was muche haunted in times past, for Sainct Hildeferthes helpe (a Bishop, by coniecture of his picture yet standing in the vpper windowe of the Southe Ile, although his name is not read in all the Catalogue of the Saxons) to whom suche as were distracted, ranne for restitution of their wits, as thicke as men were wont to sayle to Anticyra, for Helleborus.

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This cure was perfourmed, by warmth, close keeping, and good diet: meanes not onely not straunge, or miraculous, but meere naturall, ordinarie, and reasonable. And therefore, as <sup>t</sup>one the one side, they might truely be thought mad men, and altered in their wits, that frequented this pylgrymage, for any opinion of extraordinarie woorking: So on the other side, S. Hildeferth (of all the Saintes that I knowe) might best be spared, seeing we haue the keper of Bethleem, who ceaseth not (euen tyll this day) to woork mightely in the same kinde of Myracle.

Mepham, aunciently written *Meapeham*.

Simon Mepham (the Archebishop that performed the solemnities at the inauguration of King Edward the third) had both his name and natiuity of this towne,

although Polydore Virgil, hath no mention of the man at all, in his historie, or catalogue of Archebishops, either not finding, or forgetting, that euer there was any suche. It is probable also, that the same Bishop built the church at Mepham, for the vse of the poore, which William Courtney (one of his Successours) repaired fowre score yeares after, and annexed therunto fowre new houses for the same ende and purpose.

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The auncient forme of a Testament.

Besides these notes, it hath chaunced mee to see an antiquitie of Mepham, whiche both for the profite and pleasure that I conceiued therof, I think meete to insert, though happily some other man may say, that I doe therein, and in many others also, nothinge els but 'Antiquiora Diphtera loqui:' Neuerthelesse, to the ende that it may appeare, what the auncient forme and phrase of a Testament was, how the Husbände and the wife ioyned in making their Testamentes, how landes were deuisable by testament in olde time, by what wordes estates of inheritaunce were wont to be created, how the Lordes consent was thought requisite to the testament of the tenaunt, and how it was procured by a guift of Heriot (which as Bracton sayeth, was done at the first, 'Magis de gratia, quam de iure') Furthermore, that you may see how this Towne of Mepham, and sundry others came at the first to Christes church, Saint Augustines, and Rochester: and finally, that you may know, as well what aduancement to Gentry was then in vse, as also what weapons, iewels, and ornaments were at that time worne and occupied, I wyll set before your eye, the last will and testament of one Byrhtic and his wife, which was a man of great wealth and possessions within this Shire, and had his abideing at Mepham more then sixe hundreth yeares agoe.

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This is Birtricks . . . . .

<DRc/R1, fo 144r>

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swordes trimmed, . . . . .

†

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two dayes . . . . .

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and he shall giue . . . . .

361 <sig 2Z>

And Brumley . . . . .

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betweene God and them . . . . .

†

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It shall suffice, for the moste parte of the matters (worthy obseruation) in this Testament, that I haue already poynted at them with the finger (as it were) for that they appeare, and shew themselues manifestly at the firste sight: Onely therefore, touching the estate and degree of this Testator, I wyll (for the more light,

The auncient estate of a Gentleman, and by what

meanes  
gentrie was  
obteyned  
in the olde  
time.

and discouery thereof) borrow a few wordes of you. He himself here calleth Aelfric, his Lord, and natural 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 auncient Hystorians tell vs, that in the dayes of King Edgar, of King Edward the Martyr, and of King Ethelred, these men were by birth, cousines of the bloud royall: by state (*Eorles*) which word we yet reteine in English, and which we commonly cal (*Comites*) in Latine, for that at the first they were parteners and companions (as I may say) with the King, in taking the profits of the Shyre, or Countie: that they were also by dignitie (*EalSormen*) that is, Senators, and Gouernours of all Mercia, or midle England: And finally that they were of such great power and credit, that Aelfer the Father, immediatly after the death of King Edgar, restored al such priests thorowout midle England, to their houses, as the King (by aduice of Dunstane the Monke) had in his lyfe 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 *HlaforS*, or Lorde, to our Testator, and that *HlaforS* and *Ƣegn*, that is to say, Lorde and Seruiteur, be woordes of relation, I gather that he was *Ƣegn*, which signifieth properly a Minister, or free Seruiteur, to the Kinge, or some great personage: but vsually at those times taken for the verie same, that we call now of the Latine woord (*Gentilis*) a Gentleman, that is (<Eugenēs>) a man wel borne, or of a good stock and familie.

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Neither doth it detract any thing from his Gentry at al, that I said he was a Minister, or Seruiteur: For I meane not thereby, that he was (*Seruus*) whiche woord (straightly construed) doth signifie a seruaunt, or slaue, whome they in those daies called *ðeowe*: but my minde is, that hee was a seruitour of free condition, either aduanced by his owne vertue and merite, or els descended of suche Auncestours, as were neuer degraded: And that name, the Prince of Wales, or eldest Sonne of our King of this Realme, doth not, in the life of his Father, disdaine to beare: For, out of the very same olde woord (*Ƣenian*) to serue, is framed his Poesie, or word vpon his armes (ic *Dien*) I serue. And thus I suppose that it is manifest, that Byrthryc our Testator was by condition a Noble man, or (whiche in common acceptance abroad is all one with it) a Gentleman. Howbeit, to the ende, that bothe this thing may haue the more authoritie and credit, and that it may withall appeare, what degrees of Nobilitie and Gentry there were in this Realme before the comming in of the Normanes, and by what merites men might ascend, and be promoted to the same, I will reache a litle higher, and shewe you another Englishe (or Saxon) antiquitie, whiche I haue seene placed, in diuers olde copies of the Saxon lawes, after the end of all, as a note or aduertisement.

It was sometime . . . . .

<DRc/R1, fo 93r>

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churle, Thein, . . . . .

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that he became . . . . .

The degrees of Freemen Earl, Thein and Churle

By this you see, first, that in those dayes there were but three †estales of free men (for bondseruants, whiche we now sence call by a strained worde (Villaines) ar not here talked of, that is to say, an Earle, or Noble man, the highest: a Theyn, or Gentleman, the midlemost: And a Churle, or Yeoman, the lowest: for as touchinge that whiche is heere spoken of the seruant of the Theyn, or Gentleman, I deeme it rather ment for a prerogatiue

†r. 'estates'

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Alderman, Shireman & were names of offices.

belonging to the maister, then mencioned as a seuerall degree in the man. Neither doth it make against me in this diuision, that you shall many times reade, of Eal= Sorman, Scyrman, Heretoga, SeðcunSman, twelfhynSman, twyhinSeman: for these be not names of diffe= rence in degrees, but doo either denote the offices and dignities, or els the estimation and values of those to whom they be attributed: as Alderman and Shyre= man, doo signifie that Earle or Noble man, to whom the gouernment and charge of a Shyre, or other Precinct, was committed: Hertoga, that Earle or great man, that was (Imperator Belli) the Lieutenant of the field: SyðcunSman, that Gentleman, that had the manred (as some yet call it) or the office to leade the men of a Towne, or Parish: And as for twelfhinSman, it was geuen to the Theyn, or Gentleman, because his lyfe was valued at Twelue hundreth shillinges (as in those dayes the liues of all sortes of men were rated at cer= ten summes of mony) And twyhinSman, to the Churle or Yeoman, because the price of his head was taxed at two hundreth shillings: whiche thinge (if it were not expresly set forth in sundrie old lawes yet extant) might well enough be found in the Etymologie of the wordes themselues, the one called a Twelfhynd, as it were, a Twelfe hundred man, and the other a Twyhind, for a man of Two hundreth.

Furthermore, you may heere behold, with what dis= cretion and equitie, our elders proceeded in bestowing these promotions: for where as all Nobilitie and Gen= trie, commeth either by Discent, or by Purchase, wher= of the first, if it be not accompanied with vertue, is but an emptie signe, and none other thing, then (as one well sayed) 'Nobilitatem in Astragulis gestare.'

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Wisdom is more profi= table, when it is ioyned with riches.

But the latter (being both the maker and maintener of the first) as it ought by all reason to be rewarded with due enseignes of honour, to the ende that vertue may be the more desirously embraced: So haue they heere appointed three seuerall pathe waies to leade men streight vnto it, that is to say, Seruice, Riches, and Lear= ning, or (to speake more shortly) Vertue and Riches: in which two (as Aristotle confesseth) al the olde Nobilitie consisted, and which two as the Ecclesiast, or Preacher tea= cheth) make a good accomplement, for (saith he) 'Vtilior est sapientia, cum diuitiis coniuncta.' And in this parte, you may lastly perceiue also, that out of all those trades of life, which be †(<chrēmatistika>) that is to say, conuersant in gaine, they admitted to the estate of Gentry such only, as increased by honest Husbandrie, and plentiful Mer= chandize: Of the first of which Cicero affirmeth, that



Merchan=  
dize, and  
Husbandrie

there is nothing meeter for a Freeborne man: And of the other, that it is praise worthy also, if at the lengthe being satisfied with gaine, as it hath often come from the Sea to the Hauen, So it chaunge from the Hauen into landes and possessions. And therefore (in my fantasia) where as Geruas. Tilber. (in his obseruations of the Eschequer) accompteth it an abasing for a Gentleman to occupie 'Publicum mercimonium,' common buying and selling, it ought to be referred to the other two parts of Merchandize, that is, to Negotiation, which is retayling, or keping of a standing shop: and to Inuention (which is to exercise Mercerye, or (as some cal it) to play the Chapman: and not to Nauigation, which (as you see) is the onely laudable part of all buying and sellinge. And againe, whereas in our law it is reputed a Disparagement for a warde in Chiuallrie (which in old time was as much to say as a Gentleman) to be maried to the daughter of

~ cheth) make a good accouplement: for (saith he) 'Vtilior  
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one that dwelt in a Borowe, I thinke that it also ought to be restrained to suche onely as professed handicrafts, or those baser Artes of buying and selling, to get their liuing by. But of all this matter, my Maisters the Heraldes can better infourme you, to whome (least I be blamed for thrusting my Sicle into an other mans Haruest) I wil without any more, referre you. Tunbridge, Wrotham, this towne, and Northfleete, doe lye Northe and Southe one from another: and it is a commune and receaued opinion amongst the Countrie people, that you may be conueyed from the Thamise side, to the edge of Sussex in these foure Parishes: So that the whole Shyre by that reckoning, should be but foure Parishes broade, and yet. 19. or 20. myles ouer, on this part. If any man doubt of the trueth, let himsele make the triall, for I dare not warant it.

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Wrotham, in Latine †Vagiacæ:  
It is in the Domesday booke corruptly written  
(Broteham) for I suppose, that †wyrham,  
is the very right name, giuen for  
the great plentie of woorts  
or good hearbs that  
growe there.

†r. 'vagniacæ'

†r. 'wyrtham'

There was in Wrotham, of auncient time, a Manor house, pertaining to the See of the Archebishops. For Geruasius witnesseth, that one Richard (the Archebishop that succeeded Thomas Becket) lay there: And that after suche time as he had, by great largition and bribery, preuailed at Rome bothe against King Henrie (the Sonne of the second of that name) in his owne consecration: against Roger the Bishop of Yorke in the quarel of preeminencie, and against other in other vain suits, (so that it might neuer be more truly said of that Citie in Paganisme it self 'Romæ omnia ire venum,' then in that time of Papistrie) he had a moste terrible dreame or vision †in his sleep at Wrotham, the manner wher=

of, (as he reporteth) was this. It seemed to him, that a verie graue and reuerend personage, came to his bed side by night, and demaunded of him in a loude voyce, who art thou? with whiche noyse, when the Archebishop awaked, and for feare answered nothing, it added moreouer, '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 woord vanished out of sight. The Archebishop arose in the morning, and hauing intended a iourney to Rochester, addressed him

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selfe thitherward: but this vision continually presented it selfe before the eye of his minde, and so troubled him, that for ease of his inward grieffe, he began to disclose the whole order of it to suche as were in his companie: wherof he had no sooner made an end, but he was forthwith stricken with suche a horroure, and chille colde, that he was driuen of necessitie to alight at Halling in his way, where in great torment he ended his lyfe, the next daye following. This house continued here vntill the time of Simon Islip, the Archebishop: who hauing a desire to finishe the Palaice at Maidston, whiche Iohn Vfford his predecessour had begon, and wanting wherewith to accomlishe it, not onely pulled downe the building at Wrotham, and conueied the stuffe thither, but also obtained of the Pope, licence to leuie a Tenth throughout his whole Prouince, to performe his work withall.

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Kemsing.

i. The worship of many Gods.

Saint Edith, and her offering.

In the late time of the Popish <polytheia>, the Image of Edithe (the Daughter of King Edgar, and sometime Prioress of Wylton in the West Countrie) was religiously frequented in the Churchyarde at Kemsing, for the preseruacion of Corne and Graine, from Blasting, Myldewe, Brandeare, and suche other harmes as commonly annoy it: The manner of the whiche sacrifice was this: Some seely bodie broughte a pecke, or two, or a Bushel of Corne, to the Church: and (after prayers made) offered it to the Image of the Saint: Of this offering, the Priest vsed to reteine the greatest portion, and then to take one handfull, or litle more of the residue (for you must consider he would be sure to gaine by the bargaine) the whiche after aspersion of holy water, and mumbling of a few wordes of coniuration, he first dedicated to the Image of Saint Edithe, and then deliuered it backe, to the partie that brought it, who then departed with full persuasion, that if he mingled that hallowed handfull with his seede Corne, it would preserue from harme, and prosper in growthe, the whole heape that he should sowe, were it neuer so great a masse.

I remember, that I haue read in Terentius Varro, that the olde Romans (amongst innumerable others) had in great veneration, one God, which (of Robigo, a canker in Corne) they called Robigus, and to whom they made

deuoute intercession and solemne sacrifice, for the pre=seruation and deliuerie of their graine, from the selfe same annoyances, that ours is subiect vnto. Howe muche that God of the Romanes, and our Godesse of Kemsing, differed in profession, let some Popish gadder

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The olde & newe Romanes, agree in many points of religion.

after straunge Gods make the accompt, for I my selfe can finde no oddes at all. And truely, were it not that I am lothe to anticipate nowe before time, that which I shall (God graunting) haue bothe fit place, and meete time to vtter hereafter, I could easily shew, that the olde Romans, and our newe Romanistes, agreed in manner throughout, bothe in the propertie and number of their Gods (if at the least they be numerable) in the manner and multitude of their sacrifices, in the times and formes of their solemnities, in the reporte of their false and fayned myracles: and finally, almost in the whole heape and dunghill of their filthie and superstitious Idolatries, But I will awayt conuenient seasons, and at this tyme giue to euerie man the same, and none other counsell, then Plautus, (a heathen Poet in deede, and yet in this behalfe more heauenly then any Papiste) sometime gaue in the like case, saying: 'Vnus dum tibi propitius est Iupiter, tu hosce minutos Deos flocci feceris.' 'While Iupiter is thy friend, set not thou a straw by these petie Gods.'

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Otforde, in Saxon, *OttanforS*.

We haue mention in ancient hystorie of two famous battels foughten at Otford, whereof the one happened amongst the Saxons them selues, contending for glory and supreame souereigntie. The other, between the Danes and Saxons, striuing for lands liues, and libertie. In the first, Offa the King of Mercia (hauing already ioyned to his dominion, the moste part of Westsex, and Northumberland, and seeking to haue added Kent also) preuailed againste the inhabitants of this countrey, not without great slaughter of his owne subiects, and after the victorie, he transferred (as it were in triumphe) the Archebishops Chaire into his owne kingdome, as you heard in the beginning. In the other fight, King Edmund (surnamed for his great strength, Ironside) obtained against King Canutus the Dane, a most honourable victorie, and pursue<d> him (flying toward Shepey) vntil he came to Ailesford, committing vpon the Danes suche slaughter, and blou<=>die hauocke, that if Edric the traytour, had not by fra<u=>duleut counsel withholden him, as we haue before de<=>clared) he had that day made an ende of their whole armie.

773.

1016.

These be the written antiquities that I finde of Otford, whiche happely some men will esteeme lesse, then the vnwritten vanities of Thomas Becket, sometime owner of the place: And therefore, least any should complaine of wrong, you shall heare what they be also. It was long since fancied, and is yet of †two many be=

S. Thomas Becket's spiteful miracles.

leeued, that while Thomas Becket lay at the olde house

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at Otford, (whiche of long time belonged to the Arche= bishops, and whereof the hall and chapell onely do now remaine) and sawe that it wanted a fit spring to wa= ter it: that he strake his staffe into the drye grounde, (in a place thereof nowe called Sainct Thomas Well) and that immediatly water appeared, the whiche running plentifully, serueth the offices of the newe house till this present day: They say also, that as he walked on a time in the olde Parke (busie at his prayers) That he was muche hindered in deuotion, by the sweete note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bushe besides him, and that therefore (in the might of his holynesse) he inioyned, that from thencefoorth no byrde of that kynde shoulde be so bolde as to sing there aboutes: Some men report likewise, that for as muche as a Smithe (then dwelling in the towne) had cloyed his horse, He enacted by like autho= ritie, that after that time no Smithe shoulde thriue within the Parische. Innumerable suche toyes, false Priestes haue deuised, and fonde people (alas) haue be= leeued, of this iolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which for the vnworthynesse of the things them selues, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightned) I neyther will, nor can, nowe presently recount, but muste pursue the residue, that pertayneth to this place.

S. Bartil=  
mew of Ot=  
ford, 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 daye was kept so= lemne, bothe with a fayre, and good fare there. This man serued the person as Purueyour of his poultrie, and was frequented (by the parishioners, and neighbors about) for a most rare and singular propertie that he professed. For the ma= ner was, that if any woman (conceiued with child) desired †to

†<to bring>

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foorth a male, she should offer to Saint Bartholmewe a Cocke chicken, and if her wishe were to be deliuered of a female, she should then present him with a Hen.

This Saint, was as good as Mancipera, whereof the common Adage grewe: and he differed not muche from the Priestes of olde Rome, called Luperci: For a litle of the water of the one, and the dooing of a cer= taine Ceremonie by the other, was (at pleasure) as able as Saint Bartholmew, to make barreine women be= come fruitfull.

<Erasmus>

Assuredly, through the fraude of this foxe, the Coun= trie people (as wise as capons) were many yeares together robbed of their Hennes and Cockes: til at the length it chaunced King Henrie the eight (after exchange made with the Archebishop for this Manor of Otford) to haue conference with some of the Towne, about the enlarging of his Parke there: Amongst the whiche, one called Maister Robert Multon (a man, whome for the honest memorie of his godly zeale and vertuous life, I sticke not to name) detesting the abuse, and espying the Prince inclined to heare: vnfolded vnto him the whole packe of the idolatrie, and preuailed so farre in fauour, that shortly after, the King commaunded Saint Bartholmewe to be taken downe and deliuered him.

Thus haue you heard, the contention of the Saxons, the ouerthrowe of the Danes, the fraude of Popishe Priestes, the follie of simple folkes, and the fal of deceit= full idolatrie. Nowe a fewe woordes for example of the prodigalitie of a proud Prelate, and then to the residue.

The Palaice at Otford.

William Warham the Archebishop, minding to leaue to posteritie, som glorious monument of his world= ly wealthe, and misbegotten treasure, determined to haue raised a gorgious Palaice for himselfe and his suc= cessours in the Citie of Canterbury, but (vpon occasion

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of a difference that arose betwene him and the citizens for the limits of his soyle there) he chaunged his former purpose, and in displeasure towards them, bestowed at Otford, thirtie and three thousand pounds, vpon the house that is now to be seene, notwithstanding that him self, and Cardinall Morton his immediate predecessour, had not long before liberally builded at Knolle, a house litle more than two myles from it. For, that house also (so called of the situation, whiche is vpon the knap or Knoll of a hill,) had Cardinall Morton in his time purchased of the Lorde Saye, and appropriated to the See of the Archebishopricke. But nowe before I can depart from Otford, I am to begge licence, for a word or two more, as well for the satisfaction of myne owne promise heretofore made, as also for the direction of my Reader, which otherwise by the countenance of a cer= teine famous and learned writer, might be quight and cleane carried from me. Des. Erasmus taking occasion, in the Preface to Frauncis the Frenche King (prefixed before his Paraphrase vpon S. Markes Gospell) to dis= course vpon the great troubles and warres that were in his time betwene the Princes of Christendome, declareth, that it were a laudable labour for some man of the Cler= gie (euen with the hazard of his life) to become the instru= ment of their reconciliation: And amongst other exam= ples of times passed, he bringeth in Thomas Becket, who (as he speaketh) spared not to exercise the Euange= licall libertie (meaning excommunication, belike) vpon the King him selfe, and that for a very small matter: wherein, although he profited litle in his life (saith he) yet by his death he purchased both gaine and glorie, to him self, and the whole Clergie. Which sayd, he addeth in effect as followeth: They contended (saith he) not for reconciling Princes one to another, but the controuer=

Cardinall Morton.

Erasmus doth misre= porte the cause of the contention, between the King, and Thomas Becket.

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sie was only for a certaine withdrawing house, called Otforde, a place more meete for a religious mans me= ditation, then for a Princes pleasure, with the whiche (sayth Erasmus) I my selfe coulde not haue bene great= ly in loue, till such time as †Willam Warham the Arch= bishop, bestowed so great cost vpon it, that he might be thought rather to haue raised a new house in the place, then to haue repayred the olde: for he left nothing of the firste worke, but onely the walles of a hall, and a cha= pell: Thus farre out of Erasmus. Wherein first (by the waye) you may espie the reason that moued King Henrie the eight, to take that house by exchaunge from the Archebishop, namely, bicause Warham (not conten= ted to continue it a plaine house, fit to withdrawe him selfe vnto for contemplation and prayer) had so magni=

ficently enlarged the same, that it was nowe become meete, to make a Palaice for a Kings habitation and pleasure. But let vs come to our matter. You see here that Erasmus maketh this house, the matter, and motiue of all the contention, that was betweene the King and the Archebishop: whiche if it be so, then haue not I faythfully dealt, in laying the cause thereof to be suche, as appeareth in Canterbury before, and consequently, I haue too too much abused the Reader. But for a short aunswere hereto, I do eftsoones auowe, that not onely William of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, and Mat. Parise, (whome chiefly I haue followed in this storie, and which al, were, eyther men liuing when the matter was in hande, or borne immediatly after) do plainely testifie with me, that the ordinaunces made at Clarendune, were the very subiect and motiue of all that strife: but also the whole number of our hystoriens following, yea and the very authours of the Quadriloge it selfe (or song of foure parts, for they yealde a concert, though it

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be without Harmonie) do all, with one pen and mouth, acknowledge the same. Amongst the reste, Polydore sheweth him selfe exceeding angry, with some that had blowne abroad some such like sound, of the cause of this great hurley burley: for he sayth plainely, that they were 'Amentiaē pleni, qui deblaterabant, Thomam conseruandarum possessionum causa, tantum iniuriarum accepisse.' starke madde, which babbled that Thomas did receiue so many iniuries, for sauing of his possessions. But for all this, to the ende that it may fully appeare, bothe that Erasmus hath said somewhat, and also from whence (as I suppose) this thing was mistaken, I praye you heare the Quadriloge or storie of his life it self: for that onely shall suffice to close vp the matter. It appeareth by the authors of that worke, that after suche time as the King and the Bishop had long contended (and that with great heate) about the Statutes of Clarendune, and that the Bishop, vpon great offence taken, had made three seuerall attempts to crosse the Seas towarde the Pope, and was alwayes by contrarie winde repulsed, and driuen to the lande againe: The King in his iust indignation, sought by all possible meanes to bridle his immoderate peuishnesse: and therefore, first resumed into his owne handes, al such honors and castles of his own as he had committed to the Bishops custodie: Then called he an assembly of al his Nobilitie and bishops to Northampton castle, where before them all, he first charged Thomas with. 500. l. that he had long before lent him: for the repaiment wherof, he ther compelled him to giue fiue seueral sureties: This done, he called him to an account for. 30000. Markes, receiued of the reuenues of the crown, during the time that he was Chancelour. Now, whiles the Archbishop was much troubled with this matter (sometime denying to yeald any account at al, som=

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time crauing respite to make a resolute aunswere, but alwayes delaying the time, and meditating howe to shifte the place) there commeth (on a time) into his lodging, the Bishops of London and Chichester: who, finding him at supper, sayde vnto him (worde for worde of the Quadriloge) as followeth, that is, 'That they had

founde out a way for peace: and when the Archebi=shop had required, vnder what forme, they answered: There is a question for money betweene you, and the King: If therefore you will assigne vnto the King, your two Manors, Otford and Wingham in the name of a pledge, we beleue that he being therewith pacified, will not only resigne you the Manors againe, and for=giue you the money, but also a great deale the sooner receiue you to his fauour.' To this, the Archebishop re=plied, 'The manor of Heche was sometime belonging to the Church of Canterburie (as I haue hard) which the King now hath in demeane: And albeit that the only challenge of the thing is sufficient cause to haue it re=stored to the Church of Canterbury, yet I do not loke that it will be doone in these times: Neuerthelesse, rather then I wil renounce the right, which the church of †Cantetbury is sayd to haue in that Manor, either for the appeasing of any trouble whatsoever, or for recouerie of the Kings fauour, I will offer this head of mine (and touched it) to any hazarde or daunger, what soeuer it be:' The Bishops being angrie with this, went out from him, and tolde the King of all, and his indigna= tion was sore kindled with it. Thus muche out of the Quadriloge faithfully translated. Nowe, vpon the whole matter it appeareth: first, that the quarell was for the lawes of Clarendune (whiche yet depended) and then, that, euen as a fire, being once kindled, the flame seeketh all about, and imbraceth whatsoever it findeth

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in the way: So the King being offended with the rebel= lion of this Bishop, left no stone vntaken vp, that might be hurled at him, and therefore brought in against him, bothe debts, accompts, and whatsoever other meanes of annoyauce. Moreouer, that this matter of Otford and Wingham (for as you nowe see it was not Otford alone) was not at all tossed betweene the King and the Archebishop, but only moued by the pacifiers (these two Bishops) as a meete meane of reconciliation, in their owne opinion and iudgement: or, if it may be thought, that they were sent and suborned by the King himselfe with that deuse: yet is it manifest, that the right of the houses themselues were not desired, but onely that they might remaine as a paune till the account were audi= ted: Neither if the gifte of this house would haue made an end of the strife, doth it by and by followe, that the contention was moued at the first about it. And ther= fore as on the one side you may see, that Erasmus his reporte is but matter of Preface and no Gospell: So yet on the other side it is euident, that of such and so lus= tie a stomacke was this Archebishop, that if former cause had not beene, yet he could haue found in his hart to fall out with his Prince for this, or a smaller matter.

For, what would he not aduenture for a Manor or twaine in lawfull possession, that would not sticke to hazard his head before he would release that right, whi= che he thought he had to a piece of land, and that but on= ly by hearesay, or supposition? But it is more then time to make an end, and therefore leauing Thomas, and his house in the bottome, let vs climbe the Hill toward Sen= nocke.

Holmes Dale, that is to say, the Dale betweene the wooddie hilles.

Reigate Castle in Surrey.

There are as yet to be seene, at Reigate in Surrey, the ruines of an auncient Castle sometime belonging to the Earles of Surrey, whiche Alfrede of Beuerley calleth Holme, and whiche the Countrie people do yet terme, the Castle of Holmesdale. This tooke the name, of the Dale wherin it standeth, whiche is large in quantitie, extending it selfe a great length into Surrey, and Kent also, and was (as I coniecture) at the first called Holmesdale, by reason that it is (for the moste part) Conuallis, a plaine valley, running betweene two hilles, that be replenished with stoare of woode: for, so muche the very woord (Holmesdale) it selfe importeth. In this Dale (a part of whiche we nowe crosse, in our way, to Sennocke) the people of Kent (being encouraged by the prosperous successesse of Edward their King (the Sonne of Alfrede, and commonly surnamed Edward the Elder) assembled themselves, and gaue to the Danes, that had many yeares before afflicted them, a moste sharpe and fierce encountre, in the which, after long fight, they preuailed, and the Danes were ouerthrowne and vanquished.

904.

This victorie, and the like euent in an other battaile (giuen to the Danes at Otford, which standeth in this same valley also) begate, as I gesse, the common by word, vsed amongst the inhabitants of this vale, euen till this present day, in whiche they vaunt after this manner.

The vale of Holmesdale,  
Neuer wonne nor neuer shal.

Sennocke, or (as some call it) Seauen oke, of a number of trees, as it is coniectured.

The Schole. and Almes house.

Aboute the latter end of the reigne of King Edward the third, there was found (lying in the streetes at Sennocke) a poore childe, whose Parents were vnknowne, and he (for the same cause) named after the place where he was taken vp, William Sennocke. This Orphan, was by the helpe of some charitable persons, brought vp and nourished, in such wise, that being made an Apprentice to a Grocer in London, he arose by degrees (in course of time) to be Maior, and chiefe Magistrate of that Citie.

1418.

At whiche time, calling to his minde, the goodnes of Almighty God, and the fauour of the Townesmen, extended towards him, he determined to make an euerlasting monument of his thankfull minde for the same: And therefore, of his owne charge, builded bothe an Hospitall for reliefe of the poore, and a Free Schoole for the education of youthe, within this Towne: endowing the one and the other, with competent yearely liuing (as the dayes then suffered) towards their sustentation, and maintenance: But since his time, the Schoole was much amended by the liberalitie of one Iohn Potkyn, whiche liued vnder the reigne of King Henrie the eight: and now lately also, in the reigne of our souereigne

1418.

1542.



Ladie, through the honest trauaile of diuers the inhabi= tants there, not only the yearely stipend is much in= creased, and the former litigious possessions quietly es= tablished: but the corporation also chaunged into the name of two Wardeins, and foure assistants, of the free Schoole of Queene Elizabeth in Sennocke.

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The Town. The present estate of the Towne it selfe is good, and it seemeth to haue beene (for these many yeares toge= ther) in no worse plight: And yet finde I not in all hystorie, any memorable thing concerning it, saue onely, 1449. that in the time of King Henrie the sixt, lack Cade, and his mischeuous meiny, discomfited there Syr Hum= frey Stafford, and his Brother, two Noble Gen= tlemen, whome the King had sent to encounter them.

Eltham.

Anthonie Becke, that Bishop of Durham whiche in the reignes of King Henrie the third, and of King Edward his Sonne, builded Aucland Castle in the Bishop= ricke of Durham, Somerton Castle in Lincolneshyre, and Durham place at London, was (by the report of Iohn Leland) either the very Author, or the first beautifier, of this the Princes house here at Eltham also.

It is noted of that man, that he was in all his life and Port, so gay and glorious, that the Nobility of the Realme disdained him greatly therefore. But they did not con= sider (belike) that he was in possession Bishop of Dur= ham, which had 'lura Regalia,' the Prerogatiues of a pe= tie Kingdome, and that he was by election, Patriarche of Ierusalem, whiche is neere Cousin to a Popedome, in whiche respectes he might well inoughe be allowed to haue 'Domus splendidas luxu Regali,' his houses not only as gay as the Noble mens, but also as gorgeous as the

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Kinges. To say the trueth, this was not to builde vp the spirituall house with liuely stones, resting on the chiefe corner to Heauen, and to Godward, but with Mammon and Material stufte to erect warrelyke Cas= tles for the nourishment of contention: and stately Pa= laces, for the maintenaunce of worldly pride and plea= sure, towardes Hell and the Deuill. Howbeit, this was the whole studie of Bishops in the Popishe King= dome, and therefore letting that passe, let vs see what became of this piece of his building.

1270. King Henrie the third (saith Mat. Parise) toward the lat= ter end of his reigne, kept a Royall Christmas (as the manner then was) at Eltham, being accompanied with his Queene 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 not here= by gather, that hitherto the King had any property in it, for asmuch as the Princes in those days, vsed common= ly both to sojourne for their pleasures, and to passe their set solemnities also in Abbaies and Bishops houses. But yet I beleeeue verely, that soone after the death of that Bishop, the house came to the possession of the Crowne: for prooffe wherof, I pray you heare and marke

what followeth.

1315. The wyfe of King Edward the second, bare vnto him a Sonne at this house, who was therof surnamed Iohn of Eltham. What time King Iohn of Fraunce (whiche had been prisoner in England, came ouer to visite King Edward the third (who had moste honourably intreated him) the King and his Queene lay at Eltham to enter=
1363. taine him.

1414. King Henrie the fourth also, kept his last Christmas at Eltham. And King Henrie his Sonne and succes=

sour, lay there at a Christmas likewise, when he was

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faine to depart soudainly, for feare of some that had con=

spired to murder him.

1476. Furthermore, Iohn Rosse writeth plainely, that King Edward the fourthe, to his greate cost, repaired his house at Eltham: at whiche time also (as I suppose) he inclosed Horne parke, one of the three, that be here, and enlarged the other twaine. And it is not yet fully out of memorie, that king Henrie the seauenth, set vp the faire front ouer the mote there: since whose reigne, this house, by reason of the neerenesse to Greenewiche (whiche also was muche amended by him, and is through the benefite of the Riuer, a seate of more commoditie) hath not been so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the emparked grounds here, may be in manner as well enjoyed, the Courte lying at Greene=
- wiche, as if it were at this house it selfe. These be the thinges that I had to remember in Eltham: And (to make an end of all) these be the places, whereof I ment to make note in this my Xenagogie and perambulation of Kent, the first and only Shyre that I haue described: wherein although I haue not spoken of sundrie Towns, not inferiour, at this present, in estimation to a greate many that I haue handled, and happely equall with them in antiquitie also, yet I think I haue neither pre=
- mitted many that be much worthie of obseruation, nor scarcely omitted any, that be mentioned in such bookes of Hystorie, as be easily to be had and obtained: but as for the Feodaries and Tenures of land, Genealogies and Armes of men, Ebbes, Floudes, and Tides of the Sea and Riuers, Flattes, Barres, Hauens, and such other things, although somewhat might haue been seuerally said con=
- cerning eache of them, yet haue I wittingly, and with=
- out touche, lept ouer them all: Partly for the incerten=
- tie, partly that I scatter not any seede of dissention and

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enuie, and partely least whilste by disclosing secretes I labour to serue the curiositie of some fewe, I either of=

fend many of the sadder sort, or deserue euill of the whole estate. Nowe therefore I will deliuer you, and rest me: wishing, that some other man, of greater pro=

fite in reading, deapth in iudgement, and dexteritie in penning, would take in hand to amend the description of this, and to adde the residue.

For, as I at the first, assayd it to proue my self, to prouoke some, and to pleasure and profite others: So, hauing nowe atchieued it (according to my slender skill) if any man shall like to take this my base metall (drawne out of a few Sowze, into many Sheetes, as you see) and shall hammar it to some further and finer fashion, I wil not

only not enuie it, but most hartely thanke him, and gratefully to our Countrey, that so good a tourne and benefite. And, as touching the description of the rest of the Realme, knowing by the dealing in this one, that it wilbe harde for any one man (and muche more for my selfe) to accomplish all, I can but wishe in like sorte, that some one in eache Shyre, would make the enterprise for his owne Countrey, to the end that by ioyning our pennes and conferring our labours (as it were) 'Ex symbolo,' wee may at the last by the vnion of many parts and papers, compact a whole and perfect bodie and Booke of our English antiquities.

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#### The Customes of Kent.

Although good order would haue borne the rehersall of the Auncient Customes of this Shyre, in that generall discourse whiche we had in the beginning as touching the estate of this whole Countie, the rather for that it was there shewed by what meanes and policie they were conserued: yet, least the recitall of the same (being of themselues large and manyfolde) might haue beene thought too great a Parenthesis, or rather an interruption of the Hystorie, wherein we were as then but newly entred, I thought it better to reserue them for this place, to the end, that bothe the one and the other, might appeare, without breache, or confusion.

These Customes, therefore, being (for the most part) discrepant from the common lawes of our Realme, and annexed to suche landes within this Shyre, as beare the name of Gauelkinde, are commonly called Gauelkinde Customes, for that they preuaile and haue place, in lands of Gauelkinde nature. In whiche respect, it shall not be amisse to shewe, for what reason those landes were at the first so termed, and why they do yet hitherto continue the name.

Two coniectures I haue of the reason of this name, the one grounded vpon the nature of the descent, and inheritance of these landes themselues: the other founded vpon the manner of the duetie and seruices, that they yeald: bothe whiche I will not sticke to recite, and yet leaue to eache man free choice, to receaue either, or to refuse bothe, as it shall best lyke him.

I gather by Cornelius Tacitus, and others, that the auncient Germans, (whose ofspring we be) suffred their landes to descend, not to the Eldest Sonne alone, but to the whole number of their male Children: and I finde in the 75. Chap. of Canutus law (a King of this Realme before

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the Conquest) that after the death of the father, his heires shoulde diuide bothe his goods, and his landes amongst them. Nowe, for as muche as all the nexte of the kinred did this inherite together, I coniecture, that therefore the land was called, eyther Gauelkyn, in meaning Giueall kyn, bycause it was giuen to all the nexte in one line of kinred: or Giue all kynd, that is, to all the male children: for kynd, in Dutche, signifieth yet a male childe: Besides this, the Welshmen also (who but now

The name Gauelkinde, wherof it arose.

†<thus>

To shift land is an olde terme.

lately lost this custome) doe in their language call this discent, Gwele, and in their Latine Recordes, Lectus, progenies, & gauella, of their owne worde, Gefeilled, whiche signifieth Twyns, or suche as be borne together, bicause they doe all inherite together, and make (as it were) but one heire, and not many. And here (by the way) I cannot omit to shew, that they of this our Kentish cuntry, do yet cal their partition of land (shifting) euen by the very same worde that the lawe of Canutus many yeares since termed it, namely (*Scyftan*) in Latine, *Herciscere*, that is, to shift, depart, or diuide lande.

My other coniecture, is raysed vpon the consideration of the rent and seruices going out of these landes: for it is wel knowne, that as Knights seruice lande, required the presence of the tenant, in warfare and battaile abroad: So this lande (being of Socage tenure) commaunded his attendance at the ploughe, and other the Lordes affaires of husbandry, at home: the one by manhoode defending his Lords life and person, the other by industrie mainteining with rent, corne, and victuall, his estate and familie. This rent, and customarie payment of works, the Saxons called, *gafol*, and therof (as I think) they named the lande that yealded it, *gafollette*, or *gafolcyn*. that is to saye, lande Letten for rent, or of the kinde to yealde rent. In this sense I am sure, that the

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rents, customes, and seruices, whiche the tenants of London pay to their land lords, were wont (and yet are) to be recouered, by a writ, thereof called *Gauellet*, as by an auncient statute, made in the tenth yeare of King Edward the second, intituled, '*Statutum de Gauelito*,' in London, and by dayly experience there, it may well appeare. Thus much then, as concerning the Etymon of this word *Gauelkind*, being said, let vs proceed further.

The antiquitie of *Gauelkind* custome.

It hath already appeared, how the Kentishmen, immediately after the Conquest, obtained the continuation of their customes: and it is very manyfest by auncient writers, that the same (for the more part) haue bene in vre and exercise euer since. For (omitting that which Thomas Spot hath written concerning the same matter, for as much as it is already recited at large) *Glanuile*, a learned man, that flourished in the reigne of king Henrie the second, in his seuenth booke, and third chapter: *Bracton*, that liued in the time of King Henrie the third, in his seconde booke, '*De acquirendo rerum dominio*:' And *Bretton*, that wrate vnder King Edward the first, and by his commaundement: haue all expresse mention, of landes partible amongst the males by vsage of the place, and some of them recite the very name of *Gauelkind* it selfe. But most plainely of all, an auncient treatise, receiued by tradition from the hands of our elders (wherof I my self haue one exemplar, written out as I suppose, in the time of King Edward the firste) agreeing with the dayly practise of these customes, prooueth the continuance of them, to stande with good lawe and liking. And therefore, forbearing (as needlesse) further testimonie in that behalfe, I will descende to the disclosing of the customes them selues: not numbring them by order as they lye in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shall concerne, eyther the lande

The diuision of this discourse.

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it selfe, or the persons that I will orderly speake of, that is to say, particularly the Lorde and the Tenant: The husband and the wife: The child and the gardien, and so after addition of a fewe other things incident to this purpose, I will drawe to an end.

What lands  
be of Gauel  
kind nature

As touching the land it self, in which these customes haue place, it is to be vnderstanded, that all the landes within this Shyre, which be of ancient Socage tenure, be also of the nature of Gauelkind. For, as for the lands holden by auncient tenure of Knights seruice, they be at the common lawe, and are not departible after the order of this custome, except certeine, which being holden of olde time by Knightes seruice of the Archebishop of Canterbury, are neuerthelesse departible, as it may appeare by an opinion of the Iudges in the Kings benche. 26. H. 8. fol. 4. And that grewe by reason of a graunt, made by King Iohn, to Hubert the Archebishop, the tenor wherof (being exemplified out of an auncient roll, remayning in the handes of the Reuerende father, Mathewe, the Archebishop nowe liuing) hereafter followeth.

Some  
Knight fee  
is Gauel=  
kinde.

'Ioannes dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normaniæ, Aquitaniæ, & comes Andegauen. Archiepiscopus, Episcopus, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iusticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis ministris, & omnibus Balliuis, & fidelibus suis: Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, & præsentis 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 in Gauelkind, conuertere in feoda 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 conuersas tenebunt, & in hæredes eorum quam ipse Archiepiscopus habet, & successores sui post eum habeant, in alios milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & in hæredes.

†r. 'feoda'

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Et homines illi, & hæredes eorum, eandem & omnem libertatem habeant in perpetuum, quam alii milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & hæredes eorum habent. Ita tamen, quod nihilominus consuetus redditus denariorum, reddatur integre de terris suis, sicut prius, xenia, aueragia, & alia opera, quæ fiebant de terris iisdem, conuertantur in redditum denariorum æquiualentem. Et redditus ille 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 conuertendis 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 Gerald. Petro de Stoke. Ric. de Reuerus. Roberto de Tateshal. Datum per manum S. Archid. Willielmi apud Rupem auriual. 4. die Maii Anno regni nostri tertio.' But nowe for as muche as it is disputable, whether this Chartre of the King be of sufficient vertue to chaunge the nature of the Gauelkynd lande or no, and for that the certaintie of the landes so conuerted into Knight fee, dothe not any where (that I haue seene) appeare, (saue onely that in the booke of Aide, leuied in this Shire, Anno. 20. E. 3 it is foure or fiue times noted, that certeine landes there, be holden in Knights seruice, 'Per nouam licentiam Archiepiscopi') I will leaue this, and

†r. 'feoda'

proceede to proue, that all the landes of auncient tenure in Knights seruice, be subject to the ordinarie course of discent at the common lawe. And that may I (as me thinketh) sufficiently doe, both by the expresse wordes of a note. 9. H. 3 in the title of Præscription. 63. in Fitzherbert: by the resolution of the same Fitzherbert, and Norwiche, Iustices, 26. H. 8. 5. And by plaine recitall in

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the acte of Parleament, made. 31. H. 8. Ca. 3. by whiche statute, the possessions of certeine Gentlemen (there named) were deliuered from this customarie discent, and incorporated to the common lawe. For (amongst other things) in that acte it is sayde, 'That from thencefoorth, such their lands shal be changed from the said custome, and shall descend as lands at the common lawe, and as other lands being in the said countie of Kent, which neuer were holden by seruice of Socage, but always haue bene holden by Knightes seruice, doe descend.' By whiche wordes it is very euident, that the makers of that estatute, vnderstoode all landes holden by Knightes seruice, to be of their proper nature descendable after the common lawe, and that Socage tenure was the onely subject in whiche this our custome of Gauelkynd discent preuailed, and helde place.

Auncient Knight fee. is not of the nature of Gauelkynd.

But when I thus speake of Socage, and Knights fee, I must alwayes be vnderstanded to meane of a tenure long since, and of auncient 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 aunciently holden by Knights seruice, come to the Princes hande, who afterwarde giueth the same out againe to a common person, to be holden of his Manor of Eastgreuiche 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 sorte, if landes of auncient Socage seruice come to the crowne, and be deliuered out againe, to be holden eyther of the Prince in Capite, or by Knightes seruice of any Manor, I thinke it ought to descende according to the custome, notwithstanding that the tenure be altered. And if this be true, in the graunt of the King him selfe, then much lesse (sauing the reuerence due to king lohns

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The change of Gauelkind tenure is no change of the nature of Gauelkind.

Chartre) may the Archebishop by a newe creation of tenure, make to his tenants any alteration, of this olde custome and manner. For, as the pleading is, 'Quod terræ prædictæ sunt de tenura & natura de Gauelkind:' euen so the trueth is, that the present tenure onely guideth not the discent, but that the tenure and the nature together, do gouerne it. And therefore, as on the one side, the custome can not attache, or take holde of that which was not before in nature subject to the custome, that is to say, accustomably 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 Iustices (as Iudge Dalison him selfe 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 Gauelkind lande, holden in Socage, make a gift in tayle, and create a tenure in Knights seruice, that yet this land must descend after

A contrarie vsage, cha= geth not the nature of Gauen= kinde.

the custome, as it did before the chaunge of the tenure.

Moreouer, as the chaunge of the tenure can not pre= uaille against this custome: So neither the continuance of a contrary vsage, may alter this prescription. For it is holden. 16. E. 2. Præscription. 52. in Fitzherbert, that albeit the eldest sonne onely hath (and that for manye discentes together) entered into Gauenkynde lande, and occupied it without any contradiction of the youn= ger brothers, that yet the lande remayneth partible betweene them, when so euer they will put to theyr claime. Againste whiche assertion, that whiche is sayde. 10. H. 3. in the title of Præscription. 64. name= ly of the issue taken thus, 'Si terra illa fuit partita nec ne,' is not greatly forceable. For although it be so, that the lande were neuer departed in deede, yet if it re= mayne partible in nature, it may be departed when so

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euer occasion shall be ministred. And therefore, euen in the forme of pleading vsed at this day (Quod terra illa, a toto tempore &c. partibilis fuit, & partita) it is plainly ta= ken, that the worde (partibilis) onely is of substaunce, and that the worde (partita) is but a word of forme, and not materiall, or trauersable at all. Yea, so insepara= ble is this custome from the lande in whiche it obtey= neth, that a contrarie descent (continued in the case of the Crowne it selfe) can not hinder, but that (after such time as the lande shall resorte agayne to a common person) the former inueterate custome shall gouerne it. As for the purpose. Landes of Gauenkynde na= ture come to the Queenes handes, by purchase, or by eschete, as holden of her Manor of. A. Nowe after her death, all her sonnes shall inherite and diuide them: But if they come to her by forfayture in Treason, or by gifte in Parleament, so that her grace is seised of them in 'lure Coronæ:' then her eldest sonne onely (whiche shall be King after her) shall inioye them. In whiche case, although those landes whiche 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 Syr Anthonie Browne was. 7. Elizab. that if at any time after, the same landes be graunted to a common person, they shall reuolte to their former nature of Gauenkynde, and be partible amongst his heyres males, notwith= standing, that they haue runne a contrarie course, in diuers the discentes of the Kings before. But muche lesse maye the vnitie of possession in the Lorde, frustrate the custome of Gauenkynde descent, as it may appeare 14. H. 4. in the long Recordare. Only therefore these two cases I doubt of, concerning this point, and there= vpon iudge them meete to be inquired of.

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That is to say, first, if a tenencie in Gauenkynd eschete to the Lord, by reason of a Ceasser (as hereafter it shall appeare that it may) or if it be graunted vnto the Lord by the tenant, without any reseruatiō, which Lord hol= deth ouer by fee of Haubert, or by Serieancie (both which I take to be Knights seruice) whether now this tenancy be partible amongst the heires males of the Lord, or no. For the auncient treatise of the Kentishe Customes so determineth, but I wote not whether experience so al=

heahbe= org, in Sax on, is a high defence: and the customs of Norman= die †that cal liefe or fee, de Haubert

†r. 'call that'

whiche ow=  
eth to de=  
fend the land  
by full ar=  
mes, that is,  
by horse,  
haubert,  
target,  
sword, or  
helme: and  
it consisteth  
of. 300. a=  
cres of land  
which is the  
same (as I  
suppose)  
that we cal=  
led a whole  
Knights fee

\* The  
custome  
of Gavel=  
kind is vni=  
uersall in  
Kent.

loweth. The other dout is this, if it be so that any whole towne, or village in Kent, hath not at any time (that can be shewed) bene acquainted with the exercise of Gavelkynde discent, whether yet the custome of Gavelkinde shal haue place there or no. Towarde the resolution of which later ambiguitie, it shal tende somewhat to shew, how farre this custome extendeth it self within this our country.

\* It is commonly taken therefore, that the custome of Gavelkind is generall, and spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole Shyre, into all landes subiect by auncient tenure vnto the same, such places only excepted, where it is altered by acte of Parleament. And therefore. 5. E. 4. 18. and 14. H. 4. 8. it is sayd, that the custome of Gavelkind is (as it were) a common law in Kent. And the booke. 22. E. 4. 19. affirmeth, that in demaunding Gavelkinde lande, a man shall not neede to prescribe in certeine, and to shew, 'That the Towne, Borowe, or Citie, where the landes be, is an auncient towne, borowe, or citie, and that the custome hath bene there (time out of mynd) that the lands within the same towne, borow, or citie, shuld descend to al the heires males. &c.' But that is sufficient inoughe, to shewe the custome at large, and to say, 'That the land lyeth in Kent, and that all the landes there be of the nature of Gavelkynde.' For,

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a writte of partition of Landes in Gavelkinde (saiethe Maister Litleton) shalbe as generall, as if the landes were at the Common lawe, although the declaration ought specially to conteine mention of the Custome of the Countrie. This vniuersalitie therefore considered, as also the straitte bonde (whereby the custome is so inseperably knit to the land, as in manner nothing but an acte of Parleament can clearely disseuer them) I see not, how any Citie, Towne, or Borowe, can be exempted, for the only default of putting the Custome in vre, more then the Eldest Sonne (in the case before) may for the like reason prescribe against his yonger Brethren.

But here, before I conclude this part, I thinke good first to make Maister Litletons aunswere to suche as happely wil demaund, what reason this custome, of Gavelkinde discent hathe, thus to diuide land amongst al the Males, contrarie to the manner of the whole Realme besides. The younger sonnes (saieth he) be as good gentlemen, as the Elder, and they (being alike deare to theyr common auncestor, from whom they claim) haue so much the more neede of their friendes helpe, as (through their minoritie) they be lesse able then the elder Brother to help them selues: secondly to put you in remembrance also of the statute of Prærogatiua Regis, Ca. 16. Where it is said, that 'Fæminæ non participabunt cum Masculis,' The Females, shall not diuide with the Males: whiche is to be vnderstoode, of such as be in equall degree of kinred, as Brother and Sisters. &c. For, if a man haue issue three Sonnes, and the Eldest haue issue a daughter, and dye in the lyfe of his Father, and the Father dyeth: In this case (it is holden) that the daughter shall ioyne with the two other Brethren her Vncles, for that she is not in equall degree with them, as her Father was, whose heire she neuerthelesse must be of necessitie.

The reason  
of Gavel=  
kinde Cus=  
tome.



What things shall ensue the nature of the land.

And nowe, thus muche being spoken, touching the name, tenure, nature, generalitie, necessitie, reason, and order of Gavelkinde, it is woorthie the labour, to shew of what qualitie the Rents, Remainders, Conditions, Vouchers, Actions, and such other things (of the which some be issuing out of these landes, some be annexed vnto them, and some be raised by reason of them) shall be. In whiche behalfe, it may generally be said, that some of them shall ensue the nature of the Land, and some shall keepe the same course that common Lawe hath appointed. But in particular, it is to be vnderstoode, that if a Rent be graunted in Fee out of Gavelkinde land, it shall descend to all the Males, as the land it self shall do.

Rent.

And, Ald. and Chart. in 7. E. 3. were of opinion, that albeit a tenancie be of Gavelkinde nature, yet the rent seruice, by whiche that tenancie is holden, might well be descendable at the common Lawe. The like shall be of a Remainder of Gavelkinde land: for if it be tailed to the Heires Males, they altogether shall inherite it, as Fitzherb. and Norwiche two Iustices, thought. 26. H. 8. 8.

Remainder.

But that is to be vnderstoode of a discent only: for if landes of Gavelkind nature be leassed for life, the Remainder to the righte Heires of I. at Stile. Which hath issue foure Sonnes and dieth, and after the Lessee for life dieth nowe the Eldest Sonne onely of I. at Stile shall haue this land, for he is right Heire, and that is a good name of purchase. 37. H. 8. Done. 42. in Maister Brook: But if the lands had been giuen to I. at Stile for life, the remainder to his next Heire Male, this had been an estate taile in I. S. himselfe, and then the Land (as I take it) should haue descended to all his Sonnes, in so muche as in that case the wordes (next Heire Male) be not a name of purchase. Howbeit, it was greatly doubted 3. & 4. Phil. & Mariæ (as Iustice Dalison reporteth) if a remainder be deuised by Testament (Proximo

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hæredi masculino) whether in that case the Eldest Brother only shall haue it, in so muche as (in the vnderstanding of the Lawe, whiche is a Iudge ouer all Customes) he is the next Heire Male: and therefore inquire of it.

Voucher.

As touching Vouchers, it appeareth. 11. E. 3. that all the Heires in Gavelkind shall be vouched for the warrantie of their auncestour, and not the eldest only. But the opinion of Maister Littleton, and of the Iustices. 22. E. 4. is clearely: that the Eldest Sonne only shall be rebutted, or barred, by the warrantie of the auncestour.

Condition.

To be short, the Eldest Sonne only shall entree for the breach of a condition: but the rest of the Brethren shall

†r. 'enter'

Attaint, and Error.

be ioyned with him in suing a writte of Attaint, to reforme a false verdict, or errour to reuerse an erroneous iudgement: And they all shall be charged for the debte of their auncestour, if so be that they all haue Assetz in their handes: But if the eldest only haue Assetz remaining, and the residue haue aliened their partes, 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. Now a word or twain, touching the trial of right in this Gavelkind land, and then forward to the rest of my purpose. There be at the common law, two sorts of trial in a writ of Right, by Battaile, and by the Graund Assise: of the which two, this Custome excludeth the one, and altereth the other. For, Battail it admitteth not at al, and

No battail nor graund Assise in gavelkinde

the Ground assise it receaueth, not by the election of 4. Knights, but of 4. Tenants in Gauelkind, as it may be read in the auncient treatise of the Customes of this Countrie. But when I speake of the treatise of the Customes (you must know) I mean not that which was lately imprinted, but an other with much more faith and diligence long since exemplified: a Copie wherof you shal finde, at the end of this Booke.

<Tottell 1556>

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For, not only in this part, the wordes (Ne soient prises per battail) be cleane omitted in the imprinted Booke, but in sundrie other places also the wordes be mangled, the sentences be curtailed, and the meaning is obscured, as by conference of the variations, it may to any skilfull reader moste easily appeare. But all that, I will referre to the sight and iudgement of suche, as will searche and examine it, and (retourning to my purpose) shewe you, what belongeth to the Lorde of this Gauelkinde land, by reason of this Custome. And, for bicause the Prince is chiefe Lorde of all the Realme, (as of whome all landes within the same be either mediately or immediatly holden) let vs first see what right (by reason of this custome) belongeth vnto him.

Forfaiture  
in Felonie.

If Tenant in Fee simple, of Landes in Gauelkinde, commit felonie, and suffer the iudgement of death therfore, the Prince shall haue all his Chattels for a forfeiture: But as touching the Land, he shall neither haue the Eschete of it, though it be immediatly holden of himself, nor the Day, Yeare, and Wast, if it be holden of any other. For in that case, the Heire, notwithstanding the offence of his auncestour, shall enter immediatly, and enioye the landes, after the same Customes and seruices, by whiche they were before holden: in assurance whereof, it is commonly saide,

The Father to the Boughe,  
The Sonne to the Ploughe.

But this rule holdeth in case of Felonie, and of murder only, and † in case not of treason at all: And it holdeth also in case where the offendour is † iustified by order of Law, and not where he withdraweth himselfe after the faulte committed, and will not abide his lawfull triall.

†r. 'not in case'  
†r. 'iustised'

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For if suche a one absent himselfe (after proclamation made for him in the Countie) and be outlawed: or otherwise, if he take Sanctuarie, and doe abiure the Realme, then shall his Heire reape no benefite by this Custome, but the Prince or the Lorde, shall take their forfeiture in suche degree, as if the Landes were at the common lawe. Whiche thing is apparant, both by the Booke. 8. E. 2 abridged by Maister Fitzherbert, in his title of prescription. 50. And by 22. E. 3. fol. Where it is saide, that this Custome shall not be construed by equitie: but, by a straight and literal interpretation. And also by the plaine rehearsal of the saide treatise of the Customes it selfe. And in this behalfe also, some haue doubted, whether the Brother or Vncle shall haue the aduantage of this Custome, bicause the wordes thereof extend to the Sonne only: but let vs proceede. There belongeth moreouer, due by the Tenant, to each common person, being his Lord of Land in Gauelkind,

Suite to his Court, the oathe of fidelitie, and the true doing and payment, of all accustomed Rents, Dueties, and Seruices. Also if the Tenant dye, leauing his Heire, within the age of fifteene yeares: the Lorde hathe authoritie to committe the nouriture of the body, and the custodie of the goods, and landes of the infant, to the next of the kinred, to whome the inheritance cannot descend. But, as neither the Lorde ought to take any thing for the custody, neither to tender to the Heire any marriage at all: So must he take good heede, that he credit not the custodie to any person, that shall not be able to answeere therefore. For if the Heire, at his full age of fifteene yeares, shall come to the Lordes Court, and demaunde his inheritance, although the Lord may distreine the Gardien to yeelde his accompt (as it appeareth. 18. E. 2. Auowrie. 220. Yet in de=

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faulte of his abilitie, the Lord himselfe, and his Heires, remaine charged to the Heire for the the same.

Furthermore, if the Tenant shall withdrawe from the Lord his due rents, and seruices, the custome of this Countrie giueth to the Lorde, a speciall, and solemne kinde of Cessauit, and that after this manner.

Cessauit, in  
Gauelkind.

The Lorde, after suche a Cessing, ought by award of his three weekes Courte, to seeke (from Courte to Court, vntill the fourth Court) in the presence of good witesse, whether any distresse may be found vpon the Tenement, or No: And if he can finde none, then at the fourth Courte it shalbe awarded, that he shall take the Tenement into his handes, as a distresse, or pledge, for the Rents and seruices, withdrawne, and that he shall deteine it one yeare and a day, without manuring it: within whiche time, if the tenant come, and make agreement with the Lord for his arrerage, he shall enter into his tenement againe: but if he come not within that space, then at the next Countie Courte the Lord ought openly to declare all that his former proceeding, to the end that it may be notorious: which being done, at his owne Courte, next following the saide Countie, it shalbe finally awarded, that he may enter into that Tenement, and manure it as his pro= per demeane.

And that the forfeiture, due to the Lord for this ceasser of his Tenant, was fiue pounds (at the least) besides the arrerages, it doeth well appeare by the olde Kentishe byword, recited in the often remembred treatise of these Customes.

Neg he syth seald and Neg he syth geld.

And fiue pound for the were, er he become healder

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That is to say, 'Hathe he not since any thing giuen? nor hathe he not sence any thing payd? Then let him pay fiue pound for his were, before he become tenant, or holder againe:' But some copies haue the first verse thus.

'Nigond sithe seld, and nigon sithe gelde:' That is, 'Let him nine times pay, and nine times repay.' And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that this word (were) in olde time signified, the value, or price of a mans lyfe, estimation, or countenance: For, before the Conquest,

each man in the Realme was valued at a certain summe of money, hauing regarde to his degree, condition, and woorthinesse, as is more at large shewed in the Table to the translation of the Saxon lawes, wherevnto for this purpose I will send you. This Custome of Cessauit, is set foorth in the treatise of Customes, and hath bene allowed of (as Maister Frowike. 21. H. 7. 15. reported) in time passed, but whether it be also at this day put in vre, I cannot certainly affirme.

But nowe, as these aduantages arise to the Lorde from his Tenant: So on the other side, the Lord also ought to suffer his Tenant to enioy the benefite of such customes as make for his auaille. And therefore, first he ought to let him alien his land at his owne pleasure, without suing to him for licence: He ought also to be contented with one suite to his Court for one tenement although the same happen to be diuided amongst many: of verie right also he ought to admit an Essoine, if any be cast for the Tenant, whether it be in a cause of Plainte, or for common suite to his Courte: And lastlie he may not exacte of him any manner of othe, other then that of Fidelitie, whiche groweth due by reason of his Tenure.

And thus leauing the Lorde and his Tenant, let vs

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come to the husband and the wife, and first shew what courtesie the husband shal finde by order of this custome after the death of his wife that was seised of landes of Gavelkind tenure: and then what benefite the wife may haue after the decease of her Husband dying seised of Landes of the same kinde and nature.

The Husband (saith our treatise of Gavelkind Custome) shall haue the one halfe of suche Gavelkind land, wherein his wife had estate of inheritance, whether he had issue by her or no: And shall holde the same during so long time, as he wil keepe him selfe widower, and vnmarried. For if he marrie, he looseth all. Neither may he committe any waste, more then Tenant by the courtesie at the common lawe, may. So that one way (namely, in that he shall haue his wiues land for lyfe though he neuer had issue by her) this our Custome is more courteous then the common lawe: but an other way, (I meane in that he shall haue but the one halfe, 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.

The wyfe likewise, after the death of her Husband, shall haue for her lyfe, the one moitie of all such landes of Gavelkind tenure, whereof her Husband was seised of any estate of inheritance during the couerture betweene them. Of whiche Custome also, though it exceede common measure, the common lawe of the Realm (bearing alwaies speciall fauour to Dower) hath euer more euen hitherto shewed good allowance: Neuertheless, as tenant by the courtesie after this Custome, had his conditions annexed: so tenant in Dower, by the same Custome, wanteth not some conditions following her estate. One, that she may not marrie at all: and an other, that she must take diligent heede, that she be not found with Childe, begotten in fornication. For in either case she must

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Tenant by  
the Courtesie.

Tenant in  
Dower,  
The difference  
betweene com=  
mon Lawe,  
and Custome  
therein.

loose her Dower: But yet so, that lawful matrimonie is by a meane (contrarie to the Apostolique permission) vterly forbidden, And the sinne of secret Lecherie (according to the Popishe Paradoxe, 'Si non caste tamen caute') is in a sorte borne and abidden, Seeing that by this custome, she forfeiteth not in this later case, vnlesse the childe be borne, and heard to crye, and that of the countrey people, assembled by hue and crye: For then (sayth the custome) Se that his wende,

Se his lende:

But corruptly, for in true Saxon letters it standeth thus

Se that hire wenSe.

Se hire lenSe. That is to say,

He that dothe turne, or wende her:

Let him also giue vnto her, or lende her.

And thus the custome, making like estimation of both the cases, depriueth her of her liuing, as well for honest marriage, as for filthy fornication. In whiche behalfe, as I must needes confesse, that the later condition hath reason, bycause it tendeth (though not fully) to the correction of sinne and wickednesse: So yet dare I affirme, that the former is not onely not reasonable, but meereleud and irreligious also. For, although the Ethnickes did so much magnifie wydowhood, that (as Valerius reciteth) 'Fæminas, quæ vno matrimonio contentæ erant, corona pudicitiaë honorabant,' and although that the common law also (being directed by the Popishe Clergie, whiche therein followed the error of Ierome) dothe in another case, by the name of Bigamie, dislike of a womans seconde marriage: Yet Saint Paule sayth plainely, 'Mulier, si dormierit maritus eius, libera est, vt cui vult nubat, modo in Domino.' But yet for all this, seeing that our treatise of vsages reciteth it, seeing also that common experience of the countrey approueth it, and that the common lawe

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of the Realme (as it may be read, Prærogatiua Regis Cap. 16. & 2. H. 3. in Præscription. 59.) admitteth it: let vs also for this place and purpose, be contented to number it amongst our customes, and so proceed with the residue. It appeareth, by that whiche is already sayde, that the common lawe, and this custome, differ in two things concerning Dower: One, in that the common lawe giueth but a thirde parte, whereas the custome vouchsafeth the halfe: Another, in that this custome giueth conditionally, whereas the gifte of the common lawe, is free and absolute. Nowe therefore, there remaine to be shewed, certeine other pointes, wherein they varie also. As, if the husband commit Felonie: at the common law, his wife hath lost her title of Dower, but by the custome of this countrey, she shall not loose her Dower for the faulte of her husbände, but only in suche case, where the heire shall loose his inheritance, for the offence of his father. Which thing is manifest, both by the treatise of our Kentishe customes, and by the opinion of the Court 8. H. 3. Præscription. 60. At the common lawe also, the wife shall be endowed of a possession in lawe, but (as me thinketh) she shall haue no Dower by this custome, but onely of suche landes, whereof her husband was actually and really seised. For the wordes be (Des tene-ments, dount son Baron morust †seiset, et vestu,) which word (vestu) being cleane omitted in the imprinted booke, inforceth a possession in deede, and not in lawe only. And

†r. 'seisei'

therefore, if landes in Gauelkinde descend to a married man, whiche dyeth before he make his entrie into the same, inquire whether it be the manner to endowe his wife therof, or no: for vse is the only Oracle that in this case I can sende you vnto. Againe, at the common law, a woman shal be endowed of a faire, or of any such other profit. But, (for as muche as the wordes of this

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Dower of  
chattels.

customarie Dower, be (terres & tenements) and for that all customes shall finde a literall and streight interpretation) the opinion of Maister Parkins is, that no Dower lyeth of a faire, by this custome. Furthermore, if the wife recouer her Dower at the common law, she ought of necessitie to be endowed by metes and boundes: But in Dower after this custome (sayth the same authour) she may very well be endowed of a moitie, to be holden in common with the heire, that inioyeth the other half. Lastly, this custome, besides Dower of the one halfe of the husbandes lande, prouideth Dower of the moitie of suche goods also, as he dyed possessed of, if he had no children, and of the thirde part, though he leaue issue: whereas the common lawe (at the least in common practise at this day) hath no consideration of any suche endowment. These then be the differences, betweene the common lawe of the Realme, and the particular custome of this cuntry concerning Dower: the comparison whereof, and whether sort of Dower is more beneficiall, I will not now attempt, and much lesse take vpon me, to determine, least I my selfe might seeme rashly to preiudicate in another thing, wherin I most gladly desire to be iudged by other men: namely, whether a woman, intituled to Dower in Gauelkind, may twaine her Dower of the moitie after this custome, and bring her action to be endowed of the thirde at the common lawe, and so exempt her selfe from all danger of these customarie conditions, or no? The Resolution of whiche doubt, will depend chiefly vpon comparison, whether it be more aduantage to her, to haue the thirde at the common lawe absolutely, or the moitie by the custome conditionally. For if the Dower at the common law be better for her, then it seemeth reasonable that she should stande to the worse, whiche is the custome: euen as tenant by the

<Perkins>

†r. 'waiue'

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Partition of  
chattels.

curtesie, must take the moitie that the custome giueth, and not aske the whole, as Common lawe appointeth. And yet thereto it may be replied, that the cases be not like: for so muche as that of Dower is much more to be fauoured. I my selfe once heard two reuerend Iudges of opinion, that the woman was at libertie, to aske her Dower of the Thirde, or of the Moitie: But bycause it was vttered by them in a passage of soudaine speache, and not spoken vpon studied argument, I will not vse the authoritie of their names, to get the matter credite with all, but leaue it at large, to be better inquired of.

After the husbande and the wife, there followeth next in order of our diuision, the childe and his Gardein, whom also (since they be Relatiues, as the other be, and that their interests carrie a mutuall, and Reciproque eye, eche hauing respect to other) we will likewise couple together in one treatise. And bycause the custome was wont to commit the custodie, not of the landes on=

ly (as the common lawe doth) but of the goods and chattels also, we will first shewe, what portion of goods did growe to the childe, by the death of his parent.

Partition of  
chattels.

The manner of this countrey sometime was (as it appeareth by our olde treatise) that after the funeralles of the deade man performed, and his debts discharged, the goods should be diuided into three equall portions, if he lefte any lawfull issue behinde him: of whiche three, one parte was allotted to the deade, for performance of his legacies: another to the children, for their education: and the thirde to the wife for her sustentation and maintenance: But if he had no children left on liue, then was the diuision into two partes onely: of whiche, the one belonged to the wife for her endowment, and the other to her departed husbände, to be bestowed by his executors, if he made a testament, or by the discretion of

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London.

the ordinarie, if he died intestate. The selfe same order is at this day obserued in the Citie of London, and the same in effect, was long since vsed throughout the whole Realme. For it is euident, bothe by the lawe of King Canutus before remembred, by Maister Glanuille in his booke Ca. 18. and by the wordes of Magna Carta, that the wyfe and Children had their reasonable partes of the goods by the common lawe of the Realme, howsoever it came to passe at the length, that it was admitted for law but in such Countries only, where it was continued by daily vsage (as it is holden. 17. E. 2. and in many other bookes) and that al the writs in the Register 'De rationabili parte bonorum,' haue mention of the speciall Custome of the Shyre, in whiche the part is demaunded. But as in deede at this day, partition of Chattels is not vsed (though in the meane time it hath not lost the force of common lawe as many thinke) through out the whole Realme: so is it (so far as I can learne) vanished quite out of all vre within this Countrie also. And therefore, seeing the Gardein is deliuered of this charge, we also wil leaue to speake further of the goods, and come to the partition and custodie of the land of this Infant.

Partition,  
of Gavel=  
kinde lands

If a man die seised of landes in Gavelkinde, of any estate of inheritance, al his Sonnes shal haue equal portion: and if he haue no Sonnes, then ought it equally to be diuided 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 auncient time, there ought to be granted to the eldest, the firste choice after the diuision: so to the parte of the youngest, there ought to be allotted in the diuision, that peice of the Mesuage, whiche our treatise calleth Astre. By whiche

(Astre)  
what it  
meaneth.

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word is ment, (as I coniecture, for otherwise I haue not learned) either the Hall, or chiefe roome of the house, either els the well for water, or the Southe side of the building. For (Astre) being sounded without (s) may come of the Latine woord Atrium, whiche signifieth a Hall, or of Hastrum, whiche betokeneth the Bucket of a well, or of Austrum, the Southe side: euery of whiche haue their particular commodities aboue the rest of the house or tenement. Or otherwyse (if that shal like any man better) being sounded with (s) it may be deduced

from the Frenche word (Asistre) by contraction (Astre) whiche is as much, as a site, or situation, and with the Article (le) before it (Lestre) a Churchyard, or Court about a house. But whatsoever the woord meane, I will not longer labour in it, seing that at this day there is no suche regarde made in the partition, but only consideration had that the partes them selues be equall and indifferent. Now therefore, if the Childe be vnder the age of 15. yeres, the next Cousin, to whom the inheritance may not descend, shal haue the education, and order of his body, and landes, vntil suche time as he shall attaine to that age, euen as the Gardein in socage at the common law shall keepe his vntill the warde aspire to foureteene. And in all other things also, this customarie Gardein is to be charged and to haue allowance, in suche sorte, and none other, then as the Gardein in socage at the common law is: Saue only (as it is partly remembred already) that he is bothe chargeable to the Heire in accompt for his receipt, and subiect also to the distresse of the Lord for the same cause. Yet doe I not heare, that the Lordes take vpon them (at this day) to committe the custodie of these Infants, but that they leaue it altogether to the order of the next of the Kinne, the rather (belike) for that they

Gardein, after the custome.

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them selues (if they intermedle) stande chargeable, in default of the abilitie of suche as happely they might credit therewithall. So that vpon the whole matter, the oddes consisteth only in this, that Gardein in Socage at the common Lawe shall keepe the land till the Infant be foureteene yeares of age, and Gardein by this custome till he haue attained fully fifteene: whiche diuersitie, arises not without great reason: For whereas the Infant in Socage at the common law, cannot make alienation of his land vntill he haue reached to the full age of 21. yeares (although he be long before that, free from all wardship) The Infant in Socage by this Custome, may giue and sell his land so sone as he is crept out of this Custodie.

Sale is at 15. yeares

And therefore it was expedient (at the leaste) to adde one yeare to the common Lawe, before he should be of power to depart with his inheritance, whiche otherwise (being vnadvisedly made away) might worke his owne impouerishment and ouerthrowe. And truly it seemeth to me, that the Custome it selfe hath a watchefull eye vpon the same matter, in so much as it licenceth him at fifteene yeares, 'Not to giue his Land' (for that he might doe for nothing) 'But to giue and sell his Land,' whiche it meaneth he should not doe without sufficient recompence. Suche like interpretation, the common Lawe also seemeth to make of this custome both by the opinion of Vauasor. 5. H. 7. who said that it was adiudged that a release made by such an Infant was voide: by the sentence of the Booke. 21. E. 4. 24. where it was said, that an infant cannot declare his will vpon such a Feoffment: and by the iudgement of Hank. 11. H. 4. who also helde, that a warrantie, or graunt of a reuersion made at suche age, was to no purpose

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pose at all, although a lease with release might happely be good by the Custome, bicause that amounteth to a Feoffment. And, in my simple iudgement, it is not fit



Sale good  
at. 15. yeares

that this Custome should be construed by equitie, for as muche as it standeth not with any equitie, to enable an infant, of litle discretion, and lesse experience, to sell his land, and not to provide withal that he should haue, 'Quid pro quo,' and some reasonable recompence for the same: for that were, not to defend the Pupill and Fatherles, but to lay him wyde open to every slye deceit, and circumvention. In whiche respect, I cannot but very well like of their opinion, who holde, that if an Infant in Gavelkinde, at this day will sell at xv. yeares of age, these three things ought of necessitie to concurre, if he will haue the sale good and effectually. The firste, that he be an heire, and not a Purchasour, of the land that he departeth withal: The second, that he haue recompence for it: and the third, that he do it with liuerie of seison by his owne hand, and not by warrant of Attourney, nor by any other manner of assurance. And these men for proove of the first and second point of their assertion, doe builde vpon the wordes of our written Custome, where it is saide 'Del heure que ceux heirs de Gavelkinde, soient, ou out passe lage de. 15. ans, list a eux, lour terres & tenementes, Doner & Vender)' in whiche, the wordes (Ceux Heires) doe restraine the Infant that commeth in by Purchase: And (Doner & Vender) in the copulatiue, (for so they lye in deede, though the imprinted booke haue them disiunctiuely) doe of necessitie implye a recompence, for as muche as, 'Vendere,' cannot be 'Sine precio.' And for maintenance of the third matter, they haue on their part, besides the common vsage of their owne Countrie, the common lawe of the whole Realme also: which expoundeth the word (Doner) to meane a Feoffment (as

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I haue before shewed) and whiche not onely disalloweth of any gifte made by an infant, but also punisheth the taker in trespas, vnlesse he haue it by liuerie from the infantes owne handes.

Thus haue I runne ouer suche customes, as by meane of this Gavelkinde tenure doe apperteine, eyther to the Lorde or the Tenant, the husbände or the wife, the childe or the Gardein: To these I will adde (as I promised) confusedly, a fewe other things, of the whiche, some belong generally to the Kentishe man throughout the whole Shyre: Some to the inhabitants of some particular quarter of the countrie: and some to the tenants in Gavelkinde onely, and to none other.

No villains  
in Kent.

It appeareth, by claime made in our auncient treatise, that the bodies of all Kentishe persons be of free condition, whiche also is confessed to be true. 30. E. 1. in the title of Villenage. 46. in Fitzherbert: Where it is holden sufficient for a man to auoide the obiection of bondage, to say, that his father was borne in the Shyre of Kent: But whether it will serue in that case to saye, that him selfe was borne in Kent, I haue knowne it (for good reason) doubted.

Apparance.

It seemeth by the same treatise, that suche persons as helde none other lande then of Gavelkinde nature, be not bounde to appeare (vpon Sommons) before the Iustices in Eire, otherwise then by their Borsholder, and foure others of the Borowe, a fewe places only excepted. The like to this Priuilege is inioyed at this day in the Sherifes Lathe, where many whole Borowes be excused by the onely apparance of a Borshol-

der, and two, foure, or sixe other of the inhabitants.

Commen. Furthermore, I haue read in a case of a written report at large of. 16. E. 2. whiche also is partly abridged by Fitzherbert, in his title of Præscription, that it was

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tried by verdite, that no man ought to haue comen in landes of Gauelkinde, Howbeit, the contrarie is well knowne at this day, and that in many places.

Chase and driue out. The same booke sayeth, that the vsage in Gauelkind is, that a man maye lawfully inchase, or driue out into the highe way to their aduenture, the beastes of any other person, that he shal finde doing damage in his land, and that he is not compellable to impounde them, which custome seemeth to me directly against the rule of the common lawe, But yet it is practised till this present daye.

Attaint. The Parleament 15. H. 6. 3. minding to amplifie the Priuileges of Gauelkinde, graunted to the tenants of that lande, exemption in Attaints, in suche sort as the inhabitants of auncient demeane, and of the Fiue Ports before had: But within three yeares after, vpon the complaint of some of the Gentz of the Countrie (whiche infourmed the Parleament house that there was not in the whole Shyre aboute the number of 30, or 40. persons, that helde to the value of 20. li. land, out of Gauelkinde, who in default of others, and by reason of that exemption, were continually molested by returnes in Attaintes) that Acte was vtterly repealed.

Chaunging of wayes. The Statute. 14. H. 8. Cap. 6. giueth libertie to euery man, hauing high way (through his Land in the Weald) that is worne deepe, and incommodious for passage, to lay out an other way, in some suche other place of his land, as shalbe thought meete by the viewe of two Iustices of the Peace, and twelue other men of wisdom and discretion. Finally, the generall Lawe, made 35. H. 8. 17. For the preseruacion of Copies woodes, thorough out the Realme, maketh plaine exception of all woodes within this Weald, vnlesse it be of suche as be common.

Goppies.

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Thus muche, concerning the customes of this oure Countrie, I thought good to discourse, not so cunningly (I confesse) as the matter required, nor so ampie as the argument would beare (for so to doe, it asketh more art and iudgement, then I haue attained) But yet sufficiently (I truste) for vnderstanding the olde treatise that handleth them, and summarily inough for comprehending (in manner) whatsoever the common, or Statute, lawe of the Realme hath litterally, touching them, whiche is as muche as I desired. Now therefore, to the end that neither any man be further bound to this my discourse vpon these customes, then shalbe warranted by the Customes themselues, neither yet the same customes be henceforth so corruptly caried about as hitherto they haue beene, but that they may at the length be restored to their auncient light and integritie, I will set downe a true and iust transcript of the very text of them, taken out of an auncient and faire written roll, that was giuen to me by Maister George Multon my Father in lawe, and whiche some time belonged to Baron Hales of this Countrie. I wil adioyne also, mine owne inter=

pretation in the English, not of any purpose to  
binde the learned vnto it, but of a desire  
to infourme the vnlearned  
by it.

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Kent.

These are the vsages, .....

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due out of the same .....

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seruices and customes, .....

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shall haue their Eschetes .....

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let them be departed .....

421

And if there be .....

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cation. And this is to be .....

423

and the countrie be assembled, .....

424

rendred (giuen vp) by his tenaunt .....

425 <sig 3H>

tenement, whereby he may .....

426

rehaue his tenements, and hold them .....

427

Henry the 3 father of King E. ....

since till now.

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The names of such persons, as pro=  
cured their possessions to be altered from the na=  
ture of Gauelkinde, by acte of Parleament  
made. 31. H. 8. Cap. 3.

Thomas Lord Cromwell.

Thomas Lord Burghe.

George Lord Cobham.

Andrew Lord Windsore.

Syr Thomas Cheyne.

Syr Christopher Hales.

S. Thomas Willoughbie.

S. Anthonie Seintleger.

S. Edward Wootton.

S. Edward Bowton.

S. Roger Cholmley.

S. Iohn Champneys.

Iohn Baker Esquier.

Reignold Scot.  
Iohn Guldeford.  
Thomas Kempe.  
Edward Thwaites.  
William Roper.  
Anthonie Sandes.  
Edwarde Isaac.  
Perciuall Harte.  
Edward Monyns.  
William Whetnall.  
Iohn Fogg.  
Edmund Fetiplace.  
Thomas Hardres.  
William Waller.  
Thomas Wilforde.  
Thomas Moyle.  
Thomas Harlakenden.  
Geffrey Lee.  
Iames Hales.  
Henrie Hussey.  
Thomas Roydon.

The names of suche, as be  
likewise prouided  
for. . E. 6. Ca.

Syr Robert Southwell.  
S. Iames Hales.  
S. Walter Hendley.  
S. George Harper.  
S. Henrie Isley.  
S. George Blage.  
Thomas Colepeper of  
Bedgebirie.  
Iohn Colepeper of Ailes=  
forde.  
William Twisden.  
Tho. Darrell of Scotney.  
Robert Rudston.  
Thomas Roberts.  
Stephan Darrell.  
Richard Couarte.  
Christopher Blower.  
Thomas Hendley.  
Thomas Harman.  
Thomas Louelace.  
Thomas Colepeper.

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The names of suche, as be specified  
in the acte made for the like cause,  
5. Elizabeth. Cap.

Thomas Browne of Westbecheworthe  
in Surrey.  
George Browne.

It were right woorthie the la=  
bour, to learne the particu=  
lars and certeintie, (if it may  
be) of all suche possessions, as  
these men had, at the times  
of these seuerall Statutes, for  
that also wilbe seruiceable  
in time to come.

A Table, conteining the principall  
places, and matters, handeled in this Booke.

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~ Imprinted at London, for Rafe  
Newbery dwelling in Fleetestreate, a litle  
about the Conduite.

Anno Domini. 1576.

~ Imprinted at London by Henrie  
Middleton, for Rafe New-  
bery dwelling in Fleetestreate, a litle

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<Lambard's book was published in 1576 but had a long prehistory. The initial draft was written during the winter of 1570–71, under the title 'The first treatise of the Topographical Dictionarie, conteyninge the Description, and historie, of the Shyre of Kent'. As this title implies, it was only the first of a series of books which Lambard was hoping to write, constructed out of the materials contained in his 'Topographical Dictionarie'. In the event, the book about Kent was the only one which got written. At least two fair copies of the draft version were made: one of them – the one which Lambard adopted as his own (and which remained in his descendants' possession till 1924) – was bought by the KAS in 1926 and deposited with the Kent Archives Office in 1957 (CKS-U47-48). As even a quick glance at this manuscript will go to show, the draft completed in 1571 was massively revised over the next few years; the alterations and additions are in Lambard's own handwriting. When the book was finally published, it carried the title 'A perambulation of Kent'. It was printed in London (by Henry Middleton for Rafe Newbery) 'in the absence of the Authour', as the printers say (page xiv), in apologizing for the number of errors. We are told, by the way, that the edition consisted of 600 copies. Apparently it did not sell very well – at least not well enough to be worth reprinting. (The 'second edition' did not appear till twenty years later.) Because copies of this book are not all exactly the same, it needs to be said that my transcription is based on UMI reel 2008:09 (from a copy in Cambridge University Library). I have checked it against one other copy (reel 255:03, from the Huntington Library). The variants are mostly trivial, but I have marked a few which are not, copying the altered line or lines at the foot of the page. In the stretch of text headed 'The particular of Kent' (pages 25–47), six of the entries have been corrected by hand; since the corrections are identical in both copies, I take it that they were made by the printers, before the books left the shop. Of the corrections called for by the list of errata (pages xiv–v), a few have already been made in both of these copies (77/13, 193/11, 195/2, 361/23, 399/12, 399/33); copies which have the uncorrected readings, if any such copies exist, were presumably among the first to be released. Except for these six, I have marked errors noted by the printers with black daggers, repeating the corrected reading in the margin. Numerous other mistakes went undetected, and I have marked them with red daggers if some warning seems to be required. Some words and phrases were printed in saxon type (or in a mixture of saxon and roman), and I have thought it best to preserve the distinction (which I have done by colouring them grey). Not always but very often, the compositor used saxon 'S' where he ought to have used saxon 'd'. (If he needed an S, he used a roman 'S'.) So 'dofra' turned into 'Sofra', 'Sondwic' into 'SonSwic'. The same blunder pervades the Saxon documents which Lambard printed at full length (pages 307–11, 357–62, 364–6), but I see no point in reproducing them. It needs to be known that these documents were made available in print by Lambard; I am doubtful whether it needs to be known how many errors were introduced by him or by his printers. (They were, it should be said, mostly put right in the second edition.) – C.F. August 2010, last revised January 2013.>