

William Lambard  
A perambulation of Kent (second edition)  
London  
1596

<i> <sig A>

A Perambulation  
of Kent:

Conteining the De=  
scription, Hystorie, and  
Customes of that  
Shyre.

Written in the yeere 1570 by  
William Lambarde of Lincolnes  
Inne Gent: first published in  
the yeere 1576. and now increa=  
sed and altered after the  
Authors owne  
last Copie.

Imprinted at London,  
by Edm. Bollifant.  
1596.

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To the Right woorshipfull, and  
vertuous, M. Thomas  
Wotton, Esquier.

It is the manner (Right Woorshipfull) of  
such as seeke profit by Minerall, first to set  
men on woorke to digge and gather the  
Owre: Then by fire to trie out the Me=  
tall, and to cast it into certeine rude  
lumpes, which they call Sowze: And lastly to commit  
them to Artificers, that can thereof make things seruice=  
able and meete for vse. Somewhat after which sort, I  
my selfe, being very desirous to attaine to some knowledge  
and vnderstanding of the Antiquities of this Realme,  
which (as Metall contained within the bowels of the  
earth) lie hidden in olde booke hoorded vp in corners,  
did not onely my selfe digge and rake together whatsoe=  
uer I coulde of that kinde, but procured diuers of my  
friends also to set to their hands and doe the like. And  
when the matter was by our diligent trauaile growne  
(as me thought) to a conuenient Masse, with such fire of  
discretion as I had, I seuered the metall and drosse in  
sunder, and cast it into certeine rude, and vnformed  
Sowze, not vnmeete for a workeman. But, wheras  
no small commendation groweth to the metall, by the skil=

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full hand of the craftesman that bringeth it to fashion,  
and therefore the wiser sort of men vse to deliuer it to  
suche as be their craftes maisters, and can thereof make  
sundrie vtensiles both for pleasure and vtilitie: I contra=  
riwise, hauing neither good arte nor instrument to begin  
withall, nor yet approued patterne or Moald to imitate  
and follow, aduentured neuerthelesse to fashion somewhat

out of my Sowze, and haue (as I now see) shaped such a peece, as is more meete to be condemned to the kitchen, than woorthy to be admitted, or haue place in the parlour.

To speake plainly, I had some while since gathered out of diuers auncient and late Histories of this our Ilande, sundrie notes of such qualitie, as might serue for the description and Storie of the most famous places thorowe out this whole Realme: which collection (bicause it was digested into Titles by order of Alphabet, and concerned the description of places) I called a Topographicall Dictionarie: and out of which, I meant in time (if God graunted life, abilitie, and leasure) to drawe (as from a certeine Store house) fit matter for each particular Shire and Countie. Now, after that it had pleased God to prouide for me in Kent, I resolved (for sundrie iust respects) to begin first with that Shire, and therein (before I would moue any further) to make estimation and triall, both of the thing it selfe, of mine owne abilitie, and of other mens likings.

This when I had in a rude plot and rough sort performed, and minded to communicate the same with some such of this Countie, as for skill aboundantly could, and for good will indifferently would, weigh and peruse it, You (Right Worshipfull) came first to my minde, who, for the

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good vnderstanding and interest that you haue in this Shire, can (as well as any other) discern of this dooing, And to whom (beyond other) I thought my selfe for sundry great courtesies most deeply bound and indebted.

I knowe right well, that the thing it selfe (being but a Bearewhelp that lacketh licking: a rawe coloured portracture that wanteth <sup>†</sup>poilshing: and a gifte,

In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor)

is neither aunswerable to your woorthinesse, nor to mine owne wishe: Howbeit, hauing heertofore taken vn doubted assay of your gentle acceptation, I am nothing afraide to offer it, Submitting to your faourable Censure, both the worke, my selfe, and my writer, And committing to the defence of the almightie, your selfe, your wife, your sonnes and familie. From Seintcleres, this last of Ianuarie, 1570.

<31 Jan 1571>

Yours in the Lorde,

W. Lambard.

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To his Countriemen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent.

This Booke faire written (in gift) lately sent vn to me, do I faire printed (by dedication) now send and commend vn to you. I knowe not (in respect of the place) vn to whom I may more fitly thus send it then vn to you, that are either bred and well brought vp here, or by the goodnesse of God and your owne good prouision, are well settled here: and here lawfully possesse, or are neere vn to 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 know why they were, and by whom they were, and what they were long agoe.

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I knowe not (in respect of the persons,) vn to whom I may more fitly thus send it, than vn to you: with whom, I haue been best and longest acquainted: from whom (by points of singular courtesie) I haue beene many waies 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 therby in nourishing peace, a lewel most precious) between your honest and tractable neighbours, (things vnto almightie God, very acceptable: vnto her Maiestie, very gratefull: vnto your countrie, very fruitfull: vnto your selves, very commendable:) Towarde whom, I say, for these causes which, as a member of this Countie with others I see loyfully and generally: and for the first two causes which deriued from you, light vpon me selfe particularly, I hane been, and am, and must be very louingly affected.

I know not how I may more fitly and effectually commend it than to say, that it is in substance, an historie: treating of the parts (and actions of greatest weight a good time together, done by the most famous persons) of one special Countie: fet from great antiquity, which many men are much delighted with: out of sundry bookes with great studie collected, painfully: by this author in the matter set out, truly: with good words well placed, eloquently. In commen-

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Alexander Neuil, Norwicus.  
dation of this booke, vpon a fit occasion, the like in a manner, is in Latine lately written by a Gentleman of our Countrie, knowne to be very honest, and, I thinke, very well learned: and so vnder the autoritie of his good iudgement, may I (without blame) the more boldly commend it vnto you.

<vii>  
Sir Thomas Moore Knight, in the historie of King Richard the thirde.  
<viii>  
What vilitie followeth the studie of Hystories, many of them haue well declared that haue published Histories written by themselves, or haue set out Histories 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 breefly say, and fit for the thing I haue in hande (me thinketh) I must needes say, that (the sacred word of Almighty God alwaies excepted) there is nothing either for our instruction more profitable, or to our minds more delectable, or within the compasse of common vnderstanding more easie or facile, then the studie of histories: nor that studie for none estate more meet, then for the estate of Gentlemen: nor for the Gentlemen of Englande, no Historie so meete, as the Historie of England. For, the dexteritie that men haue either in prouiding for themselves, or in comforting their friends (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 historie, in our toong as well written as any thing euer was, or I thinke euer shall be, great experience deriued from a prooue of two such things, as prosperitie and aduersitie be, vpon a fit occasion vnder the person of a very wise man, is rightly accounted) to be the very mother and maistres of wisdom. Now that that a number of folks doth generally, is much more then that, that any one of vs can do specially, and so by other folks experience, are we taught largely: and that, that other folkes for their King, their countrie, themselves, their friends, like good men do vertuously, ought to prouoke vs with good deuotion inwardly to loue them: and with good words openly much to commend them, and in their vertuous actions, rightly to folowe them. And that, that other folkes against their King, their countrie, their friends (and so against themselves) 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 perill procured through their awne follies

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and faults) dutifully and wisely to beware by them. And so by these mens experience (which like the burnt childe, that then too late the fire dreadth, with much repentance they buy dearly) are we taught and brought out of danger to settle our selues, as it were, in a seat 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 iudgement and seruice of the Gentlemen of England) is as I thinke, most properly fet from the Historie of England. And this for this purpose, I say both vnto you my countrie men the Gentlemen of this Countie (a portion of the Realme) specially, and to all the Gentlemen of the whole Realme beside, generally.

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Mathew Parker Archbishop of Canterburie in his Preface to the Booke De rebus gestis Aelfredi Regis.  
<xi>  
There resteth that for this booke (which I do vpon these respects thus send, and with these reasons thus commend vnto you) we should vnto the Author William Lambard, yeeld our very hartly and perpetuall thanks: as our Country man in our wordes and deedes louingly vse him: as a man learned, duly esteeme him: (for a late very well learned and reuerend father hath publikely and rightly so reputed him) as a Gentleman religious and very honest, make right accompt of him: which, for my part, I thinke meete to do, and meane to do: and for your parts, I desire hartily you should do, and I hope assuredly you will do. And if by you he might (and would) be moued at his good leisure, to doe as much for all the rest of the Counties of this Realme generally, as he hath done for this County specially (toward which I know, by great paine and good cost, he hath already vnder the title of a Topographical Dictionarie ga-

thered together great store of very good matter) himselfe (the Author of it) were woorthy 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 themselves see what things in their awne countries are of greatest fame now, and by that book shal know, what those things and other things were long agone, must needs with great delight receiue it: and surely, being as he is vnto me, a very deer friend, for mine awne part, 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 friende.

I. W.

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The Saxon Characters, and their values.

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<map 'Angliæ Heptarchia' reengraved>

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

To the end, that it may be vnderstood, what is meant by the tearmes of Eastsaxons, Westsaxons, Mercia, Northumberlande, and suche other, of which there is common mention in the Treatise following: I haue thought good to prefixe a Charde of the seauen sundry Kingdoms into the which this Realme was sometime diuided. But yet, for the better and more plaine explication of the matter, it shall be good first to knowe, that all these Nations following haue had to doe within this our Countrey: The Brittons, the Romanes, the Scottes and Pictes, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normanes.

The Brytaines.

The Bryttions (after the Samothees, and Albionnes, which be of no great fame in our historie) were the most auncient Inhabitanes of this lande, and possessed it in peace, vntill Iulius Cæsar (the Romane Emperour) inuaded them: for so much may a man gather of Horace his wordes, where he saieth,

Intactus aut Brytannus,

Sacra vt descenderet catenatus via. &c.

These therefore were by Iulius Cæsar subdued to the Romane Empire, and their countrey made a tributarie Prouince: in whiche case it continued many yeeres together, vntill at the length, being grieuously vexed with the Pictes and Scottes their

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neighbours on the North, and being vtterly voide of all hope of aide to be had from the Romanes their patrons (who also at the same time were sore afflicted with the inuasion of the Hunnes, and Vandales, like barbarous nations) they were enforced to seeke for further helpe: And therefore sent into Germanie, from whence they receaued hired Souldiours, of the Nations called Saxons, Iutes, and Angles, vnder the conducte of Hengist and Horsa, two naturall brethren, and bothe verie valiaunt Captaines.

The Scots,  
and Pictes.

These Scottes (as themselues doe write) were a people of Scythia, that came first into Spaine, then into Ireland, and from thence to the North part of Britaine our Iland, where they yet inhabite: They were called Scottes, or Scyttes, of Scyttan, which is to shoote: The Pictes also came from the same place after them, and occupied the partes where Westmorland and Galoway now be. And they were called Pictes, either for that they vsed to painte their bodies, to the ende to seeme the more terrible, or else of the woord <pyktēs>, which signifieth a Cham= pion, by reason of their great courage and har= dinesse.

The Saxons,  
lutes, and  
Angles.

The Saxons, lutes, and Angles, were the Ger= maines that came ouer (as we haue said) in aide of the Britons, of which the first sort inhabited Saxo= nie: the second were of Gotland, and therefore cal= led Gutes, or Gottes: The third were of Angria, or Anglia, a countrie adioining to Saxonie, of which the Duke of Saxonie is Lord till this day, and bea=

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reth the name therof in his Stile, or title of honour: and of these last we all be called Angli, Englishe men.

These Germaines, for a season serued against the Scottes, and Pictes: But afterward (entised by the pleasure of this countrie, 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 France, Wales, and Corn= wall, possessed their dwelling places, and diuided the countrie amongst themselues.

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Howbeit, they also wanted not their plague: For after that they had long warred one vpon another, for the enlarging of their particular kingdomes, and had at the last so beaten **each** other, that the whole was by the Westsaxons reduced into one entier Monarchie, suddenly the Danes (a people of Norway, and Denmark) came vpon them, and after much mischiefe done, in the ende tooke the crowne **and kingdome** quite and cleane from them.

The Nor=  
mans.

But they **also** were expulsed after thirtie yeeres trouble, and the English and Saxon Nation resto= red to the royall dignitie: which yet they enjoyed not many yeeres after. For straight vpon the death of Edward the Confessor, William of Nor= mandie (whose people at the first came from Nor= way also, and were therefore called Normans) de= maunded the Crowne, and wan it of Harold in the Field, **which his** posteritie holdeth till this **present** day.

Thus much of the Nations, that haue had in=

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The seuen  
kingdomes.

terest in this Realme: Nowe to our **former** pur= pose, that is, to the diuision of the same into the sundrie kingdomes vnder the Saxons. And al= though (by reason of the continual contention that was amongst them for enlarging their boundes) there can no certaine limits of their kingdomes be **described**, yet we will goe as neare the truth as we can, and followe the best approued Authours that

	haue written thereof.
Westsex. 1	The first Kingdome therefore, was called the Kingdome of the Westsaxons, because it was in the West part of the realme, and it comprehended the whole Shires of Southampton, Berk, Wilton, Dorset, and Somerset, besides some parts of Surrey, Gloucester, and Deuonshire: As for the residue of Deuonshyre, and whole Cornwall, the Britons retained it, whose language is not there as yet forgotten.
Southsex. 2	The second, was the Southsaxon Kingdome, (so termed because it lay South) and contained whole Sussex, and the remaine of Surrey.
<4> Kent. 3	The third, was the Kentish Kingdome, and had for the most part the same boundes, that the Shire of Kent yet <b>holdeth</b> , although at sometime, and by the prowes of some King, it was extended much further.
Essex. 4	The Kingdome of Estsex, (or of the Estsaxons) was the fourth, which was named of the situation also, and included the whole Shyres of Estsex, and Midlesex, with some portion of Hartfordshire.
Eastangle. 5	The fift, was of the East Angles (or East Englishmen, consisting of the Ile of Elye, and the Shyres of Norfolke, Suffolke, and Cambridge.
Mercland. 6	The Kingdome of Mercia (or Mearclande) had the sixt place, which was so called of the Saxon woord Mearc signifying a bound, limit, or marke, as we yet speake: and that, because it lay in the midst of this our Ilande, as vpon the which all the residue of the Kingdomes did bounde, and were bordered. In this Kingdome were wholly these Shyres, Lincolne, Northampton, Rutlande, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxforde, Chester, Derby, Notingham, Stafford: And partly Hereford, Hartforde, Warwicke, Shropshire, and Gloucestershyre.
Northumberland. 7	Northumberland (so called, because it lay North from the Riuer Humber) was the seauenth Kingdome: and it enuironned Yorkeshire, Durham, Northumberlande, Cumberlande, and Westmerlande wholly, and so much of Lancashire besides, as was not in Mercia.
<5>	This Kingdome was for a season diuided into twaine, that is to say, Deira, and Bernicia: but for as much as neither that diuision endured long, nor the actes of their Kings were greatly famous, I will not stay vpon them: But to the ende it may appeere by what lawes and customes these Kingdomes were guided (for of them also we must make mention in this historie, I will proceede to set fourth the rest of the vse of this chard of the English Heptarchie.
Three sorts of Lawes, in old time.	As eche Countrie therefore, hath his proper 6 lawes, customes, and manners of life, so no man ought to doubt but that these peoples, being aggregated of so many sundrie Nations, had their seuerall rules, orders, and institutes. Howbeit, amongst the rest those be most famous, which our

ancient writers call the Dane lawe, West-Saxon lawe, and Merchen lawe: The first of which was brought in by the Danes: The second was used amongst the west Saxons: and the last was exercised in the kingdome of Mercia: and yet not so exercised amongst themselues alone, but that they spread ouer some partes of the rest of the land also, being either embraced for their equitie about the rest, or commaunded by such the Kings as prevailed about others.

- 1 To the Westsaxons law therefore, all such were subject, as inhabited the Kingdomes of Kent, Sussex, or Westsex.
- 2 The Eastsaxons, Estangles, and they of the kingdome of Northumberlande (all which were much mingled with the Danes) liued vnder the Danes lawe.
- 3 They of Mercia, had their owne lawe, but not throughout: for after some mens opinions, the East and Northparts of it liued after the lawe of the Danes also. All these laws, King William the Conquerour collected together, and (after a discrete view had) by aduise of his counsell allowed some, altered others, and quite abrogated a great many, in place of which he established the lawes of Normandie his owne countrey.

The Lawes of our time.

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<6> The description and historie, of the shyre of Kent.

These things be all handled in the introduction to the Topographical Dictionarie.

Hauing thus before hande exhibited in generalitie, the names, scituation, and compasse of the Realme, the number of the sundry nations inhabiting within the same, the seuerall lawes, languages, rites, and maners of the peoples, the conuersion of the countrey to Christianitie, the diuisions and limites of the Kingdomes, the beginnings and alterations of Bishopricks, and such other things incident to the whole: Order now requireth, that I shew in particular, the boundes of eche Shire and Countie, the seuerall Regiments, Bishops Sees, Lasts, Hundrethes, Fraunchises, Liberties, Cities, Markets, Boroughs, Castles, Religious houses, and Schooles: the Portes, Hauens, Riuers, waters, and Bridges: And finally, the Hilles and dales, Parkes and forests, and whatsoever the singularities, within euery of the same.

And because not onely the Romanes and Saxons (that were conquerours of this Realme) but also the Disciples of the Apostle Philip, and the messengers of Pope Gregory (that were conuerters of

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the people) arriued first in Kent: and for that the same by commoditie of the Riuer of Thamise (the chiefe key of this Iland) first openeth it selfe, and to the end also that such guests and strangers as

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shall vouchsafe to visite this our Britaine, may at their first entry finde such courtesie and intertainment, as from henceforth they ceasse, either with Horace to call vs, 'Hospitibus feros,' or with others, 'Feroce in Aduenas,' I wil be their Xenagogus, or guide, and first shew them our countrie of Kent, the inhabitants whereof, Cæsar himselfe in his Commentaries, confesseth to be of all others the most full of humanitie and gentlenesse.

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 the West of the landes in Beckenham, called (I will not say, purposely heerof) Langley, where is the stile, as it were, ouer into Surrey, to the Ramsgate in the Ile of Thanet, about fifty and three Myles: And reacheth in breadthe from the Riuer Rother on the South of Newendene next Sussex, to the Riuer of Thamise, at Nowrheade in the Ile of Greane, twentie sixe Miles, and somewhat more: And hath in circuit 160. Miles, or thereabouts.

Kent, why so named.

It is called by Cæsar, and other auncient writers, Cancium, and Cancia in Latine; which name was framed either (as I make coniecture) out of Cainc, a woorde that (in the language of the Bri-

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taines, whom Cæsar at his arriuell founde inhabiting there) signifieth, Bowghes, or woods, and was imposed, by reason that this country, both at that time, and also long after, was in manner wholly ouergrowne with woode, as it shall hereafter in fit place more plainly appeare: or else, of Cant, or Canton, which denoteth an Angle, or Corner of land, (so this and sundry others bee) as Master Camden the most lightsome Antiquarie of this age hath obserued.

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The whole Shyre hath long been, and is at this day, diuided into fiue partes, commonly called Lathes, not altogether equall: which also be broken into Hundrethes, and they againe parted into townes and borowes, most aptly for assemble and administration of lustice.

The Aire.

The Aire in Kent, by reason that the Country is on sundry partes bordered with water, is some what thicke: for which cause (as also for that it is scituate neerest to the Sunne rising and furthest from the North pole of any part of the realme) it is temperate, not so colde by a great deale as Northumberlande, and yet in maner as warme as Cornwall. It hath also the better side of the riuer of Thamise, from whence by the benefit of the South and Southwest windes, (most common in this region) the fog and mist is carried from it.

The Soile.

The Soile is for the most parte bountifull, consisting indifferently of arable, pasture, meadow and woodland: howbeit of these, wood occupieth the greatest portion euen till this day, except it be to-

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wards the East, which coast is more champaigne



	than the residue.
The Corne.	It hath Corne and Graine, common with other Shyres of the Realme: as Wheate, Rie, Barly, and Oates, in good plenty, saue onely, that in the Wealdish, or woody places, where of late daies they vsed much 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 sounde of the Latine woord Vicia) call vetches, and which Poydor supposed not to be found in England.
The Pasture.	The pasture and meadow, 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 much that it gaineth by feeding.
The woods fruits.	In fertile and fruitfull woodes and trees, this country is most flourishing also, whether you respect the mast of Oke, Beeche and Chesten for cattail: or the fruit of Apples, Peares, Cherries, and Plums for men: for besides great store of oke and beeche, it hath whole woodes that beare Chestnut, a mast (if I may so call it, and not rather a fruit, whereof euen delicate persons disdain not to feede) not commonly seene in other countries: But as for Orchards of Apples, and Gardeins of Cheries, and those of the most delicious and exquisite kindes that can be, no part of the Realme (that

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I knowe) hath them, either in such quantitie and number, or with such arte and industrie, set and planted. So that the Kentish man, most truely of all other, may say with him in Vergil,

Sunt nobis mitia poma,  
Castaneæ molles, &c.

<9> The Cattell	Touching domesticall cattel, as horses, mares, oxen, kine, and sheepe, Kent differeth not much from others: onely this it challengeth as singular, that it bringeth foorth the largest of stature in each kinde of them: The like whereof also Polydore (in his historie) confesseth of the Kentish poultrie.
Deere and Conies.	Parkes of fallow Deere, and games of graie Conies, it maintaineth many, the one for pleasure, and the other for profit, as it may well appeere by this, that within memorie almost the one halfe of the first sort be disparted, and the number of warrens continueth, if it do not increase daily. As for red Deere, and blacke Conies, it nourisheth them not, as hauing no forrests, or great walks of waste ground for the one, and not tarying the time to raise the gaine by the other: for, blacke conyes are kept partly for their skins, which haue their season in Winter: and Kent by the neerenesse to London, hath so quicke market of yoong Rabbits, 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 heere, saue onely that in certeine places they haue Mines of Iron, quarries of Pauing stone, and pits of fat Marle.

Besides diuerse pieres, ietties, and creekes, that

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bee vpon the coastes of the Thamys and the Sea, Kent hath also sundrie fresh riuers and pleasaunt streames, especially Derent, Medwey, and Stowre, of the which, Medwey is more nauigable then the rest, for which cause, and (for that it crosseth the Shyre almost in the midst) it is the most benefici= all also.

The fishe. The Sea, and **these** Waters, yeeld good and whole= some fishes competently, but yet neither so much in quantitie, nor such in varietie, as some other coastes of the Realme do afoorde. And heere let vs for a season leaue the Sea and the Soile, and cast our eies 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 part, <archontes>, gouernours, and the other altogetherv <archomenoi>, gouerned: whose possessions also were at the first distinguished, by the names of Knight fee, and Ga= uelkinde: that former being proper to the Warri= our, and this latter to the Husbandman. But as nothing is more inconstant, then the estate that we haue in lands and liuing (if at the least I may call that an estate which neuer standeth) Euen so, long since these tenures haue bin so indifferently mixed and confounded, in the handes of ech sort, that there is not now any note of difference to be ga= thered by them.

The Gentle= men. The gentlemen be not heere (throughout) of so auncient stocks as else where, especially in the parts neerer to London, from which citie (as it

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were from a certeine rich and wealthy seedplot) Courtiers, Lawyers, and Marchants be continually translated, and do become newe plants amongst them. Yet bee their reuenues greater then any where else: which thing groweth not so much by the quantitie of their possession, or by the fertilitie of their soile, as by the benefit of the scituation of the countrie it self, which hath all that good neigh= bourhood, that Marc. Cato, and other old authors in husbandry require to a well placed graunge, that is to say, the Sea, the Riuer, a populous Citie, and a well traded Highway, by the commodities whereof, the superfluous fruits of the grounde bee deerely solde, and consequently the land may yeeld a greater rent.

These gentlemen bee also (for the most parte) acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the lawes: They vse to manure some large portion of their owne territo= ries, as wel for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better increase in wealth. So that they bee well employed, both in the publike seruice, and in their owne particular, and do vse hau= king, hunting, and other disports, rather for their recreation, then for an occupation or pastime.

The yeomen, and whie so called. The **common people, or Yeomanrie**, (for so they be called of the Saxon worde gemen, which signi=

<11> fieth common) is no where more free, and iolly, then in this shire: for besides that they themselues say in a claime (made by them in the time of King Edwarde the first) that the communitie of Kent

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was neuer vanquished by the Conquerour, but yeelded it selfe by composition, And besides that Geruasius affirmeth, that the foreward in al battels belongeth to them (by a certeine preeminence) in right of their manhoode, It is agreed by all men, that there were neuer any Bondmen (or villaines, as the law calleth them) in Kent.

Gauelkynd. Neither bee they heere so much bounden to the Gentry by Copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the inhabitants of the Westerne countries of the realme be, nor at al indangered by the feeble holde of Tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenencie 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 all: But in place of these, the custome of Gauelkind preuailing euerie where, in manner euerie man is a Freeholder, and hath some part of his owne to liue vpon. And in this their estate, they please themselues, and ioy exceedingly, in so much, as a man may finde sundry Yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not yet for all that chaunge their condition, nor desire to be apparailed with the titles of Gentry.

Neither is this any cause of disdaine, or of alienation of the good minds of the one sort from the other: for no where else in all this realme, is the common people more willingly gouerned. To be short, they be most commonly ciuill, iust, and bountifull, so that the estate of the old Franklyns and Yeomen of Englande, either yet liueth in Kent, or

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else it is quite dead and departed out of the realme for altogether.

The Artificers. As touching the Artificers of this shire, they bee either such as **trauell at the Sea**, or labour in the artes that be handmaidens to husbandrie, or else **do worke** in Stone, Iron, and Woodfuell, or **be makers** of coloured woollen clothes: in which last feat, they excell, as from whom is drawne both sufficient store to furnish the weare of the best sort of our nation at home, and great plentie also to be transported to other foreine countries abroad. Thus much I had summarily to say, of the condition of the Countrie, and Countrie men, Nowe therefore (God assisting mine enterprise) I will go in hand with the Hystorie.

The first inhabitation of England. We read in the first booke of Moses, that after such time as the order of nature was destroyed by the generall floude, and repaired againe by the mercy of almightie God, the whole earth was ouerspred in processe of time, by the propagation of mankind that came of the loins 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 cun-

trie of Chaldee (or some place nigh vnto it) where the Arke of Noah rested:

The error of those, which say, that the Brytons were Indigenæ.

And therefore, I will not heere either doubt, or debate to and fro, as Cæsar, Cornel. tacit. Polydore, and others do, whether the first inhabitants of this llande were (Aliunde aduecti, and aduenæ) that is, translated and brought out of some other

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country to dwell heere, or no: Or yet affirme, as the same Cæsar doth, that some, or (as Diodorus Siculus writeth) that all the Britaines were indigenæ, the naturall borne people of that country, 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 mankinde, 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 onely (forsooth) of all the Grecians were <autochthones>, that is to say, Satiui, & indigenæ terræ parentis, The verie naturall seedes, stocks, and ympes, springing out of their good mother the same earth where they dwelt, and not brought from elsewhere.

<13>

We reade **moreouer** in the same booke of Moses, that the lles of the Gentiles were diuided into their Kingdomes and nations, by such as descended of the children of Iapheth: wherevpon, as the Italians in their histories deriue themselues from Gomer the first sonne of Iapheth: the Spaniards from Tubal his fift sonne: and the Germanes from Thuysco (whom as they say, Moses calleth Ascanas) the eldest sonne of Gomer: Euen so, the late learned (and yet best trauailed in the histories of our country) reiecting the fonde dreames of docting Monkes and fabling Friars, do collect out of Herodotus, Berosus, and others the most graue and auncient authors, that one Samothes, the sixth

Samothes.

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sonne of Iapheth, (whom Cæsar in his commentaries calleth Dis, and Moses nameth Mesech) did about 250. yeeres after the generall inundation of the world, take vpon him the first dominion of these countries in Europe, which are now knowne by the names of Fraunce and Britaine, and the inhabitants thereof long time called Celtæ, or rather <kelêtai>, of the Verbe <kelêtizein>, for their special skill in riding.

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

Of this mans name (saie they) the first inhabitants of England were called Samoth,ei, by the space of 300. yeeres, or more: About which time Albion Mareoticus (the sonne of Neptune, or rather Neptuim, as Moses writeth it, and descended of the race of Cham,) inuaded the Ile, conquered the inhabitants, mixed them with his owne people, and called them all after his owne name Albionees, and the country it selfe Albion.

An. mundi. 2219.  
Albion.

An. ante Christum 1142.  
Brutus, and Brytanes.

Sixe hundredth and eight yeeres (or therabouts) after this also, Brutus Iulius (as all our common historiens haue it) entred this lland with 324. ships,

<14> laden with the remaines of Troye, and hee likewise, both subdued all the former peoples that he found heere to his owne obedience, and also altered their name after his own calling: So that from thenceforth they were named Britaines, the termes of Samothees, and Albionees being quite and cleane abolished.

Kent, the first inhabited part of England.

Nowe, out of these things thus alledged, I might (as me thinketh) draw probable coniecture, that Kent which wee haue in hande, was the first

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inhabited part of all this our Iland.

For if it bee true, that master Bale in his Centuries confesseth, namely, that Samothes began his dominion ouer this realme almost 150 yeeres after suche time as hee first arriued in that part of Fraunce which is called Celtique, and had planted his people there: what can bee more likely, then that he came out of Fraunce first into Kent? seeing that part (of all others) was most neere vnto him, and onely of all the Iland might bee discerned out of the countrie where hee was. And the selfesame reason Cæsar vseth, to prooue, that the borderers on the South Sea side of this lande were Aduenæ, and brought out of Fraunce, although he was persuaded, that the dwellers within the middle parts of the countrey were (Indigenæ,) as wee haue already touched. **To make it easie also, master Twynetelleth vs, that long since there was an Istmus (or bridge of lande) by which there was passage on foote to and fro betweene Fraunce and vs, although the Sea hath sithence fretted the same in sunder.** But I will proceede in the historie.

<1590:8-9>

Fower Kings in Kent.

Howsoever that bee therefore, Cæsar himselfe witnesseth, that in the time of his arriual in this Iland, the people were by one common name called Britaines: And that Kent was then diuided into fower petite Kingdomes, which were gouerned by Caruillus, Taximagul, Cingetorix, and Segonax: who, hauing seuerally subiect to their Dominions certaine Cities with the territories adioyning vnto them (after the maner of the Dukedoms, or Estates

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of Italie, at this day) extended their bounds (as it may bee gathered) ouer the whole countries of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey at the least.

<15>  
But one King in Kent.

This kinde of Regalitie, Kent retained not many yeeres after: bicause the Britaine Kings, succeeding Cæsars conquest, and yeelding tribute to the Romanes, reduced not onely these parte, but in maner the whole Realme also, into one entiere 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 periode of this their estate also drawing on) Vortiger their King was compelled to inuite for aide the Saxons, lutes,

and Angles, three sorts of the Germane nation: who, in steade of dooing that which they came for, and of deliuering the Britaines from their former oppres= sion, ioyned with their enimies (Thessala fide, as the adage is) and brought vpon them a more gree= uous calamitie and conquest, subduing the people, suppressing religion, and departing (in maner) the whole lande amongst themselues. So that nowe Kent recouered the title of a seuerall Kingdome againe, although not all one, and the verie same in limits with the former fower, yet nothing inferior in power, estimation, or compasse.

Hengist, the Saxon.

Of this newly reuiued regiment, Hengist the

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chiefe leader of the Germanes became the first au= thor and patrone. For hee, finding himselfe placed by King Vortiger (for his owne habitation) at Tha= net in this Shire, and seeing a great part of his power bestowed in garrison against the Scots vn= der Ohtha his brother, and Ebusa his sonne in the North Countrey: and perceiuing moreouer, that he was arriued out of a most barren **region** into this plentifull Iland, (with the commodities wher= of hee was inestimable delighted) hee abandoned all care of returne to his natiue soile, and determi= ned to make heere a seate for himselfe and his po= steritie.

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For helpes **heere**unto, although hee had on the one side, his owne prowesse, the manhoode of his warlike nation, their number and necessitie: and on the other side, the effeminate cowardise and vo= luptuousnes of King Vortiger, the weakenes of the Britaines themselues, and the aduantage of the Scots and Pictes their auncient enimies, so that hee 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 much delighted in womens companie, and knowing wel, that 'Sine Cerere & Libero, friget Venus,' he bad him to a solemne banquet, and after that he had (ac= cording to the maner of Germanie yet continuing) well plied him with pots, hee let slip before him a

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faire gentlewoman, his owne daughter, called Roxena, or Rowen, which being instructed before hande how to behaue hir selfe, most amiablie pre= sented him with a goblet of wine, saying in her own language, 'wæs hæile hlaford cynyng,' wessail Lorde King, that is to say, bee merie Lord King: with which hir daliance, the King was so delighted, that he not onely vouchsafed to pledge hir, but desired also to performe it in the right maner of hir owne countrey.

The first wasseling cup.

And therefore he answered (as he was taught) vnto hir againe, 'drinc hæile,' drinke merily. Which when shee had done, himselfe tooke the cup, and pledged hir so hartely, that from thencefoorth hee could neuer be in rest, vntill he had obtained hir to

The issue of an vngodly marriage.

<17>

wife, little weighing, either how deeply he had endaugered his conscience in matching himselfe with a heathen woman, or how greatly he had hazarded his Crowne by ioyning handes with so mightie a forrein Nation.

At the time of this mariage, 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 worde, that he would, in consideration thereof, keepe out Aurel. Ambrose (a competitor of the crowne) whose arriuall King Vortiger **had** 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

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time he brought to passe, not onely creating himselfe and his posterity 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 said) reduced into a Kingdome, continued in that estate, by the space of three hundreth threescore and eight yeeres, or thereabouts, in the hands of fiteene successours, as the most credible authours do reporte: Some others adde, Edbert, and Alric, and so make seuentaene in all, whose names do 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.
8. Egbert.
9. Lothar.
10. Eadric.

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

11. Wightred or Suihard, he built Saint Martinnes at Douer.
12. Edbert, added by some.

23 <sig C>

13. Ethelbert.
14. Alric, added also, by some.
15. Eadbert Pren, or Edelbert Pren.
16. Cuthred.
17. Baldred.

Now, although it might heere seeme convenient, before I passed any further, to disclose such memorable things, as haue chanced during the reignes of all these forenamed Kings: yet for asmuch as my purpose specially is to write a Topographie, or description of places, and no Chro-

nographie, or storie of times, (although I must now and then vse both, since the one can not fully be performed without enterlacing the other) and for that also I shall haue iust occasion heereafter in the particulars of this Shyre, to disclose many of the same, I will at this present, and that by way of digression onely, make report of one or two occurrents that happened vnder Ethelbert, and Eadric, two Kings of this countrey.

Ethelbert, the King of Kent.

This Ethelbert, besides that he mightely enlarged the bounds of his owne Kingdome, extending the same euen to the riuer of Humber, was also the first King (amongst the Saxons, inhabiting this land) that promoted the kingdome of Christ, as to whom it pleased almightie God to break the bread of his holy word and gospel, through the ministerie and preaching of Augustine the Monck, that was sent from Rome by Pope Gregorie surnamed the great: amongst the Saxons I saide, least any man shoulde thinke, that either the faith of Christ, was not here

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527

at all, or not so purely preached, before the coming of that Augustine. For it is past all doubt, by the stories of all Countries, and by the testimonie of Beda himselfe (being a Saxon) that the Britons embraced the religion of Christ within this llande, many hundreth yeeres before Gregories time: whether in purer sort then hee sent it hither, or no, let them iudge, that know, that he was called (worthely) 'Pater Cæremoniarum,' and that may yet see in Beda, and others, what trumperie crept into the church of God in his time and by his permission.

Eadric, the King of Kent.

Eadric, the other King succeeded in Kent, after Lotharius, who, because he rather reigned by lust, then ruled by lawe, incurred the hatred of his people, and was inuaded by Ceadwalla (King of Westsex) and Mull his brother: which entring the countrey, and finding no resistance, herried it from the one ende to the other: and not thus contented, Ceadwalla, in reuenge of his brother Muls death, (whom the countrey people had cruelly slaine in a house, that hee had taken for his succour) entred this countrey the second time, and sleying the people, spoiled it without all pitie. And yet not satisfied with al this, he suffered the quarrel to discend to Ina his successour, who ceased not to vnquiet the people of this Shyre, till they agreed to paie 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 per-

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<20>

teining to some peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole Shyre, and will nowe prosecute the residue.

827

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 chaunged the name of the people, and called them Englishmen) vnto the Westsaxon Kingdome, which in the ende became

First name of Englishmen.



Ladie and maistres of al the rest of the kingdomes also: and it was from thencefoorth wholly gouer= ned after the Westsaxon law, as in the Mappe of the tripartite lawes of this Realme hathe appee= red, vntil such time as King Alfred first diided the whole Realme into particular Shires, vpon this occasion following.

Beginning of Shyres.

The Danes, both in his time, and before, had flocked by sea to the coastes of this lande in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword, and fire, wheresoeuer they might arriue: and sometimes taking with them great booties to their ships without dooing any further harme: which thing (continuing for many yeeres together) cau= sed the husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed per= sons to fall to the like pillage, and robberie: The which, the better to cloke their mischiefe withall, fained themselues to be Danish pirates, and would sometime come on lande in one part, and sometime in an other, driuing great spoiles (as the Danes had done) to their ships before them.

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The good king Alfred therefore, that had mar=

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ueilously traueiled in repulsing the barbarous Danes, espying this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politique Prince, to roote out the noisome subiect, then to holde out the forreine eni= mie, by aduice of his counsaile, and by the example of Moses (which followed the counsaile of letro, his father in law) diided the whole Realme into cer= tein parts, or Sections, (being two and thirtie in num= ber, as I gesse) which of the Saxon word Scyran, signifying to cut, he termed shires, or (as wee yet speake) shares, and portions: and appointed ouer euery one shire, an Earle, or Alderman (or both) to whom he committed the gouernment and rule of the same.

<21>

Lathes.

These shyres hee also brake into smaller parts, whereof some were called Lathes, of the worde gelapian, which is, to assemble together: others, hundreds, bycause they contained iurisdiction ouer an hundreth pledges: and others, Tithings, so na= med, bicause there were in eche of them to the number of ten persons, wherof eche one was surety and pledge for others good abearing.

Hundreds.

Tythings.

He ordeined furthermore, that euery man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some Tithing, and that if any were founde of so small credite, that his neighbours would not become pledge for him, hee should forthwith be committed to prison, least he might do harme abroad.

By this deuice **of his** it came to passe, that good subiects (the trauieling Bees of the Realme) re= sorted safely to their labors againe, and the euill

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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 sweete hony of this blessed peace, and tranquillitie: **Insomuch, that (as one writeth) if a man had let fall his purse in**

the high way, he might at great leasure and with good assurance haue come backe and taken it vp againe.

The right way to suppress roges, and theeues.

Some shadow I do confesse, of this King Alfredes politique institution, remaineth euen till this day in those courts which we call Leetes, where these pledges bee yet named 'franci plegii,' of the worde freoborgh, which is, a free pledge: But if the very Image it selfe were amongst vs, who seeth not what benefit woulde ensue thereby, as well towards the suppression of busie theeues, as for the correction of idle vagabounds, which bee the very seede of robbers and theeues? But leauing this matter to suche as beare the sword, I will plie my penne, and go forward.

<22>

Thus much therefore I thought good, now at the first to open, the more at large, bicause it may serue generally for all Shyres, and shall heereafter deliuer mee 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 countrey was at that time, (and yet is) called, a Tithing, is in Kent termed a Borow, of the Saxon worde borh, which signifieth a Pledge, or a suretie: and the chiefe of these pledges, which the Western-

Bosholder, & Tithingman.

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men call a Tithingman, they of Kent name a Bosholder, of the Saxon words borhes ealdor, that is to say, the most auncient, or elder of the Pledges: which thing being vnderstood, the matter will come all to one end, and I may go forward.

1066

Kent keepeth hir old customes.

In this plight therfore, both this Shyre of Kent, and all the residue of the Shyres of this Realme, were founde, when William the Duke of Normandie inuaded this Realme: at whose hands the comitaltie of Kent, obteyned with great honour, the continuation of their auncient vsages, notwithstanding that the whole Realme besides suffered alteration and change.

Giue all kynne.

For prooffe whereof, I will call to witnesse Thomas Spot, somtimes a Moncke and Chronicler of Saint Augustines at Canterbury, who, if hee shall seeme too weake to giue sufficient authoritie to the tale, bicause hee onely (of all the Storiers that I haue seene) reporteth it, Yet, forasmuch as I my selfe first published that note out of his history, and for that the matter it selfe also is neither incredible, nor vnlikely, (the rather bicause 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 much different from other countries) I neither well may, ne will at all, sticke, now eftsoones to rehearse it.

<23>

1067

After such time (saith he) as Duke William the Conquerour had ouerthrowne King Harold in the field, at Battel in Sussex, and had receiued the Londoners to mercy, hee marched with his armie to-

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warde the Castle of Douer, thinking thereby to haue brought in subiection this countrie of Kent

Meeting at Swanescombe.

also. But Stigande, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelsine the Abbat of saint Augustines, perceiving the daunger, assembled the cuntrye men together, and laide before them the intollerable pride of the Normanes that inuaded them, and their owne miserable condition, if they should yeeld vnto them. By which meanes, they so enraged the common people, that they ran foorthwith to weapon, and meeting at Swanscombe, elected the Archbishop and the Abbat for their captaines: This done, ech man got him a greene bough in his hand, and bare it ouer his head, in such sort, as when the Duke approached, hee was muche amased therewith, thinking at the first, that it had been some miraculous woode, that mooued towards him: But they, assoone as hee came within hearing, caste away their boughes from them, and at the sounde of a trumpet bewraied 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, either peace, or warre, at thine owne 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 denie it them.'

Now when the Duke heard this, and considered that the danger of deniall was great, and that the thing desired was but small, hee foorthwith, more wisely then willingly, yeelded to their request: And

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by this meane both hee receiued Douer Castle, and the Cuntrye to obedience, and they onely of all England, (as shal heereafter appeere) obtained for euer their accustomed priuiledges.

<24>

And thus then hath it appeered (so shortly, as I could) what hath been the state and gouernment of this cuntrye, from the arriual of Iulius Cæsar, (the first Romane that conquered this realm) euen to this present day. Now therefore, I will set before the Readers eie in Table, a plaine particular of the whole shyre, wherein, to the end that **with little labour of search**, double commoditie may bee **founde**, I will **first diuide the cuntrye** into Lathes, **Baylifwycks**, **Limites**, and **Hundreds**, as it is vsed for execution of seruices by the **Shyrifes**, their **Baylifes**, and **Iustices of the peace**: **Secondly**, to these **Lathes** and **Hundreds**, I will **adde the Parishes**, **Townes**, and **Boroughes**, **setting downe** against ech of them such **seuerall** summes of money, as (by report of the Recorde of the xiii yeare of hir Maiesties raigne) was leuied in the name of a **Tenthe**, and **Fifteenthe**, vpon euery of the same. **Thirdly**, I will **particularize the Franchyses**, **Parks**, **Riuers**, **Bridges**, and other the more **publique** and **notorious parts of the Shyre** in short **Kalendar**: And **lastly**; I will **addresse** me to the **Topographie** and **larger** description of such places, as either **faithfull** information by worde, or **credible** hystorie in writing, hath hitherto ministred **vnto mee**.

The Distribution of the Shyre, for  
execution of lustice.

&lt;17 Feb 1597&gt;

Lath.	Bayly= wikes.	Limites for lustice of peace.	Hundreds & the number of parishes in them.	Names of the lustices of peace and their dwelling parishes: 17. Februar. 1596.
			Blackheath paris. 7.	S. Raph Bouchier, in Leigh. Bryan Annesley, in Lewsham. William Barnes, in Woolwiche.
		1. Vpper di= uision.	Broomley & Beknam par. 2.	Io. Lo. Bishop Roffen. in Broom= Tymothy Lowe. ley. Edm. Style, in Beknam.
			Lide and Lesnes. pa. 4.	
1.	1. Sut= ton at Hone.		Axtane par. 16.	Perciuall Hart, in Lullingstone. S. George Cary, in Stone.
			Rookesley par. 15.	Tho. Walsingham, in Chesylhyrst Samuel Lennard, in Wyckham.
		2. Nether diuision.	Codsheath par. 8.	Samson Lenard in Seuenok.
			Westerham par. 4.	Thomas Potter in Westerham.
			Somerdene par. 6.	S. Robert Sydney. in Pens= George Ryuers. hyrst.

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Lath.	Bayly= wikes.	Limites for lustice of peace.	Hundreds & their number of parishes.	Names of lustices and their dwell= ing parishes.
			Hoo par. 5.	William Lo. Cobham in Cob= Henry Brooke ham. S. Io. Leueson in Halling. Will. Lambert.
		1. North di= uision.	Shamele par. 11.	
			Toltingtroe par. 6.	
	2. Hoo		Chetham & Gyllinghin par. 3.	
			Wrotham par. 4.	Geo. Chowne. in Wrotham. Io. Rychers.
			Larkefield par. 15.	William Sedley, in Ayllesford.
			Litle field par. 3.	Roger Twysden, in Pekham.
			Twyford par. 6.	Sir Iohn Scott, in Netlested. Tho. Fane, in Hunton.
		2. South di= uision.	Lowy of Tun= bridge p. 2.	
			Wacheling= stone p. 5.	
			West barn= field, Brencheley and Hors= monden p. 3.	
			Marden p. 2	
2	3. Ayles= ford.		Eyhorne par. 13.	S. Ed. Wotton, in Bocton malherbe S. T. Fludde, in Bersted. Edward Fylmer, in Sutton. William Lewyn, in Otterynden. Mathew Hadde, in Frensted. Mart. Barnham, in Hollingborne Henry Cutte, in Stocbery. Lau. Washington, in Maydstone. Will. Beynham, in Boxley.
		3. East diui= sion.	Maydstone par. 7.	
	4. Eyhorne.			

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Lath.	Bayly= wikes.	Limites for lustice of peace.	Hundreds & number of pa= rishes in them	Names of lustices and their dwell= ing parishes.

	5.		Mylton	S. Ed. Hobbye. in the yle of lo. Askough. Shepey. William Crowmer in Tunstall
			par. 23.	
			Tenham p. 4.	
			Feuersham	Mychaell Sondes, in Through= ley.
			par. 17.	
	6.		Bocton vn= derbleane	
	Scraye.		par. 4.	
			Felboroe p. 5	
			Chart and Lonbridge	Rob. Edolph, in Hynxell.
			par. 9.	
			Wye	S. Moyle Fynch, in Eastwell. Tho. Kempe, in Wye.
			par. 5.	
			Byrcholt ba= rony	
			par. 1.	
			Calehyll	Rob. Honeywood. in Cha= Nicholas Gilborne. ring. Richard Deering, in Plukley.
			par. 8.	
			Ashford, villate.	
			Blackborne p. 5.	
			Tenterden	port
			par. 1.	
			Barkley p. 1.	
			Cranbrooke	Thomas Robertes, in Cran= brooke
			par. 3.	
			Roluelden	Henry Lynley, in Roluenden.
			par. 2.	
			Selbrightenden par. 1.	
			East barnfield pa. 1.	
			Newyndene villate.	

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Lath.	Bayly= wickes.	Limites for Iustice of peace.	Hundreds and number of parishes.	Names of Iustices and their dwel= ling parishes.
			Ringesloe	Rycharde Cryspe, in Thanet Ins.
			par. 4.	
			Blengate	
			par. 7.	
			Whitstable	
			par. 3.	
	9.		Westgate	Peter Manwood, in Haking= ton.
	Bredge.		par. 4.	
			Downeham= ford	Sir Henry Palmer, in Bekes= borne porte.
			p. 6.	
			Preston	
			par. 2.	
			Bredge and	William Partrich, in Bredge.
			Petham p. 7.	Ric. Hardres, in vpper Hardres
			Kyngham= forde	Sir Thomas Wylford, in King= stone.
			par. 5.	
			Sea salter Boroe.	
			Wyngham	Thomas Palmer, in Wing= ham.
			par. 5.	
				Richard Fogge, in Tylmanstone.
			Eastrye	Ric. Lo. of Douer, in Denton. lo. Boys, in Betshanger.
			par. 11.	
				Thomas Payton, in Knolton. Edwarde Boys, in Nonington.
			Corniloe	
			par. 8.	
			Bewes= brough	
			p. 13	
			Longport	
			Boroe.	

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Lath.	Bayly= wickes.	Limites for Iustice of peace.	Hundreds and number of parishes.	Names of Iustices and their dwel= ling parishes.
			Folkestane	
			par. 8.	
			Loningboroe	William Harmonde, in Acrise.
			par. 4.	
			Stowtinge	Iohn Smith, at Stanforde.
			par. 5.	
	11.			
	Stow= ting.			

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

Note, that Rich. Lee, and Henry Fynche, dwell in Canterbury: Thomas Blague inhabiteth Rochester: The rest (of the Nobilitie and others) named in the Commission, are not resident within the Shyre.

### 36

<25>

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

	Borowe of Wingham.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.
	Borowe of Rollinge.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.
	Borowe of Nonington.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.
	Borowe of Godestone.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.
Hundreth of Wing= ham.	Borowe of Denne.	lxvii.s'.i.d'.
	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'.i.d'.
	The parish of Ashe, with the Borow of Widerton.	xxiii.l'.xii.s'.iii.d'.
		Sum. 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 †Kinges= lowe.	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'.vi.s'.iiii.d'.
	Towne of Byrchingstone.	viii.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.
		Sum. Ciii.l'.xiii.s'.vii.d'.

### 37

<26>

The Lath of  
S. Augustines.

Hundreth of Down= hamford.	Towne of Staple.	iiii.l'.vii.s'.
	Towne of Adesham.	iiii.l'.ix.s'.
	Towne of Wykham.	vii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.
	Towne of Litleborne.	vii.l'.xiii.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 Nonington.	xx.s'.
Hundreth	Towne of Tyluestone.	vi.l'.vi.s'.iiii.d'.
of Estrye.	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'.

	Borowe of Dorme.	xxv.s'.
	Borowe of Kingstone.	iii.l'.viii.d'.
Hundreth	Borowe of Outemeston.	xxii.s'.iiii.d'.
of King=	Borowe of Berham.	xliv.s'.iiii.d'.
hamford.	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'.

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

### 38

<27>  
The Lathe of  
S. Augustines.

	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'.
Hundreth	Towne of Beawfield.	xxxix.s'.
of Bews=	Towne of Charlton.	xlvi.s'.
brough.	Towne of Hougham.	iiii.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.

	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.
Hundreth	Borowe of Mongeham Magna.	xl.s'.
of Cornilo.	Borowe of Rippley.	xvii.s'.
	Borowe of Norborne.	xxiii.s'.
	Borowe of Deale.	xiii.l'.xix.s'.
	Borowe of Walmer.	iiii.l'.v.s'.viii.d'.
	Borowe of Mongeham Parua.	xvii.s'.
	Towne of Ringwolde.	viii.l'.x.d'.
	Sum.	xl.l'.vi.s'.xi.d'.ob.

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<28>  
The Lathe of  
S. Augustines.

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

	Borow of Westgate.	ix.l'.xix.s'.ii.d'.ob.
	Borow of Harbaldowne.	iiii.l'.

Hundreth of West=gate. Borow of Hakington. iii.l'.vi.s'.  
 Borow of Coking. iii.l'.xiii.s'.  
 Borow of Tunforde. xxxv.s'.  
 Borow of Rushborne. xxviii.s'.x.d'.  
 Borow of Harwich. lvii.s'.i.d'.  
 Sum. xxviii.l'.i.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Whit=staple. 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 Patricksborne. iii.l'.xvi.s'.  
 Towne of Bekesborne. iii.l'.xviii.s'.  
 Towne of Bregge. xv.s'.  
 Towne of Blackmanbury. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of little Harden. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of Natindon. xxviii.s'.  
 Towne of great Harden. xxix.s'.  
 Sum. xiiii.l'.ii.s'.

Towne of Seasalter. iii.l'.vi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Sum of this whole Lathe of Saint Augustines. CCCCxxxvi.l'.xv.s'.

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<29>

The Lathe of Shepway.

Hundreth of Saint Martine. The towne of Newchurch. 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 luechurch. lxviii.s'.i.d'.  
 The towne of Medley. iii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Sum. xxii.l'.xiii.s'.xi.d'.

Hundreth of Lang=port. The towne of S. Nicholas. xvi.s'.  
 The towne of Lyd. ix.l'.ii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Romney. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Hope. xxix.s'.  
 Sum. xii.l'.viii.d'.

Hundreth of Alowes=bedge. 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 Fairefeld. xliiii.s'.ix.d'.  
 The towne of Snaue. xxxii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 The towne of luechurch. xxxi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 The towne of Newchurch. vii.s'.i.d'.ob.  
 Sum xvi.l'.x.s'.x.d'.

Hundreth of Bircholt 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.

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<30>

The Lathe of Shepway.

Hundreth of New=church. The towne of Bilsington. liii.s'.viii.d'.  
 The towne of Newchurch. 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'.

The towne of Elmested. lxxii.s'.ix.d'.  
 The towne of Scelling. xix.s'.ii.d'.



Hundreth of Stow= ting.	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'.
Hundreth of Louing= borough	The towne of Eleham.	xvi.l'.xii.d'.
	The towne of Acryse.	vii.s'.viii.d'.
	The towne of Hardresse.	xxix.s'.iiii.d'.
	The towne of Stelling.	xxx.s'.i.d'.ob.
	The towne of Lyming.	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 Selling.	vi.l'.xi.s'.ix.d'.
	Towne of Bonington.	xii.s'.ix.d'.
	Towne of Herste.	xvii.s'.vi.d'.ob.
	Town of Westinghanger.	xvi.s'.xi.d'.ob.q. Sum. xiii.l'.xvii.s'.viii.d'.ob.q.
Hundreth of Oxe= ney.	Towne of Wittresham.	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'.

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<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.	iiii.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 Rokinge.	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 Dymchurch.	lxi.s'.x.d'.
	Towne of Bormersh.	iiii.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.
	Towne of Newchurch.	vi.s'.ii.d'.ob.
	Towne of Estbredg.	xl.s'.i.d'.
	Towne of Blackmanstone.	xii.s'.
	Towne of Westheath.	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 Folkstone.	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.	iiii.l'.ii.s'.iii.d'. Sum. xlvi.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.ob.
	Sum of this whole Lathe of Shepway. CCiii.l'.xii.s'.ix.d'.ob.q.	

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The Lath of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

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

Hundreth of Long=bridge. 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.  
 Hynxell. xiii.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Ashetisforde. lii.s'.q.  
 Sum. xii.l'.xii.s'.vi.d'.ob.

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

Hundreth of Bough=ton vnder Bleane. Graueney. v.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Harnehill. iiii.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.

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The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin=hope.

Hundreth of Tene=ham. Teneham. ix.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'.  
 Linstede. ix.l'.ix.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Eastchurch and Stonepit. xxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Hedcorne. xix.s'.  
 Dodington. vi.l'.x.s'.ii.d'.  
 lwade. xi.s'.  
 Sum. xxvii.l'.xv.s'.

Hundreth of Calehil. 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. xlvi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sednor. xlvi.s'.ii.d'.  
 Halmeste. l.s'.viii.d'.  
 Sainct lohns. vii.s'.vi.d'.  
 Grenehill. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum. xxix.l'.xix.s'.x.d'.

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The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin=hope.

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.  
 Hundreth of Feuer=  
 sham. 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 Tenter=  
 dene. Tenterdene. xii.l'.vii.s'.i.d'.  
 Ebnye. xxxvii.s'.x.d'.  
 Sum. xiiii.l'.iiii.s'.xi.d'.

Hundreth of Roluin=  
 den. Roluinden. iii.l'.xi.s'.x.d'.  
 Benyndene. lviii.s'.viii.d'.  
 Sum. vi.l'.x.s'.vi.d'.

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<35>  
 The Lathe  
 of Scray, or  
 Sherwin=  
 hope.

Hundreth of Barkley. Bedyndene. v.l'.  
 Benyndene. xxxix.s'.  
 Haldene. vi.s'.  
 Swardene. 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 Black=  
 borne. 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 Bran=  
 field. Hawkherst. iii.l'.xviii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Cranebroke. vi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Sum. iiiii.l'.v.s'.

Hundreth of Crane=  
 brooke. 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 Selbri=  
 tendene. 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.

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<36>  
 The Lathe

Hundreth of Mar=  
 Gowdherst. xxxviii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Stapleherst. xvi.s'.ix.d'.

of Scray, or  
Sherwin=  
hope.

den.

Marden. xix.s'.viii.d'.  
Sum. iii.l'.xiii.s'.viii.d'.

Newendene. xxiii.s'.xi.d'.

The Balywike of Kay, in the  
Hundred of Mylton.

Tong. xliii.s'.ix.d'.

Rodmersham. xix.s'.vi.d'.ob.

Kingsdowne. 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.

Mynster. xi.l'.ix.d'.

Eastchurch. 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.

Vpchurch. vi.l'.x.s'.x.d'.

Harttyp. iii.l'.xii.s'.

Newenten. iii.l'.iiii.s'.iiii.d'.

Halstowe. xvi.s'.

Stokebury. xx.s'.v.d'.

Sum. xv.l'.xvi.s'.i.d'.ob.

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<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'.

Milstede. 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'.

Bycnore. 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.

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<38>  
The Lathe  
of Scray, or  
Sherwin=  
hope.

Hundreth of Felbe=  
roughe. Cartham. v.l'.xv.s'.iiii.d'.  
Godmersham. v.l'.ix.s'.  
Chilham. x.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.  
Sum. xxi.l'.vii.s'.i.d'.

Bewbredge. vi.l'.viii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Trenworthe. li.s'.  
Socombe. iii.l'.vi.s'.iii.d'.ob.  
Gotley. xiii.s'.ix.d'.  
Bempston. x.s'.vi.d'.  
Wilmyngton. x.s'.vii.d'.  
Hundreth of Wye. 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. xliiii.s'.ix.d'.  
Tokingham nothing, bicause  
it is in decay.  
Sum. xxvi.l'.xii.d'.ob.

The towne 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.

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<39>

The Lath of Aylesforde.

Halfe Hundreth of The towne of viii.l'.x.s'.  
Chetham. Chetham.  
Halfe Hundreth of  
Gillingham, and Gillingham and xv.l'.ix.d'.ob.  
Greane. Greane.

Berstede. xvii.s'.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. xliiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Hollingborne. iii.l'.xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Hundreth of Ey=  
horne. 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.

<40>  
The Lathe of  
Aylesford.

Hundreth  
of Mayd=  
stone.

Maydestone. xix.l'.ix.s'.ii.d'.  
Loose. xxxiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Lynton and Crookherst. l.s'.viii.d'.  
Westre. xliiii.s'.ii.d'.  
Stone. lxxviii.s'.ii.d'.  
East Farleyghe. xlv.s'.i.d'.ob.  
Detling. liii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Boxley. iiii.l'.iii.s'.iiii.d'.  
Sum. xxxviii.l'.xviii.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Hundreth  
of Sha=  
mel.

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

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

<41>  
The Lathe of  
Ailesforde.

Hundreth  
of Twy=  
ford.

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

†r. 'Watrinbury'

Hundreth  
of Litle=  
feld.

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

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

Hundreth  
of Bren=  
chesley.

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

Hundreth  
of Wache=  
lingstone.

Borden. liiii.s'.ii.d'.  
Spelherst. xxx.s'.ii.d'.  
Stoningley in Pepingley. xxxvi.s'.ix.d'.  
Sheyborne Ruschall. xlii.s'.ix.d'.q.  
Tudeley. xxxiii.s'.x.d'.ob.  
Asherst. ii.s'.  
Sum. ix.l'.xix.s'.viii.d'.ob.q.

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<42> The Lathe of Ailesford.	The Lo= wy of Tun= brigge.	Southe. iii.l'.xliii.s'.ii.d'. Hilden. iii.l'.v.s'. Hadlowe. iii.l'.x.s'.x.d'. Tunbrigge. xliii.s'.x.d'.ob. Sum. xliii.l'.xliii.s'.x.d'.ob.
	Hundreth of Wro= tham.	Wrotham. x.l'.iii.s'.i.d'.ob. Stansted. liii.s'.liii.d'. Iteham. lxv.s'.iii.d'.ob. Shibborne. xxliii.s'.x.d'. Sum. xvii.l'.vi.s'.vii.d'.
	Hundreth of Larke= feld.	Byrling. lx.s'.vi.d'.ob. Pedelsworth. xxliii.s'.ii.d'.ob.q. Layborne. xvi.s'.xi.d'. S. Leonard. xvi.s'.ii.d'.ob.q. Ryash. xxvi.s'.vii.d'.ob.q. Addington. xix.s'.i.d'.ob.q. Offam. xliii.s'.ix.d'. Trottycliffe. xvii.s'.vii.d'.q. Snotheland. liii.s'.ix.d'.ob. Woldham with the Parish of xxviii.s'.x.d'.ob. S. Margaret. Allington. x.s'.ii.d'. Dytton. v.s'.vii.d'. Eastmalling. vii.l'.ii.s'.ob. Borham. xliii.s'.ob. Ailesford. Cxv.s'.v.d'.ob.q. Rugmerhill. xx.s'.liii.d'. Horsmondene. xxliii.s'.vii.d'.ob.q. Huntington. vii.s'.ii.d'.ob.q. Sum. xxxii.l'.vi.s'.iii.d'.ob.

## 54

<43> The Lathe of Aylesforde.	Hundreth of Hoo.	The towne of S. War= burge, <b>alias Hoo</b> . ix.l'.ii.s'.viii.d'. The towne of S. Marie. iii.l'.xliii.s'.liii.d'. The towne of All Saints. Cvi.s'.liii.d'. 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 Tol= tingtrow.	Mepeham. vi.l'. Luddesdon. xl.s'. †Yelesfield. xlii.s'.viii.d'. Gore. lxliii.s'.vii.d'. Grauesend. l.s'.vi.d'. Torne. xliii.s'.vi.d'. Mylton. l.s'.vi.d'. Sum. xx.l'.xii.s'.ix.d'.	†r. 'lfield'
		Summe of this whole Lathe of Aylesford. CCC.l'.xvi.s'.xi.d'.ob.	

## 55 &lt;sig E&gt;

<44>	The Lath of Sutton at Hone.	The towne of Rokesley. xix.s'.x.d'. Bexley. vi.l'.xii.d'. North Craye. xx.s'.
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Hundreth of Rokes= ley. Orpington. iiii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.  
 Fotyscraie. xvii.s'.v.d'.  
 Chellesfeld. lxvi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Farneburghe. xlv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Codeham. lxii.s'.ii.d'.  
 West Wickham. xxxvii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 S. Marie Craye. l.s'.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'.  
 Pollescraie. xlvi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Chesilhurst. xlv.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum xxxvii.l'.ix.s'.iii.d'.

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<45>  
 The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

Towne of Southfleete. iiii.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'.  
 Hundreth of Axston. Kingesdowne. xli.s'.iii.d'.  
 Maplescombe. xvi.s'.viii.d'.  
 Farmingeham. v.s'.v.d'.ob.  
 Stone. lxxiii.s'.ix.d'.ob.  
 Swanescombe. lxi.s'.ob.  
 Darrent. xxxviii.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Horton. iiii.l'.ix.s'.vi.d'.ob.  
 Eynesforde. xxxvii.s'.xi.d'.  
 Lullingstone. xliiii.s'.ii.d'.ob.  
 Sum. xxxix.l'.x.s'.viii.d'.

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

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<46>  
 The Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

Hundreth of Somersdene. The towne of Chyddingstone. xvi.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Spelherste. xxii.d'.  
 Couedene. ix.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Leighe. vi.s'.  
 Penseherste. v.s'.vi.d'.  
 Heuer, with the Borow of Tun= bridge. vi.s'.  
 Sum. xlv.s'.

Hundreth of Westram. Towne of Etonbridge. xxiii.s'.  
 Westram. xli.s'.ii.d'.  
 Couedene. xii.s'.  
 Brasted vpland. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.  
 Sum. iiii.l'.x.s'.vi.d'.



Hundreth of Bromley, and Beckenham. Towne of Bromley. viii.l'. Beckenham. v.l'.xix.s'.vi.d'. Sum. xiii.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'.

Hundreth of Blackheath. Chesylherst and †Notingham. xliii.s'.viii.d'. Westgrenewiche. 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'.

†r. 'Motingham'

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<47>  
The Lath of Sutton at Hone.

Hundreth of Lytle and Lesnes. Towne of Erythe. xiiii.l'.iiii.s'.iii.d'.

Craford. vi.l'.xvi.s'.

Plumsted. vii.l'.xix.s'.

Sum. xxviii.l'.xix.s'.iii.d'.

The towne of Dartford. xiiii.l'.iii.s'.vii.d'.

Summe of this whole Lathe of Sutton at Hone. Clxxxix.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.

For the more easie vnderstanding of this Table of the Fifteene, it is to bee noted, that the Lathes and Hundrethes do stand together whole and entier, howsoever the townes and parishes be diuided and broken into parts. And therefore, when one towne, is twice, thrice, or more often, named, bee well assured that it hath so many boroughes (or partes) thereof standing in so many seuerall Hundreds: But if it bee but once set downe, then standeth it wholie in that onely Hundreth where you finde it.

It is to be obserued furthermore, that this payment which we commonly at this day do call the Fifteene, is truely (and was aunciently) named, the Tenth and Fifteene. The tenth, for so much thereof as was paid out of cities and borowes in the name of the tenth part of their goods and moouables.

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

And the Fifteenth, for the residue thereof, which was originally and properly due out of the vplandish and countrie townes or villages, as a Fifteenth part of their goods or moouables. Of the whole

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sum of which fifteene and tenth, there was 6000. l'. abated by a generall commission in the reigne of King Henry the Sixte, in respect of the pouertie of sundrie decayed cities and townes in euery part of the realme.

To this Tenth, did the hundreth of Rochester pay (as it appeereth in the olde bookes) and to it the towne of Osprenge, part of the Hundreth of Marden, and all the Hundreth of Mylton (except the Baylywike of Kay first named) do contribute at this present day. And this is the very cause, why

the Hundreth of Marden, that Bailywike of Kay, and the towne of Osprenge, be twice named in the Lathe of Scraye, and seeme to be twice charged also: whereas (indeede) the first naming of them is for their charge to the Fifteene, and the second for the charge of some partes of them to the payment of the Tenth.

And heerof also it may be probably gessed, that such partes of the towne of Osprenge, and of the Hundred of Marden, as bee yet liable to the Tenth, be of the Libertie of Mylton, the which was aunciently the Kings owne towne: and that so much of the Baylywike of Kay as beareth now towards the fifteene, was not at the first any portion of Mylton, though it be now reputed within that hundred.

These things I haue the rather noted, bicause our latter bookes do confound together the payment to the Tenth and Fifteene, whereas the auncient recorde doth in plaine wordes distinguish and seuer them.

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<48>

Fraunchises.

Of the Duchie.

Of the Archbishop.

Of the Bishop of Rochester.

Of the Deane of Canterburie.

Of Otforde.

Of Wye.

Of Asheford.

Of Wrotham.

Of Eltham.

Of Osprenge.

Knightes fees in old time,  
254. and Di. whereof  
of 27. belonged to  
the Archbishop, eight  
to the Bishop of Rochester,  
and the rest  
to the King.

Forrestes and Parks.

South Frythe, forrest.

North Frythe, three  
parkes.

Otforde, two: **whereof  
one disparked.**

Knoll.

Gromebridge.

Panthyrst, disparked.

Penshyrst.

Brasted dis.

Henden dis.

Heuer dis.

Broxam dis.

Wrotham di.

Ightam dis.

Cage dis.

Postern dis.

Sutton dis.

Langley dis.  
Cooling.  
Byrling.  
Cobham.  
Alington dis.  
Mereworth dis.  
Grenewiche.  
Eltham. 3.  
Ashowre.  
Southparke.  
Lullingstone.  
Calehyll.  
Leedes.  
S. Augustines.  
Bedgebury.  
Westenhanger. 2.  
Halden **dis.**

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Hamswell.  
Hungershall.  
Lye dis.  
Folkston dis.  
Shoreland **dis.**  
**Aldington dis.**  
Stonehyrst, dis.  
Stowting.  
Saltwood **dis.**  
Posting.  
At Ashford.  
Sissingherst.  
Glassenbury.  
Oxenhoth 2 dis.

<49>

Hilles of name.

Shooters hill  
Red hill.  
Gads hill.  
Cockshoote hill.  
Shorne hill.  
Northdownes.  
Boxley hill.  
**Harbaldoune.**  
Boughton hill.  
Byrling hill.  
Ryuer hill.  
Raynam downe.  
Mill hill.  
**Calehill.**  
Baram downe.  
South downes.

Ryuers.

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

Stowre.

Bridges at

Depeford vpon Ra=  
Lewsham uens.

Crayford 2. vpon Cray.

Eaton bridge

Tunbridge. 5.

Brantbridge

Twyford vpon

Yalding. Med=

Teston wey

Farley

Maydstone

Ailesford

Rochester

**62**

Shorham

Ainsforde vpon Darent.

Farningham

Dartforde

Chaforde.

Lamberhirst.

Bewl.

Hetcorne.

Newendene.

Ashforde.

Canterburie. vpon Stowre.

Cities.

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Tues=  
day, at Wrotham, not vsed.  
Leneham.

Markets,  
vpon Wednes=  
day, at Douor.  
Sandwiche.  
Canterbury.  
Grauesend.  
S. Mary Cray.  
Westwell, in old time.

Thursday, at Maydstone.

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Fryday,  
at Sandwiche.  
Canterburie.  
Rochester.  
Tunbridge.

Markets,  
vpon Satur=  
day, at Rumney.  
Hythe.  
Douer.  
Sandwiche.  
Feuersham.  
Mylton.  
Asheford.  
Cranebrooke.  
Lenham.  
Mallyng.  
Sennock.

Fayres at

**Apuldore, S. Peters**  
in Sommer, long since.

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

**Bidenden, on Simon and Iudes day.**

Bromley, 1. February, being S. Bridgets day: and the 25. of luly, being S. Iames day.

Brastede, on Thursday in Rogation weeke.

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

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

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being S. Lukes day.

Canterburie, the Tuesday in Whitson weeke. 27. luly, being the Sea-uen Sleepers day. 29. Sept. being S. Michaels day: and 29. Decem. being S. Thom. Bets day.

Cranbroke, 29. Maie, being S. Corones day: and 24. Iune, being Midsomer day.

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

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

Clyffe, 17. Septemb. being S. Lamberts day

Douer, 25. luly, being saint Iames day. 24. August, being saint Bartilmewes day: and 11. November, being S. Martines day.

Feuersham, 14. February being saint Valentines day: and 1. August, being Lammass day.

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

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

Hertesham, 24. Iune, being Midsomer day.

Hedcorne, 28. Iune,

being S. Leos day.  
Hide, 17. Nouember,  
being saint Hughes day.  
Lenham. 27. May, be=  
ing S. Beedes day: and  
21. September, being  
Saint Mathews day.  
Lydde. 11. Iuly: being  
S. Benets day.

Maidstone. 1. May, be=  
ing Philip and Iacobs  
day: 9. Iune, beeing S.  
Edmunds day: 6. Octo=  
ber, being S. Faithes  
day: and 2. February, be=  
ing the Purification, or  
Candlemas day.

<52> Mereworth, 10. August,  
beeing Saint Laurence  
day.

Malling, 21. Septem=  
ber, being S. Mathews  
day. 1. August, being  
Lammas day. 6. No=

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uember, being S. Len=  
nards day.

S. Margarets, neare  
Dartford. 20 Iulie, be=  
ing S. Margarets day.

Northfleete, the Tues=  
day in Easter weeke.

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

Pluckley. 5. Decemb.  
being Saint Nycholas  
eeuen.

Rochester. 19. May,  
being Saint Dunstanes  
day: and 30. Nouember  
being S. Andrews day.

**Roking, on Mary Mag=  
dalens day.**

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

Reculuer. 7. Septemb.  
being the Natiuitie of  
the blessed virgine Ma=  
rie.

Sittingborne. 21. Sep=  
tember, being S. Ma=  
thews day.

Strowde. 10. August,  
being S. Laurences day

Sandwiche. 23. No=  
uember, being S. Cle=  
ments day.

Sandhyrst. 7. Decem.  
being the eeuen of the  
Conception.

**Smeethe, on eche of**

the Ladie daies in Har=  
uest.

Sennock. 6. Decemb.  
being S. Nicholas day:  
and 29. Iune, being S.  
Peters day.

Tunbridge, Ashwed=  
nesday: 24. Iune, being  
Midsomer day: and 18.  
Octob. being S. Lukes  
day.

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

Wye. 13. Marche, be=  
ing S. Theodores day.

Wrotham. 23. Aprill,  
being Saint Georges  
day.

Boroughes.

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Maydstone, and the  
porte townes.

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Castles at,

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Douer, and the Castell  
at the Key.

Leedes.

Tunbridge.

Mylton.

Grauesend. 2.

Quynborow.

Cooling.

Sandowne.

Dele.

Walmer.

Saltwood.

Alington.

Shorham.

Ainsford.

Tong.

Layborne.

Vpnore.

Sandegate.

Studfall, or Lym.

Sandwiche.

Sutton.

Billerica, or Court At=

†steeat.

Chilham.

Richeborowe.

Godworde, in Thorn=  
ham.

Honourable houses, belong=  
ing to the Prince, at

Greenewiche.

Eltham.

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

To the Archbishop.

Canterburie.  
Wingham.  
Forde.

To the Byshop of Ro=  
chester.

Broomley.  
Rochester.  
Halling.

To men of honour,

Berling  
Cobham.  
Cooling.

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Houses for poore people,  
with prouision of  
liuing, at

Grenewiche.  
Orpington.  
Lullingstone.  
Shorham.  
Sennock.  
Rochester.  
**Chetam.**  
**Sutton valence.**  
Canterburie.  
**Hackington.**  
Sandwich.  
Douer.

**Saint Bartilmews, at  
Hythe.**

Houses of poore people,  
without prouision.

Dartford.  
Whitdiche.  
**Chesill hill, by Kayes  
streate.**

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

Wingham **College,**  
84. l'. by yeere.  
Minster.  
Wye College. 93. l'.  
**Asheforde College.**  
Horton Priory. 95. l'.  
Bilsington Priory. 81. l'.  
Newendene.  
Folkstone. 41. l'.  
Douer Priory. 170. l'.



Meason dieu. 120. l'.  
 Hospitall there. 59. l'.  
 Bradsoll Abbay of S.  
     Radigundes. 98. l'.  
 Westlangdon, of regu=  
     **lar Canons.** 56. l'.  
 Boxley. 204. l'.  
 Leedes Priory. 362. l'.  
 Combwell. 80. l'.  
 Feuersham. 200. l'.  
**Dauington, alias, Anin=**  
     ton Priory there.  
 Maidstone col. 159. l'.  
 Shepey. 129. l'.  
 Motenden. 60. l'.  
 Christs Church.  
     **1421. l'. 17. s'. 3. d'.**  
 S. Augustines.  
 s. Sepulchers. 29. l'.  
 S. Gregories.           In Canterbury.  
 S. Tho. hos. 23. l'.  
 S. Iames hos. 32. l'.  
 S. Nicholas hosp.  
     109. l'.

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Saint Maries without  
     Cant.  
 Rochester Priory 486. l'.  
 Cobham col. 28. l'.  
 Strood. 52. l'.  
 Malling Abbay. 218. l'.  
 Higham priorie.  
 Tunbridge priorie.  
 Ailesford.  
 Dartford. 380.  
 Grenewiche **friers.**  
 Meason dieu, at  
     Osprenge.  
 Lesnes Ab.  
     Schooles, at  
 Canterburie.  
 Rochester.  
 Sandwiche.  
 Cranbrooke.  
**Sutton valence.**  
 Bydendene.  
 Tunbridge.  
 Maidstone.  
 Sennock.  
**Wye.**  
 Dartford.

The Beacons in Kent.

As in warre, celeritie auailleth no  
 lesse, than force it selfe: So the Right  
 honorable Sir William Brooke, Lord  
 Cobham, and Lorde Chamberlaine  
 of hir Maiesties houshold (who hath  
 been sole Lieutenant of this shire, since the first of  
 hir Maiesties Raigne) foreseeing how necessarie it  
 was to haue the forces of the countrie speedily

draw together, for the encounter of any hostilitie: and finding, that vpon the fiering of the Beacons (which are erected for that seruice) not only the common sort, but euen men of place and honour, were ignorant which way to direct their course, and therby

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(through amasednesse) as likely to run from the place affected, as to make to the succour of it: caused the true places of the Beacons to be plotted in Carde, with directorie lines, so many sundrie waies, as any of them did respect the other: By which, any man, with little labour may be assured, where the danger is, and thereof informe his neighbours. For example: suppose our first Beacon, standing on Shooters hill, to be light: he that will go thither may know by the watchmen from whence they receiued their light, which must be either from the west neare London, or Hamstede: or else from the East, by warrant of the fiered Beacon at Stone neare Dartford, or of that which is neare to Grauesende. The like of the rest: and so much for vse.

Touching the Antiquitie, and name: it seemeth they came from the Saxons: for of their worde 'Becnian,' which is to call by signe (or to beken, as we yet speake) they are named Beacons: and I find, that before the time of king Edward the third they were made of great stacks of wood (of which sort I my selfe haue seene som in Wiltshire) but about the xi. yeere of his Raigne, it was ordeined that in our shire they should be high Standards with their Pitchpots.

And now, if any man shall thinke, that this laying open of the Beacons, is a point not meete to be made publike: I pray him to giue me leaue to dissent in that opinion from him. For, as the profit to the Realme and subiect is manifest, in that it spee=

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deth the seruice, where speed is most profitable: So there is no secret hereby disclosed, whereof the enimie may take aduantage, seeing that Beacons stand open to the eie, and all men know the end for which they be aduanced, though few know the best vse and aduantage of them. Yea rather, the enimie is preuented, when he seeth that we can and do make so good and readie vse of our Beacons. If it be replied, that peraduenture the common people shall not be permitted to run to the shore, 'Tumultuaria manu,' as the old maner was: but shall stay till they be called vpon, and that the trained companies only shall resort to the places of their appointed Rendezuous: the answer is, that whatsoever course be directed, yet the speedie knowledge of the danger, is all alike profitable, which without this cannot be discerned. And otherwise it must follow, that there will be no vse of the Beacons at all: which if it be, the countrie might be well deliuered of that continuall and great charge, which it sustaineth by the watching of them. But as (no doubt) the necessitie of them is apparent: so were it good, that for the more speedie spreading of the knowledge

of the enimies comming, they were assisted with some horsemen (anciently called of their Hobies, or nags, Hobeliers) that besides the fire (which in a bright shining day is not so well descried) might also run from Beacon to Beacon, and supply that notice of the danger at hande.

<fold-out map 'A Carde, of the Beacons, in Kent.'>

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<58A>

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.  
Radulphus Roffensis.  
Richardus Pluto.  
Richardus Douerensis.  
Sampson Durouernius.  
Radulfus Maidston.  
Geruasius Dorobernensis.  
Solitarius Presbyter.  
Nigellus Wireker.  
Alexander, Theologus.  
Simon Stokius.  
Ioannes Cantianus.  
Haimo de Feuersham.  
Thomas Spottus.  
Simon Mepham.  
Petrus de Ikham.  
Guilielmus Paghham.  
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.

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Guilielmus Whyte.  
Guilielmus Beckley.  
Ioannes Capgraue.  
Guilielmus Stapilhart.  
Ioannes Fisher.  
Ioannes Frithe.  
Simon Fishe.  
Thomas Wiat, Senior.  
Leonardus Digs.  
Ioannes Ponetus.  
Richardus Turnerus.  
Elizabetha, Regina.

<58B>

Hitherto (almost altogether) out of Maister Bale: to the which, these may be added, that haue written since.

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

Io<sup>h</sup>n Twyne.

Francis Thynne.

<1590>

<1586>

Hitherto of Kent in particularitie, and by way of **Carde and Table**: Whereof some part is drawn 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 warrented: but in the other twain, if either by want of memorie I haue not taken all, or by too much 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. Nowe a fewe wordes of the Welsh Hystorie, and then to the diuision of the Shyre and Countrie it selfe.

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<59>

A short counsell, as touching the Bryttish historie.

Albeit that I am iustly occasioned (before I make mine entry) to speake largely, for confirmation of the credite of our Bryttish or Welsh hystorie, (the faith whereof is by William Petite, and Polydore Virgile called into question) for as much, as I shall be enforced to vse it **in some points** as a grounde worke of my frame and building: yet for that I minde not in any part of this my labour, to handle with ma=

nie wordes, matters in controuersie, (being otherwise sufficiently charged with things more incident to my purpose, and no lesse fit to be known) and bicause also that matter hath alreadye founde more learned and diligent patrones, I will with fewe words 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, referring such as desire more abundant testimonies, to the reading of Iohn Leland, and sir Iohn ap Rese, two learned men, that have plentifully written therein.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

The state of the matter **in question** is this, whether Geffrey of Monmouth be the authour of the Bryttish storie (as William of Newborow, and Polydore charge him) or the translatur thereof onely

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out of the Bryttish, as himselfe in his booke professeth. Whereof must needes ensue, That if the work be his owne, it hath no more credite, then hee himselfe (being the author) coulde bring vnto it: But if hee did onely translate that, which Walter the Archdeacon of Oxforde brought out of Normandie, and deliuered vnto him, Then doth not the estimation depende vpon Geffray, but vpon som other (whatsoever he were) that first wrate it.

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Now, that it may appeare vnto you, that hee was onely the interpreter of that which 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 daies, who (as himself confesseth) was borne in the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, about which time Geffray of Monmouth was on liue also.

This Henrie (besides a learned hystorie of the realme) wrate three seuerall treatises which I haue seene: one intituled, 'De miraculis Angliæ:' An other, 'De serie Regum potentissimorum:' And the thirde, 'De origine Regum Brytannorum.' In this latter, he saith playnly. That at such time as hee traualled towards Rome, he founde (in an auncient Librarie of the Abbay of Bec) an old booke, intituled likewise, 'De origine Regum Bryttanorum,' the which beginning at the arriuall of Brute, ended with the actes of Cadwalader, and agreed thoroughout (as by collation I collected) with this our Bryttish historie, which I doubt whether Henrie of Huntingdon had

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euere seene. Now therefore, if this were an old booke in his time, it could not be newe in the daies of Petite, that succeeded him: And if the argument were written before in the Bryttish toong, it is very probable, that hee was not the first author, but onely the translator thereof into Latine. For further likelyhoode whereof, I my selfe haue an auncient British, or Welsh copie, which I reserue for shewe, and do reuerence for the antiquity, litle doubting, but that it was written before the daies of William Petite, who, as he was the first, So vpon the matter reckon I him the onely man, that euere im-

Polydore.  
<61>

pugned the Bryttish historie. For as touching Polydore (though hee were a man singularly well learned) yet since he was of our owne time, and no longer since, his forces must of necessity bee thought to be 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 conteineth matter, not only vnlikely, but incredible also: then shall he both deprive this Nation of all maner of knowledge of their first beginning, and open the way for vs also to call into question the origine, and antiquities of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, yea and of Italie his owne countrie: in which, that which Liuie reporteth of Romulus and Remus, Numa and Aegeria, is as farre remooued from all suspicion of truth, as any thing whatsoever that Galfride writeth, either of Brute, Merlin, or King Arthur himselfe.

Seeing therefore, that as corne hath his chaffe,

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and metall his drosse, **and that euen** so can there hardly any writer of the auncient hystorie of any nation be found out, that hath not his proper vanities mixed with sincere veritie: the part of a wise Reader shall be, not to reiect the one for doubt of the other, but rather with the fire and fan of iudgement and discretion, to trie and sift them asunder. And as my purpose is for mine owne part, to vse the commoditie thereof, so oft as it shall like me: so my counsell shall be, that other men will, both in this and other, obserue this one rule, 'That they neither reiect without reason, nor receiue without discretion, and iudgement.'

Thus much 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 shall be offered, concerning either the veritie or antiquitie of the same) I neither trouble my selfe, nor tarrie my Reader, with any further defence, or Apologie.

<62>

The Bishops See, and Diocesse, of Canterbury.

He that shall aduisedly consider the plot of this Shyre, may finde three diuerse (and those not vnfit) waies, to diuide it: One, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent: An other, by parting it, (as Watling streate lea-

The order of this description.

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deth,) into North, and South Kent: And a third, by seuering it into the two distinct Dioceses of Canterbury, and Rochester. Of these three, I haue determined to chuse the last, both bicause that kinde of diuision hath as certaine limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the most conuenient seuerance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of iurisdiction also. And bicause the See of Canterbury is not onely the more woorthie 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 principall parts belonging to the same.

Flamines turned into Bishops.

It is to be seene, in the Brittainish hystorie, and others, that at such time as King Lucius (the first christened Prince of this land) had renounced the damnable darknes of Paganisme, and embraced the glorious light of the Gospell of God, he changed the Archflamines of London, Yorke, and Caerleon, into so many Archbishops: and the Flamines of other inferiour places, into inferiour Bishops, throughout his whole realme. Howbeit, this matter is not so cleare, but that it is encountered by William Petit, which (in the Proheme of his hystorie) affirmeth boldly, that the Britons which professed Christian religion within this Iland before the comming of Augustine, were contented with Bishops onely, and that Augustine himselfe was the verie first that euer had the

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† Arcchbishops Palle amongst vs. As touching Bishops, it is euident by Beda himselfe, that both before, and in Augustines time, Wales alone had seuen at the least: but as for Archbishops although for mine owne opinion I thinke with William (the rather for that I suppose, that the simplicity of the Brittain clergie, was not as then enamoured with the vaine titles of Romane arrogancie) yet to the end that the reader may be therby the more iustly occasioned to make inquisition of the truth in that point, it shall not be greatly out of his way, to send him by Siluester Giraldus Cambrensis, a man (considering that age) excellently well learned, and which liued about the same time with William Petit (or William of Newborow) as some call him. This man, in a booke which he entituled, 'Itinerarium Walliæ,' setteth forth moste plainly the Archbishops, that in olde time were at Caerleon, their translation from thence to Saint Davids, their transmigration from Saint Davids 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, than carefull to keepe mine owne way, will happily aske me, what pertaineth it (I pray you) to Canterbury, whether there haue beene Archbishops at London, Yorke, and Carleon, or no? yes (no doubt) it maketh greatly to our treatise of Canterbury: for, not onely the forenamed Brittainish hystorie, Mathew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury doe shew manifestly, that Augustine

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London, spoiled of the Archbishopricke.

by great iniurie spoiled London of this dignitie of the Archbishops chaire, bestowing the same vpon Canterbury: but the Epistle of Pope Gregorie himselfe also, (which is to be read in the Ecclesiasticall storie of Beda) conuinceth him of manifest presumption and arrogancy, in that he sticked not to prefer his owne fantasie and liking, before the Pope (his masters) institution, and commaundement. For Pope

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Gregorie appointed two Archbishops, the one at London, the other at Yorke, whereof either should haue vnder him twelue inferiour Bishops, and whereof neither should be subiect to other: onely (for Augustines honour) he willed, that they all should be vnder him, during his life. But Augustine not so contented, both remained resident during all his life at Canterbury, and before he died consecrated Laurence Archebishop there, least, either by his owne death, or want of another fit man to fil the place, the chaire might happily 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 hospitis,' (meaning King Ethelbert) '& charitate ciuium captus:' But I thinke verily, that he ment thereby to leaue a glorious monument of his swelling pride and vanitie: wherunto I am the rather led, by the obseruation of his stately behaviour vsed towards the Brittish Bishops, and some other of his acts, that sauour greatly of vainglorie, ambition, and insolencie. Whatsoever the cause

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were that moued him thus to apparell Canterbury with the Archbishop of Londons Palle, at Canterbury hath it continued euer sithence, sauing that at one time, Offa the King of Mercia (or middle England) partly of a disposition to honour his owne cuntrye, and partly of a iust displeasure conceiued against Lambright, (or Ianbright, as some copies haue it, the thirteenth Archbishop) for matter of treason, translated the honour of the See, either wholly, or partly, to Lichfield: But there it remained not long, for after the death of King Offa, Kenulfus his successour restored Ethelard to his place at Canterbury againe.

The increase of the Archbishopricke.

<65>

Contention for the Primacie.

1072.

The whole Prouince of this Bishopricke of Canterbury, was at the first diuided by Theodorus (the seuenth Bishop) into fiue Dioceses only: howbeit in processe of time it grew to twentie and one, besides it selfe, leauing to Yorke (which by the first institution, should haue had as many as it) but Durham, Carleil, and Chester only. And whereas by the same ordinance of Gregorie, neither of these Archbishops ought to be inferiour to other, saue onely in respect of the prioritie of their consecration, Lanfranc (thinking it good reason that he should make a conquest of the English Clergie, since his maister King William had vanquished the whole nation) contented at Windsore with Thomas Norman (Archbishop 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

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any further addition. Of which iudgement, one (forsooth) hath yeilded this great reason: that euen as the Kentish people, by an auncient prerogatiue of manhood, do challenge the first front in each battel, from the inhabitants of other countries: So the



The Archbishops place in the general council.

1099.

Archbishop of their shyre, ought by good congruence to be preferred before the rest of the Bishops of the whole Realme. Moreouer, whereas before time, the place of this Archbishop in the generall Council, was to sit next to the Bishop of Saint Ruffines, Anselmus the Successor of this Lanfranc, (for recompence of the good seruice that hee had done, in ruffling against Priestes wiues, and resisting the King for the inuestiture of clerks) was by Pope Urbane endowed with this accession of honour, that he and his successours, should from thenceforth haue place in all generall Councils, at the Popes right foote, who then said withall, 'Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.'

<66>

And thus the Archbishops of Canterburie, by the fraude of Augustine, by the power of Lanfranc, and by the industrie of Anselme, were much exalted: but how much that was to the greuous displeasure, and pining enuie, of the Archbishops of Yorke, you shall perceiue by that which followeth.

Wrastling for the Primacie.

1127.

King Henry the first, kept (vpon a time) a stately Christmas at Windsore, where (the manner 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

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crowne vpon the Kings head: But William of Canterbury withstood it stoutly, and so preuayled by the fauour 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 Quarel) perceiuing that the force of his predecessor preuailed nothing, attempted by his owne humble meanes (first made to the King, and after to the Pope) to winne the coronation of King Henry the seconde, from Theobald the next Archbishop of Canterbury: But when hee had receiued repulse in that sort of suite also, and found no way left to make auengement vpon his enimie, hee returned home, all wroth, and (mixing poison in the chalice, at his Masse) wreaked the anger vpon himselfe.

1178.

After this, another hurley burley happened in a Synode assembled at Westminster, in the time of King Henry the second, before Cardinall Hugo, (Pope Alexanders Legate) betweene Richard and Roger, then Archbishops of these two Sees, vpon occasion, that Roger of Yorke 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 espied, he refused to sit downe in the second roome, complaying greatly of this preiudice done to his See: whereupon, after sundry replies of speech, the weaker in disputation, (after the late maner

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## 83

of shrewde Schoole-boies in London streetes) descended from hote wordes, to hastie blowes, in

which encounter, the Archbyshop of Canterbury (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 bodie with his feete) all to rent and tare his Casule, Chimer, and Rochet, but also disturbed the holy Synode therewithall in such wise, that the Cardinall for feare betooke him to his feete, the company departed their businesse vndone, and the Bishops themselves moued suite at Rome for the finishing of their controuersie. By these, and such other successes, on the one side the Byshops of Canterbury following, tooke such 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 such grieffe of heart, disdain, and offence, that from time to time they spared no occasion to attempt both the one and the other.

1268. Whereupon, in the time of a Parleament, holden at London in the reigne of King Henrie the thirde, Boniface (Archbishop of Canterbury) interdicted the Londoners, bicause they had suffered the Bishop of Yorke to beare vp his crosse, whiles he was in the citie. And much to do there was (within a few yeeres after) betweene Robert Kylwarby of Canterbury, and Walter Giffard of Yorke, bicause hee of Yorke aduanced his crosse, as hee passed through Kent towards the generall Councell.

84

1272. The like happened also, at two other seuerall times, betweene friar Peckam (Archbishop of Canterbury) and William Winkewane, and Iohn de Roma (Archbishops of Yorke) in the daies of King Edward the first. **And in the sixt yeere of the reigne of king Edward the thirde, when the parlement was summoned to Yorke, to treat of the Scottish affaires, Iohn Stratford the Archbishop of Canterbury, fearing that he should not be permitted to haue his crosse quietly caried vp in that prouince, woulde neither himselfe come, nor suffer any bishop of his owne prouince to appeere, at that place: and so most peeuishly frustrated the assembly of the King, his nobilitie, commons, and the rest of the cleargie.** At the length, the matter being yet once more set on foote betweene Simon Islepe (the Archbishop of this cuntry) and his aduersarie the incumbent of Yorke for that time) K. Edward the third (in whose reigne **also** that variance was reuiued) resumed the matter into his owne hands, and made a final composition betweene them, the which hee published vnder his broade seale to this effect: first, that eche of them shoulde freely, and without impeachment of the other, beare vp his crosse in the others Prouince, but yet so, that hee of Yorke and his successors for euer, in signe of subiection, should within two moneths after their inthronization, either bring, or sende, to Canterburie, the Image of an Archbishop bearing a crosse, or some other Iewell wrought in fine golde, to the value of 40. pounds, and offer it openly there vpon Sainct Thomas Becket's

<68>

1352.

The end of the strife, for bearing vp the crosse.

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 hande, and the other the lefte: finally, that in broade streetes, and high waies, their crosse-bearers should go together, but **yet** in narrowe lanes, and in the entries of doores and gates, the crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other come behinde, **for feare of lustling.**

So that (as you see) the Bishops of Canterbury euermore preuailing by fauour and obstinacy, they of Yorke were driuen in the end, to giue ouer in the plaine felde, for verie despaire, wanhope, and weeriness.

-69> But heere by the way, I woulde faine, for my learning, knowe of these godly Fathers, or rather (since themselues can not now make answeere) of some of their vngodly fauourers, 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 exalted, as the signe of that Crosse whereon Christ triumphed ouer the diuel, or else but for a flagge and antsigne of their owne pride, whereby they sought to triumph and insult the one ouer the other? And againe, if it were Christes crosse, then why they did forbid it to be aduanced, at any time, by any person, or in any place? Or if it were but their owne, then why they did, and yet do, commaunde vs simple soules, not onely with great 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 will bee ashamed to confesse it to bee the other. I wil cease therefore to vrge it any further, and wil prosecute the Catalogue of the Archbishops of this See, since the arriuell of Augustine. In the which, the first seauen, bee 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 bicause there is some variance as touching the times of their continuance and sitting, I purpose to shewe (vnder one view) the opinion of two sundrie authours, so farre foorth as they haue spoken thereof, that is to saie, William of Malmesburie, and an ancient Chronicler of Couentrie (whose name I haue not hitherto learned) and in the residue to follow our owne late and receiued writers.

-70>	The beginnings of their gouernements, after the Annales of Canterbury. An. Do.	The yeeres of their Continuance in gouernment, after the opinion of Wil. Malm. Chro. Couen.
	599. Augustine, whom our Louanists call, the English Apostle.	16. 16.
	612. Laurence.	5. 5.

617. Mellite.	5.	5.
624. Iustus.	3.	9.
626. Honorius.	26.	20.

### 87 <sig G>

An. Dom.	Malm.	Coent.
653. Deusdedit, or Deodat: the first Saxon archbi= shop: his owne name was Frithona, which for his singular deme rites towardes his countrie was chaun= ged to Deus dedit, or a Deo datus. Wighard, whiche died at Rome before his consecration.	10.	9.
668. Theodore a Græcian borne, and the last of those that came out of Italie.	22.	22.
692. Brightwald.	37.	38.
731. Tatwine.	3.	4.
737. Nothelinus, or Iocelin.	5.	7.
741. Cuthbert the first that was buried in Christs church, and that obtai= ned churchyardes for England.	17.	17.
759. Bregwine.	3.	3.
774. Lanbright, or Ianbright in his time the See was translated to Lich field.	17.	17.
<71> 790. Aethelwardus, he reco=		23.

### 88

An. Dom.	Malm.	Coent.
uered the See to Can= terbury againe.		
Wulfredus, or Wifred	28.	28.
830. Fegeldus, or Swithre= dus, or Feolagildus.	three moneths.	
831. Celnothus, or Eilno= thus.	41.	41.
890. Etheredus, or Ethel= dredus. Pleimundus, one of the learned men, that in= structed king Alfred.	18.	18.
925. Athelmus, or Atheli= nus.	12.	13.
947. Wulfhenius, or Wulf= helmus.	13.	14.
956. Odo, or Odosegodus.	5.	20.
958. Elfsius, or Elfsinus, or Elsinus, which died be= fore his consecration, in his iourny towards Rome, in reuenge (as they say) bicause hee		

came in by Simonie,  
and sporned at the tumb  
of his predecessor.  
Brithelmus, was elec=  
ted: but king Edgar  
reiected him.

970. Dunstanus, the famous  
lugler. 26.

## 89

An. Dom. Malm. Couent.

<72>

989. Ethelgarus, **or Agelga=  
rus.** 1. 1.

991. Siricius, by his aduice  
King Etheldred gaue  
to the Danes a great  
summe of money. 5. 5.

996. Alfricus.

1004. Aelfegus, hee was  
slaine by the Danes. 6. 6.

1012. Liuingus, or Ethelsta=  
nus.  
Eilwardus. 7. 7.

1020. Egelnothus. 18. 18.

1038. Eadsius, or Edsinus,  
who for sicknes com=  
mitted the charge to  
Siwardus, the abbat of  
Abingdon, and after  
Bishop of Rochester,  
whiche neuerthelesse  
vouchesafed not to  
finde him necessaries. 11. 11.

1050. Robertus Gemeticen=  
sis, the first Norman,  
aduaunced by King  
Edward the confessor. 12. 12.

1053. Stigandus, deposed  
by the conquerour. 17. 17.

1072. Lanfrancus, in his  
time the bishops Sees 19. 19.

## 90

An. Dom. Malm. Couent.

were first remooued  
from villages to cities.

<73>

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 faith gi=  
uen to Maude the  
Empresse. **He builded  
the newe Church for  
Monks, in the South  
part of Douor.** 15.

1138. Theobaldus, he was  
endowed first, with 23.

- the title of Legatus Natus, by Pope Innocent the second.
1162. Thomas Becket, the first Englishman 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 7.

91

- |   |       |        |
|---|-------|--------|
| An. Dom.  | Malm. | Coent. |
| of Worcester: he died in the expedition, that king Richard the first made into Syria, and was before at great contention with the Monks.                  |       |        |
| Reginaldus, hee died before consecration.   |       |        |
| 1193. Hubertus, <b>who was at once Archbishop, Chauncelour, and chiefe Iustice of England.</b>  |       | 13.    |
| 1205. Stephanus de Langton, the cause of the trouble of King Iohn.  |       | 21.    |
| 1228. Gualterus de Euesham, elected, but refused both by the King and Pope, for the insufficiencie of learning.   |       |        |
| 1229. Richardus Magnus.   |       | 8.     |
| 1233. Ioannes, the Subprior of Christs Church, was elected after the Pope had refused one Ralph Neuell, but this Iohn resigned, in whose place Iohn Blund |       |        |

<74>

92

- |  |       |        |
|--|-------|--------|
| An. Dom.   | Malm. | Coent. |
| 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, vncler to Elenor, the wife of Henrie the thirde.   |       | 26.    |
| 1270. Wilhelmus de Chil-   |       |        |

<75>

lenden, elected, but he resigned to the Pope, who chose Kilwardby.

1272. Robertus Kilwardby, friar preacher, **he builded the Blackfriars in London.** 6.

1278. Iohannes Burnel, Bishop of Bathe elected, but the Pope refused him, and appointed friar Peckam.

1279. Iohannes de Peckam, a friar Minor, borne in Sussex: **made Wingham college.** 13.

93

An. Dom. Malm. Couent.

1292. Robertus de Winchelsey, a notable traitour to the King, and true seruant to the Pope. 19.

Thomas de Cobham, elected, but refused by the Pope, hee was commonly called, Bonus Clericus.

1312. Walterus Reignold. 14.

1328. Simon de Mepham. 5. Thus far out of the Story of Couentrie.

1334. Iohannes de Stratford, borne in Stratforde vpon Auen: **where he founded a college.** 29.

1350. Iohannes Offord, or Vfford. Thomas Bradwardine.

1350. Symon Islepe, he founded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford. 17.

1367. Symon Langham. 2.

<76>

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 yeere of Richard the second. **he** 18.

94

An. Dom.

**built a good part of the body of the church of Trinity in Canter.**

Rogerus Walden, in the exile of Arundell: but deposed: Then made bishop of London, and againe deposed, and died in the 7. yeere of

- Henrie the fourth.
1414. Henricus Chicheley, built Alsoules, and S. Johns College in Oxford, and the College of Higham ferries. 29.
1443. Iohannes Stafford. 8.
1452. Ioannes Kempe: builded Wye college. 3.
1455. Thomas Bouchier. 33.
1486. Ioannes Moorton, builded and repaired much at Knol, Maydstone, Alington park, Charing, Forde, Lambeth, and Canterbury. 14.
- Thomas Langton elected, but he died before consecration.
1500. Henr. Deane, or Deny. 2.
- <77> Willielmus Warham, builded the most part 28.

95

of Otford house: and made the Iron work, vpon the coping of Rochester bridge. Thomas Cranmer, he was burned for the truth. Reginaldus Poole. 3 Matthæus Parker.

1575. Edmund. Gryndal.  
1583. Ioann. Whiteguift.

Thus haue you the succession of seuentie and two Archbishops, in the recitall 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, by the defaulte of the auctors themselues, not obseruing the due accompte of yeers, and partly by the vnskill of such as haue vntruly copied out their works: I willingly reserue also for other places, sundrie the histories of their liues and doings, both because I thinke it fruitlesse to reconcile such maner of disagreements, and also for that (as I said before of the Kings) I deeme it impertinent to my purpose, to speake further of any thing, than the very place in hand shall iustlie giue me occasion.

It followeth therefore, that according to purpose and promise, I handle such particular places within this Diocese, as are mentioned in hystorie: in which treatie, I will obserue this order: First to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and South shores, till I come to the limits betweene this Shyre, and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visite such places, as lie along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medway to Tanet againe, which is the whole circuit of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same.

96

The order of this description of Kent.



<78> Tanet, called in Brytish, Inis Rhuochym, of the Shore Rutupi: it is named of some writers, in Latine (or rather Greeke) Thanatos, of others Toliapis, and **Teno**: in Saxon, tenet, in stead of pænet.

No Snakes in Tanet.

Iulius Solinus (in his description of England) saith thus of Tanet: 'Thanatos 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 hee wrote this of any sure vnderstanding that hee had of the qualitie of the soile, or onely by coniecture at the woord <thanatos>, which in Greeke signifieth death, or killing, I wote not, and much lesse dare I determine, because hitherto neither I my selfe haue heard of any Region heereabout (onely Ireland excepted) which beareth not both Snakes and other venemous wormes, neither am I yet perswaded, that this place borrowed the name out of the Greek, but **that it** rather tooke it of the propre language, of this our **nation and** natiue countrie: For pænet, in the Saxon, or olde English tongue, soundeth as much as, moisted, or watered: which deriuation, how well it standeth with the scituation of Tanet, being Peninsula and watered **or lled** (in manner) rounde

97

about, I had rather without reasoning referre to euery mans iudgement, than by debate of manie wordes, either to trouble the Reader, or to interrupt mine own order. Leauing the name therefore, I will resort to the thing, and shewe you out of Beda, and others, the content and storie of this Ile.

<79> There lieth (saith Beda, speaking of the place, where King Ethelbert entertained Augustine) in the East part of Kent, an Iland called Tanet, containing (after the manner of the English accompt) sixe hundred families, or Hides of lande (as the Saxon booke of Beda hath) whiche be in deede after the opinion of auncient writers, ploughlandes: It is diuided from the continent (or maine lande) by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about three furlongs broade, and to bee passed ouer in two places onely.

A hyde of land, or a ploughland, be all one.

The water Wantsume.

Heereunto if you adde the opinion of Polydore **and Twyne**, the description will be the more euident. It containeth (saith **Polydore**) about nine miles in length, and not much lesse in breadth, and it was sometime diuorced from the continent by a water, but now it is almost vnited againe. **There be right credible persons yet liuing (saith Twyne) that haue often seene, not onely small boates, but vessels of good burden, to passe to and fro, vpon this Wantsume, where now the water (especially towards the west) is cleane excluded: and there be apparant markes, that Sarre (where they now go ouer) was a proper hauen: all which is happened, by reason**

<1590:25-6>

that the fresh is not able to checke the salt water,  
that cloyeth the chanell.

For (Seax)  
in their lan=  
guage signifi=  
eth, a sword,  
an axe, or  
hatchet.

As touching the hystorie, you may read in Gef=fray of Monmouth, that after such time as the Bry=tons had deposed Vortiger their King, for that hee brought in the Saxons, which began soone after their entrie to shewe themselues indeede, such as they were in name, (not shieldes against the Pictes and Scots, but swords to shed the Brittaines blood) Vortimer his sonne (whom they placed in his seate) so streightned the Saxons in this Ile, (the which, as William of Malmesbury writeth, Vortiger had gi=uen them to inhabite, at their first arriuall) that for a colour they sent Vortiger to treat with him of peace, and in the meane while for feare, conueied themselues to their Ships, and sailed home. The same authour reporteth, that after this, Cador (the Duke of Cornwall) by commaundement of King Arthur, chased the Saxons into Tanet, where he slewe Childric their leader, and receiued many of the residue to grace and mercy.

<80>

The Saxons **also** themselues, after that in pro=cesse of time they had gotten the dominion ouer the Britons, enjoyed not the possession of Tanet in much better quiet than the Britons had done before them. For (to omit that King Edgar committed the Ile of Tanet to open spoile, for robbing En=GLISH merchants in contempt of his commande=ment, because that was not an acte of a raging enimie, but of a iust reuenging Prince) I wil begin with King Athulf, (the father of Alfred) in whose

## 99

853.

daies the Danes fought in Tanet against Ealhere (the Duke, or captain of Kent) and Huda (the Duke of Surrey) and slaying them both, ouerthrewe their powers, and possessed the Ile. After this, in the time of the same King, they sojourned with their armie a whole winter in Tanet: and lastly (in the reigne of King Etheldred) they herried, spoiled, and sacked it in such sort, that the religious persons were constrained to abandon the place: for I finde, that shortly after King Canutus gaue the bodie of Mil=dred, and all the lands belonging to Mynster Abbay (that then was in this Ile) to the Monks of Saint Augustines at Canterbury.

864.

980.

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

The occasion  
of the buil=  
ding of Min=  
ster Abbay.

596.

Certaine seruants, or officers (saith he) of Eg=bright (the third King of Kent after Ethelbert) had done great iniurie to a noble woman called Dom=neua (the mother of Saint Mildred) in recompence of which wrongs, the King made an Herodian othe, and promised vpon his †houour to giue hir whatsoever she would aske him.

The woman (instructed belike by some Mon=

<81>

kish counsellour) begged of him so much grounde to build an Abbay vpon, as a tame deere (that shee nourished) would run ouer at a breath: Heereto

100

the King had consented foorthwith, sauing that one Tymor (a counsellor of his) standing by, blamed him of great inconsideration, for that he would vpon the vncertaine course of a Deare, departe to his certaine losse with any part of so good a soile: but the earth (saith William Thorne) immediately opened, and swallowed him aliue, in memorie whereof, the place till his time, was called Tymorsleape. Well, the King and this Gentlewoman proceeded in their bargaine, the Hynde was put foorth, and it ran the **space** of fourtie and eight ploughlandes, before it **ceased**.

For it was called Roma, of Ruma, a pap or dugge.

And thus Domneua (by the helpe of the King) builded at Minster (within that precinct) a Monasterie **or Minster** of Nonnes, vpon such like discretion (you may be sure) as Ramsey Abbay was pitched, euen **iust** where a Bull by chance **had** scraped, and as Rome it selfe (for whose fauour these folies be deuised) was edified, **euen in the place** where the shee Woulfe gaue Romulus and Remus **their** sucke.

680.

Ouer this Abbay of **Mynster** Mildred (of whom we spake) the daughter of Meruaile (that was son to Penda, King of midle England) became the Lady and Abbasse: who, bicause shee was of noble lineage, and had gotten together seuentie women (all which Theodorus the seauenth Bishop veiled for Nonnes) shee easily obtained to be registred in our English Kalendar, and to bee worshipped for a Saint, both at Tanet while her body lay there, and at S. Augustines, after that it was translated **thi-**

101

**ther.** And no maruell at all, for if you will beleeeue the authour of the worke called (Noua Legenda Angliæ) your selfe will easily vouchsafe her the honor.

S. Mildreds miracles.

This woman (saith hee) was so mightily defended with diuine power, that lying in a hot ouen three houres together, she suffered not of the flame: She was also endued with such godlike vertue, that comming out of Fraunce, the very stone whereon shee first stepped at Ippedsflete in this Isle, received the impression of hir foote, and retained it for euer, hauing besides this propertie, that whether soeuer you remooued the same, it woulde within short time, and without helpe of mans hande, returne to the former place againe: And finally, shee was so diligently garded with Gods Angell attending vpon her, that when the diuell (finding hir at praiers) had put out the candell that was before hir, the angell foorthwith lighted it **vnto** her again.

<82>

Ippedsflete.

And this (no doubt) was the cause, that the Religious persons of S. Augustines, and of S. Gregories at Canterburie, fell at great dissention for her, eche affirming, that after the spoile of Tanet, her bones were remooued to their Monasterie: the one claiming by King Canutus, as we saide before, and the other deriuig from Archbishop Lanfranc, who

1085.

(as they affirmed) at the dotation of their house, bestowed vpon it (amongst other things of great price) the translated reliques of Mildred, and Edburgaes bodyes.

Howsoeuer that were, they both made marchandise of hir myracles, and the Monkes of S. Augu-

102

1116. stines perceiuing, that by the dissolution of the Monasterie, and the absence of the Saints, their towne of Minster in Tanet was falne to decaie, of verie conscience, and for pitie sake, by the meane of Hughe their Abbat, procured at the hands of King Henrie the first, the graunt of a Market to bee holden there, which I wot not whether it inioyeth to this day, or no.

Ebsfleet. Thus much of the Isle and Mynster Abbay: Now a worde or two touching Ippedsflete, whereof I spake before, and of Stonor, within the Isle, and then I will leaue Tanet, and proceede in my iourney.

<83> This Ippedsflete, **now called Ebsfleet**, is the place where Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon captaines) came first on lande, and it is of diuers Chroniclers diuersly termed, some calling it Ippinesflete, 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 part, when Aurel. Ambrose (the leader of the Britons) lost twelue of his principall chiefeins in one conflict. In deede, the name soundeth, the place where Wipped, or Ipped swimmeth, which I coulde haue agreed to bee 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, which was before this ouerthrowe that I last spake of.) Howbeit, since the writer of our holy Legend laieth it in Tanet, I am contented to subscribe.

473.

103 <sig H>

Stonor. In this Isle ouer against Sandwiche lieth Stonor, sometime a hauen towne also, **known by the name Lapis Tituli**: 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 owne Chronicler reporteth) **did** preuaile, and the Citizens had the ouerthrowe. Not long after which time, they obtained of King Henrie the first, a faire to be holden yeerely at this towne, fiue daies together, before and after the feast of the translation of S. Augustine.

1090.

1104.

Now woulde I forthwith leade you from the Isle of Tanet, to the ruines of Richborow, sauing that the Goodwine is before mine eie, whereof I pray you first harken what I haue to say.

<84> The Goodwine, or Goodwine Sands: **Lomea after Twyne.**

<1590:27>

Earle Godwine, and his sonnes.

There liued in the time of King Edwarde (commonly called the Confessour) a noble man, named Godwine, whose daughter Edgith, the same King, by great instance of his nobilitie, (being otherwise of himselfe disposed to haue liued sole) tooke vnto his wife. By

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1050. reason whereof, not onely this Godwine himselfe (being at the first but a Cowherds 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 number) were by the kings gift aduanced to large liuelyhoods and honourable **offices**. For Goodwine was Earle of Kent, Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall: His eldest sonne Swane, had Oxfordshire, Barkshire Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somerset: Harold, held Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire: Tosti, had Northumberland: And Gurte, and Leofwine, possessed other places, &c. But as it is hard in great prosperitie to keepe due temperance (for, 'Superbia est vitium rebus solenne secundis:' **pride is a fault that customably followeth prosperitie**;) So this man and his sonnes, being puffed vp with the pride of the Kings fauour, their owne power, policie, and possessions, contemned all other, and forgat themselves: 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 tyrannie. So that immediately, and at once, they pulled vpon their heads, the heauie displeasure of the Prince, the immortal hatred of the noble men, and the bitter execration and curse of the common sort. Whereupon the king for a season banished them, the nobles neuer after liked them, and the poore people

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not onely railed vpon them while they liued, but also by deuised tales (as the manner is) laboured to make them hatefull to all posteritie after their death. And amongst other things, touching Godwine himselfe, they feigned, that he was choked at Winchester (or Windsore, as others say, for liars cannot lightly agree) with a morsell of bread, and that this his land in Kent sunke suddenly into the Sea. Neither were these things continued in memorie, by the mouthes of the vnlearned people onely, but committed to writing also, by the hands and pens of Monkes, Frears, and others of the learned sort: So that in course of time, the matter was past all peradventure, and the things beleueed for vndoubted veritie.

1100.

But whatsoever hath been heeretofore thought of these matters, hauing now iust occasion offered me to treat of the thing, I will not spare to speake that which I haue red in some credible writers, and which I do thinke meete to be beleueed of all indifferent readers.

And first of all, touching this place it selfe, Silue

The cause of  
Goodwyn  
Sandes.

ster Giraldus (in his Itinerarie of Wales) and many others, do write, that about the end of the reigne of King William Rufus, (or the beginning of Henrie the first) there was a sudden 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 expulsed from their seates) came ouer into England, and made sute to the same

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The arte of  
clothing.

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King Henrie, for some place of dwelling within his dominion. The King pitying their calamitie, and seeing that they might be profitable to his Realm, by instructing his people in the art of clothing, (wherein at that time they chiefly excelled) first placed them about Carlile in the North countrie, and afterward (vpon cause) remooued them to Rosse and Hauerford in Wales. Now at the same time that this happened in Flaunders, the like harme was done in sundry places, both of England, and Scotland also, as Hector Boëthius, the Scottish historiographer most plainly writeth, affirming, that (amongst other) this place, being sometime **maine land, and** of the possession of the Earle Godwine, was then first violently ouerwhelmed with a light sand, wherewith it not onely remaineth couered euer since, but is become withall (Nauium gurges, & vorago) a most dreadfull gulfe, and ship swalower, **sometime passable by foote, and sometime laied vnder water, 'in dubio pelagi, terræque;'** so as it may bee said either sea, or land, or neither of both.

This thing, as I cannot but maruell how it hath escaped the pens of our owne countrie writers, the rather for that some of them (liuing about that time) haue mention of that harme in the Lowe countrie: so I sticke not to accept it for assured truth, considering either the auctoritie of the writer himselfe, being a diligent and learned man, or the circumstances of the thing that he hath left written, being in it selfe both reasonable, and likely.

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And thus I might wel make an end: but bicause I haue already taken occasion to accuse them of forgerie, which affirme Godwine to haue been choaked at the boord, I trust it shall be no great offence, (though beside purpose, yet for declaration of the truth) to reherse shortly, what some credible storiers haue reported of that matter, **concerning the person of Godwine** also. And to the end that the trueth may appeere by collation of the diuers reports, I will first shew, what the common opinion and tale of his death is, and then afterward what these other men write concerning the same.

The death of  
Earle Godwine.

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Ealred, the Abbat of Ryuauxe, (who tooke paines to pen the history of the same King Edwards whole life, and of whom all others (as I thinke) learned this tale) saith: that while the King and Godwyne sate at the table, accompanied with others of the nobilitie, it chanced the Cupbearer (as he brought wine to the boord) to slip with the one foote, and yet

by good strength of his other leg, to recouer him= selfe without falling: which thing the Earle ear= nestly marking, said pleasantly, that 'There one brother, had well helped another:' 'Mary' (quoth the King) 'so might me mine, ne haddest thou been Earle Godwine:' casting in his dish the murder of his bro= ther Alfred, which was done to death at Elie by the counsell of Godwine, as hereafter (in fit place for it) shall appeere. Hereat the Earle was sore mo= ued, and thinking it more than time to make his purgation, tooke a morsell of bread into his hand, and praying (with great and vehement obstesta=

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tion) 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 immediately strangled therewithall.

i. Cursed bread.

Some write, that this bread was before accur= sed by Wulstane, the holy Bishop of Worcester, after a certain manner then vsed, and called Cors= ned, as in the table to the Saxons lawes is to bee seene. But this Ealred affirmeth, that after the words spoken by the Earle, the King himselfe bles= sed the bread with the signe of the crosse: And ther= fore these men agree as well together, as blessing and cursing be one like to another.

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But letting that and them passe, heare (I be= seech you) what Alfred of Beuerley (a learned man, that liued in the time of King Henrie the first, som= what before this Abbat Ealred) saith, touching this matter. 'Godwinus graui morbo ex improuiso percussus, ac Regi ad mensam Wintoniæ assidens, mutus in ipsa sede declinauit, ac postea in cameram Regis a filiis deportatus, moritur. Quidam autem dicunt, &c.' Godwine, being suddenlie stricken with a greeuous disease, as he sate at the table with the King at Winchester, fell downe from his stoole, and was carried by his sonnes into the Kings chamber, where he died: but some say that he was choked, &c. And to the same effect writeth Marianus the Scot. Simeon also, the Chan= ter of Durham, which liued about the time of this Alfred, or rather before him, treating of this mat= ter, hath these words. 'Godwinus, graui morbo percus= sus, in ipsa sede declinauit, & post horas quinque moritur.'

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Godwine being taken with a greeuous disease, dropped downe from the place where he sate, and died within fiue houres after.

Thus, these men report another manner of his death, the one vsing no mention at all of any ac= cursed bread, and the other reciting it but as a tale. And for the more plaine detection of the de= ceipt of this Abbat, he that will reade the seconde 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 speech that proceeded thereof, namely, that 'One brother had well helped another') is woorde for woord stolen from thence: for William (which 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 vessell, without saile, oare, or companion, (saue one Esquier onely,) in which exile he perished, and that afterward, the King (vnderstanding his brothers innocencie, and sorowing his owne rashnes) 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, forsooth, was so fully disposed to magnifie King Edward (bicause he so much magnified the Monkish and single life) that he sticke not at greater matters than this, affirming boldly, that the same King while he heard Masse at West-

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The visions of Edward, the confessor.

minster, sawe betweene the Priests hands, Christ blessing him with his fingers: That at another Masse he sawe the seuen sleepers at Ephesus, turne themselues on the one side, after they had slept seuentie yeeres together on the other: which, seeing it was within fiue yeeres of so many as Epimenides slept, Ealred (in my phansie) is woorthie to haue the second game at the whetstone: Furthermore, that S. Iohn Baptist sent to King Edwarde, a Ring of gold from Ierusalem, which he himselfe had sometime before giuen to a poore man, that asked almes of him in the name of S. Iohn: And such other matters of like credit, which both for the vanitie of the things themselues (being meete to haue place in Philopseudes of Lucian) and for the desire that I haue to keepe order, I will pretermit, and returne to my purpose.

Epimenides did sleepe 75. yeeres.

i. Loue Lye, or game for the whetstone.

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Richborowe, in Latine, **Rutupiæ**, **Rutupis**, & Vrbs Rutupina: in Saxon (Reptaceaster) and **Richbery**, the name being forged (as I coniectured) of the Bryttish worde (Rwyd) which signifieth a net, in token that it stood by fishing: or (as master Camden more likely gesseth) of Rhyd Tufith, that is, of the Sande, as Sandwich, and Sandy bay neere vnto it.

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Mathew (the Monke of Westminster, and Authour of the worke called Flores Historiarum) taketh the place which Beda, Ptolome, and others call

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Rutupi, to bee Sandwich, and therefore hee applyeth to the one, whatsoever hee findeth of the other: but bicause Iohn Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the Realme) affirmeth in his worke which he intituled (Syllabus in Genethliacon Eaduerdi) Rutupi to haue beene, where Richborow now is (to which opinion I rather incline) I thinke good to giue them seuerall titles, and to speake of Richborow by it selfe, leauing till fit place (for Sandwich also) such matter, as of right belongeth thereunto.

The whole shoare of Kent therefore, that lyeth ouer against Dunkircke, Calaiçe, and Boloigne, is of



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Richeborow, was sometime a Citie.

luenal, Lucan, Ptolome, Antoninus, and others, called Rutupiæ, or Rutupinum littus: and that place of England which Beda taketh to be neerest to the Morines (a people of Gallia Belgica, at this daie comprehending Picardie, Boloigne, Artoys, and some part of the lowe countries) is of Iohn Leland interpreted to bee Richborow, not past halfe a mile distant from Sandwich towarde the North. The same man also, persuaded partly by the viewe of the place it selfe, and partly by the authority of one Gotcelinus, supposeth, that Richborow 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 wals yet extant, the matter whereof is flint, long, white and red bricke of the Bryttaine fashion, and a cement of lime and sea sand, or the remnants of the Romane

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coyne more often found there, and in greater plenty than elsewhere, did not at all inforce the likelihood: yet the authoritie of Beda alone (which calleth it plainly by the name of a Citie) would suffice to winne so much: But whether it were that Palaice of King Ethelbert, from whence hee went to entertaine Augustine, he that shall aduisely read the 25. Chapter of Beda his first booke, shall haue iust cause to doubt: forasmuch as hee sheweth manifestly, that the King came (from his Palaice) into the Isle of Thanet to Augustine: and Leland saith, that Richborow was then within Thanet, although that since that time the water hath chaunged his olde course, and so shut it cleane out of the Island. But the scituation of the place, (beeing about the water course) will not admit that inclosure of it.

Sandwiche, is not Rutupi.

Nowe, where some men (as I saide) haue taken it to bee Sandwich, I take them to bee greatly deceiued.

For Richborow, being corruptly so sounded, for Reptsborow, hath remaining 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 turned to (Borow) (which 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. In which opinion, I am the more willing to dwell, bicause since the first pub-

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lishing of this Perambulation, I finde my selfe verie learnedly seconded by master Camden: And I cannot subscribe to Iohn Twyne, who striueth to perswade, that Rutupie is Douer, with like successe as he laboureth to prooue that Gessoriacum is Calaise, and not Boloigne. Thus much therefore of the name and antiquitie of this poore place, which was in time of the olde Romanes and Brytons, of great price, and the common Port of arriual out of Fraunce: whereof we finde no other note in later

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hystorie, either bicause the same was long since (before the coming of the Saxons) neglected, when as the Romanes had lost their interest within this Realme: Or else, for that soone after their arriual it **either fell by their force, or else** decayed by reason that the water chaunged his course and left it dry: So that now most aptly that may be said of this towne neare to the Isle Thanet, which Virgil sometime wrate of Tened it selfe, **saying,**

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

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

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

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The Cinque Portes.

The antiquitie of the Portes.

I finde in the booke of the generall surveye of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, bicause (as Mathew Parise saith) it spared no man, but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day will do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of King Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all manner of impositions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their speciall titles shall heereafter appeere.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the haven Townes (which wee now call by a certaine number, the Cinque Portes) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of King Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundrie Kings to the Fiue Portes, the same reaching no higher than to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeeld to the Conquerour, the thanks of other mens benefites, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stoode) to like better of his confirmation (or second

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gift) then of King Edwardes first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende 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 ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they

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haue therefore, and by what persons they haue been gouerned.

Which be the Fiue Portes.

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

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, 'Frigmare ventus') bee the Fiue Portes: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Portes that sende Barons to the Parleament, I must then adde to these, Hastings, and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other: and so shoulde I not onely, not shewe which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulness. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authority, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I wil flie to Henrie Bracton, a man both auncient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder King Henrie the third, and wrote (aboue three hundred yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

1250.

Hee (I say) in the thirde booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe

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the articles inquirable before the Iustices in Eire, (or Itinerant, as wee called them, bicause they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the realm, for administration of iustice) setteth foorth a speciall fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Baylifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commaunding them, that they shoulde cause twenty and foure of their Burgesses, or Townesmen, and the Citizens of London likewise, were woont to bee termed) to appeere before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should bee giuen in charge. Which done, he addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes contention betweene them of the Fiue Portes, and the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolk, and Donwich in Suffolke, there shoulde bee seuerall writtes directed to them also, returnable before the same Iustices at the same daie and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Portes 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 propound against him, and there to receaue according to lawe and iustice.

Citizens were called Barons in olde time.

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Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the fiue Portes.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before King Edward the firsts time, the place of assemble for the Plees of the Fiue Portes: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long since was betweene these

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Portes, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Portes,

which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

1268.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I finde in an olde recorde, that King Henrie the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore 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 secret affaires of his Realme, and partly bicause of a great disobedience and excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winchelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that hee submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue Portes, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had been a preferment, and no punishment **vnto them:** 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 apparelled them with that preeminence.

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Winchelsey,  
first builded.

1277.

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By this therefore let it appeere, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (bicause they were Fiue in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Portes, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, 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 shall be said, as touching the seruices that these Portes of dutie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the †the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to waite on the King at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeere by that which wee shall presently say, and partly by that which shall follow in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall be made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and **they** both shall be testified by the words of King Edwarde the first in his owne Chartre.

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The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twenty vessels at the Sea, whereof each to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene daies together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of

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seruice, according to the proportion of their abili=

tie onely, I may not heereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, shoulde likewise finde 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 laide vpon them: And on the other side, if they were only chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how far to burthen them, seeing the Recorde 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 first 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 rig vp fiftie and seauen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene daies together.'

And thus it stode with the Portes for their general charge, in the sixt yeere 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 which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue beene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same King, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.

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The lowie of Peuensey, one.

Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.

Bekisborne in Kent, seauen.

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

The towne of Rye, fiue.

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

The towne of Winchelsey, ten.

The Port of Rumney, foure.

Lydde, seauen.

The Port of Hythe, fiue.

The Port of Douer, nineteene.

The towne of Folkestone, seauen.

The towne of Feuersham, seauen.

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

These Ships they ought to finde vpon fourtie daies summons, armed and arraied at their owne charge, and in eche of them twentie men, besides the Maister of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise maintaine fiue daies together at their own costes, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to eche other Mariner three pence. And after those fiue daies ended, the King shall defray the wages.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much, or more likelihoode and credite: It stan-

deth thus.

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These bee the Fiue Portes of our soueraigne Lorde the King hauing liberties, which other Portes haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Hethe, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

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The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euerie 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, Hode=ney, Winchelsey, Rye, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grengre, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal. 5. ships, In euerie 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 pertei= neth the Westheth.

Douer. 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and Saint Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cat=tailes.

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

Summe of the Ships. 57.

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

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports do acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yeerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. daies togi=

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ther, at their owne costes and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to go towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. daies, as the King will, at his owne pay, and wages.

The good ser= uice, of the fiue Portes.

Thus much out of these auncient notes, where= by your selfe may easely discerne 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 refer **it** to them that bee priuie, and of counsell with the Portes: and so lea= uing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

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This dutie of attendance therefore (being deui= sed for the honourable transportation, and salfe conduct of the Kings owne person **or his armie** ouer the narrow Seas) the Portes haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues, against the enimie from time to time, in sundrie ex= ploits by water, as occasion hath beene proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

And amongst other feates not vnworthy per= petuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the **eldest sonne of the French King**) had entered the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbi= shop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into Fraunce for newe supply of soul=

1217. diers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then capitaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the Oracle of the wooden

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wals, 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 couragious encounter, in which hee tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

1278. King Henrie the thirde also, after that hee came to riper age, had great benefite by the seruice of the Cinque Portes: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeuour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall graunt.

1293. Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same King, a hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Portes fought at the Sea with a fleete of 200 Frenchmen, all which (notwithstanding the great ods of the number) they tooke, and slewe, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that Fraunce was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

1406. Finally, and to conclude this part, in the daies of King Henrie the fourth, the nauie of the Fiuie Portes, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie Frenche Ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oyle, and no worse Merchandize.

The priuiledges, of the fiue Portes. The priuiledges of these Portes, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very

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great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

<102> For they sende Burgesses to the Parleament, which 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 dine at the vppermost table in the great hall, on his right hand: They themselues be exempted from all paiments of subsidie: And their Heires freed from wardship of body, notwithstanding any tenure. They be impleadable in their owne townes also, and not elsewhere: They haue amongst themselues in each Port, their particular place of iustice: They haue power (if iustice be not done them) to take the inhabitants of other Townes and Cities in Withernam: to gouerne Yarmouth by their Bailife for one season of the yeere: to do iustice vpon criminall offendours: To hold Plea in actions real, and personal: to take †Counsance by Fine: to infranchise Villaines: and to doe sundrie other things, not lying fitly in the way of my purpose, and therefore not to be recounted at large. But I may not pretermitt the Court at Shipway, for the general assemblie of them all, and where both the Lord

Wardein of the Ports taketh oth, at his first entry into that office, and they haue fiue principal points whereof to enquire there onely, and not elsewhere, as you shall heare when we light vpon that place. In the meane time, let vs see, by what chiefe officer the Portes haue been gouerned. Master Camden

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hath well noted, that our Wardeine of the Portes, was an imitation of the same officer which the Romains established for defence of our coasts, and called, 'Littoris Saxonici,' or 'tractus maritimi, Comitum,' who had the charge of nine Portes, as our Wardein had of Fiue. And although there be no doubt, but that the Portes were vnder some speciall gouernment, in the time of the Saxons also, who best knew the necessitie thereof: yet bicause king William the first, was the first (so far as I haue obserued by reading) that imposed the name of Wardeine (out of his owne language, halfe French, halfe Dutch) it shall stand with the best certentie to begin at his time, and set downe the succession of the Wardeins, in order of time, as I haue collected them. But, for as much as the office of the Wardeine of the fiue Ports, and the Constablership of Douer castell, haue long since commonly bene conioined in one person, and of later daies haue been vnited inseparably, I wil not lose the labour in going about to single them againe, but will followe that which (in mine opinion) seemeth most likely to point out the Wardeine.

The names, of the Wardeins, of the fiue Portes.

Iohn Fynes, created by William the Conquerour, Wardein of the Portes, and Constable of Douer, by gift of inheritance.

Iames Fynes, his sonne, which died at Folkston.

Iohn Fynes, his sonne.

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

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Allen Fynes, restored by King Henrie the second.

Iames Fynes, his eldest sonne.

Mathew Clere (as it should seeme by Math. Par. and

William Petite) who imprisoned Godfrey, the

Archbishop of Yorke in Douer castle, as vnder

that title shall appeere.

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: he was depriued of his office by Hugh Bigot, bicause he let in the Popes legate by the Kings licence, and against the minde of the Nobles.

Henrie Braybrooke.

Edward the first, in the life of his father, who made

Henrie Cobham his deputie, whose sonne and

heire (called Iohn) founded Cobham College,

Ann. 36. E. 3.

Henrie Mountforde.

Roger Leyborne, in the time of king Henrie the 3.

Stephan Penchester, in the time of Henrie the third.

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Sir Robert Asheton, buried there 1384.  
**Simon of Crey, in the time of Edward the first.**  
Hugh Spenser, the yoonger, in the time of Edwarde  
the second.  
Edmund of Woodstock, the Earle of Kent.  
Reginald Cobham, in the time of Edward the third.  
Bartholmew Burwhasse, or Burgeherhsh, one of the  
first companions of the order of the Garter.  
Iohn Beauchampe, of Warwike.

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**Sir Ralfe Spigurnel, 44. Edw. 3.**  
Sir Robert Herle, in the latter end of king Edward  
the third.  
Edmund the Earle of Cambridge.  
Sir Simon Burley, whome Thomas of Woodstocke  
beheaded.  
Lord Henrie Cobham, the sonne of Reginald Cob=  
ham.  
Sir Iohn Enros.  
Sir Thomas Beaumont.  
Edward, the Duke of Aumarle and Yorke, whome  
King Henrie the fourth remoued, and substitu=  
ted in place  
Sir Thomas Erpingham, for a season, but after=  
ward he gaue the office to  
<104> Prince **Henrie** his sonne, who when he was King in  
possession, bestowed it vpon  
Humfrey, the Duke of Gloucester.  
Iames Fines, Lord Saie, whom Iack 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 Scot.  
Henrie, the Duke of Yorke.  
Iames Fines, the Lord Saye.  
Henrie in his fathers life, afterward the eight king  
of that name.

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Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, bastard sonne to  
king Edward the fourth.  
Sir Edward Poynings.  
Henrie, the yoong Earle of Richmond.  
Sir Edward Guldeford.  
George Boleyn, Vicount Rocheford.  
Sir Thomas Cheynie, Treasurer of the houshold.  
Sir William **Brooke**, Lorde Cobham, and Lorde  
**Chamberlaine of hir Maiesties houshold.**

Thus much of the Fiue Portes, in generall. Now  
of Sandwich, the first of them in the order of my  
journey, and then orderly of so many of the resi=  
due, as lie within the Shyre that I haue presently in  
hand.

<105> Sandwich is called in Latine,  
Sabulouicum, in Saxon Sondwic, that is to saie, the  
Sandie Towne, bicause the coast thereabout  
aboundeth with Sande.

This Towne (as it appeereth 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 Richborowe, which was in price while the honour of the Britons stode vpright, and was either abated by the furie of the Saxons, when they wonne that coast from them: or else came to ruine by the alteration

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and vicissitude of the Sea, whiche peradventure choked the hauen therof with light sand, as it hath since that time done this at Sandwich also.

Reliques, of great price.

King Canutus gaue (as some write) to Christes church in Canterburie, Saint Bartholmewes arme, (if happily it were not a chaungeling: for kings and great men were oftentimes **in those daies** after that sort deluded, though they in the meane time bought such reliques deerely, and thought that kinde of gift moste princely.

He gaue also a rich Pall, a Crowne of golde, and this hauen of Sandwich, together with the royaltie of the water on each side, so farre **foorth** as (a ship, being on flote at the full Sea) a man might cast a short hatchet out of the vessell vnto the banke.

The aunci=ent estate of Sandwich.

The place it selfe, grew in time to be well peopled, and of woorthynesse to be one of those Portes, that found fauour of priuilege, in consideration of their seruice at the Sea.

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1064.

For it appeereth by the booke of Domesday, that this was the estate of Sandwich: It lay in a hundreth belonging to it selfe, it did to the King such like seruice by tenure, as Douer did: It was **then** of the possessions of Christes Church, as I haue shewed, and was appointed for the apparell of the Monks of that house, to the which it yeelded forty thousand herrings besides certaine mony, and had in it three hundreth and seuen houses inhabited. And I finde not, but that the towne continued in the like plight a long **space** after the Conquest, **vntill** that Lewes of Fraunce brent it, in the yeere 1217.

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after which it grew up, and was somewhat amended **again**e by the Staple, which King Edward the first for a season remoued thither. **After all which**, king Edward the third in the 37. yeere of his reigne, giuing to Christes church the Manor of Borley in Essex for it in exchange, reunited it to the crowne. **But in the daies** of King Henrie the sixt, Peter Brice (the Steward of Normandie) landed at Sandwich, and **he** with fire and sworde, wasted the towne in maner to ashes, and slew the inhabitants almost to the last man. Since which time, partly by the smart of that wound, and partly by the losses that it sustained within two yeeres after, by the main=teinors of the ciuill wars in that Kings reigne, but chiefly by the abundaunce of the light sand (where=with the Sea hath **of latter yeeres** glutted the hauen) it is declined to great decay, and were like to fall to extreme ruine, were it not presently some=

Sandwich spoiled, and brent. 1456.

what releued by the repaire of such, as haue aban= doned their countrie for the freedome of their con= sciences: whose aboade howe long it will bee, the Lord onely knoweth, for whose cause they suffer banishment.

The schoole at Sandwich.

There was in this Towne before the generall suppression, a house of Carmelites, whereof I reade none other good thing, saue that it brought forth one learned man, called William Becley, in the reigne of King Henrie the sixt. But now lately (to repaire the losse of that dissolution) Roger Manwood, a man borne in the towne, and aduaun= ced by vertue and good learning, to the degree **first**

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of a Serieant, **then of a lustice** at the Lawe, **and lastly to a Knight, and place of the chiefe Baron of the Escheaquer**, hath for the increase of godly= nesse 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 yeeres: then it receaued commoditie by the Carmelites since the time of their first foundation.

This onely is that which I had to say, either of the present or passed estate of this place: which done, I wil proceede to the narration of such other things as long since happened thereabouts, 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 which I haue begun: which is, to preter= mit nothing (woorthie note) that I finde in storie, concerning the place that I take in hande. But bi= cause that which I haue to say, dependeth altogi= ther (or for the greater part) vpon the Hystorie of the Danes which many yeeres together disquieted this lande, it shall bee fit, aswell for the better ex= plication of the things presently in hande, as also for the more easie vnderstanding of other mat= ters that must heereafter followe, to disclose (so compendiously as I may) the first beginning, pro= ceeding, and ending, of the Danish affaires, wars, and troubles, within this Realme.

787.

Sum of the historie, of the Danish do= ings, in Eng= land.

About the yeere after Christe, seauen hundreth fourescore and seauen, three vessels of the North East Countrie men (whose auncestors had before,

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within the compasse of one hundreth and fortie yeeres sacked Rome in Italie foure seuerall times, and whose ofspring afterward wonne Normandie from the French King) shewed themselues vpon the Westerne shore of England, beeing sent before hand (as it is supposed) to espie the commoditie of the hauens, the aduantage of arriuall, the wealth and force of the inhabitants, and to the end to pre= pare the way for greater powers that were ap= pointed to follow.

These had no sooner set some of their men on lande, but the Reeue, or officer of Beorhtricke, or Bricricke (then King of the West Saxons) had knowledge thereof: who came vnto them, and (de= maunding the cause of their arriuall) woulde haue

carried them to the Kings presence: but they in their resistance slewe him: whereupon the people of the Countrie adioyning, addressed themselues to reuenge, and assembling in great numbers, beate them backe to their ships, not without the losse of some of their companie.

And this was the first attempt, that euer the Danes (for so our histories cal by one general name the Danes, Norwaies, Gottes, Vandals, and others of that part) made vpon England: after which time, what horrible inuasions, miseries, calamities, and oppressions followed, **and fell vpon the inhabitants of this countrie**, shall appeere anone to bee no lesse pitifull for vs to remember, then it was wofull for them to endure.

795. For not long after this enterprise, a fewe ships

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of them, made the like assay in Scotland, and within short space after that also, some other of them entered Tynemouth Hauen in the North part of England, and taking some small booties, returned to their vessels.

The Danes enter the Thamyse.

Now by this experiment, they had gained sufficient knowledge of that, for which they first came: and therefore thinking it fit time to assay further, they rigged vp a great number of ships, armed more store of chosen souldiers, entered the Riuer of Thamise with fiue and thirtie saile, 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 such was the will of God (for the punishment of Idolatrie and superstition, which then ouerwhelmed this Realme) that the Danes in stead of being discomfited by the Kings repaire, were maruellouslie encouraged by his misfortune. For, after that they had once gotten the better in the field against him, they were so embouldened thereby, that notwithstanding he afterward, and some other valiant Princes following, by great prowess abated their furie in parte, yet, adioining themselues to the Britons (that then were in great enmitie with the Saxons) and swarming hither out of their owne Countrie in such flightes that the number of the slaine was continually supplied with great aduauntage, they neuer ceased to infeste the Realme, by the space of three hundreth

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The continuance of the Danes, in England.

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yeeres and more, during the reignes of fifteene seuerall Kings, till at the last they had made Etheldred flie ouer into Normandie and leaue them his Kingdome. During all which time, howe mightily their forces increased vnder Hinguar, Hubba, Halfden, Guthrum, Aulaf and Hasten, (their Nauie being risen from three ships, to three hundreth and fiftie at the least) howe pitiously the East, West, South, and North parts of the Realme were wasted (the townes, Cities, religious houses, and Monasteries of each quarter being consumed with flames) howe miserablie the common people were

afflicted (men, women, and children on all sides going to wracke, by their tempestuous furie) howe marueilouslie the Kings were amased (the arrisuals of these their enimies being no lesse sudden, than violent) howe barbarously the monuments of good learning were defaced (the same suffering more by the immanitie of this one brutish Nation, than 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) the fatall destruction of the Realme, I may not heere stand to prosecute particularly, but (leauing each thing to fit place) I will proceede with King Etheldred, and so **returne** to my purpose.

980. This man aboue all other, was so distressed by their continuall inuasions, that **seeing** hee wanted force to make his longer defence, he thought it best

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to giue money for their continuall peace. And therefore, charging his people with importable tributes, he first gaue them, at fiue seuerall payes, 113000. pounds: and afterward promised them 48000. yeerely: hoping, that (for as much as they seemed by the manner of their war, rather to seeke his coyne, than his kingdome, to rob, than to rule) at the least this way to haue satisfied their hunger. But like as the stone called Syphnius, the more it is moisted, the harder it waxeth: so no giftes could quench the golden thirst of these greedie raueners, but the more was brought to appease them, the more stonie and inexorable they shewed themselues, neuer ceassing (euen against promises, othes, and hostages) to execute their accustomed crueltie.

The Danes,  
all slaine in  
one night.

Hereupon King Etheldred, hauing now exhausted the whole treasure of his Realme, and therefore more vnable than euer he was, either by power or praier to helpe himselfe, or to releuee his subjects, determined by a fine policie (as he thought) to deliuer both the one and the other **from them**.

1012.  
Saint Martins  
drunken  
feast.

For which purpose, by the aduise of one Huna (the generall of his army) he wrote letters to each part of the realme, commaunding, that vpon S. Brices day (which is the morrow after S. Martins night) the English men should all at once set vpon the Danes, before they had digested the surfait of that drunken solemnitie, and so vtterly kill and destroy them. This his commaundement was receaued with such liking, entertained with such secrecy, and executed with such speede and celeritie, that the

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Danes were suddenly, and in a manner wholly, both men, women, and children (like the sonnes in Lawe of Danaus) oppressed at once in **one** night: onely a few escaped by Sea into Denmarke, and there made complaint of King Etheldreds butcherie.

1013.  
Sweyn, the  
Dane.

For reuenge whereof, Sweyne their King, both armed his owne people, and waged forreine aide, and so (preparing a houghe armie) tooke shipping, and arriued, first here at Sandwich, and after in the

1014. North Countrie: the terrour of whose comming was such, that it caused the Countrie people on all sides to submit themselues vnto him, in so much that King Etheldred seeing the cause desperate, and himselfe destitute, fled ouer into Normandie with his wife, and children, friends, and familie. After which his departure, although both himselfe returned, and put Canutus (the next King of the Danes) to flight, and Edmund his sonne also fought sundrie great batailles with him: yet the Danes preuailed so mightily vpon them, that three of them in succession (that is to say, Canutus, Haroldus, and Hardicanutus) reigned kings here in England almost by the space of thirty yeres together: so much to the infamous oppression, slauerie, and thraldome of the English Nation, that euery Dane was (for feare) called Lord Dane, and had at his commaundement, wheresoeuer he became, both man and wife, and whatsoever else he found in the house.

1042. At the length, God, taking pitie vpon the people, tooke suddenly away King Hardicanute: after whose death, the Nobilitie and Commons of the

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<112> Realme, ioined so firmly and faithfully, both harts and handes, with their naturall and Liege Lorde King Edwarde, that the Danes were once againe (and for euer) expulsed this Countrie: in so much that soone after, the name (Lord Dane) being before time a woord of great awe and honour, grew to a terme and bywoorde of foule despight and reproch, turned (as it yet continueth) to Lourdaine: besides, that euer after, the common people in ioy of that deliuerance, haue celebrated the annuall day of Hardicanutus deathe (**as the Romanes did their feast of Fugalia, or chasing out of the Kings**) with open pastime in the streetes, calling it, euen til this our time, Hoctyde, in stead (as I think) of hucxyde, that is to say, the **time of** scorning, or mocking.

Hokday.

And now thus much summarily being saide, as concerning the trueth of the Danes being heere, who ruled in this land almost thirtie yeeres, and raged (without all rule) aboute three hundreth and fiftie, I will returne to Sandwich, disclosing therein such occurrents of the Danish doings as pertaine to my purpose.

851. In the yeere eight hundreth fiftie and one after Christ, Athelstane the sonne of Ethelwulfe, and King of Kent (whom Mathew of Westminster taketh, or rather mistaketh, for a Bishop) fought at the Sea before Sandwich against a great Nauie of the Danes, of which he tooke nine vessels, and discomfited the residue.

1006. Against another Fleete of the Danes which lan-

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Prouision of armour, and shipping.

ded at Sandwich in the yeere one thousand and sixe, King Etheldred made this prouision: that euerie three hundreth and ten Hydes of Land (which Henrie Huntingdon, Mathew Parise, and others, expound to be so many plowlands) should be charged with the furniture of one ship, and euery eight Hydes

1014. should finde one iacke and sallet, for the defence of the Realme. By which meane, he made ready a mighty nauie to the Sea: But what through the iniurie of sudden tempest, and by defection of some of his Nobilitie, hee profited nothing. King Canutus also, after that he had receiued the woorse in a fight in Lincolneshyre, withdrew to his ships that lay in the hauen at Sandwich, and there most barbarously behaued himselfe, cutting off the handes and feete of such as he had taken for hostage, and so departed all wroth, and melancholike, into Denmarke, to repaire his armie.

<113> 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 daies of King Edward the confessour, two Princes (or rather principall Pirates) of the Danes, called Lochen and Irlinge, landed at Sandwich, and laded their ships with riche spoile, wherewith they crossed ouer the seas to Flaunders, and there made money of it. **Thus far of the Danes, now of others.** At this place landed Lewes the French Kings sonne that aided the English Nobilitie against King Iohn, as we shall hereafter haue cause to shew more at large.

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A Maluicine. Finallie, in the reigne of King Richard the seconde, certeine French ships were taken at the Sea, whereof some were fraught with the frame of a timber Castle (such another, I suppose, as William the Conquerour erected at Hastings, so soone as he was arriued) which they also ment to haue planted in some place of this Realme, for our anoyance: but they failed of their purpose: for the Engine being taken from them, it was set vp at this Towne, and vsed to our great safetie, and their repulse.

<114> Eastrie.

Hauing somewhat to say of Eastrie, I trust it shall bee no great offence, to turne oure eie a little from the shoare, and **deale with** it, in our way to Deale.

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

Mathew of Westminster maketh report of a murther done at it, which bicause it tendeth much to the declaration of the auncient estate of the Towne, I will not sticke to rehearse so shortly as I can.

654. After the death of Ercombert, the seuenth King of Kent, Egbert his Sonne succeeded in the kingdom, who caused to bee vertuously brought vp in  
A Courtly Sycophant.

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his Palaice (which was then at this Towne) two young Noble men of his kinred (as some say) or rather his owne brethren (as William of Malmesbury writeth) the one being called Ethelbert, and

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the other Etheldred: these Gentlemen so prospered in good learning, courtlike manners, and feates of actiuitie meete for men of their yeeres and parentage, that on the one side, they gaue to all well disposed persons and louers of vertue great expectation that they woulde become at the length woorthie of much estimation and honour: and on the other side they drew vpon them, the feare, misliking, and vtter hatred, of the naughtie, wicked, and malicious sort. Of the which number there was one of the kings owne housholde, called Thunner, who (as vertue neuer wanteth hir enuiers) of a certaine diuelish malice, repyning at their laudable increase, neuer ceased to blowe into the kings eare most vntrue accusations against them: And to the end that hee might the rather prouoke the king to displeasure, hee persuaded him of great daunger towarde his estate and person by them. And for as much 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 hee woulde sende them out of the Realme, or bee contented to winke at the matter if any of his friends, for the loue of him, and suretie of his estate, shoulde procure to dispatch them.

The King, somewhat prouoked by feare of his

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owne perill (though nothing desirous of their destruction) euen as a little water throwen into the fire increaseth the flame, so by a colde deniall, gaue courage to the attempt: and therefore, Thunner espying fit time, slewe the children, and buried their bodies in the kings hal vnder the cloth of his estate. But it was not long, before there appeared in the house a bright shining piller, replenishing eche corner with suche terrible and fearefull light, that the seruaunts shrieked at the sight therof, and by their noise awaked the king: who, assoone as hee sawe it, was touched with the conscience of the murther whereunto hee had a little before in hart consented, and calling in great haste for Thunner, examined him straightly what was become of the children, and when hee had learned the truth, hee became most sorowfull and penitent therefore, charging himselfe with the whole crime of their deathes, for that it laie wholly in him to haue saued their liues. Then sent hee for Deodat the Archbishop, 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 happily hee might haue gotten them thither) persuaded the king to incoffen them, and to commit them to honorable buriall in Christeschurche at Canterburie: but (saith mine Author) when the hearse was ready, it would not be mooued by any force toward that Church: as truely (I thinke) as 'the crosse of Waltham with twelue Oxen and so many Kyne, could

<116>

A right popish myracle.

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not be stirred any other way, but toward the place ap=



pointed: or as the Image of Berecinthia, which the Romanes had brought out of Asia, could not be re= moued till the Vestal virgin Claudia had set to hir hande.'

Heereupon the companie assaied 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 (forsooth) it passed as lightly (saith hee) as if nothing at all had beene within it. The obsequies there honourably perfourmed, the King gaue the place where this vision appeared to his sister Ermenburga, who (of a longing desire to become a veiled Nonne) had a little before aban= doned her husbandes bed, and chusing out sea= uentie other women for her companie, erected there a Monasterie to the name and honour of these two murthered brethren. William of Malmesbury ad= deth moreouer, that the King gaue the whole Isle of Thanet also to his Mother, to appease the wrathe that shee had conceaued for the losse of **these her deere** Children.

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Dele, Dela in Latine, after Leland: I coniectured that it tooke name of the Saxon pylle, which is a plaine floore or leuell, by reason that it lyeth flat and leuell to the Sea. **But Master Camden with lesse violence, out of Nennius, deriueth it from the Bryttish Dole, signifying also a lowe place, or dale.**

<1586:179>

The Chronicles of Douer (as Le= land reporteth, for I neuer saw **but onely some fragments of** them) haue mention, that Iulius Cæsar being repulsed from Do= uer, arriued at this place: which thing **and his trenches vpon this coast (called Romesworke)** how well **they** may stand with Cæsars owne report in his Commenta= ries, I had rather leaue to others to decide, than take vpon me to dispute: being **very** well conten= ted, where certeinty is not euident, to allow of con= iectures not altogether vehement.

1539.

King Henrie the eight for= tifieth his Realme.

Onely of this I **hold me** well assured, that King Henrie the eight, hauing shaken off the intolerable yoke of the Popish tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended for the diuorce of Queene Katherine his wife, and that the French 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, than safely trust any one, determined (by the aide of God) to stand vpon his owne gardes and defence:

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and therefore with all speede, and without sparing any cost, he builded Castles, platfourmes, and block= houses, in all needefull places of the Realme. And amongst other, fearing least the ease and aduaun= tage of descending on lande at this part, should

<118>  
Sandowne, &  
Walmere.

giue occasion and hardinesse to the enemies to in=  
uade him, he erected (neare together) three fortifi=  
cations, which might at all times keepe and beate  
the landing place, that is to say, Sandowne, Dele,  
and Walmere. Al which (togither with some others  
newly built vpon the coast of Sussex) and their cap=  
taines he recommended to the surueigh, control=  
ment, and correction of the Wardein of the Cinque  
Portes: as you may read in the statute purposely  
therefore made 32. H. 8. cap. 48. This speciall  
matter of Dele, Iohn Leland in Cygnea cantione,  
comprehendeth feately in these two verses.

lactat Dela nouas celebris arces,  
Notus Cæsareis locus Trophæis.

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

Soone after the building, the place was honou=  
red with the landing of the Lady Anne of Cleue.  
But now since Douer, that impregnable Fort, and  
castle renowmed for antiquitie, is not many Myles  
off, let vs make vnto it, and in sight of the place,  
vnfolde the singularities of the same.

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Douer, called **diuersely** in Latine,  
Doris, Durus, Doueria, and Dubris: in Saxon, Dofra:  
all which seeme to be drawn from the Bryttish woordes,  
Dufir, Water, or Dufirha, high or steepe: the scituation being  
vpon a high rocke ouer the water, which serueth to either. Some  
fetch the name from Doo a fore, meaning stopped at the mouth  
before, which they say Aruiragus did. One calleth it Doro=  
brina, differencing it from Canterbury (which he ter=  
meth Dorobornia) as if the one were Bourne,  
and the other Bryne, bicause the one stan=  
deth vpon the Fresh water, and  
the other vpon the Salt.

The treatise of this place shall consist  
of three speciall members, that is to  
saie, the Towne, the Castle, and the  
Religious buildings.

The Towne was long since some=  
what estimable, howbeit that which it had (as I  
thinke) was both at the first deriued from the other  
two, and euer since also continually conserued by  
them. But whether I hit or misse in that coniec=  
ture, 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  
yeerely twentie vessels to the Sea by the space of  
fifteene daies together, eche vessell hauing therein  
one and twentie able men. For in consideration  
therof, the same King graunted to the inhabitants  
of Douer, not onely freedome from payment of  
Tholl, and other priuileges throughout the realme,

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but also pardoned them all manner of suite and  
seruice to any his Courts whatsoever. The

1051. place it selfe was neuerthelesse (at those daies) vn=  
The Towne der the protection and gouernaunce of Godwine,  
of Douer. the Earle of Kent: for I read, that it chaunced Eu=  
stace, the Earle of Bolloine (who had married Goda  
<120> the Kings sister) to come ouer the Seas into Eng=  
land, of a desire that hee had to visite the King his  
Brother, and that whiles his herbenger demeaned  
himselpe vnwisely in taking vp his lodgings at  
Douer, hee fell at variaunce with the Townesmen,  
and slewe one of them: But 'Nocuit temeraria vir=  
tus,' **force vnaduisde, did harme.** For that thing so  
offended the rest of the inhabitants, that immedi=  
ately they ranne to weapon, and killing eighteene  
of the Earles seruaunts, they compelled him and al  
his meiney to take their feete, and to seeke redresse  
at the Kings hands.

Godwine, resisteth the King.  
The King hearing the complaint, ment to make  
correction of the fault: but the Townesmen also  
had complained themselues to Godwine, who de=  
termining vnaduisedly to defend his clients and ser=  
uaunts, opposed himselpe violently against the  
King his Leige Lord and Maister. To bee short,  
the matter waxed (within a while) so hoate be=  
tweene them, that either side for maintenaunce of  
their cause arraied and conducted a great armie  
into the field. Godwine demaunded of the King,  
that Eustace might bee deliuered vnto him: the  
king commaunded Godwine (that armes laide  
aside) hee would answere his disobedience by order

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of the Lawe: and in the ende, Godwine was bani=  
shed the Realme by the sentence of the King and  
Nobilitie, wherevpon hee and his sonnes fled ouer  
the Sea, and neuer ceased to vnquiet the king and  
spoil his subiects, till they were reconciled to his  
faour, 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 Con=  
querour, 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  
heere in the treatie of an attonement, to bee made  
<121> betweene England and Fraunce, the Frenchmen  
landed at Douer in a night, and burned a great  
part of the Towne, and some of the religious buil=  
dings. So that in those times, it was much empai=  
red by those misfortunes. But now in our memo=  
rie, what by decay of the hauen (which king Henrie  
the eight **with the cost of 63000. pounds vpon  
a pierre, but** all in vaine, sought to restore) and  
what by the ouerthrowe of the religious houses,  
and losse of Calaiice, it **was** brought in manner to  
miserable nakednesse and decay.

Which thing were the lesse to be pitied, **had it  
not been** accompanied with the ruine of the Castell  
it selfe, the **fall** whereof **would be** so much the more  
griuous, as the fame thereof is with our auncient  
Storiers (aboue all other) most blasing and glori=  
ous. **This therefore moued the Maiestie of our**

Souereigne Queene that now is, to giue gracious eare to the complaint heerof presented vnto hir: so as shee not onely bestowed great fauours of hir owne gift, but also tooke order by Parliament in the 23. yeere of hir Reigne, for a generall helpe vpon the Tonneage, towards the reliefe of this decayed Harborow.

By which meanes, and by the industrious attendance of sundrie gentlemen of the Countrie and others (put in trust to further the woorke) a Pent and Sluyce hath been made, which both open the mouth, and scowre the bottome of the hauen, deliuering it from that Beache (or bowlder stone) that before choked it, and is now (as it is said of a Scorpion) conuerted to the medicine of that maladie, which it had brought vpon the place, in such sort, as where before was not foure foote of water, a ship of some hundreds may now safely go in and out.

If the like cure were done vpon the fallen wals of the Towne towards the Sea, where sometime stood Cougate, Crosgate, and the Boutcherie gate, aduanced with Towers, the piere were much more both comfortable to the inhabitants, and defensible against the enimie. In the meane, let vs betake vs to the Castle.

Douer castle.

The Castle of Douer (say Lydgate and Rosse) was first builded by Iulius Cæsar the Romane Emperour, in memorie of whome, they of the Castell keepe till this day, certeine vessels of olde wine and salte, which they affirme to be the remaine of such prouision as he brought into it. As touching the

which (if they be naturall, and not sophisticate) I suppose them more likelie to haue beene of that store, which Hubert de Burgh laid in there, of whom I shall haue cause to say more heereafter: But as concerning the building, bicause I finde not in Cæsars owne Commentaries, mention of any fortification that hee made within the Realme, I thinke that the more credible reporte of the twaine, which 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,

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

Some King thou shalt a captiue take,  
or els from Bryttish wayne  
Shall Aruiragus tumble downe,

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and of whom others write, that he founde such fauour in the eye of Claudius the Emperour, that he obtained his daughter to wife. But whosoeuer were the authour of this Castell, Mathew Parise writeth, that it was accounted in his time (which was vnder the reigne of King Henrie the third) 'Clauis, & Repagulum totius Regni,' the verie 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 such time as Ha=

rold, 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 Ed=

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ward, It was one parcell of his othe, that he should deliuer vnto him this castell, and the Well within it. The same King **also** had no sooner ouerthrown Harolde in the field, and reduced the Londoners to obedience, but forthwith he marched with his armie toward Douer, as to a place of greatest importance, and sped in that iourney as is already **partly** declared.

1067. Not long after which 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 much it might annoy him to lose Douer, conspired with Eustace the Earle of Bolloine, 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 which time they would not faile with all their force to meet him, and so (ioining hands) suddenly assaile and enter it. They met accordingly, and marched by darke night toward the castell, well furnished with scaling ladders, but by reason that the watch had discried them, they not onely failed of that which they intended, but also fell into that which they neuer feared: for the Souldiours within the Castell, to whom Odo the Bishop of Baieux, and Hughe Mountfort (which then were with the King in Normandie) had committed the charge thereof, kept themselues close, and suffered the assay=

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lants to approch the wall, and then, whiles they disorderly attempted to scale it, they set wide open their gates, and made a sudden salie out of the peece, and set vpon them with such **force and** furie, that they compelled Eustace with a fewe others to returne to his Ship, the rest of his companie being either slaine by the sword, **or** destroyed by fall from the Cliffe, or deuoured by the Sea.

Odo, the  
Earle of Kent.

The same king also, beeing woorthily offended with the disobedience, auarice, and ambition of Odo (his bastard brother, whom he had promoted to the Bishopricke of Baieux, and to the Earldome of Kent,) for that he had not onely by rauine and extortion, raked together great masses of gold and treasure, which he caused to be grounde into fine powder, and (filling therewith diuers pots and crocks) had sunke them in the bottoms of Riuers, intending therewithall to haue purchased the Pacie of Rome: But also bicause 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, and a professed enimie to Odo) howe hee might safely, and without offence to the Ecclesi=

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asticall estate (for that he was a Bishop) both con= teine that treasure within the Realme, and also deteine his person from going into Italie, whether warde he both addressed himselfe with all speede, and gathered for his traine great troupes of vali= aunt and seruiceable men out of euerie quarter.

Lanfranc counselled the King to commit him to

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safe custodie, and for his defence armed him with this pretie shift: 'If it be laide to your charge' (quoth he) 'that you haue laide violent handes vpon a sacred Bishop, Say, that you imprisoned, not the Bishop of Baieux, but the Earle of Kent.' The King liked well the conceit, and causing Odo to be apprehen= ded, cast him into prison, whence he was not deliue= red during all 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.

Fynes, the first Consta= ble of Douer Castell: and the beginning of Castlegard.

Then also tooke he newe order for the gouern= ment of this Shyre: and bicause he was perswa= ded, that nothing within the same was of more im= portance than Douer Castell, he seised it into his handes, forthwith fortified it, and chose out a no= ble man called Iohn Fynes, (of whose prowesse and fidelitie he had made good tryall) and committing vnto him, not onely the custodie thereof, but the gouernment of the rest of the Portes also by gift of inheritaunce, he named him Constable of Douer, and **made him** Wardein of the Cinque Portes.

And to the ende 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 Knights fees of land and possession, willing him, to commu= nicate some parts of that gift to such other vali= ant and trustie persons, as he shoulde best like, for the more sure conseruation of that his most noble, and precious peece.

He accordingly called vnto him eight other

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woorthie Knights, and imparting liberally vnto them of that which he had **freely** receiued of the King, bounde them by tenure of their lande recei= ued, to maintaine one hundreth and twelue souldi= ours amongst them: which number he so diuided by moneths of the yeere, that fiue 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 Al= brance, Fulbert of Douer, William Arsicke, Galfride Peuerell, William Maynemouth, Robert Porthe, **Hugh** Creuequer (called in the Latine Records, 'De crepito corde,' that is, Crackt hart) and Adam Fitz Williams. Each of all which, had their seuerall charges, in sundry towres, turrets, and bulworks of the castell, and were contented of their owne dis= pence, to mainteine and repaire the same: in token wherof, diuers of them beare the names and titles of these new 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 most faithfull Constable, vigilant Captaines, and diligent warders, gained and retained the opinion of a most important, commodious, and necessarie peece, not onely with the natiue Princes and Nobility of our owne Realme, but also with such foreine Potentates, as had warre and contention with vs: in so much

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as in sundry troubles ensuing, at sundry times afterward within this realme, it did plainely appeere, that this Castell was the chiefe marke, whereat each man directed his shot.

Estimation of Douer Castell.

For, King Stephan, in the contention that arose betweene him and Maude the Empresse **about** the title of the Crowne, thought that no one thing stood him more in hand, than to get the possession of Douer Castell, and therefore he neuer ceased to sollicite Walkelm (that then had the custodie thereof) till he had obtained it.

<126>  
1137.  
1217.

Lewes also (**whom I may call the French Dolphin, because the sonne and heire to the Crowne of Fraunce, is now so named**) which by the instigation of the Pope, and inuitation of the Nobilitie, invaded King Iohn (vpon such cause as shall heereafter appeere) hauing gained, partly by terrour, and partly by surrender of the Barons that were of his faction, almost all the Castels and Holdes lying on the South part of the Realme, could not yet thinke himselfe assured, vnlesse he had Douer also. For his Father Philip, hearing that he had the possession of sundry other strong places, and that hee wanted Douer, Swore by Sainct Iames arme, (which was his accustomed othe) that he had not gained one foote in Englande. And therefore, hee made thither with all his power, and besieged it streightly: but that noble Captaine, Hubert of Borrough, (of whom I lately spake) which was in his time, Constable of the Castell, Wardein of the Portes, Earle of Kent, and chiefe Iustice of all En-

Hubert of Borrough, a notable captaine.

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gland, defended it with such couragious constancie, that it was both a comfort to the English subiect, and a wonder to the Frenche enimie to behold it: in so much, as I cannot woorthily impute the deliuerie of this Realme, from the perill of forreine seruitude (wherein it then stode) to any one thing so much, as to the magnanimitie of this **one** man. Of whom also (by the way) I thinke good to tell you this, that in his time of Constableship at Douer, and by his meanes, the seruice of Castlegarde there, which had continued (as I shewed before) from the time of William the Conquerour, was with the assent of King Henrie the third conuerted into a payment of money, the lande beeing charged with tenne shillings (**called Castlewards**) for euery Warder, that it was bound to finde, and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice and attendance for euer: At which time also, he

1263.

<127>

caused the same King to release by his free Charge, the custome of Forrage due to this Castel, and that done, himselfe instituted newe lawes amongst the watchmen, and increased the number of the Warders. Thus stode it with Douer Castell, vntill that king Henrie the eight by Parleament (in the thirtie two yeere of his reigne) altered both the place and penaltie, of these Castlewardes (or rents for Castleguard) ordeining that whereas before time they were paiable at the Castle, vpon the paine to double them one vpon an other infinitely for euery default, from thence foorth they should be paied in the Escheaquer at Westminster,

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vpon forfeiture of the double rent once only, without any further forfeitures, or Sursises, as they were woont to be called. And he moreouer bestowed the yeerely fee of 160. l'. vpon the Constable of the Castle and Wardeine of the fiue Portes, and maintained a great number of Souldiours within the Castle and other his newly aduanced fortresses. But now, to my purpose againe.

Simon, the Earle of Leycester and leader of the Barons warre againste King Henrie the third, euen at the first wrested the castell of Douer out of the Kings possession, and keeping the same during al his life, vsed to sende thither (as vnto a place of most assurance) all such as hee had taken prisoners.

1266.

After his ouerthrowe, Edward (then Prince, and afterwarde the first king of that name) assayed it with all speede, and (by the aide of the prisoners within, which had taken the great towre to his vse) obtained it: There left he prisoned, Guy the sonne of this Simon, but hee escaped soone after by corruption of his keepers.

To make an ende, the Nobilitie of that time were fully persuaded, that both the safetie and daunger of the whole Realme consisted in this one castell: And therefore (saith Mathew Parise) **that** at such time as king Henrie the third called ouer from beyonde the Seas his owne brother Richard (then king of the Romanes) the Noble men (who had him in some iealousie) would not agree, that hee, or any of his, shoulde once enter within this castell.

Not without good cause therefore, hath Douer

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by great preeminence beene reported the chiefe of the Fiue Portes, assigned by lawes of Parleament as a speciall place for passage and eschaunge, and by auncient tenure acknowledged for Ladie and Maistresse of many Manors: To it alwaies some man of great appaunce is appointed as Capitaine and gouernour: To, **in or for** it sundrie Gentlemen of the Shire paie yet **their** money for the auncient duty of their attendaunce and seruice: And to it finally, the countrey men in all times of trouble haue an especiall eie and regarde.

Reparation  
of Douer  
Castell.

As concerning the maintenaunce of this Castel in fortification and building, I finde not much more in storie than I haue already opened, which happeneth the rather (as I thinke) for that manie



private persons within the Shyre of Kent were of long time, not onely bounde by their tenures of Castlegarde to bee ready in person for the defence, but also stode charged in purse with the reparati= on of the same. Onely I reade in Iohn Rosse, that King Edwarde the fourth, to his great expence, (which others reckon to haue beene ten thousande poundes) amended it throughout. **The last reci= ted statute telleth vs, that King Henrie the 8. was at great charge with it: and it is yet fresh in the memorie of vs all, that our gracious Queene Eli= zabeth, hath beene at great charge in repairing the defects heereof. These bee the memorable mat= ters, that I had to recount touching this Towne and Castle. There standeth yet, vppon the high cliffe, betweene the Towne and the Peere (as it**

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were) not farre from that which was the house of the Templars, some remaine of a Tower, now called Bredenstone, which had beene, both a Pharos for comfort of Saylor, and also a <prophylakē>, or (watch house) for defence of the inhabitants. And now, lea= uing these, let vs passe on to the late Religious buildings.

S. Martines  
in Douer.

Lucius, the first christened King of the Britons, builded a Church within Douer castell to the name and seruice of Christ, endowing it with the tolle or custome of the hauen there: And Edbaldus (the son of Ethelbert, the first christened king of the Saxons) erected a College within the walles of the same, whiche Wyghtred (a successour of his) remooued in= to the towne, stored with two and twenty chanons, and dedicated it to the name of S. Martine. This house, was afterward **suppressed, and a newe** builded by King Henrie the seconde (or rather by Wil= liam Corbeil, the Archbishop in his time) stuffed by Theobalde his successour with Benedicte Monkes, and called the Pryorie of S. Martines, though com= monly afterward, it obtained the name of **the** new worke at Douer. Betweene this house and Christes Church in Canterbury (to the which king Henrie the seconde had giuen it) there arose (as it chaunced vsually amongst houses of Religion) much con= tention, for certaine superiorities of iurisdiction, and for voice and suffrage in the election of the Archbishop. For on the one side, the Pryor and Couent of Douer claimed to haue interest in the choice of the Archbishop, which the Pryor of

725.

Contention,  
betweene the  
Religious  
persons for  
trifles.

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1234.

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Christes Church would not agree vnto: And on the other side, the Pryor of Christes Church preten= ded to haue such a souerainty ouer S. Martines, that he would not only visite the house, but also admit Monkes and Nouices, at his pleasure, which the other could not beare: So that they fell to suing, prouoking, and brawling (the ordinarie and onely meanes, by which Monkes vsed to trie their con= trouersies) and ceased not appealing and plea= ding at Rome, till they had both wearied them= selues, and wasted their money. Howbeit, as it commonly falleth out, that where respect of mo=

ney and reward guideth the iudgement and sentence, there the mightie preuaile, and the poore go to wracke: So the Monkes of Canterbury hauing to giue more, and the Pope and his ministers being ready to take all, poore Douer was oppressed, and their Pryor in the ende constrained to submission.

And heere, bicause I am falne into mention of controuersie betweene ecclesiasticall persons, of which sort our histories haue plentie, **the matter requireth, that** I touch in fewe wordes, the euill in treaty that William Longchampe (the iolly Bishop of Elye, and Chaunceller of all England) vsed toward Godfrey, the Kings brother and Bishop of Yorke elect, within this Pryorie.

King Richard the first, beeing persuaded by the Pope and his clergie to make an expedition for the recouerie of the holy lande, partly for the performance of that which the king his father had purposed to do in person, and partly for satisfaction of

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Longchamp,  
the lustie bi=  
shop of Ely.

1191.

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his owne vowe (which hee made when hee tooke the crosse, as they called it, vpon him) set to Portsale his kingly rights, iurisdictions, and prerogatiues, his crowne-landes, fermes, customes, and offices, and whatsoever he had beside, to raise money with all: and so, committing the whole gouernement of his Realme to William the Bishop of Ely his Chancellour, hee committed himselfe and his company to the winde and Seas.

This Prelate, hauing nowe by the Kings commission the power of a Viceroy, and besides **by** the Popes gift 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 both endured him an intollerable tyrant. For hee not onely ouerruled the Nobility, and outfaced the Clergie, spoiling both the one and the other of their liuings and promotions, for maintenaunce of his owne ryot, pompe, and excesses: But also oppressed the common people, deuouring and consuming wheresoeuer hee 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 hands the reuenues of the Archbishopricke of Yorke (whereof Godfrey, the kings brother was then elected Bishop, and busie at Rome for to obtaine his consecration) and fearing that by

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his returne hee might bee defrauded of so sweete a morsell, hee first laboured earnestly to hinder him in his suite at Rome, and when hee sawe no successe of that attempt, hee determined to make him sure whensoever hee should returne home. And for that purpose, he tooke order with one Clere (then Sheriff of Kent, and Constable of the castell of Douer, to whom hee had giuen his sister in mariage) that hee shoulde haue a **vigilant** eie to his arriuell, and

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that so soone as the Archbishop did set foote on lande, hee shoulde strip him of all his ornaments, and commit him to safe custodie within the castell. Which thing was done accordingly: for the Archbishop 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 do vnto Neptune) But Clere and his companie came in vpon him, and dooing the Chancellours commandement, violently haled him and his Chaplaines to the prison.

Heereat 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 straightened the Chancellour, that hee not onely agreed to release Godfrey, but was faine himselfe also (abandoning his late pompe, and glorie) to get him to Douer, and to lie with his brother Clere, as a poore, priuate, and despoiled person.

Howbeit, not thus able to endure long the note

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of infamie and confusion whereinto he was falne, he determined within himselfe to make an escape, and by shift of the place, to shroud his shame in some corner beyond the Seas: And therefore, shauing his face, and attyring himselfe like a woman, hee 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 vnknownen, and so to haue gotten ouer: But he was not at the first in all his authoritie more vnlike a good man, than hee was now in this poore apparel vnlike an honest woman: and therefore being at the very first discouered, he was by certaine rude fellowes openly vncaressed, well boxed about the eares, and sent to the next Iustice, who conueied him to Iohn his greatestemie. And thus was all the gay glorie of this gallant brought to shame, his Pecoocks feathers pulled, his blacke feete bewraied, his fraude vnfolded, his might abated, and himselfe in the end suffered to saile ouer with sorrowe and ignominie.

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Religious houses, in Douer.

Besides this Pryorie of S. Martines (which was valued at a hundreth fourescore and eight pounds by yeere) there was lately in Douer also an Hospitall of Saint Maries, founded by Hubert de Burghe Earle of Kent, and rated at fifty nine pounds: An other house of the same sorte, called Domus Dei, (or Maison Dieu) reputed worth one hundreth and twenty pounds: And long since an house of Templers (as they called it) the which (together with all other of the same kinde throughout the Realme) was suppressed in the reigne of King Edward the second.

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The foundation of the first which hospitall I haue not hitherto found out, and therefore cannot deliuer thereof any certaintie at all: as touching the Temple, I may safely affirme, that it was erected after the time of the Conquest, for as much as I am sure, that the order it selfe was inuented

The order of the Templers, when it began.

1096. after that Godfrey of Bolein had wonne Ierusalem, which was after the comming in of the Conque=  
rour. To these also may be added for neigh=  
bourhoode sake (if you will) the Monasterie of  
**white Chanons** of S. Radegundes on the hill, **little  
more than** two miles off, valued at fourescore and  
eighteene poundes by yeere, **and founded by one  
Hugh first Abbat there.**

<133> And **now** hauing perused the Towne, Castle,  
and religious buildings, I would make an ende of  
Douer, saue that Mathewe Parise putteth mee in  
minde of one thing (not vnwoorthie rehearsall) that  
was done in this Temple: I meane, the sealing of  
that submission, which King Iohn **sometime** made  
to Pandulphe (the Popes Legate) wherein he yeel=  
ded his Realme tributarie, and himselfe an obedi=  
enciarie and vassall to the Bishop of Rome. And  
bicause this was almost the last acte of the whole  
Tragedie, and can not well be vnderstood 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 maner)  
recount the thing as it was done, and leaue the  
iudgement to the indifferencie of the Reader.

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1205. After the death of Hubert (the Archbishop of  
Canterbury) the Monks of Christs Church, agreed  
among themselues to choose for their Bishop, **one**  
Reginald the Subprior of their house. King Iohn  
The Pope &  
King Iohn, fal  
out for Ste=  
phan Lang=  
ton.  
(hauing no notice of this election, wherin no doubt  
he receiued great wrong, since they ought to haue  
of him their Conge deslier) recommended vnto them  
Iohn Gray, the Bishop of Norwich, a man that for  
his wisdom and learning he fauoured much. Some  
part of the Monks, taking sudden offence at Regi=  
nalde (for that he had disclosed a secrete of their  
house) and being glad to satisfie the Kings desire,  
elected this Gray for their Bishop also, **the rest of  
them maintaining still that former choise.** Heereof  
grew a great sute at Rome, between the more part  
of the Monks on the one side, and the Suffragans  
of Canterbury and the lesse number of the Monks  
on the other side.

<134> The Pope (vpon the hearing of the cause) at the  
first ratifieth the election of Iohn Gray: howbeit af=  
terward he refuseth both the elects, and preferreth  
Stephan Langton, whom the Monkes (bicause the  
matter was not before litigious enough) elected  
also. Now King Iohn, hearing, that not only  
the election of Gray (contrarie to the Popes owne  
former determination) was made frustrate, but  
that there was also thrust into his place a man fa=  
miliarly entertained by the French King (his great  
enimie) disliked much of the choice, and forbad Ste=  
phan the elect to enter the Realme: The Pope  
again, who (as Mathew Parise writeth) sought

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chiefly in this his choice, 'Virum strenuum,' a stoute  
man, that is (in plaine speech) **one** that could exact  
of the Clergie, keepe in awe the Laitie, and encoun=

ter the King and Nobilitie) seeing his champion thus reiected, beginneth to startle **and stampe** for anger.

First therfore, he mooueth the King by minacing letters to admit Stephan, and (not so preuailing) he **then** enterdicteth him and his whole Realme: And finally, both prouoketh all Potentates to make open 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 selfe, to inuade him.

This done, he solliciteth to rebellion the Bishops, nobilitie, and commons of the Realme, loosing them (by the plenitude of his Apostolike power) from al duty of allegiance 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 waured, vncertaine to what part to incline: To bee short, King Iohn was so pressed with suspition and feare of domesticall and forreine enimies on all sides, that (nothwithstanding 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 ende compelled to set his seale to a Chartre of submission, whereby hee acknowledged himselfe to holde the Crowne of England of the Popes Mitre, and promised to pay yeerely for the same and for Ireland, 1000. Marks,

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to the holy father and his successours for euer.

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

Thus, omitting the residue of this storie, no lesse tragicall and troublesome than that which I haue already recited, I report me to all indifferent men, what cause Paulus Iouius, or any other popish parasite hath (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 gift) either binde his successours, or charge the kingdome.

And for plaine declaration, that his submission proceeded not with their consent, I reade in a treatise of one Simon de Boraston (a Frier Preacher, in the time of King Edward the third) the which hee wrote concerning the Kings right to the Crowne of Ireland, that in the reigne of Henrie the thirde (which 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 Lawyer named William Powicke, to the general Councell 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 much as it passed not by the assent of the Counsell of the Realme: and the same Authour writeth, that the Pope for that time did put them

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The golden Bull.

1245.

of, by colour of more waightie affaires which the Counsell had then in hand. **But Mathew Parise saith, that it was then reported, that the Bull was by good fortune burned there, in a fire that casualie tooke and consumed the Popes owne chamber. Howsoever it were, I know, that it may well be thought needlesse, to labour further in confuting a Title so weightlesse: for it is true, that Aristotle saith, 'Stultum est, absurdas opiniones accuratius refellere,' It is but a follie, to labour ouer curiously, in refelling of absurdities: And therefore I will heere conclude the treatise of Douer, and proceed particularlie to the rest of the places that lie on this shoare.**

<136> Folkstone, in Saxon folcestane, Id est, Populi Lapis, or else, flostane, which signifieth a rocke, **coast**, or flaw of stone, **which beginneth heere: for otherwise, the cliffe from Douer till you come almost hither, is of Chalke.**

640. Amongest the places lying on this shoare, woorthie of note next after Douer, followeth Folkestone, where Eadbalde, the sonne of Ethelbert, and in order of succession the sixt King of Kent, long since erected a religious Pryorie of women, **at the request of Eanswide, his daughter, and to the honour of S. Peter the Apostle, not in the verie place where S. Peters Church at Folkstone sometime stode, but South from thence where the Sea many yeeres agoe hath (in maner) swallowed it.**

168 And yet, least you should thinke S. Peters Parische church to **haue beene** void of **all** reuerence, I must let you know **out** of Noua Legenda Angliæ, that **least the Sea should haue deuoured al, the reliques of S. Eanswide the first Prioresse of the place** were translated thither. The Author of that worke, reporteth many wonders of this woman: as that she lengthened **the** beame of **a** building three foote, when the Carpenters (missing in their measure) had made it so much too shorte: That she haled and drewe water ouer the hills **and rockes** against nature **from Swecton, a mile off, to her Oratorie at the Sea side:** That she forbad certaine rauenous birdes the countrey, which before did much harme thereabouts: That she restored the blinde, cast out the Diuell, and healed innumerable folkes of their infirmities. And therefore after her death, she was by the policy of the Popish priestes, and follie of the common people, honoured for a Saint.

A Popish policie. And no maruaile at all, for it was vsuall in Papistrie, not onely to magnifie their Benefactors of all sortes, but to **deifie** also so many of them at the least as were of noble parentage, knowing that thereby triple commoditie ensued: the first, for as much as by that meane they assured many great personages vnto them: secondly, they drewe (by the awe of their example) infinite numbers of the common people after them: And lastly, they aduentured the more boldly (vnder those honou=

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rable, and glorious names and titles) to publish

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S. Sexburge,  
&c.

their peeuish and pelting myracles. And this surely 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 eche quarter, were canonized Saints. for generally the Religious of those times were as thankfull to their benefactors, as euer were the heathen nations to their first Kings and founders: The one sort Sanctifying such, as did either builde them houses, or deuise them orders: And the other Deifying such, as had made them Cities, or prescribed them Lawes and †gouernment.

For this was it, that made Saturne, Hercules, Romulus, and others moe, to haue place (in common opinion) with the Gods aboue the starres: and this caused Dunstane, Edgar, Ethelwold, and others, first to bee shrined heere in earth, and then to sit amongst the Saints in heauen. But let mee nowe leaue their policie, and returne to the Hystorie.

The yeerely value of the late suppressed Priorie at Folkstone, is alreadie set downe in the Particular of this Shyre, and besides this I haue not hitherto founde any thing concerning it. Maister Camden gathereth out of Gyldas, that at Folkstone should aunciently stande one of those Turrets which the Romanes planted by certaine distances vpon the South shoare of our lande against the landing of the Saxons.

<1586:183>

Folkstone, in the time of King Edward (next before the Norman conquest) contained 120. Sulleries, Hydes, Carowes, or ploughlands: for by all

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1052.

these names is the quantity of a Ploughland treamed in the booke of Domesday: there were in it fiue parish churches: it was rated at the yeerely value of 110. poundes, and then belonged to the Earle Godwyne, who, and his sons sore spoiled it, what time they harried that whole coast for reuenge of their banishment, as wee haue often before remembred: and the greater part therof was eftsoones burnt and spoiled, by the Scots and Frenche, ioyning handes against vs, soone after the departure of King Edward the third. But the continuall warre, which the Sea maintaineth against it, hath done more detriment than all the rest. For that violently washeth, and by peece meale wasteth it so, that not onely the Nunnerie which stood 28. pearches from the high water marke is nowe almost swallowed vp, but the castle, which Eadbalde (or, as some thinke, William Albranc, or Auorenche, to whome Folkstone was giuen) did builde, and foure of those fiue parish churches, be departed out of sight also. Onely some broken walles, in which are seen great Bricks (the markes of Bryttish building) do remaine, and the names of the parishes of our Ladie and Saint Paule, are not cleane forgotten.

Iohn Twyne commendeth (aboue all others) the Oistres that come from Folkstone, aswell for the taste, as for the greatnes, contending that the

<1590:52-3>

same were they, that for Dainties were aunciently transported to Rome: and that the coast there, all along was known to the Romane Poetes, Ausonius, Iuuenal, and Lucane, by the name of Rhu-

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piæ, Rhutupinus ager, or Rhutupinum Littus, to which ende also Master Camden doth cite them.

<1586:176-7>

Sandgate Castle.

King Henry the eight (whose care, and coste, for the defensing of this Realme against forreine inuasion, is rightly comparable with any thing that either Eadgar, or Alfred, (Kings before the Conquest) bestowed, and meerey incomparable with all that euer any other his predecessours haue attempted) did at the same time, and for the same respect, that wee haue opened in Dele before, defraie 5000. l. and aboue, vpon this platfourme, which lieth within the parish of Folkstone toward Hythe, and hee called it (of the sandie place where it is pitched) Sandgate castle.

Castle Hyll.

Vpon this steepe downe, or hill (which is also in the parish of Folkstone, somewhat neerer to Hythe than Sandgate is) there are yet extant to the eie, the ruined walles of an auncient fortification: which for the height thereof might serue for a watch towre to espie the enimie, and for the compasse it might bee a sufficient receptacle for the inhabitants of this castle. This, (as I con-

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iecture) began to be neglected, after that meeter places for that purpose were builded at Saltwood and Folkstone, on eche side of it. The countrie people call it, Castle-hill, and many of them haue heard the foundation thereof ascribed to King Ethelbert, the first godly king of this Shyre.

Saint Nicholas chappell.

Theophilus (the good bishop) hauing obtained auctoritie from the Christian Emperour Theodosius to deface the Idols of Alexandria, thought it expedient neuerthelesse (as Socrates in his ecclesiasticall historie reporteth) to reserue undefaced that part of eche Idol which was most grosse and filthie, To the end that it might for euer remaine a witnesse to conuince those Pagan Idolators withall; who otherwise would (as he feared) in time to come haue for shame denied that euer there was any such thing amongst them. If this his good and prouident policie had beene put in ure by some Theophilus, or such as receiued the like commission from King Henrie the 8. our English Theodosius, Then, either should our paganish (or popish) Idolators haue now wanted the faces to deny the veritie of such things which some of them now alreadie begin to do: Or else we shoulde not



haue wanted wherewith to make them blush, and to stop their mouthes, were they neuer so brassie and impudent. And albeit that this thing might

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haue beene much more easely perfourmed, whilst each man was guiltie of the fault, and had fresh memorie thereof: yet neuerthelesse, if we had but one, or two, such good friends to God in this behalfe, as Theophilus was, amongst vs, it might now yet with no lesse fidelitie and credit be conueied to posteritie: seeing that euen hitherto there remaine many (and the same most credible) eie witnesses of all that maner of doing. I (in the meane season) hauing vndertaken the Chorography of this shyre, could not (as me thought) with good conscience, silently slip ouer such impieties, being no lesse iniurious to God, than daungerous to men, but haue therefore (and for a witness against the maintainers thereof) committed to writing some such of them as I haue learned, either by the faithfull report of honest persons that haue seen and known the same, or els out of such written monuments as be yet extant and ready to be shewed. For, neither do I professe to open the whole packe of the Idolatryes that were within this countrie, nor yet to discouer the most filthy of all the rest, the one requiring more labour than I can afforde, and the other more iudgement than I haue: but I deliuer such onely, as lying in my way do offer themselues, and such, as (doing as it were an other thing) I haue not vnhappily lighted vpon.

This old house therefore, standing (as you see) very neare to the towne of Hythe, but being in deed within the parish of Newington, Although it may now seeme but a base Barne in your eie, yet was it

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sometime an Imperiall seate of great estate and maiestie. For it was Saint Nicholas chappell, and he in Papisme held the same Empire that Neptune had in Paganisme, and could (with his onely becke) both appease the rage and wallowing waues of the Sea, and also preserue from wrecke and drowning so many as called vpon his name. And therefore, this is one of the places (as the Poet said)

Seruati ex vndis vbi figere dona solebant,

Where such as had escape the Sea,  
were woont to leaue their gifts:

Insomuch as if any of the fishermen vpon this coast, had hardly escaped the storme, and taken any store, then should Sainct Nicholas haue, not onely the thanke of that deliuerance, but also one, or mo, of the best fishes for an offering.

And bicause our Portes men traded the Sea and liued by quicke returne, they were not vnprovided of an Eolus also that might direct the winde for their desire. For, within memorie, there were standing in Winchelsey, three parish churches, S. Lennard, S. Giles, and S. Thomas (though now S. Thomas alone serueth the Towne) and in that of

S. Lennard there was erected the picture of S. Lennard the patrone of the place, holding a Fane (or Eolus scepter) in his hand, which was moouable at the pleasure of any that would turne it to such point of the Compasse as best fitted the returne of the husband, or other friend, whom they expected: and so, after that done, and offering made (for without offering these Idoles would be idle) they

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promised to themselues the desired winde, both speedie, and prosperous. I doubt not, but our Portes men had made these Sainctes free of the Cinque Portes, euen as the Thurians (a people of Italie) sometime did, who, when as Dionysius had armed thirtie ships to the Sea against them, and that suddenly a North winde arose and knocked them togither one against another till they fell in peeces, they (by and by) offered sacrifice to the North winde, and made it free of their Citie. A thing truly, more to be sorrowed than scorned, that men, disabling Gods power, or doubting his good will, or discrediting his promise, should thus either leaue him wholly, or cleaue to these Idoles and make them partly coadiutors with him. But I thinke that you bee desirous to heare of Hythe it selfe, which you haue already in eie, and therefore let vs make vnto it.

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Hyde, is written in Saxon hype, 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 thereof, some note of woorthinesse, and the long continued priuileges thereunto belonging (it selfe being long since one of the fiue principall

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Portes) at the first led me (and happily may heere= after mooue others also) to thinke, that it had beene of more estimation in time past, than by any other thing nowe apparant may well be coniectured. Howbeit, after that I had somewhat diligently searched the Saxon antiquities, from whence (if from any at all) the beginning of the same is to be deriued, and had perused the booke of Domesday, wherein almoste nothing (especially that might bee profitable) was pretermitted, and yet found little, or (in maner) nothing, concerning this Towne committed to memorie: I became of this minde, that either the place was at the first of little price, and for the increase thereof 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, whosoeuer shall consider, either the vniuersall vicissitude of the Sea in all places, or the particular alteration, and chaunge, that in times passed, and now presently it worketh on the coastes of this Realme, he will easily assent, that Townes

bordering vpon the Sea, and vpholden by the com=moditie thereof, may in short time decline to great decay, and become (in maner) worth nothing at al.

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For, as the water either floweth, or forsaketh them, so must they of necessitie, either flourish, or fall: flowing (as it were) and ebbing with the Sea it selfe. The necessitie of which thing, is euery where so ineuitable, that al the Popish ceremonies of espousing the Sea (which the Venetians yeerely vse on Saint Marks day, by casting a Golden ring

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into the water) cannot let, but that the Sea continually by little and little withdraweth it selfe from their Citie, and threatneth in time, vtterly to forsake them.

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

The towne of Hythe (saith Leland) although it be now but one parish, and the same a chappell to Saltwood, did once extend it selfe two miles along the shore, and had the parishes of our Lady, Saint Nicholas, S. Michaell, and of our Lady at Westhythe, which be now destroyed. And hee supposeth, that this Hythe began to increase, after such time as Westhythe and Lymne decaied, by the departure of the Sea from them. And heereof also it came to passe (as I haue heard) that whereas Westhythe was long since cleane without the Iurisdiction of Saltwood, bicause it stood without that honour, this Hythe was subiect vnto it, as lying within the precinct thereof, vntill that our <sup>†</sup>Souereigne Ladie Elizabeth endowed them with a corporation of Maior and Iurates.

From this Towne (saith Henrie Huntingdon) Earle Godwine, and his sonnes in the time of their exile, fetched away diuers vessels lying at roade, euen as they **did** at Rumney also, whereof we shall haue place to speake more hereafter. Before this Towne (in the reigne of King Edwarde the

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first) a great fleete of French men shewed themselves vpon the Sea, of which, one (being furnished with two hundreth Souldiours) set her men on land in the Hauen, where they had no sooner pitched their foote, but the Townesmen came vpon them, **and slew them** to the last man, wherwith the residue were so afraide, that forthwith they hoysed vp saile, and made no further attempt. This

1293.

Hyde, miserably scourged.

Towne also was grieuously afflicted in the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the fourth, in so much as (besides the furie of the pestilence, which raged al ouer) there were, in one day, two hundreth of the houses consumed by flame, and fiue of their ships with one hundreth men, drowned at the Sea: By which hurt the inhabitants were so wounded, that they began to deuise how they might abandon the place, and builde them a Towne else where: Whereupon they had resolved also, had not the

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King by his liberall Chartre (which I haue seene vnder his seale) released vnto them, for fiue turnes next following (vnlesse the greater necessity should in the meane time compell him to require it) their seruice of fiue ships, of one hundreth men, and of fiue garsons, which they ought of dutie, and at their owne charge without the helpe of any other member, to finde him by the space of fiteene daies togither. **They haue at this Hythe, Saint Bar-**

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**tilmewes hospitall (as they call it) which was erected by Hamon of Hythe (sometime Bishop of Rochester, and named of Hythe bicause it was his natie towne) for the continuall reliefe of ten poore**

The shortest passage, betweene England and Fraunce.

persons, and endowed with twenty marks of yeerly profite, or thereabouts.

Finally, from this Towne to Boloigne (which is taken to be the same, that Cæsar calleth Gessoriacum) is the shortest cut ouer the Sea, betweene England and Fraunce, as some holde opinion: Others think that to be the shortest passage, which is from Douer to Calaiçe: **and some, that, which is from the one Nesse to the other.** But if there be any man, that preferreth not haste before his good speede, let him (by mine aduise) prooue a **fourth** way, I meane from Douer to Withsand: for if Edmund Hadhenham, the penner of the Chronicles of Rochester, lye not shamefully, (which thing you knowe how far it is from a Monke) then at such time as king Henrie the seconde, and Lewes the French king, were after long warre reconciled to amitie, Lewes came ouer to visite king Henrie, and in his returne homeward saluted saint Thomas of Canterburie, made a princely offer at his tumber, and (bicause he was very fearefull of the water) asked of saint Thomas, and obtained, that neither he in that passage, nor any other from thencefoorth, that crossed the Seas betweene Douer and Withsand, should suffer any manner of losse or shipwracke. But of this saint (sauing your reuerence) we shall haue fit place to speake more largely heereafter, and therefore let vs now leaue the Sea, and looke toward Shipwey.

1180.

Thomas Becket graunteth a petition after his death.

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Saltwood.

That Saltwood was long sithence an Honor, it may appeere by an auncient writ, directed by King Henrie the seconde, from beyond the Seas, to King Henrie his Sonne, for the restitution of Thomas Becket the Archbishop, to all such goodes, lands, and fees, as were taken from him during the displeasure betweene them: which writ, both for shew of the auncient forme, and bicause it conteineth matter of hystorie, I will not stick to exemplifie, worde for word, as Mathewe Parise hath recorded it. 'Sciatis, quod Thomas Cant. Episcopus pacem mecum fecit ad uoluntatem meam, & ideo præcipio tibi, vt ipse, & omnes sui, pacem habeant, & faciatis ei habere, & suis, omnes res suas, bene, in pace, & honorifice, sicut habuerunt tri-

The pontifi=  
call iustice,  
of William  
Courtney, the  
Archbishop.

bus 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 Archiepiscopus Cant. & quod recognitum fuerit esse de feodo ipsius, ipsi faciatis habere. valete.' But if this Recorde of the Kings, suffice not to prooue the honor of this place, then heare (I pray you) a woord **or twaine** of the honourable (or rather the Pontificall) dealing of William Courtney the Archbishop **and amplifier of this Castle:** 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

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accustomed, but closely in sackes vpon their horses as their abilitie would suffer, cited them to this his castle of Saltwood, and there, after that he had shewed himselfe (Adria iracundiorem) as hote as a taste with the matter, he first bound them by othe to obey his owne ordinaunce, and then inioyned them for penance, that they should each one march leisurely after the procession, bareheaded, and barefooted, with a sacke of hey (or strawe) on his shoulder, open at the mouth, so as the stuffe might appeere hanging out of the bag to all the beholders. Now I beseech you, what was it else for this proud Prelate, thus to insult ouer simple men, for so small a fault, (or rather for no fault at all) but 'Laureolam in Mustaceis quærere,' and no better. Before such time as this Castle came to the hands of these Archbishops, it was of the possession of Henrie of Essex, who helde it of the Sea of Canterbury, and being accused of Treason by Robert of Mountforde, for throwing away the Kings Standard and cowardly flight at a fight in Wales to the great hazard of King Henry the seconde being then in person thereat, hee offered to defende it by his bodie against Mountfort, and was by him vanquished in the Combatte, and left for dead: But the Monks of Reading tooke him vp and both recovered him to life, and receiued him into their Order, exchanging the Natural death, for that time into a Ciuile. For this forfeiture Henrie the 2. seysed Saltwood, and helde it during his life: So did king Richard the first after him: But King Iohn in the

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first of his reigne restored it to the Church againe. Thus farre onely, of the place: Touching Becket, we shall haue cause to speake further in Canterburie, and other places following. And therefore, leauing on our right hand the stately partes of Sir Edward Poynings vnperfect building at Ostenhangar, which some, by what warrant I wote not, call Oescinghangar, ascribing the first building thereof to Oesc the second King of Kent, and the restoration to Bartram Cryol, a wardein of the fiue Ports, Let vs heare what is to be said of Shipwey.

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Shipwey, or Shipweyham, in the Recordes: commonly, Ship=

wey Crosse.

Betweene Hyde and Westenhanger  
(though not in right line) 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 bee much glorious, nor by any common meeting greatly frequented.

I remember, that I haue read in a booke of the Priuileges of the Fiue Portes, that certaine principall points concerning the Port townes, be determinable at Shipwey onely: that is to say, of these fiue: Treason against the King: Falsifying of mo=

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ney: Seruices withdrawn: False iudgement: and Treasure found. And likely it is, that the withdrawing of the trial of causes from thence to Douer Castle, hath brought decay and obscuritie vpon the place.

1263.

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 Fiue Portes their oth of fidelity to his Father, against the maintainers of the Barons warre: And at this place onely our Limenarcha (or Lord Wardein of the Portes) receaueth his oathe, at his first entrie into the office.

Lord Wardein of the Portes.

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 affirm nor denie, hauing neither read, nor seene, that may lead mee to the one, or the other: onely 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, that it was called Shipwey, bicause it lay in the way to the Hauen where the ships were woont to ride. And that Hauen taketh hee to bee the same, which of Ptolomie is caled <kainos limēn>, Nouus Portus: of Antoninus, Limanis, of our Chroniclers Limene Mouth, and interpreted by Leland to betoken, the mouth of the riuer of Rother, which now in our daies openeth into the Sea at Rye, but before time at Winchelsey.

Shipwey, sometime a Hauen towne.

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The Hauen Limene, and the Towne Lymne.

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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 faste the same opinion which they haue by tradition receaued from their Elders.

In deede, the name, both in Greeke, and olde Englishe (which followeth the Greeke) that is to say, Limen, and Limene Mouth, doth signifie a Hauen, whereof the Towne of Lymne adioyning, and the whole Deanrie, or limit of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, in which it standeth (for that also is cal=

led Lymne) by likelyhoode tooke the name. This Hauen (saith hee) stode at the first, vnder a high Rocke in the Parish of Lymne, vnder the which there was situate a strong castle for the defence of the Porte, the ruines of which building (called **Stutfalle**) bee yet apparant to the eie and do enui=ronne almost ten acres of grounde. There is extant also, a faire paved cawsey, called **Stony-streate** being foure or fiue myles of length, and leading **towards** Canterbury **from** the same porte: and they of the Towne enioy the Priuileges of the Fiue Portes, and do reserue a brasen Horne, and a Mace, as ensignes of Castle Garde, and admini=stration of Iustice, in olde time exercised there. **There bee moreouer Brytaine bricks, in the walles of the Church and of the Archedeacons house, as Master Stow, mine olde friend obseruing the same did enforme me.** Finally they affirme, that (the

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water forsaking them by little and little) decay and solitude came at the length vpon the place.

<146> For, whereas at the first, ships were accustomed to discharge at Lymne, the Sea afterwarde (either hindered by the sandes, or not helped by the fresh water) shortned his fludde, and caused the Mer=chaunts to vnlade at Westhithe: Neither did it yet ascende so high any long season, but by continuall decreasinges withdrew it selfe, and at the length compelled them to lay their wares on land at this Hithe, which nowe standeth indeede, but yet with= out any great benefit of the Sea, forasmuch as at this day, the water floweth not vp to the Towne by **a long distance.**

Apledore.  
The Riuer  
Lymen, now  
Rother.

These coniectures, and reports be resonable, but yet, as I am sure that they be vtterly at vari=auce with that opinion which Leland would plant of the present course of the Riuer of Rother (as we will shew in Newendene, when we shall come to the place) so am I in doubt also, what meanes may be found to reconcile them with the relations of As=serus Meneuensis, and our old Saxon Chronicles, which seeme to affirme, that Apledore stode vpon the water Lymen: which if it be so, then I see not (the places considered) how this towne of Lymne could euer be situated vpon the same Riuer.

The words in effect, be these. 'In the yeere, after Christ, 893. the great armie of the Danes, left the East part of Fraunce, and came to Boloigne, and from thence with 250. vessels sailed into the mouth of the Riuer Lymen, in Kent, which floweth

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from the great woode that is called Andred: Thence they towed vp their boates foure miles into that woode from the mouth of the Riuer, where they found a Castle halfe built, and a fewe Countrie men in it, all which together with the vil=lage, they destroyed, and fortified at a place called Apultree.' By **this** it may indeed 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 for Talbot) these words do not

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necessarily enforce so much, for that they bee not, that they towed their ships vp to Apledore, but foure miles into the woode, and builded at Apledore; which they might well do, although they had come in at Hithe. To the which sense also the wordes of Asserus Meneuensis (which liued in that very time) do giue somewhat the more place and libertie, when hee saith: 'They towed vp their ships, foure miles into the wood, where they threwe downe a certaine Castle halfe built, in which a fewe Churles of the countrie were placed, and the Town also, and they raised an other stronger in a place called Apledore:' For these words (an other stronger in a place called Apledore) seeme to import, that Apledore was not the Towne foure miles within the Riuers mouth which they pulled down, but some other: Which, as for the distaunce it might happely be Lymne that we haue in hande, so because there is no apparant memorial of any such course of the Riuer, I will not affirme it to haue been the same, but referre the decision of the whole

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controuersie to the learned and inquisitiue Reader, that will bestowe his labour to trie, and trace out the very truth.

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Courttopstrete, commonly: Court [of] Strete: truly: and Bellirica (or rather) Belcaire, aunciently, that is Bellocastrum, the Faire Castle.

The opinion of the inhabitants of this place (saith Leland) is, that Courttopstrete hath been some woorthie towne: for prooffe whereof, they shew the ruines of their faire Castle, that stode hard by the Chappel heere: and they do yet reserue (Signa prætoriana) that is to say, a Mace and a Horne, assured badges of an incorporation. Howbeit he himselfe deemeth it to haue beene but a part of the port of Limne, as it is yet but a member of the same parish.

The enimie of mankinde, and Prince of darkness, Sathan the Diuell, perceiuing that the glorious and bright shining beames of Gods holy truth and gladsome Gospell had pearced the mistie thicke cloudes of ignorance, and shewed (not onely to the people of Germanie, but to the inhabitants of this Island also) the true way of their deliuerance from damnable errour, idolatrie, and Popish superstition: And fearing, that if he did not now bestirre him busily, he was in perill to lose infinite numbers of his subiects, and consequently no small part of

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that his spiritual kingdom: he practized most carefully in all places, with Monkes, Friars, Priestes, Nonnes, and the whole rabblement 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 sleights,



set to shew in sundry places, about the latter ende and declination of that his reigne) one was wrought by the Holy maide of Kent, in a Chappell at this towne, in deuse as malicious, in deede as mischee= uous, and in discoverie as notorious, as any what= soeuer. But bicause the midst, and end of this Pageant, is yet fresh in the knowledge of many on liue, and manifested to al men in bookes abroad: And for that the beginning thereof is knowne to very few, and likely in time to be hid from all, if it be not by some way or other continued in minde: I will labour, onely to bewray the same, and **that** in such sort, as the maintainers thereof themselues haue committed it to **the worlde** in writing.

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For not long since, it chaunced mee to see a little Pamphlet, conteining foure and twenty leaues, penned by **Edward Thwaytes**, or I wote not by what doltish dreamer, printed by Robert Redman, Intituled 'A marueilous worke 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 which I founde the very first beginning, to haue beene as followeth.

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1525.  
The holy  
Maide of  
Kent.

About the time of Easter, in the seuenteenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the eight, it hapned a certaine maiden named Elizabeth Barton (then seruaunt to one Thomas Kob, of the Parish of Aldington, twelue myles distant from Canterbury) to bee touched with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascende at diuers times vp into her throte, and swelled greatly: during the time wherof, shee seemed to bee in grieuous paine, in so much as a man woulde haue thought that shee had suffered the pangs of death it selfe, vntill the disease descended, and fell downe into the bodie againe.

Thus shee continued by fittes, the space of seuen monethes, and more, and at the laste, in the month of Nouember (at which time also a yoong Childe of her Maisters lay desperately sicke in a cradle by her) shee being vexed with the former disease, asked (with great pangs and groning) whether the Childe were yet departed this life or no: And when the women that attended vpon them both in their sicknesse, aunswered no, shee replied, that it shoulde anone: which worde was no sooner vttered, but the childe fetched a great sighe, and withall the soule departed out of the body **of it**.

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This her diuination and foretelling, was the first matter that moued her hearers to admiration: But after this, in sundry of her fits following, although she seemed to the beholders to lie as stil as a dead body (not moouing any part at all) as well in the traunces themselues, as after the pangs passed also, she told plainly of diuers things done

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at the Church and other places where she was not present, which neuerthelesse she seemed (by signes proceeding from hir) most liuely to beholde (as it were) with hir eie. She **spake** also, of heauen, hell, and purgatory, and of the ioies and sorrowes, that

sundry departed soules had and suffered there: Shee **preached** frankly against the corruption of maners and euil life: She exhorted repaire to the Church, hearing of Masse, confession to Priestes, praier to our Lady and Saints, and (to be short) made in al points, confession and confirmation of the Popish Creede and Cathechisme, and that so deuoutly and discretely (in the opinion of mine authour) that hee thought it not possible for hir to speake in that manner.

But, amongst other things, this one was euer much in hir mouthe, that 'She would goe home,' and that she had beene at home, whereas (to the vnder= standing of the standers by) she had neuer beene from home, nor from the place where she lay: wher= vpon, being (in a time of another traunce) deman= ded where That home was, she answered, Where she sawe and heard the ioyes of heauen, where S. Michael wayed soules, where S. Peter carried the keies, and where she hir selfe had the company of our Lady at Court of Strete, and had hartily be= sought hir to heale hir disease, who also had com= maunded hir, to offer vnto hir a Taper in hir chap= pell there, and to declare boldly to all Christian people, that our Lady of Court of Strete, had reui= ued hir from the very point of death: and that hir

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pleasure was, that it should be rong for a miracle. Which words when her master heard, he said, that there were no Belles at that Chappell, whereunto the Maiden answered nothing, but the voice that spake in her proceeded, saying, 'Our blessed Lady will shew mo miracles there shortly, for if any depart this life sodainly, or by mischaunce, in deadly sin, if he be vowed to our Lady hartely, hee shall 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 forwarde, she resolued with her selfe to go to Court of Strete, and there to pray and offer to our Lady, which also she did according= ly: And was there delaide of hir cure for a certaine season, but yet (in the meane time) put in assured hope of recouerie. During which meane while, the fame of this marueylous Maiden was so spred abroade, that it came to the eares of Warham the Archbishop 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 Alding= ton: with commission, to examine the matter, and to informe him of the truth.

These men opposed her of the chiefe pointes of the Popish believe, and finding her sounde therein,

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not onely waded no further in the discouerie of the fraude, but gaue **fauourable** countenance, and

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ioyned with her in setting forth of the same: So that at her next voyage to our Lady of Court of Strete, she entred the Chappell with 'Aue Regina Cælorum' in pricksong, accompanied with these Commissioners, many Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen of the best degree, and three thousand persons besides, of the common sort of people **in the Countrie.**

There fell she eftsoones into a marueilous passion before the Image of our Lady, much like a bodie diseased of the falling Euill, in the which she vttered sundry metricall and ryming speeches, tending to the worship of our Lady of Court of Strete (whose Chappell there, shee wished to be better maintained, and to be furnished with a daily singing Priest) tending also to her owne bestowing in some Religious house, for such (saide she) was our Ladies pleasure, and **tending finally and fully** to the aduancement of the credite of suche feined myracles, as **that** authour **doth** report. This done and vnderstoode to the Archbishop, she was by him appointed to S. Sepulcres, a house of Nonnes in Canterbury, where she laboured sundrie times of her **former** disease, and continued her **accustomed** working of wonderous myracles, resorting often (by way of traunce onely) to our Lady of Court of Strete, who also ceassed not to shew her selfe mighty in operation there, lighting candels without fire, moistning womens breastes that before were drie

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and wanted milke, restoring all sorts of sicke to perfect health, reducing the dead to life againe, and finally dooing al good, to all such as were measured and vowed (as the **popish** maner was) vnto her at Court of Strete.

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Thus **was** Elizabeth Barton aduanced, from the condition of a base seruaunt, to the estate of a glorious Nonne: The Heremite of Court of Strete was enriched by daily offring; S. Sepulchres 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 eies winking, and the Deuill and his lymmes, with open mouth laughing at it. And thus the matter stoode sundrie yeares together, vntill at length, the question was mooued about king Henries marriage, at which time this holy Maiden (not containing her selfe within her former bounds of hypocrisie) stepped into this matter also, and feined that she vnderstood by reuelation, that if the King proceeded to the diuorce of **Queene Catherine**, he shoulde not bee King of this Realme one moneth after. Whereupon, her dooings were once againe examined (not by men giuen ouer to beleeeue illusions, but by such as had the prudent power of proouing spirits) and in the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceiued people were well satisfied, these dangerous deceiuers were worthely executed, and the Deuill their Maister was

quite and cleane confounded.

Sundry other good circumstaunces there be of this doing, for the vnderstanding of all which I will referre the reader to the twelfth chapter of the statute made in the 25. yeere of King Henrie the 8. wherin the same be, no lesse amply, than excellently well disclosed, And by auctoritie whereof, Elizab. Barton hir selfe, Richarde Master the parson of Al= dington, Edward Bocking, and Iohn Dering, monks of Christes church in Canterbury, Henry Golde a priest, Hugh Rich warden of the obseruant Friers in Canterbury, and Richard Risby, were (after confession of the whole practise made by Eliz. Barton to the Lordes of the priuy counsell) attainted of high treason, And Iohn Fisher then Bishop of Ro= chester, Iohn Adeson his chaplain, Thomas Golde and Edward Thwaites gentlemen, Thomas Laurence the Register of Canterbury, and Thomas Abel priest, were attainted of misprision (or conceal= ment) of the same treason.

If these companions could haue let the King of the land alone, they might haue plaid their page= ants as freely, as others haue beene per= mitted, howsoeuer it tended to the dishonour of the King of heauen.

But, 'An nescis longas Re= gibus esse manus?'

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Bylsington.

After the deceasse of King Edward the third, and against the day of the Coronation of King Richarde the second which succeeded him, Iohn the King of Castile and Lions, Duke of Lancaster, and Earle bothe of Leycester and Lin= colne, claiming in the right of his Earldome of Leycester to be high Seneschall (or Steward) at that solemnitie, and thereby to haue the authoritie of hearing and determining the claims of all such as by their tenure pretended to haue any office or fee at the Kings inthronization, amongst other suites receiued a petition, exhibited by Richarde then Earle of Arundale and Surrey, in which the same Earle claimed the office of chief Butler, and recognised himselfe ready to perfourme the same.

Butler at the Coronation.

Whereupon, fourthwith one Edmund Staple= gate, exhibited another petition, and likewise made his claime to this effect. That whereas the said Edmund, held of the King (in chiefe) the Manor of Bylsington in Kent, by the seruice to be his Butler at the Coronation, as plainely appeered in the booke of Fees and Serieancies in the Exchequer: And whereas also by reason of that tenure, the late King Edward 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 Staple= gate his father) and had also committed the custo=

Geffrey Chawsier.

die of his body to one Ieffery Chawsier (to whom

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he paid 104. l. for the same) he now proffered to do that service, and prayed to be admitted to the office thereof, with allowance of the fees that belonged thereunto. These claims, and the replies also, both of the Earle, and of Staplegate, being heard and considered, It was then ordered (partly for the shortness of the time, which would not permit a full examination of the matter, and partly because that on the Earles side it was proved, that his ancestors had been in possession of that office, after the alienation of the Manor of Bylsington, whereas on the other part it appeared not that the ancestors of Staplegate had ever executed the same) that for the present Coronation the Earle should be received, and the right of Staplegate, and all others, should be nevertheless to them saved.

Priorie, at  
Bylsington.

Thus much of the Manor of Bylsington, (which lieth 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 Priorie of **blacke Chanons** that there was, I finde of Recorde, that it was first aduanced by Iohn Maunsell (Chancellor of Englande) in the 31. yeere of King Henry the thirde: at which time, he gaue vnto them the Manor of Ouerbilsington, with a Marsh of 120. acres at Lydde, for the inclosing whereof the Prior had licence of King Edward the thirde, in the first of his Reigne. The yeerely value you may finde in the particular of the Shyre, amongst the rest of the suppressed houses.

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

<1590:31>

The participation of like Priuilege, might well haue mooued me to haue placed the Portes together, but the purpose of mine order already taken calleth me another way, and bindeth me to prosecute them as they lye in **the** order of my journey.

There be in Kent therefore, two townes of this name, the Olde, and the New Rumney: as touching the latter whereof I minde not to speake, hauing not hitherto founde either in Recorde or Hystorie any thing <sup>†</sup>pertainiug thereunto: but that little which I haue to say, must be of olde Rumney, which was long since a principall Port, and giueth cause of name to the new towne, **euen** as it selfe first tooke it of the large leuell and territorie of Marishe ground that is adioyning.

This towne (saith the Recorde of Domesday) was of the possession of one Robert Rumney, and holden of Odo (then Bishop of Baieux, Earle of Kent, and brother to King William the Conquerour) in the which the same Robert had thirteene Burgesses, who for their seruice at the Sea were

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1053. acquitted of all actions and customes of charge, except fellonie, breach of the peace, and forstalling. It was sometime a good, sure, and commodious Hauen, where many vessels vsed to lie at Roade. For Henrie (the Archedeacon of Huntingdon) maketh report, that at such time as Godwine (Earle of Kent) and his Sonnes were exiled the Realme (vpon such cause of displeasure, as hath already 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 therefore (among sundrie other harmes that they did on the coast of this Shyre) they entred the hauen at Rumney, and led away all such ships as they found in the Harborow **there.**

**Both the Towne of Rumney, and the Marshe, receaued great harme in the 8. yeere of the Reigne of King Edwarde the third, by an hydeous tempest that threw downe many Steeples, and trees, and aboue 300. Milles and housings there.**

1168.  
Thomas Becket. Thomas Becket (the Archbishop) hauing by forward disobedience and stuborne pertinacitie, prouoked King Henrie the seconde to indignation against him, and fearing to abide the triall of ordinarie iustice at home, determined to appeale to the Popes fauour at Rome, for which purpose hee secretly tooke boate at Rumney, minding to haue escaped ouer: but he was driuen backe by a contrary winde, and so compelled to land againste his will. The vnderstanding of which matter, so exasperated the King against him, that forthwith he seased

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The Popes authoritie was abolished in England, in the time of King Henrie the second his goods, and gaue commaundement by his writ to the Sheriffes of all coastes, to make arrest of all such as for any cause prouoked to the Pope. Hee caused also his subiectes (from twenty yeeres of age vpward) throughout the whole Realme, to renounce by oth all woonted obedience to the See of Rome, and sollicited earnestly the Emperour Frederic, and Lewes the Frenche King, to haue ioined with him in deposing Pope Alexander, for that hee so commonly receaued runnagates, and such as rebelled against their lawfull Princes.

<158> But such was either the enimitie of Lewes the Frenche King against **our** King Henrie the second, or his dull sight in discerning the profite of the whole Christian common weale, that he refused to assist the other twaine, by meanes whereof, bothe Frederic the Emperour was afterward compelled to yeeld him to the Pope, and King Henrie the second glad (with all submission) to reconcile himselfe to the Archbishops fauour.

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

It containeth (as by due computation it may appeere) 24000. Acres. For the taxation of Rum=

ney Marsh only (not accompting Walland Marsh, Guilford Marshe, &c.) amounteth to fiftie pounds, after the rate of one halfe peny the Acre) and it is

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at this day gouerned by certaine lawes of Sewers, that were made by one Henrie Bathe (a lustice and Commissioner for that purpose) in the time of King Henrie the thirde. Of which his statutes, experience in time hath begotten such allowance and liking, that it was afterward not only ordered that all the lowe groundes betweene Tanet in Kent and Pemsey in Sussex should be guided by the same: But they are also now become a paterne and exemplar to all the like places of the whole Realme whereby to be gouerned. The place hath in it sundry villages, although not thicke set, nor much inhabited, bicause it is 'Hyeme malus, ōstate molestus, Nunquam bonus,' Euill in Winter, grieuous in Sommer, and neuer good, As Hesiodus (the olde Poet) sometime saide of the Countrie where his Father dwelt. And therefore very reasonable is their conceite, which doe imagine that Kent hath three steps, or degrees, of which the first (say they) offereth Wealth without health: the second, giueth both Wealth and health: and the thirde affoordeth Health onely, and little or no Wealth. For, if a man, minding to passe through Kent toward London, should arriue and make his first step on land in Rumney Marshe, he shall rather finde good grasse vnder foote, than wholesome Aire aboute the head: againe, if he step ouer the Hilles and come into the Weald, hee shall haue at once the commodities, both 'Cæli, & Soli,' of the Aire, and of the Earth: But if he passe that, and climbe the next step of hilles that are betweene him and London, hee shall haue

The three steps of Kent.

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wood, conies, and corn, for his wealth, and (toward the increase of his health) if he seeke, he shall finde, 'Famem in agro lapidoso,' a good stomacke in the stonie field. No maruell it is therefore, if Rumney Marshe be not greatly peopled, seeing most men be yet stil of Porcius Cato his mind, who held them starke madde, that would dwell in an vnwholsome Aire, were the soile neuer so good and fertile.

And heereof it came to passe, that King Edward the fourth (in the beginning of his reigne) graunted, and each Prince sithence haue confirmed, that the Inhabitants of all the towns within the limits of Rumney Marshe, should be incorporated by the name of Baylife, Jurates, and communalitie of Rumney Marshe in the countie of Kent: hauing a court from three weekes to three weekes, in which they hold plea of all causes and actions, reall and personall, ciuill and criminall: hauing power to choose foure lustices of the peace yeerely amongst themselues, besides the Baylife, who is armed with the like auctoritie: hauing moreouer, returne of all the Princes writs, the benefit of all fines, forfeites and amerciaments, the priuileges of leete, lawday and tourne, and exemption from tolle and taxe, Scot and lot, fifteene and subsidie, and from

so many other charges, as I suppose no one place within the Realme hath. All which was done (as it appeereth in the Charter it selfe) to allure men to inhabite the Marshe, which they had before abandoned, partly for the vnholsonnesse of the soile, and partly for feare of the enimie, which had often

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brent and spoiled them. And whereas this princely policie hath not found such prosperous successe, as the like did in the cite of Alexandria, builded by Alexander the great, and in New-hauen, founded by Frauncis the Frenche King, that is chiefly to be imputed to the incommoditie of the place, the which (besides the inclemencie of the aire it selfe) affordeth no one good hauen or creeke for enioying the benefites of the Sea. To conclude, the court of all this libertie (together with the recordes thereof) is kept at Dymchurch, in a place lately builded for that purpose, and thereof aptly called Newhall.

<160> Neshe, called in Saxon (Nesse) which seemeth to be deriued of the Latine Nasus, and signifieth a Nebbe, or nose of the land, extended into the Sea.

1052. This Cape lyeth in Walland at Denge Marshe, South from Rummey, and is of the number of those places that Earle Godwine afflicted in the time of his banishment: from hence hee passed towarde London, and there (by the helpe of his confederates) shewed such an assemblie, that the Bishops and Noble men (for verie feare) became petitioners to the King for his peace, and in the ende procured it. Before this Nesh, lieth a flat into the Sea, threatening great danger to vnaduised Sailors.

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Sea watch, and Beacons. And now, hauing thus viewed such places along the Sea shoare, as auncient Hystories haue put me in remembrance of, I might readily take occasion, both to recommend vnto you the vigilant studie of our Auncestours in prouiding for the defence of the Sea Coastes, and withall shew you a President or two of theirs, containing the assesse of such particular Watch and Warde as they vsed there in the Reigne of King Edward the third: in whose time also, it was first ordered, that Beacons in this Countrie (as I haue told you) should haue their pitch pots, and that they should be no longer made of woodstackes or piles, as they be yet in Wilshyre and elsewhere. But bicause some of those assesses were not permanent and alwaies alike (as not growing by reason of any tenure) but arbitrable from time to time at the discretion of such as it liked the Prince to set ouer the Countrie in time of warres, And for that also we at this day (God be thanked therefore) haue besides the like watchfull indeuour of our present gouernours, sundry standing platforms (as you haue seene) erected to the very same end, and mainteined at the conti=

Pitchpots, & no woodpiles.

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The order of  
this descrip=  
tion.

nuall charge of the Prince, I will not heere stande vpon that matter, but forsaking the shore, betake me Northward to passe along the Riuer Rother which diuideth this Shyre from Sussex: where, after that I shall haue shewed you Apledore, Stone, and Newenden, I will pearce through the Wealde to Medwey, and so labour to perfourme the rest of **this** purpose.

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Apledore, **corruptly, for the** Saxon Apultreo: in Latine, Malus, that is, an Apletree.

In the time of King Alfred, that great swarme of the Danes which annoyed this Realme, and founde not heere wherewith to satisfie the hungrie gut of their rauinous appetite, brake their companie into twaine: whereof the one passed into Fraunce, vnder the conducte of Hasten, and the other remained heere vnder the charge of Guthrune.

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

This Hasten with his companie, landed in Ponteu, ranged ouer all Picardie, Normandie, Angeou, Poietou and passed ouer Loire, euen to Orleance, killing, burning, and spoiling whatsoever was in his way, in so much that besides the pitifull butcherie committed vpon the people, and the inestimable bootie of their goods taken away, he consumed to ashes aboute nine hundreth religious houses and Monasteries.

This done, he sent away 250. of his ships, laden with rich spoile, which came hither againe, entring into the Riuer of Rother, (then called as Leland weeneth, Lymen, at the mouth whereof old Winchester sometime stood) and by sudden surprise tooke a small Castle that was foure or fiue miles within the land, at Apultre (as some thinke) which because it was not of sufficient strength for their defence and couerture, they abated to the ground,

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and raised a new, either in the same place, or els not far from it.

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Shortly after, commeth Hasten himselfe also, with eightie saile more, and sailing vp the Riuer of Thamise, he fortifieth at Middleton now Mylton, ouer against the Ile of Shepey: Which thing when King Alfred vnderstoode, he gathered his power with all haste, and marching into Kent, encamped betweene the two hostes of his enimies, and did so beare himselfe, that in the ende 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 how soone after, Hasten forgot his distresse, and how litle he esteemed either his owne troth plighted, or the liues of his children so pledged, it shall appeere when we come to fit place for it: In the meane while I let you know, that the booke of Domesday (speaking of Apuldore) laieth it in the hundreth of Blackburne, and describeth it to con=

teine eight Carues, or Ploughlands.

<164> Stone, in the Ile of Oxney, called in Saxon (Stana) that is, a stone, or (**nearer, and** as the Northren men yet speake) a Steane.

990. In the daies of King Etheldred, when almost all parts of the Realme fealt of the Danishe furie, this place also was by them pitiously spoiled and brent: which

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Money, first giuen to the Danes.

done, they departed to Sandwich, and did there as hath already appeered. From thence also they passed to Ipswich in Suffolke, and againe to Maldon in Essex, where they ouerthrew Bryhtnod, the Alderman (or Earle) of that countrie in battell, and so terrified the people of all these Easterne partes, that they were voide of all counsell, either how to resist, or to auoide them. At the length, Siricius the Archbishop of Canterburie persuaded the King (who in that distresse was easily bowed any way) to stop the mouthes of these Danes with a morsell of 10000. l'. in ready money, and so to take their promise vnder oath to be quiet from thencefoorth. Which devise of his, how little policie it had in it selfe, any wise man may see, and how pernicious it prooued in sequele, the storie of their actes following doth euidently declare. I doe not forget, that there is another towne of this same Name, lying on the contrarie shore of this shire, not farre from Feuersham, to the which if any man shall bee disposed to carrie this historie, I will not contend: Onely I tell him, that the consideration of the streight course of their iourney, mooued me to lay it heere. This lyeth in the Ile of Oxney, which being about tenne myles in compasse, is enuironed partly with the Salt water, and partly with the fresh, and hath the name of Hox and ea, that is, the fowle, or myrie, lland.

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<165> Newendene, in Saxon, Niweldene, that is, The lowe, or deepe valley: Leland calleth it Nouiodunum, which word is framed out of the Saxon Niwandune, and soundeth as much as, The New hill.

The situation of Newendene is such, as it may likely enough take the name, either of the deepe and bottome (as I haue coniectured) or of the Hil and high ground, as Leland supposed. For it standeth in the valley, and yet clymeth the hill: so that the termination of the name may be Dene, or Dune, of the valley, or of the hill, indifferently. Howbeit, I would easily yeeld to Leland in this matter (the rather, because the common people of that quarter speak much of a faire Towne, that sometime stood vpon the hill) Sauing that both many places thereaboutes are vpon like reason termed Denes, and that Iohn Bale (who had seene an auncient hystorie of the house it

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

selfe) calleth it plainly Newendene.

It is a frontier, and Marchier Towne of this Shyre, by reason that it lieth vpon the Riuer that diuideth Kent and Sussex in sunder **there**, which wa=ter Leland affirmeth to be the same that our aun=cient Chronicles call Lymene, though now of the common sort it is knowen by the name of Rother onely. It riseth (saith he) at Argas hill in Sussex, neare to Waterdowne Forrest, and falleth to Ro=therfield, thence to Hichingham, and so to Roberts bridge (corruptly so termed, for Rothersbridge)

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from whence it descendeth to Bodyam Castle, to Newendene, Oxney, and Apultree, and soone after **slippeth** 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 ouer the Sea, arriued in this lande, and made their nest at Newendene, which was before a wooddie and soli=tarie place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much the more fit for Religious persons to inha=bite.

1241.

The first Car=melites, in England.

They of that profession were called Carmelites, of a hill in Syria, named Carmelus, where at the first, a sort of men that liued solitarily, were drawn into companies by one Ioan (the Patriarche of Ierusalem) in the daies of king Henrie the first: And after that, comming into Europe, were by Ho=norius Quartus, the Pope, appointed to a rule and order, by the name of the Brothers of Mary: which title liked themselues so well, that they procured **of** the Pope (Vrbane the sixt) three yeres pardon for all such as would so call them. But certain merry fellowes, (seing their vanitie, and knowing how lit=tle they were of kin to Mary the blessed Virgine) called them the brothers of Mary Aegiptiaca the harlot, whereat the Pope **himselue** was so offended, that he plainly pronounced them Heretikes for their labour.

I read, that in the reigne of king Richard the second, one William Starnefeld was Pryor of this

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house, and that he committed to writing the origi=nall and beginning of the same, But hitherto (though to no great losse) it hath not chaunced me to see it.

**Master Camden, as in euerie other thing, so in this most probablie coniectureth, that the Seate of the old Andres chester was heere, the ouerthrow whereof you may finde in the Weald next follo=wing.**

<1586:185>

<167>

The Weald, so named of the Saxon word weald, which signifieth A woodie countrie. The Britons called it Andred, of which worde the Saxons called it **by a second name also** Andredesleag, in Latine, Saltus Andred the chase of Andred. This latter name was imposed for the exceeding greatnes of it:

for Anrhesed in Brittain, is  
as much as great, or  
wonderfull.

Now are wee come to the Weald of  
Kent, which (after the common opi=  
nion of men of our time) is contened  
within very streight and narrowe li=  
mits, notwithstanding that in times  
past it was reputed of such exceeding bignesse,  
that it was thought to extend into Sussex, Surrey,  
and Hamshire, and of suche notable fame withall,  
that it left the name to that part of the Realme,  
thorough which it passed. For it is manifest,  
by the auncient Saxon Chronicles, by Asserus Me=

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neuensis, Henrie of Huntingdon, and almost all  
others of latter time, that beginning at Winchel=  
sey in Sussex, it reached in length a hundreth and  
twenty miles toward the West, and stretched thir=  
ty miles in breadth toward the North: And it is (in  
mine opinion) **very** likely, that in respect of this  
wood, that large portion of **our** Islande (which in  
Cæsars time contented foure seuerall Kings) was  
called of the Bryttish word (Cainc) Cancia in La=  
tine, and now commonly Kent: Of which deriuation,  
one other infallible monument remaineth euen till  
this day in Staffordshyre, where they yet call their  
great woodie Forrest, by the name of (Kanc) also.

Kent, why  
so called.

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On the edge of this wood (in Sussex) **at, or neare  
Newendene, as it is thought**, there stood sometime  
a Citie, called (after the same) Andredes Chester,  
which Ella (the founder of the Southsaxon king=  
dome) after that hee had landed with his three  
sons, and chased the Brytons into the wood, raced, and  
made equall with the ground: And in this wood,  
Sigbert, a King of Westsex, was done to death by  
this occasion following.

755.

About the yeere after the Incarnation of Christ  
seuen hundreth fiftie fiue, this Sigbert succeeded  
Cuthred his cousine in the kingdom of the West=  
saxons, and was so puffed vp with the pride of his  
dominion (mightily enlarged by the prosperous  
successes of his predecessor) that he gouerned with=  
out feare of God, or care of man, making lust his  
lawe, and mischief his minister: Whereupon one  
Cumbra (an Earle and Counsellor) at the lam=

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table suite of the Commons, mooued him to consi=  
deration. But Sigbert, disdainig to be directed,  
commaunded him most dispitefully to be slaine.  
Heereat the Nobilitie and Commons were so much  
offended, that assembling for the purpose, they  
with one assent depriued him of his crowne and  
dignitie, and he (fearing woorse) fled into the wood,  
where after a season a poore Hogheard (sometime  
seruant to Cumbra) found him (in a place, which the  
Saxon histories call Prifetsflode) and knowing him  
to be the same that had slaine his Master, slue him  
also without all manner of mercy.

The Historie of this Hogheard, presenteth to my

The Weald,  
was sometime  
a wilderness.

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minde an opinion, that some men mainteine touching this Weald: which is, that it was a great while together in manner nothing els but a desart, and waste Wilderness, not planted with Townes, or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shyre were, but stored and stuffed with heards of Deare, and droues of Hogs only. Which conceit, though happily it may seeme to many but a Paradoxe, yet in mine owne fantasie, it wanteth not the feete of sound reason to stand vpon. For, besides that a man shall read in the Hystories of Canterburie and Rochester, sundrie donations, in which there is mention onely of Pannage for Hogges in Andred, and of none other thing: I thinke verily that it cannot be shewed out of auncient Chronicles, that there is remaining in **the** Weald of Kent, or Sussex, any one monument of great antiquitie. And truly, this thing I my selfe haue obserued, in

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the auncient rentals and surviewes of the possessions of Christes Church in Canterburie, that in the rehearsal of the old rentes and seruices, due by the Tenaunts dwelling without the Weald, the entrie is commonly after this forme,

This Benerth,  
is the seruice  
which the tenant doth,  
with his  
Carte and  
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 Tenauntes inhabiting within the Wealdy countrie, then the stile and Intituling, is first,

Redditus de Walda,

Then after that followeth, De tenementis loanis at Stile in loose. iii s' iiii 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 <sup>†</sup>or entrie is expressed.

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Whereupon I gather, that although the propertie of the Weald, was at the first belonging to certaine knowen owners, as well as the rest of the countrie: yet was it not then allotted into Tenancies, nor Manured like 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, both in quantitie and qualitie, (as being greater than the other, and

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yeelded rather as a recompence for ferme, then as a quiterent for any seruice) did long after, by little and little, take his beginning.

The bounds  
of the Weald.

And heereout also springeth the diuersitie of opinions, touching the true limits of this Weald: Some men affirming it to begin at one place, and some at another, whereas (in my fantasie) there can be assigned none other certaine boundes thereof, than such as we haue before recited out of the

ancient Hystories. For, euen as in the old 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 could not long haue any standing or permanent termes. And therefore, whatsoever difference in common report there be as touching the same, for as much as it is nowe (thanked bee God) in manner wholly replenished with people, a man may more reasonably mainteine, that there is no Weald at all, than certainly pronounce, either where it beginneth, or maketh an end.

And yet, if question in Lawe shoulde fortune to be mooued, concerning the limits of the Weald, (as in deede it may 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 cuntry thereabouts, and not by any other meanes.

<171> But, because I wote not, howe the naturall and ancient inhabitants of this cuntry will beare it,

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that a yoong Nouesse, and lately adopted Denizen, should thus boldly determine at their disputations, I will heere (for a while) leaue the Weald, and go forth to the residue.

<172> 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 Monks of Christes church in Canterburie, to whom it yeelded in the daies of King Edward the Confessor, twelue hundreth Eeles for a yeerely rent. This I exemplifie to the end that it may appeere, that their reseruations (in ancient time) were as well in victuall, as in money, and that thereof the lands so leased, were called Fermes, of the Saxon word, feormian, which is, to feed, or yeeld victual. Which Etymologie of the word, although it might suffice to the prooffe of that matter: yet to the end, that my coniecture may haue the more force, I will adde vnto it the authoritie of Geruasius Tilberienis, a learned man, that flourished in the daies of King Henrie the seconde, who in his Dialogue of the obseruations of the Exchequer, hath in effect as followeth.

Fermes, why so termed.

‘Vntill the time (saith he) of King Henry the first, the Kings vsed not to receiue mony of their lands, but victuals, for the necessarie prouision of their house. And, towards the paiment of the souldiors

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wages, and such like charges, money was raised out of the Cities and Castles, in the which husbandrie and tillage was not exercised. But at the length, when as the king, being in the partes beyond the Seas, needed ready money towarde the furniture of his warres, and his subiects and far-

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mers complained that they were grievously troubled by carriage of victuals into sundry partes of the Realme, farre distant from their dwelling houses; then the King directed commission to certaine discrete persons, which (having regarde of the value of those victuals) should reduce them into reasonable summes of money: The leuying of which summes, they appointed to the Sherife, taking order withall, that he should pay them at the Scale, or Beame, that is to say, that he should pay sixe pence ouer and aboute euery pound waight of money, bicause they thought, that the money in time, would wax so much the woorse for the wearing, &c.'

Thus farre Geruasius.

I am not ignorant, that Geruasius himselfe in another place of that Booke, deriueth the woorde (Ferme) from the Latine (Firma.) Howbeit, for as much as I knowe assuredly, that the terme was vsed here amongst the Saxons, before the comming of the Conquerour, and that the Etymon thereof descended from the Saxon language (wherof happily Geruasius, being a Norman, was not much skilfull) I am as bolde to leaue his opinion for the deriuation, as I was ready to cleaue to his report for the Historie.

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Maidstone, contractly for Medweys Towne: in Saxon Medwegestun, that is, the Towne vpon Medway: it is taken by Master Camden to bee that which in Antoninus, is called Vagniacæ, and in Nennius Megwad. One auncient Saxon booke of the Bridgeworke at Rochester, writeth it Mægpanstane, that is to say, the mighty (or strong) stone: a name (belike) giuen for the Quarreys of hard stone round about on euerie side of it.

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The name of this Towne (being framed, as the most part doe thinke, out of the name of the water) might easily moue a man to iudge, that it had bene long since the principall towne vpon the Riuer whereon it is situate: The rather, for that the Saxons (in imposing the names of their chiefe places) vsed to borow (for the most part) the names of the waters adioining, 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 such other.

Townes, named of the Riuers.

Howbeit, for as much as I finde not this place, aboute once named in any auncient historie, and but seldome mentioned in any Recordes that I haue seene, I dare not pronounce any great antiquitie of it, but speake chiefly of that which it hath gotten within the compasse of later memorie.

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In the Parlement, holden the xi. yeere of King Henry the seuenth, the custodie of the weights and

measures (then renewed according to the Kings standarde) was committed to this towne, as to a place most commodiously situate to serue the turne of the whole shyre in that behalfe: And in the time of king Edward the sixth, the towne, which before times had been gouerned by a Portreue, was newly incorporated and endowed with sundrie liberties, all which soone after it forfeited by ioyning in a rebellion mooued within this Shire, vnder the reigne of Queene Marie. Neuerthelesse, of late time the Queenes Maiestie (that nowe is) of hir great clemencie, hath not onely restored the place to a new incorporation, but endowed it also with greater Priuilege, apparelling the Maior with the authoritie of a Iustice of the Peace, exempting the Townesmen from forreine Sessions, and creating the Towne it selfe a Boroughe, enabled to haue voice in Parleament.

The Colledge. In it were foure principall ornamentes of building, the Colledge, the Bishops Palace, the house of the Brothers of Corpus Christi, and the Bridge: of which the first, was built by Boniface (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and 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. This had not stooode fully one hundred and fortie yeeres, but that William Courtney (a successour in that See, and a

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1395. Noble man, as the other was) pulled it downe, and erecting a new after his owne pleasure, gained thereby the name of a founder, and called it, a Colledge of Secular Priestes.

The Palace. The Palace, that yet standeth, was begunne by Iohn Vfford the Archbishop, but for as much as hee 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 which had long before stooode at Wrotham, but also charged his whole Prouince with a tenth to accomplish it.

<176> 1359. I finde in a Recorde, that Thomas Arundell (an other Bishop of the same See) founded a Chaunterie at Maidstone, 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 boldly affirme, but I thinke it rather so, than otherwise.

The Schoole. Of the Bridge I finde no beginning, but I suspect that it rose by the Archbishops, which were not onely owners of the Palace (hard by, as you see) but Lords and Patrones of the whole Towne and Church also. Neither is it vnlikely that it receiued helpe of Archbishop Courtney, of whom it is recorded that he builded at Maidstone somewhat besides the Colledge.

The Riuer of Medway, and whereof it tooke the name. And thus muche onely of the Towne: As touching the Riuer of Medway, it seemeth to haue been so named, either because it stood in the middle of the Kentish kingdome, or else for that it ranne midde



betweene the two Bishopricks: For the woorde (Midweg) signifieth nothing else, but the Midway as (Middeg) doth noone, or Midday: vnlesse happily some man would rather haue it called (Medwœg) because of the **fruitfull** medowe that it maketh all along the course of the same.

This Riuer is **principally** increased by foure Brookes that runne into it: whereof (to begin at the West) the first springeth about Croherst in Surrey, not farre from the head of Darent: **thence** it slideth to Etonbridge, and taking in the way, Heuer, Penshyrste, and Tunbridge, ioineth with the seconde at **Twyforde** in Yealding.

The seconde ariseth in Waterdowne Forrest at Frant in Sussex (the verie place is called Hockenbury panne) not much more than one mile from Eredge house: **thence** commeth it down to Beyham, to Lamberhyrst streete, and to a place in Scotney ground called Litle Sussex, where it meeteth with the borne Beaul (which nameth Beaul bridge) and with Theise, which breaketh out of the ground at Tysehyrst named of it: so ioine they in iourney to Horsmonden, and make the Twyst (or two streames) of the which the one ioineth with the first head of Medway at Twiford, and the other closeth with the third brooke of Medway a little from Stylebridge, and they all concurre at Yealding.

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

The fourth and last principall Brooke, issueth at Bygon hoath in Leneham, washeth the walles of Leedes castle, a litle from thence it receiue the small boorne of Holingboorne, and then that of Thurnham, and in their companie laboureth to Maidstone.

And at this towne, the name of Medway deservedly beginneth, as well because the towne is named of it, as also for that it hath there receaued all the helpes of the other streames, and is very neare to the midst of the Shyre (which it diuersly diuideth) in regard, either of the length, or breadth thereof.

Diuers other smal pipes of water there be, that doe minister secundarie helpes to this Nauigable Riuer, some out of Sussex, and others out of our own Shyre, all which I may the better passe ouer with silence, because they may with more pleasure bee seene in the Charde, than read heere.

For my good friend, Master Philip Simonson of Rochester, hath lately published some parte of his labour in describing our shyre of Kent, whereby not onely the Townes and Hundreds, with the hilles and houses of men of worthe, are more truly seated: but also the Seacoastes, Riuers, Creckes, Waterings, and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and traced, than heeretofore, in this, or any other of our land (that I know) hath beene performed. Besides

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Master Simonson's  
Map of Kent  
newly made.

the which he hath obserued sundry other things very seruiceable, though not meete to be made commune. Onely I will lay downe, two, or

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three woordes, concerning one of the succours to Medway, and then passe to Pickenden.

Loose. There ariseth, neare to the Parke and Hothe of Langley, a small spring, which at Brishyng (about one mile off) falleth into the ground, and hideth it selfe, being conueighed vnder the earth neare to Cocks hothe, by the space of halfe a mile, and then at a great Pitte of the Quarrey, discovereth it selfe againe, and runneth aboute grounde to Loose (I wot not, whether so called of this Losse) betweene which place, and the mouth thereof (which powreth into Medway at Touelle betweene Maidstone and Eastfarley, and exceedeth not two miles in lengthe) it beareth thirteene Fulling Milles and one for Corne, which are reputed to earne so many hundreds of pounds by the yeere. This thing I was the rather occasioned to note, by viewing the course of this water in that Mapped, where you may see it broken off, as if it were crossed with a bridge of land, and that purposely, to shew the secretes of this Chanell.

<178> Piccendene Hothe, commonly, but aunciently written Pinenden, of Pinian, to punish: and so it soundeth the place of Execution, or punishment.

The name of Harlot, wherof it began. Robert, the Duke of Normandie, had issue by a Concubine (whose name, as the Annales of Saint Augustines reporte, was Harlothe, and after whom, as I coniecture, suche inconti-

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nent women haue euer since beene 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.

Odo, the Earle of Kent. Robert, was reputed a man of small courage, wisdom, or learning, and therefore passed his time ingloriously: But Odo, was founde to be of nature so busie, greedie, and ambitious, that hee moued many Tragedies within this Realme, and was in the end throwen from the Stage, and driuen into Normandie, as heereafter in fit place shall be more amplie declared.

The auncient maner of the triall of right. In the meane while, for this present place, and purpose, I finde, that during his aboade in Kent, he had so incroched vpon the lands and Priuiledges of the Archbishopricke of Canterburie, and Bishopricke of Rochester, that Lanfranc (being promoted to that See of dignitie, and finding the want)

<179> complained to the King, and obtained, that with his good pleasure they might make triall of their right with him. To the which end also, the same king 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 assistaunce in Counsell: com=

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maunded Haymo (the Sheriffe of Kent) to summon the whole Countie to giue in euidence: and charged Odo his brother to be present, at such time and place, as should be notified vnto him.

Pinnendene Heath (lying almost in the midst of the Shyre, and therefore very indifferent for the assemblie of the whole Countie) was the appointed place, and thereunto not onely the whole number of the most expert men of this shire, but of sundrie other Countries also, came in great frequency, and spent three whole daies 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 sundrie other landes, that Odo had withholden: And that neither the Earle of Kent, nor the king himself, had right to claime any thing in any the landes of the Archbishop, sauing onely these three customes, which concerne the kings high waies that lead from one citie to another: that is to say: That if any of the Archbishops tenaunts should dig in such a highe waie, or fell a tree crosse the same, to the hinderance of common passage, and to be taken with the maner, or conuincd thereof by Lawe, he should make amendes to the King therefore:

And likewise when he did committe bloudshead, manslaughter, or any other criminall offence in such **wise that hee** were deprehended dooing the fault, that the amendes thereof belonged to the King also: but in this latter case, if hee were not

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taken with the manner, but departed without pledge taken of him, that then the triall and the amends pertained to the Archbishop himselfe, and that the King had not to meddle therewith.

On the other side also they agreed, that the Archbishop had many Priuileges throughout all the lands of the King, and of the Earle: as namely, the amerciamento of bloudshead from such time as they ceasse to say Alleluia in the Church seruice, till the Octaues of Easter, the which how long it is, let them see **that** can turne the Pie and the Portuse: and at the least the one halfe of euerie amerciamento, due for the vnlawfull begetting of children, commonly called Cyldwite, which last thing, I doe the rather note, to the ende that it may appeere, that in those daies the Bishops had not wholly gotten into their handes, the correction of adulterie and fornication, which of latter times they haue chalenged from the Laitie, with such pertinacie and **stifnesse**, and haue punished (both in the Laitie, and clergie) with such lenitie, that not onely the Princes commoditie is thereby greatly decreased,

The Cleargie haue incroched vpon the Prince, in the punishment of adulterie.

but also incontencie in his subjects intolerably augmented.

Neither is to be prooued by this testimonie onely, that such was the order in old time, but by the booke of Domesday it self 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 Archbishop the woman, &c.

But to returne to Pinnendene: the commoditie

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of the situation it selfe, and the example of this notable assemblie, haue beene the cause, that not only the Sheriffes vse to holde their County Courtes, but also to appointe the meeting for choise of Knights to the Parleament, most commonly at this place.

<181>

Boxley, may take the name either of the Saxon (Boxeleage) for the store of Boxtrees that peradventure sometime grew there: or of (Bucesleag) which is as much to say, as a place lying in Umbilico, in the midst, or Nauell of the Shyre, as indeede this Boxley **somewhat neerely** dothe.

Abbaies doe 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 Cancia, filia Clareuallis propria.' **In the yeere, 1146. was founded Boxley in Kent, the verie daughter of Clareualle.** Which I call obscure, because it appeareth not to me by the word (filia) whether it be ment, that Boxley were erected by the liberalitie of the Monasterie of Clareualle, or else instituted onely after the **profession**, rule, and order of the same. For the like notes I finde in the same Chronicle of diuers other houses within England, to which the same Monasterie of Clareuale (and others also) were like good mothers: and (amongst the rest) that not many yeeres after, this Monasterie of

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1172.

Boxley it selfe was deliuered of such another spirituall childe, called the Abbay of Robertsbridge in Sussex.

Neuerthelesse, I make coniecture, that the author ment by (filia) **daughter**, nothing else, but that one Abbay either furthered by exhortation the building of another, or else furnished it after the building with Monkes of her owne broode. And for more likelyhood that this should be his minde, Heare (I pray you) what he saith in another place,

<182>  
1242.

'Comes Cornubiæ fundauit Hayles, filiam Belliloci in Anglia.' **The Earle of Cornwall founded Hayles, the daughter of Beaulieu in England**, which his words, distinguishes 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 Chro-

1144.

nicles of Rochester, which (putting the matter out of doubt) saie plainely, that one William de Ipre (a noble man, and Lieutenant to king Stephan in his wars against 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: whereunto if you shal adde the yeerely value (which I reade in the Recorde to haue beene two hundreth and foure poundes) you haue all that I finde written concerning the same.

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But **now** if I shoulde thus leaue Boxley, the fauourers of false and feyned Religion would laugh in their sleeues, and the followers of Gods trueth might iustly cry out and blame me.

For, it is yet freshe in minde to bothe sides, and shall (I doubt not) to the profite of the one, be continued in perpetuall memorie to all posteritie, by what notable imposture, fraud, luggling, and Le-gierdemain, the sillie lambes of Gods flocke were (not long since) seduced by the false Romish Foxes at this Abbay. The manner whereof, I will set downe, in such sorte onely, as the same was sometime by themselues published in print for their estimation and credite, and yet remaineth deeply imprinted in the mindes and memories of many on liue, to their euerlasting reproche, shame, and confusion.

The vngrati-  
ous Roode of  
Grace.  
<183>

It chaunced (as the tale is) that vpon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner 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 himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting together fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and **excellencie**, that it not onely matched in comelynesse, and due proportion of the partes the beste of the common sort: but in straunge motion, varietie of gesture, and

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nimblenes of ioints, passed al other that before had been seen: the same being able to bow down and lifte vp it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a liuely, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: by=ting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amyable, and smyling cheere and countenance, when it would 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 co=uetous Priestes of Bell, or the aide of some craftie

College of Monkes, to deifie and make it passe for a very God.

<184>

This done, he made shifte for his libertie, came ouer into the Realme, of purpose to vtter his merchandize, and laide the Image vpon the backe of a lade that he draue before him. Now, when hee was come so farre as to Rochester on his way, hee waxed drie by reason of trauaile, and called at an alehouse for drinke to refreshe him, suffering his horse neuerthelesse to go forwarde alone **along** the Citie.

This lade was no sooner out of sight, but hee missed the streight westernne way that his Maister intended to haue gone, and turning Southe, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driuen (as

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it were) by some diuine furie, neuer ceased **logging** till he came at the Abbay church doore, where he so beat and bounced with his heeles, that diuers of the Monkes heard the noise, came to the place to knowe the cause, and (maruelling at the strangenesse of the thing) called the Abbat and his Couent to beholde it.

These good men seeing the horse so earnest, and discerning what he had on his backe, for doubt of deadly impietie opened the doore: which 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 himselfe, and stode still.

Now while the Monkes were busie to take off the lode, in commeth the Carpenter (that by great inquisition had followed) and he challengeth his owne: the Monkes, loth to loose so beneficiall a stray, at the first make some deniall, but afterward, being assured by all signes that he was the verie Proprietarie, they graunt him to take it with him.

The Carpenter then taketh the horse by the head, and first assayeth to leade him out of the Church, but he would not stirre for him: Then beateth hee and striketh him, but the lade was so restie and fast nailed, that he would not once remooue his foote from the piller: at the last he taketh off the Image, thinking to haue carried it out by it selfe, and then to haue led the horse after: but that also cleaued so fast to the place, that notwithstanding all that euer he (and the Monks also, which at the length

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were contented for pities sake to helpe him) coulde doe, it would not be mooued one inche from it: So that in the ende, partly of wearinesse in wrestling, and partely by persuasion of the Monkes, which were in loue with the Picture, and made him believe that it was by God himselfe 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 generation of this the great God of Boxley, comparable (I warrant you) to the creation of that beastly Idoll Priapus, of whiche the Poet saith.

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:  
Till Caruer doubting with himselfe,  
WERT BEST MAKE PRIAPVS,  
OR ELSE A BENCHE? resolud at last  
To make a God of mee:  
Thencefoorth a God I am, of birdes  
And theeues most drad, you see.

But what? I shall not neede to report, howe  
lewly these Monkes, to their owne enriching and  
the spoile of Gods people, abused this wooden God  
after they had thus gotten him, bicause a **good** sort  
be yet on liue that sawe the fraude openly detected  
at Paules Crosse, and others may reade it disclosed  
in bookes extant, and commonly abroad. Neither  
will I labour to compare it throughout with the

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Troian Palladium, which was a picture of wood that  
could shake a speare, and rolle the eies as liuely as  
this Roode did: and which falling from heauen,  
chose it selfe a place in the Temple, as wisely as  
this Carpenters horse did: and had otherwise so  
great conuenience and agreement with this our  
Image, that a man would 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 awaye by  
Diomedes and Vlysses, brought destruction (by sen=  
tence of the Oracle) vpon their City: So the town  
of Boxley (which stode chiefly by the Abbay) was  
through the discouerie and defacing of this Idoll,  
and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwel)  
according to the iust iudgement of God, hastened to  
vtter decay and beggerie.

S. Rumwald,  
and his mira=  
cles.

And now, since I am false into mention of that  
other Image which was honoured at this place, I  
will not sticke to bestowe a fewe wordes for the de=  
tection thereof also, as wel for that it was as very  
an illusion as the former, as also for that the vse of  
them was so linked together, that the one cannot  
thoroughly be vnderstood without the other: for this  
was the order.

If you minded to haue benefit by the Roode of  
Grace, you ought first to bee shriuen of one of the  
Monkes: Then by lifting at this other Image  
(whiche was vntruly of the common sort called S.  
Grumbald, for Sainct Rumwald) you shoulde make

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For none  
might enter  
into the Tem  
ple of Ceres  
in Eleusis, but  
such as were  
innocent.

prooffe whether you were in cleane life (as they cal=  
led it) or no: and if you so found your selfe, then  
was your way prepared, and your offering accep=  
table 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 ghost=  
ly Dad, and therefore not yet woorthie to be admit=  
ted 'Ad Sacra Eleusina.'

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Now, that you may knowe, howe this examination was to be made, you must vnderstande, that this Sainct Rumwald was **the picture of a pretie Boy Sainct of stone**, standing in the same church, of it selfe **short, and not seeming to be heaue**: but for as much as it was wrought out of a great and weightie stone (being the Base therof) it was hardly to be lifted by the handes of the strongest man. Neuerthelesse (such was the conueighance) by the helpe of an engine fixed to the backe therof, it was easily prised vp with the foote of him that was the keeper; and therefore, of no moment at all in the handes of such as had offered frankly: **and contrariwise**, by the meane of a pinne, **running into a post** (which **that religious impostor standing out of sight**, could put in, and pull out, at his pleasure) it was, to such as offered faintly, so fast and vnmouable, that no force of hande **might** once stirre it. In so much, as many times it moued more laughter than deuotion, to beholde a great lubber to lift at that in vaine, which a yoong boy (or wench) had easily taken vp before him.

I omit, that chaste Virgins, and honest married

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matrones, went oftentimes away with blushing faces, leauing (without cause) in the mindes of the lookers on, **great** suspicion of vnclane life, and wanton behaiour: for feare of whiche note and villanie, women (of all other) stretched their purse strings, and sought by liberall offering, to make S. Rumwalds man their good friend and **fauourer**.

But marke heere (I beseech you) their policie in picking plaine **mens** purses. It was in vaine (as they persuaded) to presume to the Roode without shrifte: yea, and money lost there also, if you offered before you were in cleane life: And therefore, the matter was so handled, that without treble oblation (that is to say) first to the Confessour, then to Sainct Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Roode, the poore Pilgrimes could not assure themselves of any good, gained by all their labour. No more then such as goe to Parisgardein, the Bell Saueage, or **Theatre**, to beholde Beare baiting, Enterludes, or Fence play, can account of any pleasant spectacle, vnlesse they first pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the Scaffolde, and the thirde for a quiet standing.

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I my self can not coniecture, what reason should moue them, to make this S. 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 great stone easily, which before diuers Lay persons could not stirre with all their strength and abilitie: Which thing (as also his whole life and death) to the ende that the tale

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shall want no part of due credite, I will shortly recite, as in the woorke called Noua Legenda Angliæ, **Iohn Capgrau** hath reported.

A Pagan (or vnchristened) King of Northumberland, had married a Christian woman, daugh-



626.  
The natiuitie  
of S. Rum=  
wald.

ter to Penda, the King of Middle Englande, who would not (by any meanes) be knowen carnally of her husband, till such time as he had condescended to forsake Idolatrie, and to become a Christian with hir. The husband (with much to doe) consented to the condition, and she not long after waxed great with childe, and as (vpon a time) they were riding toward their Father King Penda, shee fell into **the** trauaile of childe birthe, and was deliuered by the way (in a faire medowe at Sutton) of a man childe, which so soone as he was come out of his mothers belly, cried with a lowd voice, three seueral times, 'Christianus sum, Christianus sum, Christianus sum.' I am a Christian, I am a Christian, I am a Christian. And not ceassing thus, made forthwith plaine profession of his faith, desired to be baptised, chose his Godfathers, named himselfe Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers by to fetch him a great hollow stone that hee would haue to be vsed for the Fonte.

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Heerevpon sundry of the Kings seruants assaied to haue brought the stone, but it was so far aboute all their 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, which they did forthwith most

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easily. This done he was baptised, and within three daies after (hauing in the meane while discoursed cunningly sundry mysteries of Popish religion, and bequeathing his bodie to remaine at Sutton one yeere, at Brackley two, and at Buckingham for euer after) his Spirit departed out of his bodie, and was by the hands of the Aungels conueied into heauen.

I haue moreouer in my keeping, an auncient Deede, vnder the Seale of Armes of a Noble Nor-man, which if I shoulde giue in euidence against these Monks of Boxeley, you would not take them to be so white within, as their outward Robe pretended, but would rather note them, with 'Hic niger est,' or take them to be wholly compounded, 'ex fraude & fallaciis, ab imis vnguibus ad verticem summum:' 'of fraude and deceipt, from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the head.' 'Et ideo' (as Cicero said of Fan-nius) 'semper esse capitibus rasis, ne pilum vnum boni viri habere videantur:' 'and that therefore they did weare shauen crownes, that they might seeme not to haue so much as one haire left of an honest man.' But since it pertaineth to the place, and containeth a feate discoverie of one of their fraudes, you shall heare the very tenor of it.

'Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, Hugo Canda-uena, Comes Sancti Pauli, Salutem: Vniuersitati vestræ notum facio, quod Balliui mei (quos habeo in Anglia) habentes Warrantizam breuis mei cum sigillo meo dependente, vt quicquid de tenementis meis facerent, ita stabile foret ac si ego ipse fecissem, fecerunt quandam ratio-

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nabilem venditionem (sicut eis mandauit litteris nostris) de quodam Essarto meo iuxta Terentforde, Canonicis de

An Essart is  
land ridd of  
the wood:  
& this piece  
is noted on  
the backe of  
this writing  
to be called  
Hocholt.

Lyesnes, & in Arram centum solidos receperunt, datis fide= iussoribus & fide interposita ex parte mea, quod pactio illa stabilis permaneret. Post hanc autem conuentionem sic factam, occulte veniunt ad me in partes transmarinas Monachi Boxeley, priusquam scirem quid egissent Balliui mei, & conueniunt me super emptione eiusdem Essarti, supprimentes mihi veritatem rei gestæ & pactionis firmatæ cum Conuentu de Lyesnes. Corruerunt etiam muneribus & blanditiis Nuntium quendam, qui missus a Balliuis meis mihi veritatem indicare debuerat. Cum igitur ignorarem versutias illorum, feci pactionem cum illis de prædicta venditione: Sed agnita postmodum veritate, & intercepta eorum astutia, retinui cartas meas quas volebant fraudulenter asportare priusquam eas vidissem, vel audissem. Eapropter cassato deceptionis eorum conatu, concilio Curiaë meæ & multorum virorum prudentium confirmaui Carta mea primam conuentionem factam Canonicis de Lyesnes per warrantizam breuis mei. Quare volo, ut ipsa conuentio stabilis & incussa permaneant, roborata confirmatione Domini mei Regis Angliæ, qui terram illam mihi dedit: Ne Monachi Boxeley eos in aliquo super hoc vexare possint. Nullatenus enim audiendi sunt, cum nullo modo ius aliquod in prædicta terra vindicare iuste possint: Valet.

In English, thus.

'To all the children of holy Mother Church, Hugh Gauden, Earle of Saint Paule, Greeting: I make it knowen to you all, that my Bailifes (which I haue in Englande) hauing warrant by my Writte vnder my

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Seale, that whatsoever they should doe concerning my landes, should be as auailable as if I my selfe had done it, did make a certeine reasonable sale (as I had commaunded them by my letters) of a certeine Assart of mine neare Dartforde, to the chanons of Lyesnes, and receaued C. shillings in earnest, gyuing securitie and promise on my behalfe, that the bargaine should be of force. But after this agreement so made, there came to me priuily to the partes beyonde the Sea the Monkes of Boxley, before that I knewe what my Bailifes had done, and they communed with mee about the buying of the same Assart, suppressing from mee the trueth of the thing done and of the bargaine assured to the Chanons of Lyesnes. They also corrupted with rewardes and flattering wordes a certeine Messenger, whome my Bailifes had sent to tell mee the trueth. I therefore, being ignorant of their craft, passed a bargaine vnto them of the same thing formerly sold: But afterward knowing the trueth, and meeting with their fraude, I withheld my Writings thereof, which they guilefully would haue caried away, before that I had either seene or heard them. Therefore (hauing frustrated their deceitfull endeuour) by the aduise of my Court, and of many Wise men, I haue confirmed by my Chartre that first agreement made to the chanons of Lyesnes by the warrant of my Writte. Wherefore I will, that the same bargaine remaine in force and vnshaken, being strengthened by the confirmation of my Lorde the King of England (who gaue me that lande) that the Monkes of Boxeley may not be able in any thing concerning this to vnquiet them.

For, they are in no sorte to be hearde, seeing that by no means they may iustly claime any manner of right in that lande. Fare yee well.'

&lt;190&gt;

Mylton, in Saxon Midletun, so called of the situation, for it lieth in the midst betweene two places, the termination of whose names be in tun also, that is to say, Newentun, and Marstun.

893.  
Kemsley  
Downe.

Euen at such time as King Alfred diuided this Shyre into Lathes and Hundrethes, the towne of Midleton, or Milton (as we now call it, by our common maner of contraction) was in his owne hands, and is therefore set foorth in our auncient Histories by the name and title of Regia Villa de Midleton: **The Kings towne of Midleton.** In which respect (of like) he gaue to the hundreth, the name of the same Towne, as of a place more eminent than any other within that precincte. Kemsley Downe in the Parish of this Midleton, is the verie place, where in the time and reigne of the same King Alfred, Hasten the Dane (that so much annoyed Fraunce) arriued and fortified, as we haue at full disclosed in Apledore before.

1052.

This Towne continued of good estimation vntill the reigne of King Edwarde the Confessour, in whose daies, and during the displeasure betweene him and Earle Godwine, such as were of the deuotion of the Earle at home, burned the Kings house

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at Midleton, while he and his sonnes abroad were sacked, herried, and spoiled, the skirts, and outsides of the whole shyre besides: after which time, I haue not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any estimation, or price at all, more than for the market only.

The hystorie of Ely taketh it to be called Midleton, because it standeth in the Midst of Kent, and telleth vs that Sexburga (the Queene, and foundresse of Mynster in Shepey) left hir life at the doore of Mylton church.

It seemeth to me, that Mylton was not aunciently within the charge of the Shyrife of the Shire: because I find in a Note out of a Recorde (48. H. 3.) by which he granted to Fulc Payferer the custodie of the Countie, together with the Hundred of Mylton.

&lt;191&gt;

Sedingbourne, in Saxon Sætungburna, that is, the Hamlet along the Bourne or small Riuer. One **there is that** interpreteth it, as if it were, Seethingbourne, Riuus feruens aut bulliens, but how likely, let others see.

1231.

For want of pertinent matter, touching either the beginning, increase, or present estate of this place, I am driuen to furnishe the roome with an impertinent Sermon, that a Mytred Father of Rochester long since bestowed vpon his

auditorie there. In the time of King Henrie the

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thirde, and after the death of Richard, the Archbi=shop of Canterbury (surnamed the great) The Monkes of Christs Church were determined to haue chosen for their Archbishop, **one** Ralfe Nouille the Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellour to the King: but Gregorie the Pope, fearing that Ralfe would haue trauailed earnestly for release of the tribute, which his Innocent predecessour had gai=ned by King Iohns submission (for the storie saith, that Nouille was a good man, and true harted **to** his Countrie) bare the Monks in hand, that hee was rashe in word, and presumptuous in acte, and therefore much vnwoorthie of such a dignitie: Ne=uerthelesse, bicause he would not seeme vtterly to infringe the libertie of their election, he gaue them free licence to take any other man besides him. Wherevpon, the Monks agreed, and chose one Iohn, the Pryor of their owne house.

<192>

The Popish manner of preaching.

Now, when this man should go to Rome (as the manner was) for to buie his confirmation, Henrie (then Bishop of Rochester) addressed himselfe to accomanie 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, **in the which** (after many other thinges) he braste forth into great ioy, (as a man that had beene rapt into the third Heauen) and said. 'Reioice in the Lorde (my brethren all) and knowe ye assuredly, that now of late in one day, there departed out of purgatorie, Ri=chard (sometime King of England) Stephan Lang=

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ton (the Archbishop of Canterburie) and a Chaplein of his, to go to the diuine Maiestie. And in that day, there issued no moe, but these three, out of the place of paines: and feare not to giue full and assured faith to these my words, for this thing hath beene now the third time reuealed vnto me, and to another man, and that so plainly, as from mine owne minde all suspici=on of doubt is far remooued.'

These few words, I haue in manner translated out of Thomas Rudburne, and Mathew of West=minster, to the ende that you might see, with what wholesome and comfortable bread, the preaching Prelats of that time fed their Auditories, and that you might heereby consider, that, 'Si lux sit tenebræ,' If the Bishops, the great torches of that time, were thus dimme, 'Ipsæ tenebræ quantæ?' What light was to be looked for at the little candels, the soule Priestes, and seely Syr Iohns? Beleeue me, if his Fatherhood had not plainly confessed, that he came to the knowledge of this matter by reuela=tion, I would easily haue beleeued, that he had been with Anchises in Hell, as Aeneas sometime was, where he learned, what soules should come next to life, and where he heard the liueliest description of **the** Poeticall, or Popish Purgatorie (for all is one) that is any where to be founde: Which to the ende that you may see what agreement there is

Popish Pur= gatorie, is deriued out of Poetrie.

<193>

Lucianus, in lu=ctu, tria habet mortuorum ge=nera, id quod illi=cum papanis no=stris commune est.

betweene the olde and the new Romanes, touching  
this article of religion, I will shew it you in a few  
of Virgils owne verses.

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Lib. 6. Enead.

Quin & supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,Ê  
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes  
Corporeæ excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est  
Multa diu concreta, modis inolescere miris.  
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum  
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanesÊ  
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,Ê  
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit  
Aetherium sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.

Which Thomas Phaer translated  
after this manner.

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  
Much 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 high  
in aire do hang on pinnes,  
<194> Some fleeting beene in floodes, and deepe  
in gulfes themselues they tyer,  
Till sinnes away be washt, or clen=  
sed cleane with purging fyer.

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Eche one of vs our pœnance heere  
abide, that sent we bee  
To Paradise at last: we few  
these fields of ioy do see.  
Till compasse long of time, by per=  
fect course hath purged quite,  
Our former cloddred spots, and pure  
hath left our Ghostly Sprite,  
And senses pure of soule, and sim=  
ple sparks of heauenly light.

Nowe therefore, if this Bishops Poetrie may  
be allowed for diuinitie, me thinketh that with  
great reason I may intreate, that not onely this  
worke of Virgils Aeneides, But Homers Iliades,  
Ouides Fastes, and Lucians Dialogues also, may be  
made Canonically: for these all excell in such kinde  
of fiction. **Since my first acquaintance  
with Sittingborne, it hath pleased hir Maiestie to  
bestow a Maior and Corporation vpon the place.**

<195>

Tong Castle, or rather Thong Castle, in  
Saxon þwanceastre, in Bryttish Kaerkerry,  
of (Thwang and Karry) both which  
wordes **doe** signifie, a Thong

of Leather.

The British Chronicle, discoursing the inuitation, arriual, and interteinment of Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon captaines) mentioneth, that among other deuises (practised for their own establishment

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and securitie) they begged of King Vortiger so much land to fortifie vpon, as the hyde of a beast (cut into thongs) might incompasse, and that therof the place should be called Thongc<sup>o</sup>aster, or Thwangc<sup>o</sup>aster: after such a like maner, as Dido (long since beguiling Hiarbas, the King of Lybia) builded the Castle Byrsa, conteining twenty and two furlongs in circuit, of which Virgil spake, saying:

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

They bought the soile, and Byrsa it cald,  
when first they did begin,  
As much as with a Bull 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 kind of policie, at the hands of Etheldred the Brother of Alfred, to builde a fort.

Doncaster in  
the North  
Countrie.

<196>

And as these men agree not vpon the builder, so is there variance between written storie, and common speech, touching the true place of that building: for it should seeme by Galfrid, Hector Boetius, and Ric. Cirencester, that it was at Doncaster in the North Countrie, bicause they lay it in Lindsey, which nowe is extended no further then to the North part of Lincolneshire. But common opinion (conceiued vpon report, receiued of the elders by tradition) chalengeth it to Tong Castle in this Shyre: Whereunto if a man doe adde, that both

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the first planting, and the chiefe abiding, of Hengist and Horsa was in Kent, and adioyne thereto also the authoritie of Mathew of Westminster, which writeth plainely, 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 faith the other vnaduisedly.

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

heere to repeate it. For an end therefore I tel  
you, that the ditch and ruines of this olde Castle  
do yet appeere at Tong Mill, within one quarter  
of a mile of the parish Church there, and about so  
much Northward from the high way between  
London and Canterbury: where you  
may see the water drayned  
from the Castle ditch,  
to serue the corn-  
Mill.

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<197>

Tenham, in Saxon tynham, that is, the towne  
of ten houses: as Eightam was called of  
the Eight dwellings there.

I woulde begin with the Antiquities  
of this place, as commonly I doe in  
others, were it not that the latter  
and present estate thereof far passeth  
any that hath beene tofore it. For  
heere haue wee, not onely the most dainty piece of  
all our Shyre, but such a Singularitie as the whole  
Brittish Iland is not able to patterne. The Ile of  
Thanet, and those Easterne parts, are the Grayner:  
the Weald was the Wood: Rumney Marsh, is the  
Medow plot: the Northdownes towards the Tha=  
myse, be the Cony garthe, or Warreine: and this  
Tenham with thirty other parishes (lying on each  
side this porte way, and extending from Rayn=  
ham to Blean Wood) bee the Cherrie gardein, and  
Apple orcharde of Kent.

But, as this at Tenham is the parent of all the  
rest, and from whome they haue drawen the good  
iuiice of all their pleasant fruite: So is it also the  
most large, delightsome, and beautifull of them.  
In which respect you may phantasie that you now  
see 'Hesperidum Hortos,' if not where Hercules founde  
the golden apples, (which is reckoned for one of  
his Heroical labours) yet where our honest patriote  
Richard Harrys (Fruiterer to King Henrie the 8.)  
planted by his great coste and rare industrie, the  
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sweete Cherry, the temperate Pipyn, and the gol=  
den Renate. For this man, seeing that this  
Realme (which wanted neither the fauour of the  
Sunne, nor the fat of the Soile, meete for the ma=  
king of good apples) was neuerthelesse serued chie=  
fly with that Fruit from forrein Regions abroad,  
by reason that (as Vergil saide)

Pomaque degenerant, succos oblita priores:

1533.

and those plantes which our ancestors had brought  
hither out of Normandie had lost their natie ver=  
dour, whether you did eate their substance, or drink  
their iuiice, which we call Cyder, he (I say) about  
the yeere of our Lord Christ 1533. obtained 105.  
acres of good ground in Tenham, then called the  
Brennet, which he diuided into ten parcels, and with  
great care, good choise, and no small labour and  
cost, brought plantes from beyonde the Seas, and  
furnished this ground with them, so beautifully,

as they not onely stand in most right line, but seeme to be of one sorte, shape, and fashion, as if they had beene drawn thorow one Mould, or wrought by one and the same patterne.

1184. Within Tenham there was long since some Mansion pertaining to the See of Canterburie: For, in the time of King Henrie the seconde, there was a great dispute (before the Archbishop, then sojourning at Tenham) betweene the Prior of Canterburie, and the Prior of Rochester, not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester, then lately dead, which (as they of Canterbury claymed) ought

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1205. to lye vpon the Altar with them, to be deliuered to the next Bishop, but was contradicted by them of Rochester. This pointe of Prioritie was to and fro maintained with such pertinacie, that neither would yeelde to other, but in the end they of Rochester put the Crosier into the hands of Baldwyne the Archbishop, who foorthwith deliuered it to the Prior of Canterburie, of whom Gilbert Glanuille the next successor tooke it. And at this house in the time of King Iohn, Hubert the Archbishop departed this life, as Mathew Parise reporteth: who addeth also, that when the King had intelligence of his death, he brast foorth into great ioy, and said, that he was neuer King (in deede) before that houre.

It seemeth, that he thought himselfe deliuered of a shrewe, but litle forsawe he that a shrewder should succeede in the roome: for if he had, he would rather haue praied for the continuance of his life, than ioyed in the vnderstanding of his death.

For after this Hubert, followed Stephan Langton, who brought vpon King Iohn such a tempestuous Sea of sorrowfull trouble, that it caused him to make shipwrack, both of his honour, crowne, and life also: The storie hath appeered at large in Duer, and therefore needeth not now eftsoones to be repeated. Touching the sickly situation of this towne, and the region thereabout, you may be admonished by the common Rythme of the countrie, singing thus,

He that will not liue long,  
Let him dwell at Muston, Tenham, or Tong.

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- <198> Shepey, called sometimes Counos, and Couennos: in Latine, Insula ouium, and Ouinia, a Balantum nomine (as one writeth) 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 Monasterie of women in the Ile of Shepey, called Minster, which (in the late iust, and generall suppression) was found to be of the yeerly value of an hundredth and twenty pounds.

This house, and the whole Ile was scourged



832. thrice within the space of twenty yeeres and a little more by the Danes, whome I may well call (as Attila, the leader of the like people, called himselfe) Flagellum Dei, the whip, or flaile of God. First, by thirtie and fiue saile of them, that arriued there and spoiled it: Secondly, and thirdly, by the armies of them, that wintered their ships within it: Besides all which harmes, the followers of the Earle Godwine and his sonnes (in the time of their proscription) landed at Shepey, and harried it.

851.  
855.

1052. It should seeme by the dedication of the name, that this llande was long since greatly esteemed, either for the number of the sheepe, or for the fineness of the fleese, although auncient foreigne writers ascribe not much to any part of all Englande (and much lesse to this place) either for the one re-

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<199> spect, or for the other: But whether the sheepe of this Realme were in price before the comming of the Saxons, or no, they be now (God be thanked therfore) woorthy of great estimation, both for the exceeding finenesse of the fleese (whiche passeth all other in Europe at this day, 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 flocks, so <sup>†</sup>increasing euery where, that not only this litle Isle whiche we haue now in hand, but the whole realme also, might rightly bee called Shepey.

This llande is also abundantly blessed with corne: But it feeleth some want of wood, which it now adaies buyeth deerely in the continent of the Shyre. It hath in compasse about 21. myles, and is a Bailiwyke or part of the Hundred of Mylton, as you may see in the particular of the Shyre that is already set downe.

In it there are at this day, two places, the one called Kingsborough, and the other Queenborough, married (if I may so speake) in name, as the chiefe things of Note within the Ile.

The first, was aunciently called Cyningburh, (all one with the present name Kingsbourghe) and (being situate in the very midst of the Ile, and thereby most commodiously for the assembly of the inhabitantes) hath euermore beene frequented for the holding of their generall court, whereunto all the llanders do resort, as well for the choice of their Constable, that hath the office of the peace, as also for the

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election of the Bailies (or Wardeins) that take the charge of the Kings ferrie (or passage) by water betweene the Ile and the maine lande of the Shyre.

<200> The other, was by King Edward the third at the very first named 'Reginæ Burgus,' in Latine, that is, Queeneboroughe, as we now speake, in English; and not 'Cuningburgh,' as Leland (mistaking it) did for a time misseleade me to thinke. This standeth at the West end of Shepey, together with the Castle, and was by the same King (as himselfe saieth in his Letters patents, dated the tenth day of May

in the forty two yeere of his reigne) builded for the strength of his Realme, and for the refuge of the inhabitants of this Iland.

1366. During this building, William of Wickam (sur=  
named Perot) a man not so plentifully endowed  
with good learning, as abundantly stored with Ec=  
clesiasticall liuing, (for he had nine hundred pounds  
of yeerely reuenue, fourteene yeeres together, and  
was afterwarde by degrees aduanced to the kee=  
ping, firste of the priuie, and then of the broad seale)  
was Surueiour of the Kings workes, which is the  
very cause (as I coniecture) that some haue ascri=  
bed to him the thanke of the building it selfe. This  
Castle or platforme was somewhat repaired by  
King Henrie the eight, at such time as hee raised  
1536. Blockhouses along the Sea coasts, for the causes  
already rehearsed in Dele.

<201> Of this Castle at Quinborow, Leland  
saith thus,

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

A Castle high, and thundring shot,  
At Quinbroughe is now plaste:  
Which keepeth safe the Ilanders,  
From euery spoile and waste.

Being at this Castle (in the yeere 1579) I found  
there, one Mathias Falconar (a Brabander) who did  
in a furnesse that he had erected) trie and drawe very  
good Brimstone and Copperas, out of a certein stone  
that is gathered in great plenty vpon the Shoare  
neare vnto Minster in this Ile.

Neare vnto this Castle, the same King Edward,  
did at the same time also, erect (as I saide) the  
Towne of Quinborow, which he created a free Bo=  
rough, and made the Townsmen Burgesses, giuing  
them power to choose yeerely a Maior and two Bai=  
lifes, that should make their oath of allegeance be=  
fore the Constable of that Castle, endowing them  
with <sup>†</sup>Counsance of pleas, with the libertie of two  
markets weekely, and two Faires yeerely, and be=  
nefiting them with freedome of Tholle, and sundrie  
other bountifull priuileges, that might allure men  
to inhabite the place.

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<202> Feuersham, in Saxon fafresham,  
and fafresfeld.

903. As it is verie likely, that the Towne  
of Feuersham receiued the chiefe  
nourishment of hir increase from  
the Religious house: So there is  
no doubt, but that the place was  
through the benefite of the water somewhat of  
price long time before the building of that Abbay  
there. For it is to be seene, that King Ethel=  
stane helde a Parleament and enacted certeine  
lawes at Feuersham, about sixe hundreth and forty  
yeeres agoe: at which time (I thinke) it was some

1072. Manor house belonging to the Prince, the rather, for that afterwarde King William the Conquerour (to whose handes at length it came) amongst other things gaue the aduowson of the Church to the Abbay of S. Augustines, and the Manor it selfe to a Normane in recompence of seruice.

1140. But what time King Stephan had in purpose to build the Abbay, he recouered the Manor againe, by exchange made with one William de Ipre (the founder of Boxley) for Lillychurch: and so raising heere a stately Monasterie (the temporalities whereof did amount to a hundreth fiftie and fiue poundes) he stored it with Cluniake Monkes.

1151. This house, was first honoured with the buriall of **Mawde** the Queene, his wife: Then with the sepulture of Eustachius his onely sonne: and shortly after himselfe also was there interred by them.

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1154. I reade none other 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. Augustines, touching the right of the Patronage of the church of Feuersham. For, notwithstanding that King William the Conquerour, had giuen it to the Abbay (as appeereth before) yet, there wanted not some (of which number Hubert the Archbishop was one) that whispered King Iohn in the eare, that the right of the Aduowson was deuoluted vnto him: which thing he beleeuing, presented a Clarke to the Churche, and besides commaunded by his writ, that his presentee should be admitted. The Abbat on the other side withstoode him, and for the more sure enioying of his possession, not only eiectioned the Kings Clarke, but also sent thither diuers of his Monkes to keepe the Church by strong hand.

1202. When the King vnderstood of that, he commaunded the Sheriffe 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 such was the courage of these holy hoorsons, that before the Sheriffe could bring it to passe, he was driuen to winne the Church by assault, in which he hurt and wounded diuers of them, and drewe and haled the rest out of the doores, by the haire and heeles.

Now it chaunced that (at the same time) Iohn the Cardinall of Saint Stephans (the Popes Legate into Scotland) passed through this Realme,

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to whom (as hee soiourned at Canterburie) the Monks made their mone: and he againe, both incouraged them to sende their Pryor to Rome for remedie, and furnished them with his own Letters in commendation of their cause: In which, amongst other things, he tolde the holy father Innocentius plainely, that if he would suffer Monkes to be thus intreated, the Apostolique authority would soone after be set at nought, not onely in England, but in all other countries also.

Heereupon the Pope sent out his commission,

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for the vnderstanding of the matter: but the Monkes (being 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 saddle, they both obtained at his handes restitution of their right, and also wan him to become from thencefoorth their good Lord and Patrone.

But heere (I pray you) consider with me, whether these men be more likely to haue been brought vp in the Schoole of Christ, and Paule his Apostle (who teach, 'Ne resistatis malo: & vincatis bono malo: 'Resist not euill, but ouercome euill with good') Or rather to haue drawne their diuinitie out of Terence Comedie, where the counsell is, 'Malumus nos prospicere, quam hunc vlcisci accepta iniuria;' 'We had rather looke to our selues before hand, than tarrie to be reuenged of him when we haue taken wrong.' Yea, and out of the woorst point of all Tullies Philosophie, where he permitteth, 'Lacessitis iniuria, inferre vim & iniuriam;' 'Those that be prouoked by iniurie,

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to doe wrong and iniurie againe:' seeing they bee so ready, not of euen ground only, but before hande, not to aunswere, but to offer, force and violence, euen to Kings and Princes themselues. I wis they might haue taken a better lesson out of Terence himselfe, who aduisech wise men, 'Consilio omnia prius experiri quam armis:' 'To proue al things by way of counsel, before they take weapon in hand.' And therefore I pitie their beating so much the lesse. But by this and such other Monkish partes of theirs, you may see, 'Quid otium & cibus faciat alienus:' 'What idlenesse, and cheere at other mens charge, is able to doe.'

This towne is well peopled, and flourisheth in wealth at this day, notwithstanding the fall of the Abbay; which thing happeneth by a singular preeminence of the situation: for it hath, not only the neighborhood of one of the most fruitfull partes of this shyre (or rather of the very garden of Kent) adioyning by lande, but also a commodious creeke, that serueth to bring in and carrie out by the water, whatsoever wanteth or aboundeth to the countrie, about it.

Vpon the hill at Little Dauington neare to this Town, King Henry the 2. about the 2. yeere of his reigne, raised a Priorie of Blacke Nonnes to the honour of Mary Magdalene: in emulation (as it may seeme) of that which his immediate predecessor king Stephan had erected at Feuersham it selfe. The name, or value, is not read in the Register of the generall suppression of the Religious houses, bicause (as I haue heard) it escheated to

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the King before that time, or forfeited for not mainteining the due number of Nonnes appointed by the foundation.

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Genlade, or rather Yenlade, now sounded commonly, Yenlet.

Beda hath mention of a water in Kent, running by Reculuers, which he cal=

leth Genlade: This name was afterward sounded Yenlade, by the same misrule, that geard is now Yard, geoc Yoke, gyld Yeeld, gemen Yeomen, and such other.

Henrie of Huntingdon also reporteth, that King Edward (the Sonne of Alfred) builded at Gladmouth: This place I coniecture to haue stode at the mouth of **such a water**, and thereof to haue been called, first Genlademouthe, and afterward (by contraction, and corruption of speech) Glademouthe.

The names of Towns framed out of the mouthes of Riuer.

For, to compound the name of a Towne, out of the mouth of a Riuer adjoining, was most familiar with our auncestors: as 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 common **also** with vs of later time is it, to corrupt (by contraction) the true names almost of all places, but especially of so many of the same, as consisted at the first of three syllables, or aboue.

The corruption of our English speech.

For, of Medweys Towne, we make Maidstone:

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of Eglesford, Ailsford: of Otanford, Otford: of Seuennocke, Sennocke: and so fourth infinitely, both throughout this Shyre, and the whole Realme: and that so rudely (in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same: For, Maildolphesbyrig we call Malmesburie: Eouesham Esham: and Hagustaldham we cut of by the waste, and nickname it, Hexam.

Neither hath this our manner of abbreviation, corrupted the names of townes and places onely, but infected (as it were with a certaine contagion) almost our whole speech and language: calling that which in olde time was heofod, nowe Head, Kynning King, Hlaford Lord, Sunu Sonne, and innumerable such other, so that our speech at this day (for the most part) consisteth of wordes of one sillable. Which thing Erasmus obseruing, merily in his Ecclesiast. compareth the English toong to a Dogs barking, that soundeth nothing els, but Baw, waw, waw in Monosillable.

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**But** if this rouing arrow of mine owne coniecture, haue missed the marke of Glademouthe where at I directed my shot, yet will I pricke at Yenlade with another out of the same quiuer, and happily go neerer to it. Beda speaketh there of the North-east mouth of the flood Genlade: which speech of his were idle, if that water had none other mouthe but that one. And therefore, when I reade in Bedaes first booke (Chap. 25.) that Wantsume diuideth the Ile of Thanet from the Continent, on bothe sides: and in his fift booke (Chap. 9.) that Reculuer stan-

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deth at the Northe mouthe of the water Genlade, which is the one mouthe of Wantsume, by his owne description: I suppose, that by Genlade he meaneth a thing yet well knowne in Kent, and expressed by the word Yenlade (or Yenlet) which betokeneth an Indraught (or Inlett) of water into the lande, out

of, and besides the main course, of the Sea, or of a Riuer. For that water, which now sundereth the Ile of Greane from the Hundred of Hoo, hath two such mouthes (or Inlettes) the one of which opening into the Thamyse, is called the North Yenlet, (notable for the greatest Oisters, and Flounders:) and the other (receauing the fall of Medway) is called Colemouth: and neither of them standeth in the full sweepe, or right course, of those Riuers, but in a diuerticle, or by way.

Such another there is also, lying southwarde within the same Medway, into which it openeth two mouthes, and thereof called likewise South Yenlet, notorious also for great Oisters, that be dredged thereabouts. And euen such an one is the Yenlet at Reculuer, where it openeth that way into the Sea towards the Northe, and hath the other mouthe into Wantsume (or Stowre, as it is now called) towards the Southe, not in the streight course of that Riuer, (which maketh to the Sea betweene Stonar, and Sandwiche) but diuerted, and led aside.

As touching the water that runneth betweene the Continent and the Ile of Shepey, the same is called the Welle, and is not neare to any of these

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Genlades, or Yenlettes. And where the Statute (4. H. 7. ca. 15.) maketh the Maior of London to be conseruatour of the Thamyse, from the bridge at Stanes to the Water of Yendal and Medway, that must be vnderstood, to extende to Colemouth, where Medway and Yenlett doe occurre and meete: and the woord 'Yendal' is misprinted, for Yenlade or Yenlett, in that place of the Statute.

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Reculuers, in Latine, Regulbium, or (as Twyne sayeth) Reculfum; in Saxon Raculf Mynster, deriued (as I gesse) of the Brytish woord Racor, that signifieth forward, for so it standeth, toward the Sea.

<1590:26>

The present estate of Reculuers as you may see deserueth not many wordes: As touching the antiquitie therefore and beginning of the place, I reade, first that Ethelbert, the first King of Kent, hauing placed Augustine at Canterbury, withdrew himselfe to Reculuer, and there erected a Palaice for himselfe and his successors: the compasse whereof may be traced out by the ruines of an olde Wall there that are yet to bee seene. Furthermore, that Ecgbrighte (the seuenth King of Kent, in succession after Hengist) gaue to one Bassa, the land at Reculuer to build him a Mynster vpon, which stode at the one side of the water Wantsume, that ran two sundrie waies into the Sea, and made Tanet an Iland: And finally,

The riuer called Wantsume.

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that not long after the same time, one Brightwald (being Abbat there) was aduaunced to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, and was not the first, as

Polydore saieth, but the seconde man of all the Saxon nation that aspired to that dignitie.

692. In which behalfe, Reculuers (how poore and simple soeuer otherwise) hath (as you see) somewhat whereof to vaunte it selfe: As it may also, of the body of Ethelbert the second (a king of Kent) which (as the Annales of Saint Augustines report) remaineth likewise interred there: whose monument is shewed at the vpper ende of the Southe Ile of the Church that yet vaunteth it selfe with two steeples. The Oisters that be dredged at Reculuer, are reputed as farre to passe those at Whitstaple, as those of Whitstaple doe surmount the rest of this shyre, in saourie saltnesse.

The order of this description.

Thus haue I walked about this whole Diocœse: now therefore let me cutte ouer to Watlingstreete, which I will vse for my way to Rochester, and tell you of the places that lye on each side. But first, heare (I pray you) of Stouremouthe, and Wyngham, which be in my way to Watlingstreete.

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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) encountered his enemies the Danes, and finding that by reason of the sundry swarmes of them arriue

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uing in diuers parts of his Realme at once, he was not able to repulse them being landed, he rigged vp a royall Nauie, and determined to keepe the highe Seas, hoping thereby either to beate them vpon the water, or to burne their vessels if they should fortune to arriue.

Soone after this, it fortunèd his Nauie to meet with the Danish fleete at the mouthe 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 followeth victorie) so the Kings armie kept no watch, by reason wherof the Danes hauing 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 shoulde be Stouremouthe in this Shyre, the rather for that it is deriuèd of the mouth of the riuer Stoure and that by the circumstance of the storie it appeereth, that King Alfred was in Kent when he made determination of this iourney. Howbeit, he that shal aduisedly read the story as it is set downe by Asserus, shal confesse it to haue beene in Eastangle, which contained Norfolke and Suffolke, &c. And for the more certeinty, I take it to haue chaunced at the same place which we now call Harwiche Hauen. For that Riuer diuideth Essex from Suffolke, and not farre from the head thereof in Essex, there standeth a Towne yet called

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Sturmere, whiche (in my fantasie) sufficiently main= teineth the knowledge of this matter.

Thus much I thought fit 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 suddenly **conueied** 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, hee calleth the Danes, not 'Paganos,' as in the rest of his booke he vseth, but by a strange name 'Wicingas,' as the Saxon Chronicles in report of the same matter doe terme them.

Which worde (I thinke) he tooke out of some Saxon Chronicle that he followed, and happily 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 '**Wicingas**' in deed meaneth, and as Asserus in the rehearsal of the same fight had done before him.

The decay of the olde English tongue.

It may be, that he was a Norman borne: **And** truly I suppose that the Saxon speech was well nigh worne out of vre, in the reigne of King Stephan, (vnder whome he liued) seeing that euen immediately after the comming in of the Conquerour, it began to decline.

For it is plaine, that the Normans at their very first entrie, laboured by all means to supplant the English, and to plant their owne language amongst vs: and for that purpose, they bothe gaue vs the lawes, and all manner of pastimes, in the Frenche

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tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conquerour, and consider the termes of Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes, shal easily perceau: they reiected also the Saxons Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing, as writeth Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croy= land (whiche came ouer with them) and as a man may yet see in the booke of Domesday it selfe, which (notwithstanding that it was written within a few yeeres after the arriual of the Conquerour) yet being penned by Norman **writers**, it reteineth very few letters of the Saxon Alphabet.

Thus farre, by occasion of Stoure in Suffolke: **But now the head and course of our Kentish Stoure, standeth thus:** It hath two Originals, the one at Streatwell in Leneham, not fully one mile distant from that which riseth at Bygon (as I saide) and helpeth Medway: the other at Postlyng church: and these both do ioine neare to Ayshford, where it first **†**craue the name of Stoure, and from whence assisted with other streames that conspire with it, they all passe in one bottome to Wie, and to Canterbury, and did in times past run to Stourmouth, now somewhat remoued: not far from which, it receaueth the water that springeth at S. Edburghes well, adioining to the churchyarde at Lyming, and of which diuers townes that border vpon it haue Borne for the last syllable of their names. After this, it beginneth to diuide it selfe two waies, and to describe the Ile of Thanet, ceassing to be called any longer Stoure, but

†<? r. 'earneth'>



Yenlade, or Wantsume, as euen now I tolde you.

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Wingham.

The Archbishops were well housed.

Besides the stately, and Princelike Palaices at Canterburie, Maidstone, Otford, Knoll, Croyden, and Lambhythe, which the Archbishops of this Shyre kept in their handes, bothe to perourme their set solemnities of housekeping, and to sojourne at with their whole traines, when they trauelled towarde 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 diuers partes of this country, in which they vsed to breathe themselves, after their great feastes and affaires finished, and to lodge at, when they traueiled the Countrie to make their visitations.

Of this number (amongst other) were Foorde, Charte, Charing, Chartenham, Tenham, and this our Wingham: at the which, Baldwyne (the Archbishop in the reigne of King Henry the second) lay, at such time, as hee had contention with his Couent of Christes Church, for making a Chappell at Hakington, as in fit place you shall finde more largely disclosed.

In the meane season, I will tel you, that (as the Annales of Saint Augustines reporte) when two of his Monkes came to this house on horsebacke, in great haste to serue the processe of that suite vpon him, he receaued the Processe dutifully, but he caused them to dismount, and to walke home on foote faire and softly.

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Prouision of armour.

At this house also, King Edward the first rested for a season, with Robert of Winchelsey (then newly made Archbishop) whilst he tooke order for the defence of the Sea coasts, charging bothe the spiritaltie and commons with horse and armour, according to the quantities of their liuelyhoodes and possessions.

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And here was he aduertised, that one of his familie (called Sir Thomas Turbeuille, whom he had sent into Gascoine with commission) was fallen into the hands of the Frenche King his enimie, and imprisoned in Paris, and that for his deliuerance he had conspired with the Frenche King, and promised to betray the King his maister: whereupon King Edward caused such diligent watch to be laid for him, that he was taken, and such speedie and seuerer iustice to be executed vpon him, that hee was forthwith condemned, drawen thorowe London, and hanged on liue. Of this man a Poet of that age, alluding to his name, made this verse following, and some other.

Turbat tranquilla clam, Thomas Turbida villa, &c.

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

1225.

And heere againe king Edward the second lay

with Walter Reignold the Archbishop, conferring with him and others concerning his passage into Fraunce for the dooing of his Homage: but in the end resolved to send ouer his sonne Edward (afterward called the third King of that name) to whome he had giuen the Duchie of Aquitane: with him

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went the mother also, where betweene her and her complices was contriued that, which cost her Husband both his Crowne, and life also, as all our Histories can enforme you.

The names of Lathes, and of Wapentakes.

It is no small token of the auncient estimation of this place, that it giueth the name to the whole hundreth in which it is situate: for that is most vsuall, both in this Shyre, and elsewhere, that the whole territorie (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.

1284.

To make an end, heere was sometime a religious College of sixe Prebendaries and som Churchmen, the gouernour wherof was called a Prouost, which some doe suppose to haue beene founded by Iohn Peckam the Archbishop, and I finde to haue beene valued at fourescore and foure pounds of yeerely reuenue.

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Watlingstreete, in Saxon, weatlingastrete, of one Weatle, whom the printed booke of Math. 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

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the high waies, should not be impeached by any officer, but that they should enioy peaceable freedom and libertie, both for their goods and persons. But, forasmuch as he had not (in his life time) described those waies that he woulde haue thus priuileged, great contention arose after his death, which waies shoulde be taken for high and royall, and which not: and therefore, Belinus (his Sonne and successour) to cease all controuersie, limited in certaine, foure especiall highe waies: whereof the first was called, Ermingstreete, and lead (after the opinion of some) from Southhamp-ton to Saint Dauids in Wales, or (as others write) to Carlile in the North: The seconde was named Fosseyway, 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 Tinmouth to Saint Dauids, which is from Northeast to Southwest.

Fosseyway.

Watlingstreete.

Watlingstreet, where we now are, was the fourth, and it began at Douer (after the opinion of Ralfe

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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 ran through London, and left the name to Watling=streete there) from thence to Saint Albons, Dun=stable, Stretford, Towcester, Lilburne, and Wrecken, thence ouer the riuer of Seuerne to Stretton, and so through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, and to the banke of the Irishe Sea.

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And this is the common and receiued opinion (although in deede there be diuers) touching the first beginning and description of this way. But Simon the Chaunter of Durham, and he that made the continuation to the Hystorie of Asserus Mene= uensis (bothe very good authours) ascribe bothe the beginning and the name also of this way, to the sonnes of a Saxon King, whom they call Weatle: which their opinion, as I doe not greedily receiue, bicause I finde not that name (Weatle) in any Catalogue of the Kings that I haue seene: So will I not rashly reiect it, for the estimation that I otherwise reteine of the writers themselues, 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 all agree not in the trace and true course of the same. For Henry (the Archdeacon 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. Which third and last opinion, may well ynough stand, either with the first, or the seconde.

But now, as touching this priuilege graunted by Molmutius, although it continue not altogether in the same plight, yet some shadowe thereof remaineth euen to this day, as by the lawes of King Edward the Confessour which confirmed the protection of the foure waies by name, and by the Statute of Marlbridge, which forbiddeth distresses

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to be taken in any the Kings high waies or common streetes; and by the <sup>†</sup>Satute (called Articuli Cleri) which commaundeth that such as abiured shoulde not be molested while they be in the highe waies, may euidently appeere.

**Furthermore,** I finde in Hystorie, that this Watlingstreete, hath heretofore not onely serued for the free passage of the people, but that it hath beene (at times also) a marke and bounder betweene some Kings for the limits of their iurisdictions and authority: for so it was betweene Edmund and Anlaf, Alfred and Guthrum, and others.

The order of this description.

But, bicause those matters reach further then this Shyre extendeth, I will reserue them to fit place, and shewe you in the meane while, what I count note woorthy on bothe 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: concer=  
ning 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 Saint 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 toge=  
ther a sort of simple women, which vnder her wing

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there tooke vpon them the Popish veile of widow=  
hood.

S. Gregories  
in Canter=  
burie, first  
buildd.

But that order in time waxed colde: and there=  
fore Lanfranc the Archbishop, at suche time as hee  
buildd Saint Gregories in Canterburie (as wee  
haue touched in Tanet before) reckoning it no smal  
ornament of his dotation to bestowe some renou=  
ned Relique that might procure estimation to his  
worke, translated the olde bones of Edburge from  
Lyminge to Saint Gregories, and verified in Pa=  
pistrie the olde Maxime of Philosophie, 'Corruptio  
vnius, generatio alterius.' **The corruption of one, is  
the generation of another.'**

1084.  
Reliques.

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Baramdowne, in the Saxon, Barhamdune,  
That is to say, the hill where the  
Bores doe abide.

As this place is of it selfe very fit (by  
reason of the flatte leuell and plaine=  
nesse therof) to array an host of men  
vpon: So haue we testimonie of three  
great armies that haue mustered at  
it. The one vnder the conduct of Iulius Cæ=  
sar, who landing at Dele (as we haue before shew=  
ed) surueied his host at Baramdowne, and marching  
from thence against the Britons, so daunted their  
forces, that he compelled them to become tributary.

No lesse infortunate, but much more infamous  
to this countrie, was the time of the second muster  
**here**, which happened in the reigne of King Iohn:

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King Iohn  
yeeldeth to  
the Pope.

who hearing that Philip (the king of Fraunce) had  
by incitation of the Pope (as hath already appeer=  
ed in Douer) prepared a great armie to inuade  
him, and that he was ready at Calaice to take ship=  
ping, determined to incounter him vpon the Sea,  
and (if that assay succeeded not) then to giue him  
battaile on the lande also. For which seruice, hee  
rigged vp his ships of warre, and sent to the Sea  
the Earle of Salisburie, (whom he ordeined Admi=  
rall) and calling together fit men from all the  
partes of the Realme, he found (by view taken at  
this place) an army of sixtie thousand to incounter  
his enimies, besides a sufficient number of able  
and armed souldiours to defend the land withall.

**But** now, whilest he thus awaited at Baram=  
downe to heare further of his aduersaries com=  
ming, Pandulph (the Popes Legate) sent vnto him  
two Knights of the order of the Temple, by whose

mouth he earnestly desired the King to graunt him audience. The King assented, and the Legate came vnto him, and saide in summe as followeth.

Behold (O Prince) the King of Fraunce is in armes against thee, not as against a priuate enimie to him alone, but as an open and common aduersarie both to the Catholike Church, to the Popes holynesse, to whole Christendome, and to God himselfe: Neither commeth hee vpon opinion of his owne power and strength, but is armed with great confidence of Gods fauourable aide, accompanied with the consent of many great Princes, furnished with the presence of such as thou hast banished out

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of thy Realme, and assured by the faithfull promises of sundry of thine owne Nobilitie whiche nowe are present in person with thee. Consider therefore in what danger thou standest, and spare not to submit thee, while space is: least if thou persist, there be no place left of further fauour.

The King hearing this, and being (vpon causes knowne to himselfe) more distrustful of Traitours at home, than fearfull of enimies abroade, 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, than it was before: as an vsurped Hierarchie, is inferiour to a noble, lawfull, and renommed Monarchie. For it is truly said, 'Dignitate domini, minus turpis est conditio serui:' **'It is the lesse shame, to be seruant, to a woorthy maister.'** Now when the Frenche King on the other side of the Seas, had woord heerof, he retired with his armie in a great choler, partly for that he was thus deluded, but chiefly bicause he had lost his nauie, which the Earle of Salisburie had set on fire in the hauen at Calaice.

The Barons  
warre.  
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Simon Mountfort (the Earle of Leicester,) that was elected by the Barons of this Realme General of that armie which they raised against king Henrie the third, arraied thirdly a very great hoast of men heere, at such time as he feared the arriual of Eleonar the Queene, who being daughter to the Earle of Prouence, and then left in Fraunce behinde

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the King and the Earle, (which also had beene both there a little before, to receiue the Frenche kings awarde touching their controuersie) ceased not by all possible means to sollicite the king of Fraunce, and to incite other her friends 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 all they durst not, knowing that their comming was awaited, they serued not her desire: by means wherof, the Lords waxed strong, and soone after gaue the King a battaile in Sussex, wherein they both tooke him, his brother Richarde, and his eldest sonne, prisoners. But as touching the originall, proceeding, and euent of these wars, I willingly spare to speake muche in this place,

knowing that I shall haue opportunitie offered heereafter to discourse them. In the parish of Barham, a little from the side of the wood, and about six miles from Douer, appeereth yet an entrenched ground with three ditches: which whether it were the place where Cæsar, or (after him) some Saxon, or Danish Capitaine, encamped, I cannot informe you. Nowe therefore let vs consider a few other places, and then haste vs to Canterburie.

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Charteham.

After such time as King Iohn had made himselfe the Popes Tenaunt of the Crowne and Realme of Englande, (as euen now I tolde you) the Clergie of

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this countrie was so oppressed with Romish exactions, that they were become, not only vnable, but thereby vnwilling also, to releue the necessitie of the Prince with any prest of money, as in times past they had accustomed to do. Whereat the king on the one side taking offence, pressed them many times very harde, not ceasing till he had wroong somewhat from them: and **they** on the other side, appealing to their holy fathers aide, procured (by their great coaste) many sharpe prohibitions, and proud menacies against him. So that sundry times in the reigne of king Henrie the third this Ball was busily tossed betweene the King and the Pope, the Clergie (in the meane while) looking vpon, but nothing laughing at the game.

The Popes reuene, in England. 1246.

Amongst other things done for the manifestati= on of the Popes rauine, the same King at one time commaunded a generall suruiew to be made of the Popes yeerely reuene within this realme, and found it to surmount the yeerely receipt of his owne Eschequer, in very rent, besides innumerable secrete gifts and rewards wherof no account could be made.

Heerevpon the Prince, by aduise of his Realme, sent speciall messengers to the generall Councill that was then holden at Lyons 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 **then** free from the heauie yoke of that Popish oppression: for M. Parise reporteth, that euen then the Emperour himselfe wrote an

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earnest letter to the King and Nobilitie of this Realme, solliciting them to ioine with him in withstanding the tyranny of the Romish See. Howbeit, all this coulde not helpe, 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 ende he was driuen to vse the meane of the Popes authoritie, whensoever he needed **the** aide of his owne spiritualtie.

After Henrie followed his sonne Edwarde the first, who being more occupied in martiall affaires than his Father was, and thereby **the** more often

1295.

inforced to vse the helpe of his subjectes, for the raising of some necessarie masses of money, nowe and then borowed of his Clergie: til at the length, Pope Boniface the eight (treading the path of his predecessours pride) tooke 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 goodes, he should forthwith stand excommunicate.' By colour of which decree, the Clergie of England, at such time as the King next desired their contribution towardes his warres, made answere with one assent, 'That they would gladly, but they might not safely without the Popes licence, agree to his desire.'

A Parleament, without the Clergie.

Heereat the King waxed wrothe, and calling a Parleament of his Nobilitie and commons (from which he excluded the Bishops and Clergie) enacted, that their persons should be out of his protection,

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and their goods subject to confiscation, vnlesse they would by submitting themselues redeeme his faour.

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1296.

It was then a world to see, how the wealthie Bishops, fat Abbats, and riche Priors in each quarter bestirred them, each man contending with libell offer to make his raunsome: in so much as the house of Saint Augustines in Canterbury (as the Annales of their owne Abbay doe report) gaue to the King two hundreth and fiftie pounds in money for their peace, hauing lost before (notwithstanding all their haste) two hundreth and fiftie quarters of their wheate, which the Kings Officers had seised to his vse and shipped to be sent into Gascoine for the victualing of his men of warre.

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

Onely Robert of Winchelsey (then Archbishop of Canterbury) refused to aide the King, or to reconcile himselfe, in so much that of very stomacke he discharged his familie, abandoned the Citie, and withdrew himselfe to this Towne, **the which was first giuen to his priorie of Christes church by one Alfred, a Noble man, about the yeere after Christ, 970: and from thence** (as mine Author saith) he roade each Sunday and Holiday to the churches adjoining, and preached the woorde of God.

Polidore, was the Popes creature.

Polidore, in his owne opinion, giueth him an apte Theme, writing that he preached vpon this text, 'Melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus:' 'It is better to obey God, than men:' which if he will haue to serue the turne, he must construe it thus, 'It is better to obey the Pope, than the King,' and so make the Pope

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a God, and the King no more then a common man.

But Peter the Apostle of God, from whome the Pope woulde 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 in this point: For **Peter** inioineth vs plainly, 'Subditi estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, siue Regi, tanquam præcellenti, &c.' 'Be ye subject to all humane ordinance, for the Lordes sake, whether it bee to the King as to the most excellent, &c.' making the

king the most excellent vnder God, who (no doubt) if he commaund not against God, is to be obeied before the Pope, concerning whome we haue no commaundement at all in **the Scriptures of God.**

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Howbeit, since Polidore and the Bishop serued one common Maister, namely the man of Rome, it is the lesse maruaile if he commend his endeouour in this part, and that **also** is of the lesse credit which he writeth of him in another place, where he bestoweth this honorable Elogium vpon him, 'Quantum in eo fuit, de Religione iuxta atque de Repub. promereri studeuit, a qua nunquam discessit, nunquam oculos deiecit: ita officio suo atque omnium commodis sibi seruiendum censuit.' 'As much as in him was (**saith he**) he studied to deserue well, both of religion, and of the common wealth, from the which he neuer departed, ne turned away his eies: so thought he it meete to serue his owne dutie, and the profit of all men.' As concerning his desert in religion I wil say nothing, bicause it may be thought the fault of that age, and not of the person onely: but as touching his behauiour to

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ward his Prince and Countrie (wherein also consisteth no small part of religion and feare of God) since our Law 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 S. Augustines, who vpon the yeere 1305. hath this note following.

Eodem an. 7. Kal. Maii, cum sæpe dictus Archiepiscopus Robertus, super multis Articulis enormibus (et præcipue super proditione, quam cum quibusdam comitibus, & proceribus multis, pactus erat in dolo, vt Regem a Regni solio deiicerent, & filium eius Eduardum, ipsius in throno 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 subditi 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 yeere, the 25. of April, when as the often named Robert the Archbishop, was chalenged by the King for many points of great enormitie, and especially for the treason which he had imagined with certaine Earles and Noble men, to the ende that they

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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 down prostrate vpon the earth at the Kings feete that hee



might deserue to obtaine his fauour, with weeping and wailing he submitted himself wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thus was that proud, and most hatefull man to God, brought lowe and humbled, the which defiled throughout al England with the breath of his mouth (like an harlot) the state of the Priesthoode and Clergie, and exercised intollerable tyrannie ouer the people: and he, which before writing vnto the King, refused in his letters for pride to call him his Lord, now being humbled, both acknowledgeth and calleth him his Lord and King, being made obedient, and to serue him with great deuotion, but yet against his will.'

Againe, when as in the same yeere he was cited to appeere at Rome (vpon complaint that he had wastfully spoiled the goods of his Church) and came to the Court to sue for licence to passe ouer the Seas, the King (as soone as hee came to his presence, and had moued his sute) caused the presence chamber doore to be set wide open, willed the standers by to giue eare, and spake aloud to the Bishop in this manner, as the same author reporteth.

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Licentiam transfretandi, quam a nobis postulare venisti, libenter tibi concedimus, reuertendi autem licen-

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tiam nullam damus, memores doli, ac proditionis 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, utpote speramus. A protectione vero nostra, te prorsus excludimus, omnem gratiam negantes & misericordiam, quia re vera semper immisericors fuisti: Cumque Wintoniensis Episcopus pro eo intercederet, & Archiepiscopus Dominum suum esse diceret, Rex affirmavit, se omnium Praelatorum regni, & Regem, & Dominum esse principalem.

'We willingly graunt you licence to passe ouer the Seas, according as you are come to desire, but to returne again we giue you no licence at all, 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 which thing your letter signed with your owne seale is a witnes, and evidently 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, wee haue hitherto differred the reuenge, reseruing it to the Pope, which (as wee hope) will make reuenge of our iniuries. But we vtterly exclude you from our protection, denying you all grace and mercie, bicause in deede you haue alwaies beene an vnmercifull man. And when as the Bishop of Winchester made inter-

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cession for him, and said, that the Archbishop was his Lord, the King affirmed, that he himselfe was the king

and chiefe Lord of all the Prelates of the Realme.'

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King Edward  
the first, clay=  
meth supre=  
macy ouer the  
Clergie.

This **matter** I haue exemplified the more at large, both to the end that you may see how great a traitour to his Prince, how vnmercifull a tyrant to the common people, and how foule a blemish to the Ecclesiasticall order, this Bishop was, quite contrarie to that which M. Polydore affirmeth of him: and also that you may vnderstand, what authority king Edward the first in plaine termes challenged ouer his Cleargie: not such as Anselme offered king William Rufus, when he tooke Canterburie of his gift, saying, 'Summo pontifici debeo obedientiam, tibi consilium.' 'I owe my obedience to the high Bishop, and my counsell to you,' But such as a true subiect oweth to his Liege king and lawfull souereigne, and such as differeth no more from that which we at this day attribute to our Prince, than 'Principalis Dominus,' and 'Supremus Gubernator' do varie in sunder.

1313.

And yet (beholde the madnes of the time) after the death of this Bishop, the common people forsooth resorted to his tumbe, and would needes haue made a Saint of him, had not the Sepulchre been defaced and their follie staied by **authoritie** and publique ordinance.

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Chilham, in Saxon Cyleham, which soundeth, The colde place: Leland saith, that some called it the Castle of Iosua: and Maister Camden writeth, that some call it lulham, of Iulius.

<1586:171>

That Chylham Castle had aunciently the reputation of an Honour, appeereth by a Note, taken out of the Patentes (15. Regis Ioannis) where it is said, that Thomas Peuerel had committed to his charge, the Castle of Chylham with the Honour. For, it was a member of the Castle of Douer, and in the allotement of lands for the defence of Douer, it fell to the share of Fulbert of Douer, who (in consideration thereof) vndertooke to finde at his owne charge fifteen able souldiours, whereof three should warde at Douer euery moneth, and so mainteine it by the continuance of twenty weekes in the yeere.

I might suspect, that it came afterwarde to the possession of the Archbishop: for I haue read, that vpon a time, king Iohn came thither, to treat with Stephan Langton the Archbishop, for reconciliation to be had betweene them. But I finde that the Scottish Earle of Ashele enjoyed it by marriage with Isabel of Douer, and that hee engaged it for money to king Edwarde the third: and that in the time of his sonne (Edwarde the seconde) the Lorde Bartholomew of Badlesmer (that was Steward of that Kings house, and woulde faine haue bene Earle of Kent) possessed the place, and magnificent=

†<r. 'first'>

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ly feasted there the Queene, with many of the Nobil=

litie, whom he presented with most liberall guiftes and rewardes.

The building (saith Leland) was not onely com= modious for vse, and beautifull for pleasure, but strong also for defence and resistance: and so con= tinued vntill that Sir Thomas Cheynie translated the best materials thereof, to his house at Shore= land in the Ile of Shepey.

Master Camden, learnedly (as in other things) hath collected out of Cæsars owne woordes, that this was the very place, where he (in his seconde attempt against this lland) encamped twelue miles from the Sea shoare, along a Riuers side: and coniectureth, that (not without reason) some haue thereof called it Iulham, the place of Iulius: euen as others call the Greene hillocke at Chilham, Iul= laber, of Laberius Durus, one of Cæsars Colonels, that was slaine by the Britaines vpon the rising of that his Campe.

<1586:171>

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Wye, the woorde (in Bryttish) signi= fieth, an Egge.

What time King William the Conque= rour endowed his Abbay of Battell in Sussex, he gaue thereunto (amongst other) his Manor of Wye, conteining at that time seuen hydes or ploughe landes, and being (before that time) of the De= measnes of the Crowne.

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The Chronicles of Battell Abbay affirme, that there were sometimes two and twenty Hundrethes subiect to the iurisdiction of this **Manor**: which if it be true, then (as farre as I can reache by coniec= ture) the territorie of Wye was the very same in compasse, that now the Last of Screy, or Sherwin= hope describeth, that is to say, the fift part of this whole Shyre, consisting of two and twenty Hun= drethes in number.

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

The same King graunted to his Monkes of Battel, wrecke of the Sea, falling vpon Dengema= rishe, a portion of Wye, and willed further by his Charter of donation, that if any fish (called a Cras= peis, that is, Crasse pisse, a great or roiall fishe, as whales, or suche other, which by the Lawe of Pre= rogatiue pertained to the King himselfe) shoulde happen to be taken there, that **then** the Monkes should haue it wholly: And if it fortun'd to arriue in any other mans land (lying betweene Horsmede, and Withburne) that yet the Monkes should enioy the whole tongue, and two third partes of the rest of the body.

Now, in the reigne of king Henrie his Sonne it fortun'd, that a ship laden with the kings owne goodes was wrecked within the precinct of this li= bertie, which his Officers woulde haue **seised** and sau'd to his vse: but Geffray (then Abbat of Bat= tell) withstoode them, and that so stoutly that the matter by complainte came to the Kings owne hearing: who (to make knowen how muche he va= lued his fathers graunt) yeelded the matter wholly

into the Abbats owne courtesie.

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The same Storie obserueth a thing touching Wrecke, (or rather Varech, as the custome of Nor= mandie from whence it came, calleth it) not vn= worthie the recitall, that is, that of auncient time, if a ship were cast on shoare, torne with tempest, and not repaired by such as escaped on liue within a certain time, that then this was taken for Wreck, and so vsed along the coast. But Henrie the first (saith the booke) disliking the iniustice of that cu= stome, ordeined, 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, than pitifull of other mens ca= lamities, returned to the old manner. Which their vnmercifull couetise (as I suppose) prouoked king Edward the first, by the statute (that we call West= minster the first) to make restitution of king Hen= ries law: which euen to this day remaineth in force, **nothing** so heauy against poore men (afflicted by misfortune of the Sea) as that former euill vsage was, **but yet (as the matter is commonly vsed)** neither so easie as Christian charitie would, nor so indifferent as the lawes of other countries doe af= foord. And therefore I will leaue it, as a thing wor= thy (amongst other) of reformation when God shal giue time.

1308.

**But to Wye againe:** king Edwarde the seconde (after the burial of his father, and before his owne Coronation) held the solemnitie of a whole Christ= masse, **in the house of this Manor: And as for the towne of Wye, it is yet a well haunted market.**

The College.

There was **also** at this **towne**, a College, valu= ed in the Recordes at 93. pounds of yeerly reuenue: the which (as I finde in certeine notes of Kent ta= ken by Iohn Lelande, and giuen with others to mee by my friend Iohn Stowe of London, that diligent searcher of Antiquities) was founded by Iohn Kempe, the Archbishop of Canterburie: who being at the first the childe of a poore husbände man in Wye, became afterward a Doctor in bothe lawes and diuinitie, then attained successiuelly to the my= ters of Rochester, Chichester, and London, after that aspired to the Crosses and Palles of Yorke and Canterburie, and withall obtained the Cardi= nall hattes of Saint Balbines and Saint Ruffines: as by this verse, made concerning him, it may ap= peere, 'Bis primas, ter præsul eras, bis Cardine functus.'

1450.

'Twice Primate, Bishop thrice, and Cardnall twice thou wast.' This man, in the 24. yeere after his translation to Yorke, and not three yeeres before his translation from this life, conuerted the parish church of Wye to the title of a College, the head whereof was called a Preben= darie, and the residue were Ministers for Church

seruice. The speare or steeple of which Church was fired by lightening, and consumed euen to the stoneworke thereof.

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Asheforde, which name is written in some olde Recordes, Esshetisford, and may be interpreted, the forde or passage ouer the water Eshe, or Eshet.

Euen as the body, or bulke, of a tree, is compact of many rootes, the which at the first (and where they drawe from euery side the iuice of the earth) be very small, and then doe waxe bigger by little and little, vntill at the last they be vnited into one trunke or body, able to receiue all their sappe and moisture: So also, the greater ryuers (which fall not out of standing lakes) haue their increase from many smal Wels (or springs) the which creepe at the first out of the earth, and be conueied in slender quilles, then afterwarde (meeting together in course) doe growe by little and little into bigger pipes, and at the last doe emptie themselues into some one bottome, and so make vp a great streame, or chanell.

One example whereof you haue seene at Maidstone before, and another is nowe offered to your eie heere at Asheford: a good market towne, seated vpon a water which hath before receaued the confluence and help of sundry smal brookes, or boornes: whereof some do lie on the Southeast side of his course, and the other on the Northwest.

Of the first sorte those two be the chiefe, which come out the one from the towne of Brooke (so called of that water) and the other from the partes

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about Postlyng. Of the second sort bee, first those two, which beginne at the townes of Estwell and Westwell (which likewise take their names of those very welles or springs) and then those other two also, whereof the one breaketh out of the ground about Stallesfield, and the other neare Leneham. And these last coople I take to be the same which the Chronicler of Christeschurch did meane, when he saide, that Kenulph the King gaue to Walfred the Archbishop and to Christeschurche, a piece of lande called Bynne, lying (inter duos genitales riuos fluminis Stowre) betweene two of those brookes which doe ingendre the riuier Stowre. Neuertheless I am of the opinion, that this ryuer is not rightly to be called Stowre (but Eshe, or Eshet) vntill that it haue passed this towne, as bothe in the title heereof, and in Stouremouthe before, I haue already coniectured.

There was at this towne a faire College, consisting of a Prebendarie, as head, and of certeine Priestes and Choristes, as members: the which was founded by Sir Fogge a knight of this shyre, and controller of the housholde to King Edward the fourth.

The Manor of Asheford pertained to the Dean

714.

†<r. 'Iohn Fogge'>

and Chanons of the free Chappell of S. Stephans at Westminster that was founded by Edw. 3. for to them did king Ed. 4. in the 5. yeere of his reigne giue a faire to be holden at Asheford foure daies yeerely, beginning on the eeven of S. Iohn Port Latine, by the suite (as it seemeth) of the same his control=

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ler for the amendment of the Towne, to which his house at Ripton was neighbour.

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Canterbury, is called in Saxon Cantwarabyrig, That is to say, The citie (or court) of the men of Kent: which also agreeth with the Brittishe woorde, Caer Kent, signifying the Citie of Kent. It is termed in Latine diuersly, of some Doruernum, and Daruernum, of others, Durouernum: of some Dorobernia, and of some corruptly Dorobrinia. All which names, Leland coniectureth to proceede, either of the Riuer called Stoure (as wee haue shewed) or else of the Britthish worde Dour, which signifieth water, because the countrey thereabouts, is plentifully stored therewith. One other late writer taketh it to be called Daruernum, as if it were, Dour ar guerne, that is, the water neare the Fen or Marish.

To the ende that (confusion auoided) eche thing may appeere in his proper place, it shall not be amisse to parte the treatise of this Citie into twain, whereof the first shall containe the beginning, increase, and declination of the Citie it selfe: The second shall set foorth the erection and ouerthrow of the Religious houses and buildings within the same.

The Citie, when it began. 890.

The author of the Britthish storie affirmeth, that one Rudhurdibras, or (as some copies write it) Lud Rudibras (a King of the Britons, almost nine hundred yeeres before the Incarnation of Christ) builded a Citie, which he called Carlem, or (as Henrie

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of Huntingdon in his recitall of the auncient Britthish Cities nameth it) Caer Kent, that is to say, the Citie (or rather) the chiefe Citie, of Kent.

605.

For, in the processe of the same Hystory it appeereth in deede, that at such time as Vortiger King of the Britons intertained the Saxon Captaines Hengist and Horsa, he sojourned at Canterburie, the head Citie of all that countrie: and that prerogatiue it reteined in the time of the Saxons themselves also. For by the testimonie of Beda and Mathew of Westminster, when Augustine arrived in Kent, **Canterbury was** 'Caput Imperii, Regis Ethelberti,' the chiefe place in all the dominion of King Ethelbert.

To this Augustine, the saide King gaue (after a maner, 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 himselfe at Recluer: and it is to be seene in the auncient Saxon lawes, that of olde time the Archbishops had their Coynage

within the Citie.

I finde **it** also in the booke of Domesday, that king Edward the Confessour had onely one and fiftie Burgesses which yeelded him rent within this Citie, and two hundreth and twelue other persons owing him suite, and that the Castle of Canterbury and the residue of the inhabitants were subject to the Bishop and **to** the Religious houses. Howbeit, the Bishops were neuer absolute owners heereof, till the time of King William Rufus, who

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(as the Annales of Sainct Augustine say) 'Dedit civitatem Cantuariæ Anselmo ex solido, quam Lanfrancus tenuerat ex beneficio.' 'Gave the citie of Canterbury to Anselme wholly, which Lanfranc before held but of courtesie.'

King Henrie the thirde at his comming to full age, graunted vnto the citizens sundrie liberties, ordeined their gouernment vnder two Bailifs, and made them his fee fermors thereof, vnder the reseruatiō of threescore pound by yeere.

This Citie (since the vnion of the Kentishe kingdom to the West Saxon) hath beene chiefly maintained by two things: First, by the residence and hospitalitie of the Archbishop and Religious persons, and then by the liberalitie and expence of such, as either gadded to Sainct Thomas for helpe and deuotion, or trauided towardes the Sea side for their priuate affaires and businesse.

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 Conquerour: and Simon Sudburie, that liued vnder King Edward the third, haue beene the most beneficiall vnto it.

Of the which, Theodore, by licence of Vitelianus (then Pope) founded within the Citie, a Schoole (or Colledge) wherein he placed Professours of all the liberall Sciences, which also was the verie paterne to that Schoole **which** Sigbert the King of Eastangle afterward builded: but whether that were at Cambridge, or at some other place besides

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within his kingdome, I leaue to Doctour Caius of Cambridg, and Maister Key of Oxford, to be disputed, and to indifferent Readers to be adiudged.

The **late** Reuerend father Mathew, Archbishop of Canterburie (whose care for conseruation of learned Monuments can neuer be sufficiently commended) shewed me, the Psalter of Dauid, and sundrie Homelies in Greeke, Homer also, and some other Greeke authours, beautifully written in thicke paper, with the name of this Theodore prefixed, to whose Librarie, he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shew of great antiquitie) that they sometime belonged.

The other two, Lanfranc, and Simon of Sudbury did cost vpon the gates and walles, bringing thereby bothe strength and beautie to the Citie. **And of these, Simon raised the wall (and tower) from the West gate to the Northe.** Howbeit the citie was

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The olde  
Schoole at  
Canterbury.

not wholly walled by their time: For king Richarde the seconde gaue 250. markes (saieth Thorne) towards the ditching and inclosing thereof: and for want of Walles, Simon Burley (Wardein of the five portes) aduised, that the lewels of Christes church and S. Augustines, should for more safetie be remooued to Douer castle.

Such was then the first beginning, and increase of Canterbury: Let vs now see also, what harmes it hath susteined, 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 fire. For the

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<234>  
754.

1011.

1009.

1161.

<235>

author of the additions to the Chronicle of Asserus Meneuensis affirmeth, that about the yeere after Christ seuen hundreth fiftie and foure, it was sore wasted with fire. Againe, in the yeere nine hundreth and eighteene, Aelfleda (the mighty Lady of Mercia) besieging and burning the citie it selfe, spoiled, killed, and expelled the Danes that then possessed it: In reuenge whereof, they afterward, about the end of the reigne of king Ethelred, did not onely besiege, take, and burne this citie, but also put to moste barbarous and cruell death, Alphegus the Archbishop, for that he refused to charge his farmours and the citizens towards his raunsome aboute their abilitie: and they slue of the Monkes, Townesmen, and other common people, the whole nines 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 hundred. Where (by the way) it is to be noted, that this citie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people wherof belike fled thither for succour) was at that time very populous, hauing to loose (vpon this accompt) fortie three thousand and two hundreth persons: in which behalfe, there want not some (I wote well) which do affirme, that it had then more store of buildings than London it selfe. And truely it is well knowne, that they were very riche at Canterbury also: for not long before (by the aduise of Siricius, their Archbishop) they bought their peace at the handes of the Danes, with thirty thousand pounds

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of ready money. But let me proceede: fourthly, in the daies of king Henrie the seconde, euen **the same yeere in which** Thomas Becket **was elected** the Archbishop, this citie of Canterbury was wholly consumed with fire: And now lately and lastly, in the reigne of King Henrie the eight, it was in some partes blasted 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 almost forgotten a storie in Beda, where he maketh Mellitum mendacium (mention of Mellitus, I should haue saide) 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 Archbishop there) he commanded, that they should 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) forthwith at his presence the wind turned **about**, and at the vehemencie of his prayer the fire not onely ceased to go any further, but also immediatly went out, and was extinguished.

I wote well, this writer is called Venerabilis: but when I read this, and a number of such, which make the one halfe of his worke, I say with my self as sometime did the Poet,

Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi:

What euer thing thou shewest me so,  
I hate it as a lye.

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The decay of  
Canterbury,  
and other  
places.

To proceede therefore in my former course, and to tell the trueth: little had all these casualties of fire and flame beene to the decay of this towne, had not the dissolution and finall ouerthrow of the Religious houses also come vpon it. For, where wealth is at commaundement, how easily are buildings repaired? and where opinion of great holynesse is, how soone are cities and townes aduanced to great estimation and riches?

And therefore, no maruaile, if wealth withdrawn, and opinion of holynesse remooued, the places tumble headlong to ruine and decay.

In which part, as I cannot on the one side, but in respecte of the places themselues pitie and lament this general **decay**, not onely in this Shyre, but in all other places of the Realme **also**: So on the other side, considering the maine Seas of sinne and iniquitie, wherein the worlde (at those daies) was almost wholly drenched, I must needes take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our age deliuered vs, disclosed Satan, vnmasked these Idoles, dissolued their Synagogs, and rased to the grounde all monuments of building erected to superstition and vngodlynesse.

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And therefore, let every godly man cease with me from henceforth to maruaile, why Canterbury, Walsingham, and sundry such like, are now in these our daies becom in maner waste, since God in times past was in them blasphemed moste: And **let** the souldiours of Satan and superstitious Mawmentrie, howle, and cry out with the heathen Poet,

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Excessere omnes, aditis, arisque relictis,  
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.

The Gods each 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 vengeance, not onely vpon the persons, but vpon the places also where his name was dishonoured, striking the same with solitude

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and exterminion, as we read of Sodome, Ierusalem, and others: How then shoulde he forbear these harborowes of the Deuil and the Pope? which in horrible crimes contended with Sodome, in vnbe= liefe matched Ierusalem, and in folly of superstition exceeded all Gentilitie. By the iust iudgement of God therefore, Canterbury came suddenly from great welth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings, to extreme pouertie, nakednes, and de= cay: hauing at this day Parishes, more in number, then well filled, and yet in all not aboue twelue **or fourteene**: in which plight, for pitie I will leaue it, and (referring you to the statutes 32. and 33. of Henrie the eight, prouided for the reedifying of de= caied houses, as wel in this Citie, as also in Roche= ster, Feuersham, and the fiue ports) I will turne mee to the Historie of the Religious buildings.

Continuall contention, between 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:

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the Monkes of the which places, were as farre removed from all mutuall loue and societie, as the houses themselues were neare linked together, ei= ther in regarde of the time of their foundation, the order of their profession, or the place of their situa= tion: And therefore in this part it might wel be veri= fied of them, which was wont to be commonly said,

Vnicum Arbustum, non alit duos Erithacos.

**One Cherry tree sufficeth not two layes.**

For in deede, one whole Citie, nay rather one whole Shyre and countrie, could hardly suffice the pride and ambitious auarice of such two irreligi= ous Synagogues: The which, as in all places they agreed to enriche themselues by the spoile of the Laitie: So in no place agreed **they** one with another: But (each seeking euery where, and by all waies, to aduance themselues) they moued con= tinuall (and that most fierce and deadly) warre, for landes, priuileges, reliques, and such like vaine worldly preeminences: insomuch as he that will obserue it, shall finde that vniuersally the Chroni= cles of their owne houses, conteine (for the moste part) nothing else, but suing for exemptions, pro= curing of reliques, struggling for offices, wrangling for consecrations and pleading for lands and pos= sessions. For prooffe whereof, I might iustly alledge innumerable brawles, stirred betweene the Religious houses of this Citie, wrastling sometime with the Kings, sometime with the Archbishops, and oftentimes the one with the other, all which bee at large set fourth by Thomas Spot the Chronicler of

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Saint Augustines. But for as much as I my selfe delight little in that kinde of rehearsall, and doe thinke that other men (for the more part of the wiser sort) be sufficiently persuaded of these their follies, I will lightly passe them ouer, and labour more largely in some other thing. And bicause that

Christes-  
Churche in  
Canterbury.

the Monasterie or Priorie of Christes church was of the more fame, I will first begin with it.

After that Augustine (the Monke which was sent from Rome) had found such fauour in the sight of King Ethelbert, that he might freely preach the Gospell in his countrie, he chose for assemblie and praier, an olde Church in the East part of this citie, which was long time before builded by the Romanes, and he made therof (by licence of the King) a Church for himselfe and his successors, dedicating the same to the name of our Sauour Christ, wherof it was called afterward, Christes church.

After his death, Laurence his successor, brought Monks into the house, the head wherof was called a Prior, which woorde (howsoever it soundeth) was in deede but the name of a seconde officer, bicause the Bishop himselfe was accompted the very Abbat. For in olde time, the Bishops were for the moste parte chosen out of such Monasteries, and therefore most commonly had their Palaces adjoining, and gouerned as Abbats there: by means whereof it came to passe, that such Abbies were not onely much amplified in wealth and possessions, but also by fauour of the Bishops, their good Abbats, ouerlooked all their neare neighbours, as

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hereafter in further course shall better appeere.

1099.

I finde not, that **from that time** anie great cost was done vpon this Churche, till Lanfrancs daies, who not onely builded it almost wholly of new, and placed Benedict Monkes therein, the number of which he aduanced from thirty, to one hundreth and fourty, but also **he restored 25. Manors which had beene withholden from this house,** he erected certaine Hospitals which he endowed with one hundreth and forty poundes by yeere, and **he** repaired the walles of the Citie it selfe.

988.

And heere by the way, it is to be noted out of Mathew Westminster, that there were Monkes in this house, euer since the time of Laurence the seconde Archbishop, **against the opinion of some,** which report that Elfricus was the first that expelled the Secular Priestes, and brought the Monkes **into their place.**

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 buriall, the estimation of this Church was aduanced beyond all reason, measure and wonder.

Thomas Becket, the Archbishop, and his historie.

For, notwithstanding that it had beene before

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that time honoured with the arme of Saint Bartholmew, a Relique that King Canutus gaue: with the presence of Augustine that brought in Religi-

725. on: with the buriall of 8. Kentish Kings, that succeeded Wightred, and of a great number of Archbishops after the time of Cuthbert: Likewise afterwards with the famous assembly at the homage done by the Scottish King William, to King Henrie the second, and at the Coronation of King Iohn: with the seuerall Marriages also of King Henrie the thirde, and King Edwarde the first: and finally with the interrements of that Noble Edward (called commonly the Black Prince) and of King Henrie the fourth: yet the death of this one man not martyred (as they feigne, for the cause onely, and not the death, maketh a Martyr) but murdered in his Church, brought thereunto more accesse of estimation and reuerence, than all that euer was done before, or since.
1202. <240>
- 1236.
- 1299.
1376. 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 onely the Lay and common sort of people, but Bishops, Noble men, and Princes, as well of this Realme as of foreigne partes resorted on Pilgrimage to his tombe, and flocked to his Iubile for remission: In 1413. so much, that euery man offering according to his abilitie, and thronging to see, handle, and kisse, euen the vilest partes of his Reliques, the Church be=
- 1228.

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came so riche in lewels and ornaments, that it might compare with Midas, or Croesus, and so famous and renowned (euery piller resounding S. 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 lewd bookes of his life, and iestes, written by foure sundry persons to his praise: The blasphemous Hymnes, and Collects, deuised by Churchmen for his seruice: and sundrie such other things, which as they were at the first inuented to strike into the heads of all hearers and beholders, more than wonderfull opinion of deuotion and holinesse: So now the trueth being 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.

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For, as touching himselfe (to omitte that which truly might be spoken in dispraise of the former part of his life, and to begin with the very matter it selfe whereupon his death ensued) it is euident, both by the testimonie of Mathew Paris (a very good Chronicler, that liued vnder king Henry the third) and by the foure Pseudo Euangelists themselues that wrote his lestes, that the chiefe cause of the kings displeasure towards him grew vpon occasion, that he opposed himselfe against his Prince, (Gods law=

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full and Supreme minister on earth) in maintenance of a most vile and wicked murder. The matter stood thus.

1146. Within a few of the first yeeres of King Henrie the seconds Reigne, the Clergie of the Realm had committed about a hundreth severall murders vpon his subiects, as it was infourmed him: for remedie of which outrage, the King (by assent of his Nobilitie and Bishops, of which number Thomas Becket himself was one) tooke order at Clarendowne, that if any Clerke from thenceforth committed felony, or treason, he should first be degraded, and afterwarde deliuered to the Lay power, there to receiue as to his offence belonged.

1164. Not long after, it chanced one Philip Broic (a Chanon of Bedforde) to be apprehended for murder, and to be brought before the temporall Iustice, where he not onely shewed no remorse of the wicked fact, but also (in hope of Ecclesiasticall exemption, **for the Popes Churchemen would bee** **<asyloi> for all manner of mischiefes**) gaue very euill language to the Iudge: the Iudge complained thereof to the King, and the Chanon (belike) **had** made meanes to the Archebishop **also**: For the King no sooner endeouored to put his Lawe in execution, but the Archbishop (both forgetfull of his dutie to God and Prince, and vnmindefull of his owne oth) set himselfe against it, affirming plainly, that he neither could, ne would, suffer it **so to be**.

<asyloi>, that is, priuileged for their holynesse.

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Hereupon the Prince waxed wroth, and by little and little his indignation **was** so kindeled (by mat-

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ter that the obstinacie of the Bishop daily ministered) that in the ende it was too hote for Becket to abide it. Then speedeth he himselfe to Rome, and poureth into the Holy Fathers bosome complaint of most grieuous oppression, extended against the Clergie: The Popes Holynesse, sory to discourage so good a soldiour as the Bishop was, and withall loth to loose so mighty a friend as king Henry was: by letters and Legates praieth, commaundeth, perswadeth, and threatneth reconciliation and atonement, which (after great adoe) by the meanes of the Frenche King, and other his instruments, was in a sort brought to passe **betweene them**.

Then Thomas Becket returneth with the Kings fauour into the Realme, from whence he had sixe yeeres before departed without licence, and therefore without (or rather against) Law, and immediately seeketh to reuenge himselfe vpon suche the Bishops, as had in his absence assisted the King **in his enterprise**. Which when the King (being then in Normandie) vnderstood, it chanced him (in great grieue of minde) to cast out some words, that gaue occasion and hardinesse, to Reginald Beere, William Tracy, Hugh Moruill, and Richard Bryton (foure of his Gentlemen) to addresse themselues for his reuenge. These foure therefore, passed the Seas, came to Canterbury, founde out the Bishop, followed him into his Church, and vpon the Staires of the same, did him very cruelly and despitefully to death.

This shortly is the chiefe substance, and circum=

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stance of all this Tragedie, drawne out of our own Countrie men, and Thomas his faouers, howsoeuer Erasmus (led by some sinister information) hath **otherwise** reported it, as shall heereafter appeere in Otford, **when we come to the place.**

Wherein, as I cannot on the one side allow this murther (executed, not by any publique Minister of Iustice, but by a priuate and iniurious arme:) So on the other side, I report me to all indifferent and Godly Readers, whether such a life deserued not such a death, and whether these Popish Parasites that haue painted foorth **this mans** praises, make not themselues thereby parteners of all his pride and wilfull rebellion.

I might heere rest long, vpon diuers other things concerning the King and this Archbishop: namely, how that he suffered the King to hold his stirup twice in one day in Normandie, but in 'Prato proditorum,' as Mathew Parise very pretily **twiteth** it: How the King came with bare and bleeding feete to Canterburie, to purge himselfe of the murther: How he bared his body to the Monkes of this house, and receaued of euery Religious Person there, foure, or fiue stripes: in which selfe yeere (by the way) their whole church was consumed with fire: and some other matters besides, which make manifestly for the proofof great presumption in the Clergie, and of vile abiection of the Princes of those daies: But, bicause that I am fearefull that I grow too long, I will leaue Saint Thomas himselfe, and after (a few woordes more of his

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Church) step ouer to Saint Augustines.

After Thomas, this Church **and Sea** founde three **or foure** especiall maintainers of the building: **Stephan Langton, which made vp the great Hall in the Bishops palace, and the faire Horologe in the South crossed Ile of the Church:** William Courtney, which by his 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 library with bookes and building, and did great cost vpon one of the Bell Towers also.

1395.

<244>

1400.

Saint Augustines.

Now **then** to Saint Augustines. Augustine, hauing thus established a See for himselfe and his successours, obtained further of King Ethelbert (for the better furtherance of the seruice, that hee had in hand) a Church, that then stood betweene the walles of the citie and Saint Martines, wherein the king himselfe vsed before to make his praiers, and **to 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 Panrace. Neither ceased he thus, but shortly after intreated the same

603. King to build a Monasterie in the soile adioining, which he also appointed to the honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and placed Monkes therein: This Monasterie, in memorie of his benefite,

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lost the first name, and was euer after called Saint Augustines.

The dead, in old time were buried out of the Cities.

725.

Now whereas the true meaning, bothe of the King and Augustine was, that this Church (for so much as both then, and long after, it was not the 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 wel in the Kingdome, as in the Archbishopricke: yet such was the fauour of the Bishops following Augustine towards their owne Church, that in the processe of time Saint Augustines was defrauded of the Sepultures, both of the one and the other.

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For in Brightwaldes daies, the buriall of the Kings was taken from it: and Cuthbert the Archbishop in his life begged of King Eadbert, that for the aduancement of Saint Iohns (a new church, that he had erected for that purpose and for the execution of iudgements by the Ordale, and which was afterward fired with the flame of Christes church whereunto it was neere adioining) the Bishops also might from thencefoorth bee buried there. And for the more suretie to attaine that his desire, hee tooke order in his life (by othe of all his Couent) that they should suffer his corpes to lye three daies in the gronde after his death, before any Bell should be roong or other open solemnitie vsed, that might notifie his departure to the Monkes of Saint Augustines. Onely leanbright the fourteenth Bishop (whome other copies call

746.

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Lambright) was conueied to the ground at Saint Augustines, by this occasion.

After the death of Bregwine (the Archbishop) this leanbright (then being Abbat of Saint Augustines, and fearing that he should be deceiued of the body of Bregwine, as Aldhun his predecessour had beene beguiled of Cuthberts before) hee came appointed with armed men, determining to take it away by force, if hee 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 law.

Notwithstanding, bicause they perceiued heereby, that he was a man of good courage, and therefore very meete in their opinion to be **made** their Captaine, they shortly after chose him Archbishop, in hope that he would haue mainteined their quarrell: but he neuerthelesse tooke such order, that hee was buried in Saint Augustines with the rest of his predecessours.

<246>  
Popishe  
braules.

Thus you see, how soone after the foundation, these houses were at dissention, and for how small trifles, they were ready to put on armes, and to

moue great and troublesome tragedies: Neither doe I finde, that euer they agreed after, but were **euermore** at continuall brawling within them= selues, either suing before the King, or appealing to the Pope, and that for matters of more sto= macke, than importance: As for example, whether the Abbat of Saint Augustines should bee conse=

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crate or blessed in his owne church, or in the others: whether he ought to ring his belles to seruice, before the other had roong theirs: whether he and his tenaunts ought suite to the Bishops Court: and such like, wherein it cannot be doubted, but that they consumed inestimable treasure, for maintenance of their most Popish pride and wilfulnesse. If any man delight to knowe the particulars, let him reade the writings of Thorne and Spot, their own Chroniclers: as for my selfe, I thinke it too long to haue saide thus much in generall, and therefore will haste me to the rest.

618.  
S. Maries in  
Canterbury.

After the death of **king** Ethelbert, Eadbaldus (his sonne) at the instance of Laurence the Archbishop, builded a faire Church in this Monasterie, which he called Saint Maries. In which place many yeeres after (if at the least you will beleeeue Thomas Spot) Saint Dunstane sensibly heard and sawe, our Lady, Saint Adryan, and a sort of Angels, singing and dauncing together.

1017.

After Eadbaldus, King Canute (the great Monarch of this realme) Egilsine (the Abbat that fled for feare of the Conqueror) Scotlandus (whom the same King put in Egilsines place) Hugo de Floriaco (that was of kinred to king William Rufus, and by him made Abbat) were the persons that chiefly increased the building: some bestowing Churches and Chapels: some Dorters and dnying places, and others other sortes of edifices. The Saints, whose dead bodies and reliques brought to this church great veneration and gaine, were

1059.

1070.

1099.

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The Saints,  
& Reliques,  
at Canter=  
burie.

these specially, Adryan, Albin, Iohn &c. religious persons: Eadbald, Lothar, Mull, and Wightred, sometime Kings: S. Sexburge, and Saint Myldred of Thanet, (whose bodie was giuen them by King Canute) And Saint Augustine their **first friende and** founder.

S. Augustines.

1011.

Of this last man (to let slip a many of others) this one myracle they report: that at such time as the Danes entred Kent, and (spoyling this Citie) ransacked almoste euerie 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 S. Augustines Pall (or cloke) wherewith his tombe was couered, it stacke so fast to his fingers, that by no meanes possible he could loose it, till he came and yeilded himselfe to the Monkes, and made sorrowfull confession of his faulte.

Much like to this, it is written, that at the overthrow of Carthage, the hand of one that would haue spoiled the God Apollo of his Mantell, was



found amongst the fragments. This our good fellow was not so cunning (belike) as Dionysius was: for he tooke a golden cloke from Iupiter, and had no hurt at all thereby. But either this our Pall was weaved, 'Ex auro Tholosano,' or else (which I rather beleue) this Canterbury tale was forged 'A rabula Romano.'

Besides all these, the Monkes seeing howe little their reliques were esteemed, in comparison of Thomas Becket, and beleueing (as the Romanes some=

### 311 <sig X>

times 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.

<248> There was a Monk of Christs Church, called Roger, who had in charge to keepe the Altar where Becket was slaine. This man they chose to their Abbat, in hope (saith mine authour) that he would bring somewhat with him: in which dooing they were not altogether deceiued, For he conueyed to them a great part of Thomas his bloude that was shed, and a peece of his Crown that was pared off.

1176.

Thomas Becket had two heads.

But here by the way, marke (I beseech you) the grosse iugling that these slow bellyed Syres vsed to delude the world withall. Erasmus (in his Colloquies) writeth, that the whole face of Saint Thomas, being sumptuously set in golde, was religiously kept within a Chapell beyonde the high altar, and that they tolde him the rest of the body lay in a shrine, of golde and of great Maiestie, which they shewed besides.

But the truth is, that at such time as the late godly and moste Christian Archbishop Cranmer, and the wise and noble counseller 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 lately on liue, and then present, did testifie: so that either this their great God, was a bishop Biceps, and lacked but one head more to make him Cerberus, or Chimæra: or else (which is most certaine) these Monks

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were marueylous and monstrous magnifiers, of such deceiuable trumperie, and wanted nothing at all to make them, Cretenses, or Cecropes.

<249> But to my purpose againe: as touching the priuileges, possessions, estimation, and maiestie of this house, it were too much to recite the one halfe, and therefore I will onely let you know, that of ancient time the Abbat had allowance of a Coynage (or Mynte) within himselfe, by graunt of King Ethelstane: That he had place in the general council, by gift of the Pope Leo: That the house had fiue Couents, conteining in all, sixtie fiue Monks: And finally, that (besides iurisdiction ouer a whole Last of thirteen Hundreds) it had possession of liue-lyhoode to the value of eight hundreth and eight pounds by yeere.

1056.

Now, besides these two great houses, there were in Canterbury some other also of lesse note: As S.

S. Gregories  
in Canter=  
bury.  
1145.

S. Laurences  
Hospitall.  
S. Iames  
Hospitall.  
S. Sepulchres.  
1207.  
White Friers.

Gregories (a Church of Chanons, belonging to the Hospitall that Lanfranc built) whiche was fired in the time of King Stephan, and **was** valued in the Recordes, at thirty poundes by the yeere: The Hospitall of Saint Laurence, edified by Hugh (the Abbat of Saint Augustines) for his sicke Monkes, and rated at twenty poundes yeerely: S. Iames Hospitall, erected by Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the thirde: Saint Sepulchres, a house of Nonnes, prepared (belike) to serue the necessitie of the hoat Monks, esteemed at twelue pounds by yeere: The White Friers, translated by one Iohn Digge, to the Isle of Bynwhite, lately the house of

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S. Mildreds.  
The Bishops  
Palaice.  
1193.  
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1250.  
S. Martines  
was a Bishops  
See.

one Rolph: And S. Mildreds 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 Archbishops, not that which King Ethelbert first gaue to Augustine at Staplegate, for it was but a meane dwelling, answerable to his small 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 Kings stately Court and Palaice.

This house, by that time Hubert the Archbishop had aspired to the See, was decaied, either by age, or flame, or bothe: Who therefore pulled downe the most part of it, and in place thereof laide the foundation of that great Hall, and other the offices, that are now to be seene: But by reason that himself wanted time (preuented by death) and some of his followers lacked money (hauing otherwise bestowed it lauishly) to performe the worke, it rested vnperfect till the daies of Boniface, who both substantially, and beautifully finished **the whole: and yet (as some thinke) Stephan Langton had accomplished the great Hall thereof before him.**

Lastly, a little 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 small Oratorie, Augustine (by the kings permission) cele=

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brated diuine seruice, and administred the Sacraments, vntill 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 vntill the comming in of the Normans, the See of a Bishop, who (alwaies remaining in the countrie) supplied the absence of the Metropolitane, that for the most part followed the Court: and that, as well in gouerning the Monkes, as in performing the solemnities of the Church, and in exercising the authoritie of an Archdeacon.

Godwine was the last which sate in that chaire, after whose death, Lanfranc (being as ielouse of a partner in his spirituall Hierarchie, as euer was Alexander in his temporall Empire) refused to

consecrate any other, affirming plainly, that 'Two Bishops were too many for one Citie.' Neuerthelesse, because he needed the helpe of a substitute, he created in place thereof, one of his **owne** Chaplaines, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

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Hakington, alias **Saint Stephens**, in Saxon **hagaingtun**, that is, the **Lowe towne**, where **Hawes** (or **Whitethornes**) **doe growe**.

S. **Stephens**  
By Canter=  
bury.

Baldwine (an Archbishop of Canterbury vnder the reigne of King Henrie the second) minding to aduance the estimation of Thomas Becket his lately murdered predecessor, and withal

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to make himselfe memorable to posterity, thought this one way the best for obtaining his double desire: namely, to build some stately Church Monument, and to match in the patronage thereof, Thomas that Prototraitour and rebell to his Prince, with Stephan the Protomartyr and true seruaunt of Almighty 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 forme as Mathewe Parise reporteth it. 'Præsentium tibi auctoritate 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.'

The Monks  
contend with  
the Archbi=  
shop, and do  
preuaile.

This done, he pulled downe an old timber Chappell that stood at Hakington, and **began to** raise 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 Saint Thomas offering at Canterbury (much to the decay of the Monkes gaine) but also the yeerely maintenance therof was to be drawne from the same Hanaper, and to be bestowed vpon certain Secular Chanons (a sort of religious that Monkes **euer maliced**) who yet might happily in time to come be made equall

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with the Monkes themselues in the election of the Archbishoppe, to the generall discredite of their holy order, and vtter violation of their former Priuileges: therefore the Couent of Christs church, thinking it fit to withstande such beginnings, complained hereof to Pope Innocents holynesse (for Vrban was then dead) and were so well heard in their suite, that the Archbishops building was countermaunded, and hee (with forced patience) **constrained** to cease the worke.

Neuerthelesse, hauing hope, that if the thing were by great distance of place remooued out of the Monkes eie, he might with better quiet bring

his desire to the wished effect, hee attempted the like platforme 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 died without returne, in whiche meane while, the Chapell of Hakington, being destitute of her Patrone, was quite and cleane demolished.

Hubert succeeded Baldwin in the See, and put his hande to perfourme the building at Lambhithe that his predecessour had begonne, but the Monks (fearing still the former inconuenience) intercepted the whole profites of Saint Thomas offering, renewed their suite at Rome, and (feeding the Pope with that which shoulde haue maintained the building) made his holy eares so attentiu, that he became wholly of the Monkes deuotion, and compelled Hubert at his owne dispence, and to his great despight, (Mauger his Myter) to rase that Chapell

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also, and to make it equall with the ground.

1199.

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And thus you may see, how the enuious Monks hindered the felicity of Hakington, which otherwise (by this kinde of spirituall robberie) might in time haue prooued as famous as Boxley, Walsingham, or any other Denne of Idolatrie, whereas then it was with much adoe, and great difficultie obtained, that a poore Chapell (serued with a single Sir Iohn, and destitute, both of Font, and Churchyard) might remaine standing in the place. Howebeit since that time, (by what grace I wot not) it is become the Parish church for the inhabitants there, and in memorie of that, which it would faine haue beene, is yet commonly called Saint Stephens. The parsonage house there hath met with three good benefactors, Warham the Archbishop, and Warham the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Sir Roger Manwood the late learned Arche or Chief Baron of the Escheaquer, which last man procured some amendment to the Ministers liuing, and left maintenance for certaine poore persons there.

I finde in a Note (giuen vnto mee by my good Friend Master Francis Thyn) that King Edward the thirde at his returne from dooing his Homage to the Frenche King, held an exercise at the Tilt, in this Hackington.

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Harbaldowne by Canterbury, in Saxon herebelæwdune, that is, the Hill where the armie was betraied.

The vanity of Man, and the subtilty of the Deuill, be the cause of Idolatrie.

Such hath beene the nature of man, euen from that time (in which not contenting himselfe 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 whom he was created) that he hath continually euer since, and that in matters concerning God, more trusted his own wit, then the wisdom of God himselfe, better liked his own inuention, then Gods

holy institution, and preferred will worship, deuised of his own braine, before reuerent religion inioined by the mouth of the Almightye. And such also hath beene the continuall craft of Sathan, his sworne enimie, 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 most subtile) sleights to withdrawe him from God and drawe him to Idolatrie and superstition: So that in time by policie of the one, and pronenesse 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 meane) 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 most inferiour and basest

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partes of all his woorkemanship, the worlde at the length becomming so mad, that it would crouche and kneele, kisse and knocke, bowe, bend, and make all signes of honour and reuerence, not onely to stockes and stones (that represented the bodies of mortall men) but to whatsoever trifle, trumperie, or bagage besides, that the Diuell 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 most froward and peruerse kinde of superstition) did by his iust vengeance bereaue vnbeleeuers of all vnderstanding and iudgement, so that (without any further doubt, or inquisition) they sticked not to embrace deuoutly, whatsoever was commended, were it neuer so lewdly.

For example heereof, beholde heere at Harbdowne (an Hospital builded by Lanfranc the Archbishop, for reliefe of the poore and diseased) the shamefull Idolatrie of this latter age, committed by abusing the lips (which 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.

S. Thomas Becket's Relique.

Erasmus, setting foorth (in his Dialogue intitled, Peregrinatio religionis ergo) vnder the name of one Ogygius, his owne trauaile to visite our Ladie of Walsingham and S. Thomas Becket, sheweth that in his returne from Canterburie towards London,

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he found (on the high way side) an Hospitall of certaine poore folkes, of which, one came out against him and his companie, holding a holy water springle in the one hand, and bearing the vpper leather of an olde shoe (faire set in Copper and Christall) in the other hand.

This doting father, first cast holy water vpon them, and then offered them (by one and one) the holy shoe to kisse: Wherat as the most part of the company (knowing the manner) made no refusal: So amongst the rest one Gratianus (as he faineth)

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offended with the follie, asked (halfe in anger) what it 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 shoulde kisse the shoes of all good men? why doe 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 such as haue any light, may suffice for the vnderstanding of Erasmus opinion and iudgment touching such vnreuerent Reliques: but yet least some blinde and wilfull worshipper should thinke it but merily spoken of him, and in another mans person (as in deede Erasmus had many times 'Dextrum pedem in calceo, sinistrum in pelui,' according to the olde Prouerb) I will likewise adde a few wordes, vsed in the ende of his booke, for explication of his owne full minde in that matter. 'Notantur, qui reliquias in-

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certas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, and qui quæstum ex his sordide faciunt.' 'In this Dialogue all such are taxed, which shewe vnto the people vncertaine reliques, for true and certaine: or which doe ascribe vnto them more than of right is due: or which doe raise filthie gaine and lucre by them.'

But peradventure the authoritie of D. Erasmus is now (since the late Tridentine Councell) of no weight with them, since by the sentence of the same his workes without choice be condemned as Heretical. Truly, that Councell shewed it selfe more hastie to suppress all the good workes of Godly men, than readie to correct or abolish any of their owne fabulous bookes or superstitious follies. And therefore let indifferent men iudge, whether the opinion of any one true speaking man, be not worthily to be preferred before the determination of suche a whole vnaduised Synode. And as for suche as in this light of the trueth, will shewe themselues maintainers of such Mawmetrie, I deeme them like the Sabees, whose senses (as Strabo writeth) are offended with sweete smelling sauours, and delighted with the filthy smoke of burned goates haire, and therefore I say vnto them, 'Sordes cant adhuc,' and so **will** leaue them.

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Norwood, that is to say, the North wood.

In the daies of King Edward the confessor, one hundreth Burgesses of the City of Canterbury ought their suite to the Manor of Norwood, as in that part of the booke of Domesday which concerneth Kent may yet most euidently appeere.

The building is now **lately** demolished, but the

Manor was long time in the possession of certaine Gentlemen of the same name, of which race, one lieth buried in the body of the church at Adington, in the yeere a thousand foure hundreth and sixteene.

**And of another you shall finde mention hereafter, in the latter ende of the Texte of the Kentish customes.**

The olde manner of naming men.

And heereby it is probably (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 regarde of Southwood, Anglesford by reason of the flight of the Englishmen, and Rochester bicause of Rof: And wheras persons also, had their callings (most commonly) either of some note of the body, as Swanshalse, for the whitenesse of her necke: or for some propertie of the minde, as Godred, for his good counsell: and that by one single Surname

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only and no more: now, immediately after the arrival of the Normans (which obtained those lands, and which first brought into this Realme, the names of Thomas, Iohn, Nicholas, Fraunces, Stephan, Henrie, and such like, that now be most vsually) men began to be knowen and surnamed, not of their conditions and properties, but of their dwellings and possessions:

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So the Norman that was before Thomas, and had gotten the Towneship of Norton, Sutton, Inglefielde, or Combe, was thencefoorth called, Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, of Inglefielde, of Combe, or such like, all which be (vndoubtedly) the names of places, and not of persons. Neither did the matter stay here, but in further processe of time, this Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, or of Combe, was called Thomas Norton, Thomas Sutton, or Thomas Combe, leauing out the particle (of) which 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 Iohnnes de Norton, Wilhelmus de Sutton, For such as we call now, Iohn Norton, and William Sutton: and amongst the Gentlemen of Chesshyre (euen to this day) one is called (after their manner) Thomas a Bruerton, another Iohn a Holcroft, and such like, for Thomas Bruerton, Iohn Holcroft, &c. as we heere

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vse it. Thus much shortly of mine owne fantasie I thought not vnmeete to impart, by occasion of the name of Norwood, and nowe forward againe.

**Lenham: in Latine, Durolenum, that is, the Water at**

Lenam.

<1586:168>

Master Camden (remouing the corruption of writing Durolenum, for Durolenum) hath (as in manye other) brought muche light to the vnderstanding of this place: most strongly proouing, both by the remaines of the olde name, by the situation at the water, and true distance from other places, that it is the same, which Antoninus in his Itinerarie, termeth Durolenum.

804. Kenulfe the king of Mercia, and Cudred the king of Kent, by their ioint giift bestowed it vpon the Abbay, of Saint Augustines (more truly of Peter and Paule) in Canterbury: which Ethelwulfe king of Kent and of Westsexe afterwarde confirmed: and thirdly Edgiue the wife of king Edgar ratified the same in the time of Dunstane the Archbishop. I finde noted, by William Byholte, a Monke of that house, that long since it had market vpon the Tuesday, which euen to this day it enioieth.

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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, another that stode in the place. For I haue read, that Edward (then Prince of Wales, and afterward the first King of that name) being Wardeine 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 race the Castle that Robert Creuequer had erected, because 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. Which, whether it be true, or no, I will not affirme, but yet I thinke it very likely, bothe because 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 yeeres, as are passed since the age of the conquest. But let vs leaue the Building, and goe in hand with the storie.

King Henrie the first, hauing none other issue of his bodie than Maude (first married to Henrie the

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Maude the Empresse, true Heire to the Crowne.

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Emperour, whereof she was called the Empresse, and after coupled to Geffray Plantaginet the Earle of Angeow) and fearing (as it happened in deede) that after his death trouble might arise in the Realme, about the inheritance of the Crowne, because she was by habitation a straunger and farre



off, so that she might want both force and friendes to atchieue her right: And for that also Stephan (the Earle of Boloine, his sisters sonne) was then of great estimation amongst the noble men, and abiding within the Realme, so that with great advantage, he might offer her wrong: he procured (in full Parleament) the assent of his Lords and Commons, that Maude and her heires should succeede 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 himselfe.

Howbeit, immediately 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 †may them boldly breake, for kingdoms sake)

Inuaded the Crowne, and by the aduice of William the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had first of all giuen his faith to Maude) by the fauour of the common people (which adheared vnto him) and by the consent of the holy father of Rome (whose will neuer wanteth to the furtherance of mischief) hee obtained it: which neuerthelesse (as William of

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Newborowe well noteth) being gotten by *periuurie*, he held not past two yeeres in peace, 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 grieuous vexation of this countrie and people.

<262> For soone after the beginning of his reigne, sundry of the Noble men, partly vpon remorse of their former promise made, and partly for displeasure (conceiued bicause he kept not the othe taken at his Coronation) made defection to Maude, so soone as euer she made her chalenge to the Crowne: So that in the ende (after many calamities) what by her owne power, and their assistaunce, she compelled him to fall to composition with her, as in the storie at large it may be seene.

1137. Now during those his troubles, amongst other things that much annoied him, and furthered the part of Maude his aduersarie, it was vpon a time sounded (by his euill willers) in the eares of the common sort, that he was dead: And therewithall suddenly diuers great men of hir deuotion, betooke them to their strong holdes, and some others seised some of the Kings owne Castles to the behalfe of the Emperesse: Of which number was Robert (the Earle of Gloucester, and bastarde brother to Maude) who entred this Castle of Leedes, minding to haue kept it. But King Stephan vsed against him suche force and celeritie, that he soone wrested it out of his fingers.

1318. King Edwarde the seconde, that for the loue of

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Bartholmewe  
Badelesmere.

the two Spensers, incurred the hatred of his wife and Nobilitie, gaue this Castle (in exchange for

1321.

Thomas Colpeper.

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other lands) to Bartilmew Badelesmere (then Lord Steward of his housholde) and to his heires for euer: who shortly after (entering into that troublesome action, in which Thomas, the Duke of Lancaster with his complices, maugre the King, exiled the Spensers) bothe lost the Kings fauour, this Castle, and his life also: For, whilst he was abroade in aide of the Barons, and had committed the custodie thereof to Thomas Colpeper, and left not only his chiefe treasure in money, but also his wife and children within it for their securitie: It chaunced, that Isabell the Kings wife, minding a Pilgrimage towards Canterbury, and being ouertaken with night, sent her Marshall to prepare for her lodging there. But her officer was proudly denied by the Captaine, who sticked not to tell him, that neither the Queene, ne any other, should be lodged there, without the commaundement of his Lorde the owner.

The Queene not thus answered, came to the gate in person, and required to be let in, But the Captaine most malepertly repulsed her also: in so much that shee complained greuously to the King of the misdemeanour, and he forthwith leuied a power, and personally summoned and besieged the peice so straightly, that in the end, through want of rescue and victuall, it was deliuered vnto him.

Then tooke he Captaine Colpeper, and hoong him vp: The wife and children of the Lord Badeles-

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mere, 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 alwaies more heauie and sorrowfull than the rest: so (calamitie and woe increasing vpon him) Badelesmere himselfe was the yeere following, in the companie of the Duke of Lancaster and others, discomfited at Borowbrig by the Kings armie, and shortly after sent to Canterbury and beheaded.

I might heere iustly take occasion, to rip vp the causes of those great and tragicall troubles, that grew betweene this King and his Nobilitie, for Peter Gaueston, and these two Spensers: the rather, for that the common sorte of our English storiers doe lay the whole burthen of that fault vpon the King, and those fewe persons: But bicause the matter is not so plaine as they make it, and withall requireth more wordes for the manifestation thereof than I may now afoorde, and for that also there is hope, that a speciall hystorie of that reigne (penned by S. Thomas Delamore, which liued in the very time it selfe) may be heereafter imprinted and made common, 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) hee shall finde matter, both very rare and credible.

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The Priorie at Leedes.

As touching the Priorie at Leedes (whiche was a conuentuall house of Regular Chanons dedicated to the name of the blessed virgin and S. Nicholas,

1119.

and valued in the Recordes of the late suppression at three hundreth three score and two poundes of yeerely reuenu) I finde, that one Robert Creuer (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, first founded it. Which thing might probably haue beene coniectured, although it had neuer been 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 Castles sufficiently defended, where was not an Abbay, Priorie, or Nonnerie, either placed within the walles, or **planted** at hande and neare adioining.

And surely (omitting the residue of the Realme) heereof onely it came to passe, that Douer had S. Martines, Canterbury Christes Church, Rochester S. Andrewes, Tunbridge the Friars, Maidstone the Chanons, Grenewiche the obseruants, and this our Leedes her **owne** Priorie.

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. Indeede, it is to be seene in the Annales of Saint Augustines of Canterbury, that a noble man (called Roger Leybourn) was sometime of great authoritie within this shyre, notwithstanding that in his time hee had tasted of

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both fortunes: for in the daies of King Henrie the thirde, he was first one of that coniuration which was called the Barons warre, from which faction, Edward the Kings sonne, wonne him by faire means to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse.

Afterward they agreed not vpon the reckoning, so that the Prince (charging him with great arreare of account) seised his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion, Roger once more became of the Barons deuotion: But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones receiued to fauour, and was made Wardein of the Fiue Portes, and Lieuetenant of this whole Shyre. Now, though it cannot bee true, that this man was the builder of this Priorie (for the same Annales say, that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, hee might truly be termed the Patrone or founder thereof: for by that name, not onely the builders themselves, but their posteritie also (to whom the glorie of their deeds did descend) were wont to be called, as well as they.

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Motindene, or rather Modindene, in Hedcorn:

it may be deriued, of Mod and dene, that is, the proude valley: a name giuen (as I gesse) for the fertilitie thereof.

The Crouched Friars.

I haue read, that the order of the Crouched (or crouched) Friars did first crosse over the Seas, and came into England, about the middle parte of the reigne of King Henrie the third.

These had their name of the Crosse, which they bare in their vppermost garment, in token that they were ready to fight for the holy Crosse, as they called it. For in deede all the sortes of these Crossed companions, tooke themselues to bee the knights (or Champions) of Christendome against the Infidels: and they all professed, either openly to make, or by meanes to mainteine, the warre vpon them.

Now I coniecture, that this suppressed house of crouched Friars at Motindene, was some slippe of that tree, which one Iames (that conquered the Iles, named Baleares) did first plant in Spaine, about the yeere after Christ 1212.

For they were called, 'Fratres Sanctæ Mariæ, de redemptione captiuorum:' the brothers of S. Marie, of the redemption of captiues, or prisoners: their attire, was a white garment, with a blacke crosse vpon it: and their office was, to procure money for the raunsome of such Christians as were taken in the warres by the Turkes.

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Ours heere also, had either the same apparell, or another not much different: neither varied they greatly in the name and profession it selfe.

For confirmation wherof, I will make you partaker of a Popish Indulgence (or pardon, as they termed it) made vnder the seale of the brotherhead of this house, in the yeere of our Lorde God 1475. which it chaunced me to see, and which began after this manner: 'Frater Richardus, minister domus de Motinden, prouincialis, & vicarius generalis Ordinis sanctæ Trinitatis in Anglia, & redemptionis captiuorum qui sunt incarcerati pro fide Ihesu Christi a Paganis, &c.' Friar Richarde, minister of the house of Motinden, prouinciall and vicar generall of the Order of the holy Trinitie in England, and of the redemption of the captiues which be imprisoned by the Pagans for the faith of Iesus Christ, &c. You see, that in substance their titles were all one, sauing that those beyonde the Seas were our Ladies knightes, and ours heere were souldiers to the whole Trinitie: and that was the cause, as you shall heere anone, that Trinitie Sunday was no smal feast with them.

The procession at Motindene.

For some lately alieue in this shyre, haue beene eye witnesses, and did right well remember, that yeerely (vpon Trinitie Sunday) the religious persons of this house did vse to muster themselues in a most solemne marche, and pompous procession: wherein, albeit there wanted neither Coape nor Canapie, crosse nor candlesticke, flagge nor banner, light nor incense, piping nor chaunting, neither yet

any other delightfull glittering that might with the glorie thereof amaze the seely beholder, and rai-  
uish him (as it were) into a certeine Popishe hea-  
uen: yet to the ende that this Pageant of theirs  
might be the more plausible (in that it had some  
thing peculiar to it self) their fashion was, to make  
the Diuel himselfe to beare a part in this play with  
them.

Holy water  
chaseth the  
Diuell.

For, as they passed along in this array, the ma-  
ner was, that some one (berayed like a Diuell)  
should offer to inuade the company, as though hee  
would take the holy Crosse by force from them:  
Then on the other side, outstepped some other  
bolde man (appointed for the nonce) with a holy  
water sprinckle in his hande, and hee with all his  
might flang holy water at him: heerewith, this  
counterfait Diuell must fearfully start backward,  
for doubt of scalding, and, notwithstanding that he  
would many times after fare in shew as though  
he would haue flowne in their faces, yet might hee  
neuer be so bolde in deede as to approach or come  
within the fall of any one drop of this water: For,  
you remember by the olde Prouerbe, how well the  
Diuell loueth holy water.

And thus (forsoothe) the vertue of holy water (in  
putting the Diuell to flight) was confirmed at  
Motindene by a demonstrative argument. Which  
if it be so, then greatly was Saint Paule deceaued  
in the 6. of his epistle to the Ephesians, where he go-  
eth about to arme vs from toppe to toe against  
the assaultes of the Diuell: For what needed he

good man to recite Sallet, Shield, Sword, and so  
many other partes of defensiuie and inuasiue fur-  
niture, when the Holywatersticke alone would haue  
serued the turne? Or, at the least, what ment hee to  
omitte that, being a thing so seruiceable, and ea-  
sily prouided? But wee must giue these good fel-  
lowes leaue (after their woonted manner) to set  
the Holy Ghost to schoole: And yet, by the way, I  
let them weete, that they cannot, 'Leonem larua ter-  
rere,' make a Lion afearde with a visor: It is not  
their 'aqua lustralis,' their holy water (which they haue  
fetcht from Apolloes pot, and not from the foun-  
taine of Gods woord) that can make this ramping  
Lion to turne his backe in earnest. Nay rather, let  
them beware of this his stratageme, and let them  
consider, that euen in worldly warrefare men bee  
neuer in more daunger of the enimie, than when hee  
feigneth to flie before them.

Holy water,  
came from  
the gentiles.

But I doe not well to keepe you so long from  
the Diocesse of Rochester, since I shall haue cause  
to holde you long when I shall haue brought you  
thither.

To conclude therefore, these procurators were  
not so carefull for the captiues, as that in the  
meane while they kept no care of themselues: for  
this small company had raked together three score  
pounds land of auncient reuenue, and I finde  
it noted, that Robert Rokesley foun-

ded this house, in the  
yeere 1224.

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The description, and hystorie, of  
the See, and Diocesse  
of Rochester.

The learned in Astronomie, bee  
of the opinion, that if Iupiter,  
Mercurie, or any other Planet,  
approch within certain degrees  
of the sunne, and be burned (as  
they terme it) vnder his beams,  
That then it hath in manner no  
influence at all, But yeeldeth wholly to the Sunne  
that ouershyneth it: And some men behol=  
ding the nearenesse of these two Bishopricks, Can=  
terbury and Rochester, and comparing the bright  
glorie, pompe, and primacie of the one, with the  
contrarie altogether in the other, haue fansied Ro=  
chester so ouershadowed and obscured **thereby**,  
that they reckon it no See or Bishoprick of it selfe,  
but only **the** place of a meere Suffragan, and Chap=  
lain to Canterbury.

But he that shall either aduisedly weigh the first  
institution of them bothe, or but indifferently con=  
sider the state of either, shall easily finde, that Ro=  
chester hath not onely a lawful, and canonical Ca=  
thedral See of it selfe, But the same also more ho=  
nestly won and obtained, then euer Canterbury had.

For, as touching Rochester, Augustine (whome  
the Monkes may not deny to be the English Apo=  
stle) ordained Iustus Bishop there, Ethelbert (the

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lawfull King of Kent) bothe assenting thereto by  
his presence, and confirming it by his liberall be=  
neficence.

By what  
meanes the  
Archbishops  
chaire came  
to Canter=  
bury.

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But, how Canterbury came to haue an Archbi=  
shops Chaire, if you thinke that it hath not in that  
title already so sufficiently appeered, as that it  
therefore needeth not now eftsoones to be rehear=  
sed, then reade (I pray you) **Geruasius Tilberiensis**,  
and he (in his booke 'De otis Imperialibus') will tell  
you, **that** in 'Sanguine sanctorum Dorobernensis ecclesia  
primatiam obtinuit,' The Church of Canterbury  
**(saith he)** obtained the primacie, by the sheading  
of the bloud of Saints: **meaning, the ouerthrowe  
of the religious Brytons of Bangor College, wher=  
of you may reade in Beda at large.**

Rochester moreouer, hath had also a continuall  
succession of Bishops, euen from the beginning,  
which haue gouerned in a distinct Diocesse contai=  
ning foure Deanries, and therefore wanteth no=  
thing (that I knowe) to make it a compleate and  
absolute Bishopricke.

In deede, the yeerely value is but small, the slen=  
dernesse whereof (ioined with some ceremoniall du=  
ties to the Archbishop) happily haue been the cause  
of abasing the estimation **thereof**.

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But for all that, let vs not sticke with auncient  
Beda, and others, to say, 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 certain land for liuelyhood,

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which he called Priestfield, in token (as I thinke) that Priests should be sustained therewithall.

This Bishopricke may be saide to be seuered from Canterbury Diocesse (for the moste part) by the water of Medway, and it consisteth (as I saide) of foure Deanries, namely, Rochester, Malling, Dartford, and Shorham: Howbeit, with this latter (**containing about thirty benefices**) the Bishop medleth not, the same being a peculiar (as they terme it) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who holdeth his prerogatiue wheresoeuer his lands do lye, as in this Deanrie he hath not onely had of olde time certaine mansion houses with Parkes and Demeanes, but diuers other large territories, rents, 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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Eareth, alias Eard.  
**Eard, alias Crayforde.**  
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 of **Stansted** and Vicarage.

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Eightam.  
Seuenocke, with the Vicarage.  
Penshyrst.  
Chydingstone.  
Heuer.  
Gillingham, with the Vicarage.  
Brasted.  
Sundriche.  
Cheuening.  
Orpington, with the Chapell of **Farnborowe**, and  
Vicarage.  
Hese.  
Kestan.  
Halstede.  
Woodland, vnited to the vicarage of Wrotham  
**1572.**  
Eastmalling, with the Vicarage.  
Ifeild.

A Popishe  
myracle.

As touching the Bishops of this See, lustus (one of the same that Pope Gregorie sent hither from Rome) was the first that sate in the chaire, who was afterward translated to Canterbury, and of whom they report this for a singular miracle: That when

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his body (many yeeres after the interrement) was to be remooued, it yeelded a most pleasaunt sauour in the senses of all that were present: Which thing, how marueilous it was, when they had (after the common manner then vsed) before his buriall enbaulmed his body with most precious, delectable, and odoriferous spices, I dare make any man Iudge, if he be not more then a pore blind Papist,

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giuen ouer to beleeeue all manner (being neuer so grosse, and beastly) illusions.

In the whole race of the Bishops succeeding lustus in this See, three amongst others be read of most notable, Paulinus, Gundulphus, and Gilbertus: of which, the first after his death was there honoured for a Saint: The seconde, was in his life the best benefactor that euer their Church founde: The thirde, was so hatefull and iniurious to the Monkes, that they neither esteemed him while hee 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 therefore, it shall be fitte to shew, with what courage this Church vphelde her rights and priuileges, not only against the Monks of Canterbury (which laboured much to bring it vnder) but also against the See of the Archbishops it selfe, which was (for the most part) the chiefe patron and promoter of it.

1227.

Monks consent for the election of the Bishop.

In the reigne of King Henry the third, and after the death of Benedict (the Bishop of Rochester) the Monkes made choise of one Henrie Sanford (that great clerke, which afterward preached at Sedingburne) whereof when the Monks of Christes church had gotten vnderstanding, they resisted the election, challenging that the pastorall staffe (or crosier) of Rochester ought of very right to be brought to their house after the decease of the Bishop, and that the election ought to be made in their chapter.

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The Monkes of Rochester mainteining their owne choise, and so (the matter waxing warme betweene them) it was at the length referred to the determination of the Archbishop: he againe posted it ouer to certaine delegates, who hearing the parties, and weighing the proofes, gaue sentence with the Monkes of Rochester, and yet left (as they thought) good loue and amitie among them: But (as the Poet saith) 'Male sarta gratia, nequicquam coit, & rescinditur:' 'Friendship, that is but euill proceeded, will not ioine close, but falleth asunder againe:' And therefore this their opinion failed, them, and their cure was but patched: for soone after the sore brake out of new, and the Canterbury Monkes reuiued their displeasure with such a heate, that Hubert of Borow (the chiefe Iustice of the Realme) was driuen to come into the Chapter house to coole it, and to woorke a second reconciliation betweene them.

Neither yet for all that (as it may seeme) was



1238. that flame cleane extinguished: For not long after, the Monks of Christes church, seeing that they themselues could not preuaile, intituled their Archbishop Edmunde, with whome also the Rochester Monkes waged lawe at Rome before the holy Father, (as touching the election of one Richarde Wendene, or Wendeouer, whom they would haue had to Bishop) by the space of three whole yeeres together, and at the length, either thorow the equitie of their cause, or the weight of their purse, ouerthrew him vpon Saint Cuthberts day: in ioy wher=

Saint Cuthbertes feast, why holden double.

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of they returned home with all haste, and enacted in their Chapter house, that from thencefoorth for euer, Saint Cuthbertes feast (as a Tropheum of their victorie) shoulde be holden double, both in their Church and Kitchin.

And not thus onely, 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 line haue followed lustus, she hath continually mainteined her Chaire at this one place, whereas in most partes of the Realme besides, the Sees of the Bishops haue suffred sundrie translations, by reason that in the Conqueours time order was taken, that such Bishops as before had their Churches in Countrie towns and Villages, shoulde foorthwith remooue, and from thence foorth remaine in walled Townes and Cities: which ordinaunce coulde not by any meanes touch Rochester, that was a walled Citie long time before King Williams gouernment.

But now, to the ende that I may pursue the order that I haue prescribed, I will set foorth a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rochester by name, referring the recitall of their actes and dooings to their peculiar and proper places, as I haue done in Canterbury before.

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Bishops Sees, are translated from Villages to Cities.

The Catalog of Rochester Bishops.

lustus.  
Romanus.  
Paulinus.  
Ithamarus.  
Damianus.  
Putta.  
Cuichelmus.  
Gibmundus.

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Tobias.  
Aldulphus.  
Duime, or Duno.  
Eardulphus.  
Diora.  
Permundus, alias, Wermundus.  
Beornmodus. After him, these be inserted in a Catalogue that standeth before the Chronicle of Rochester. Tathnodus, Batenodus, Cuthwulfus, Swithulfus, Buiricus, Chuelmundus, and Kyneferdus.

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Burhricus.  
Aelfstanus.

Godwinus.  
Godwinus, the second.  
Siwardus. Before, and at, the time of the  
Conquest.

- Arnostus.  
1077. Gundulphus.  
1108. Radulphus.  
1114. **Aernulphus.**  
Ioannes. After whome, in the former Catalog,  
one other Ioannes followeth.  
Ascelimus, or Anselimus: and hitherto they  
were all Monkes.  
Guelterus.  
Gualerannus.  
Gilebertus Glanuille.  
Benedictus.  
Henricus.  
Richardus Wendene, or Wendeouer.

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1250. Laurentius de Sancto Martino.  
Gualterus de Merton. Chauncellour of Eng=  
lande.  
Ioannes de Bradfield.  
Thomas de Inglethorpe.  
1291. Thomas de Wuldham.  
Hamo de Heth, or at Hethe: Confessor to King  
**Edward the second.**  
1352. Ioannes de Scepey, or Shepey.  
Wilhelmus Witlesey.  
1363. Thomas Trelege, or Trilleke.  
1372. Thomas Brynton, or Brenton.  
Richardus Barnet, elected, and not consecra=  
ted.  
Wilhelmus de Botelesham.  
Ioannes de Botelesham, elected onely.  
Chelyndon, elected onely.  
Richardus Young: hee made the windowes at  
Frendsbury, and there is to bee seene in  
picture.  
1418. Ioannes Kempe.  
Ioannes Langdon.  
Thomas Broune.  
Willielmus Wellis.  
Ioannes Lowe.  
Richardus Peckam. Elected onely.  
Thomas Rotheram.  
Ioannes Alcocke.  
Ioannes Russel.  
Eadmundus Audeley.  
Thomas Sauage.

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- Richardus Fitz Iames.  
1504. Ioannes Fisher.  
Ioannes Hylsey.  
1539. Nicholaus Hethe.  
1544. Henricus Holbeache.  
1547. Nicholaus Rydley. **Burned for witnessing the  
Gospell.**  
1549. Ioannes Ponet.  
1550. Ioannes Skorey.  
Mauritius Griffin.

1559. Eadmundus Allen. Elected onely.  
 1559. Eadmundus Gest.  
 1571. Eadmundus Freake.  
 1576. Ioannes Piers.  
 1578. Ioannes Young.

The order of  
 this descrip=  
 tion.

And thus much shortly being saide 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 followe the order that I haue taken in Canterbury before: Namely, to begin at the Northeast corner, and from thence (first descending along the bankes of Medway, and then passing by the Frontiers of Sussex and Surrey, and lastly returning by the Thamise shore to the same point) to enuiron the whole Bishopricke: which done, I will peruse what it conteineth in the inner parts also, and then betake me to rest.

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The Harbo=  
 rowe, of the  
 Nauie Roiall.

Gillingham.

Euen at our first entrie into the Diocesse of Rochester, on the Northeast part thereof, the **Station, or Harbo-**row of the Nauie Royall at Gillingham **and Chetam** presenteth it selfe, a thing of all other most woorthie 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 Shire, comparable in **right** value with this **one** Fleete: Nor shipping any where els in the whole world to be founde, 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 Greece, when his Oracle was consulted against the inuasion of Xerxes and that his wonderfull 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 which alone inuincible,  
 may thee, and thine, preserue.

And therefore, of these such excellent ornaments of peace, and trustie aides in warre, I might truly affirme, that they be for wealth, almost so many riche treasuries, as they be single ships: for beautie,

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so many princely Palaces, as they be seuerall peeces: and for strength, so many moouing Castles, as they be sundrie sayling vessels.

They be not many (I must confesse, and you may see) and therefore in that behalfe nothing answerable, either to that Nauie which fought

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against Xerxes at Salamis, or to many other aunci=  
ent Fleetes of forreigne Kingdomes, or of this  
our owne lland: howbeit, if their swiftnesse in say=  
ling, their furie in offending, or force in defending,  
be duly weighed, they shall be founde 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 fearefull Birdes, or what the  
couragious Lyon is on the lande amongst the co=  
wardly cattell of the field, the same is one of these  
at the Sea in a Nauie of common vessels, being  
able to make hauocke, to plume, and to pray vpon  
the best of them at her owne pleasure. Whiche  
speech of mine, if any man shall suspect as Hyper=  
bolically, let him call to minde, how often, and how  
confidently (of late yeeres) some few of these ships  
(incertaine of their intertainment) haue boorded  
mightie Princes Nauies of a greate number of  
Saile, and then I doubt not but he will chaunge  
his opinion.

But what do I labour to commend them, which  
not onely in shewe, and all reason, doe commende  
themselues, but also are like in deedes and effecte  
to perfourme more, than I, in woord or writing can  
promise for them.

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The bene=  
fits, that God  
hath giuen this  
Realm, in the  
Reigne of  
Queene Eli=  
zabeth.

Yea rather, I am prouoked at the contempla=  
tion of this triumphant spectacle, first to thanke  
God our mercifull Father, and then to thinke du=  
tifully of our good Queene Elizabeth, by whose vi=  
gilant ministerie, care, and prouidence (drawing as  
it were, the net for us, whylest we sleepe) not onely  
the drosse of superstition and base moneies were  
first abolished, the feare of outward warre remo=  
ued, rustie armour reiected, and rotten Shipping  
dispatched out of the way: But also, in place ther=  
of, religion and coyne restored to puritie, the dome=  
sticall and forreigne affaires of the Realme mana=  
ged quietly, the land furnished with new armour,  
shot, and munition, abundantly, and this Riuer  
fraught with these strong and seruiceable Ships  
sufficiently. Which so apparant and inestimable  
benefits, the like whereof this Realme neuer at  
any one time (and much lesse so long time togither)  
hath enjoyed, if any man perceauie not, hee is more  
than blockish: if hee consider not, hee is exceeding  
carelesse: and if he acknowledge not, he is too too  
vnkinde, bothe to God, to her Maiestie, and to his  
owne countrie.

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But here againe, for as much as it neither stan=  
deth with my present purpose, to depaint her Ma=  
iesties praises, neither it lieth at all in my power to  
set them foorth in their true colours (for it requi=  
reth an Apelles, to haue Alexander well counterfai=  
ted) I will conteine my selfe within these narrowe  
termes, and tell you the names of these Ships,  
that at one time or other doe ryde here.

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Estate of the Nauie Royall.  
December 1596.

<Dec 1596>

Elizabeth Ionas.  
 Tryumph.  
 White Beare.  
 Merhonora.  
 The Victorie.  
 Arke Rawliegh.  
 Dew Repulse.  
 The Garlande.  
 Wast Spyte.  
 Mary Rose.  
 The Hope.  
 Bonaduenture.  
 The Lion.  
 Non Pareille.  
 Vant garde.  
 Rainebowe.  
 Defiaunce.  
 Dreadnaught.  
 Swiftsure.  
 Antelope.  
 Swallowe.  
 Foresight.  
 Aduenture.  
 Ayde.  
 The Crane.  
 Quittaunce.  
 Aunswere.  
 Aduauntage.  
 Tiegre.  
 Tramontane.  
 Scowte.  
 Achates.  
  
 Gally Bonauolia.  
 Rowe= Gally Mercury.  
 boates Brygandine.  
 Frigate.

The Charles.  
 The Moone.  
 Aduice.  
 Spye.  
 Marlion.  
 Sunne.  
 Cygnet.

Hoyes George Hoy.  
 Prymerose Hoy.

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Amongst all these (as you see) there is but one  
 that beareth her Maiesties name, and yet all these  
 hath she since the beginning of her happy reigne

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ouer vs, either wholly built vpon the stockes, or  
 newly reedified vpon the olde moaldes. Her High=  
 nesse also knowing right well, that,

Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri:

Like vertue it is, to saue that is got:

As to get the thing, that earst she had not,

did in the thirde yeere of her most happy Reigne,  
 erect a castle (called Vpnour, of a street in Friends=  
 bury thereto adioyning) for the better defence of

this Nauie, as the Inscriptiō it selfe doth testifie,  
in these woordes, amongst other:

Who gaue me this shew, to none other ende,  
But strongly to stande, her Nauie to defende.

Thus muche of the Nauie: As touching the har=  
borow it selfe, I haue heard some wish, that for the  
better expedition in time of seruice, Some part of  
this Nauie might ride in some other hauen, the ra=  
ther bicause it is many times very long before a  
ship can be gotten out of this Riuer into the Sea.

I remember that I haue read 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, vp=  
on the Sea Adriatique, to the ende, that when oc=  
casion required, they might readily saile to any  
part of the worlde without delay, or windlassing:  
'Bicause' (saith he) 'in affaires of warre, celeritie doeth  
as good seruice, as force it selfe.'

But for all that, whether the same order be ne=  
cessarie for vs, or no, who though we haue the vse  
of sundry Seas, **as they had**, yet we enioy not so

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large and distant dominions as they helde, it is not  
our parts to dispute, but their office to determine,  
who for their great wisdom and good zeale, both  
can and will prouide things conuenient, as well  
for the safetie of the Nauy, as for the seruice of the  
Realme. And therefore leauing all this matter to  
the consideration of them that are well occupied  
at the helme, let vs apply our oares, that wee may  
nowe **at length** leaue the water, and come to the  
lande at Gillingham.

1042. After the sudden departure of king Hardicanu=  
tus the Dane (which died of a surfeite of drinke, ta=  
ken at a Noble mans marriage in Lambhith) the  
English Nobilitie thought good to take holde of  
the oportunitie then offered, to restore to the roy=  
all 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 Richarde then Duke of Normandie,  
requiring him to send ouer Edward the onely sonne  
(then left) of King Ethelred, and promising to doe  
their indeuour to set him in his fathers seate, So  
that he woulde agree to come accompanied with a  
small number of strangers: The which condition  
was deuised, bothe for their owne excuse, and for  
the yong Princes safetie.

1036. For before this time, and after the death of king  
Canutus, they had likewise sent for the same Ed=  
warde, 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,

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and for the more honourable furniture of their  
journey, gaue them to company, diuers yong Gen=  
tlemen of his owne countrie, whome he ment to  
make from thenceforth partners of theyr prospe=  
ritie, as they had before time beene companions of

A barbarous  
crueltie, execu-  
tuted vpon  
strangers.

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their misfortune.

But when they were come into the Realme, the Earle Godwine (who sought more the aduancement of his owne house to honour, than the restitution of the English bloud to the crowne) perceiving that by no meanes he could make a marriage betweene Alfred (the elder of the two) and Edgith his daughter, and yet hauing hope, that Edwarde the yoonger would accept the offer, if he might bring to passe to set the garland vpon his head, he quarelled at the company which came ouer with them, insinuating to the peeres of the Realme, that Alfred ment (so soone as hee shoulde obtaine the crowne) to place in all roomes of honour, his Normane Nobilitie, and to displace the English, his owne countrie men.

This suspicion, he bet so deeply into the heads of many of the Noble men, and especially of his neerest friends and allies, that forthwith (at his persuasion) they fell vpon the strangers at Gillingham, and first killed nine throughout the whole number of the companie, reseruing on liue eche tenth man onely: And afterward (thinking the remainder too great) tythed that number also, sleaing in the whole, about sixe hundred persons: As for Alfred (the elder of the yong Princes) they appre-

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hended, and conueied him to the Isle of Ely, where first they put out his eies, and afterward most cruelly did him to death.

But this Edwarde, fearing their furie, escaped their hands and fled into Normandie: Howbeit, being nowe eftsoones (as I said) earnestly sollicitated by Godwine, and more faithfully assured by the Noble men, he once againe aduentured to enter the Realme, and taking Godwines daughter to wife, obtained the Crowne and enioyed it all his life long.

I am not ignorant, that Simeon of Durham, and diuers other good writers, affirme this slaughter to haue beene committed at Guylford in Surrey, and some other (of late time, and of lesse note) at Guild downe, a place neere Lamberhirst in the edge of this Shyre: but because I finde it expressely reported by Thomas Rudborne, and also the authour of the Chronicle of Couentrie, to haue beene done at Gillingham, 'luxta Thamesim,' I sticke not (being now 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 Englande 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 (now at length) by this manner of King Hardi-

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canutus death, (which I haue shewed) to breake in sunder the Danish whip wherewith hee had many

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Excessiue  
drinking, &  
how it came  
into England.

yeeres together scourged the English nation, and by the meane of drink (the Danish delight) to worke the deliuerie 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 admonish 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 arriuall of these Danes, the English men (or Saxons) vsed some temperaunce in drinking, not taking thereof largely but onley at certaine great feastes and cheerings, and that in one onely wassailing cup (or Bolle) which walked rounde about the boorde at the midst of the meale, much after that manner of intertainment which Dido sometime gaue to Aeneas, and **which** is expressed by Virgil in these verses,

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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)  
Et vos O cœtum Tyrii celebrate fauentes,  
Dixit: Et in mensam laticum libauit honorem,  
Primaque libato summo tenus attigit ore, &c.

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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: then through them all  
Was silence made by signe,  
O loue (quoth she) for thou of hostes  
And gestes both great and small  
(Men say) the lawes hast put: giue grace  
I pray, and let vs all  
O you my Moores nowe do our best,  
These Troians for to cheere:  
Thus said she, and when grace was done,  
The Bolle in hande she clipt,  
And in the liquor sweete of wine  
Her lips she scantly dipt.

But nowe, after the comming in of the Danes,  
and after such time as King Edgar had permitted  
them to inhabite here, and to haue conuersation  
with his owne people: Quassing and Carowsing so  
increased, that Didoes sipping was cleane forsa=  
ken, and Bitias bowsing came in place, of whom the  
same Poet writeth,

Ille impiger hausit  
Spumantem pateram, & pleno se proluit auro.

And he anon,  
The fomie bolle of golde vpturnde,  
And drew till all was gon.

So that King Edgar himselfe, seeing (in his own  
reigne) the great outrage whereunto it was



growne, was compelled to make lawe therefore,

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and to ordaine drinking measures by publique Proclamation, driuing certaine nayles into the sides of their cups, as limits and bounds which no man (vpon great paine) should be so hardie as to transgresse.

But this vice in that short time had taken such fast roote, as neither the restraint of law, nor the expulsion of the first bringers in thereof, could **wholy** supplant it.

Great troups of seruingmen, came in with the Normanes.

For William of Malmesburie (comparing the manners of the English men and Normanes together) complained, that in his time the English fashion was, to sit bibbing whole houres after dinner, as the Normane guise was, to walke and iet vp and downe the streetes, with great traines of idle Seruing men following them.

And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of vnmeasurable Boalling: which whether it be sproong vp out of the olde roote, or be newly transported by some Danish enimie to all godly temperaunce and sobrietie, let them consider that with pleasure vse it, and learn in time (by the death of Hardicanute, and the expulsion of his people) to forsake it: which if they wil not, God in time either graunt vs the lawe of the Heluetians (which prouided that no man should prouoke other in drinking) or else, if that may for courtesie be permitted, because (as the prouerbe is, 'Sacra hæc non aliter constant,' yet God (I say) stirre vp some Edgar, to strike nailes in our cuppes, or else giue us the Greekishe

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<oinoptas> 'Potandi arbitros,' 'Cup Censors,' as I may call them, that at the least we may be driuen to drinke in some manner of measure: For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and striue, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gracious benefits.

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The cause of the Conquest of England.

In this Historie is couched also (as I haue already tolde you) the first cause of the displeasure **conceiued** by the Normanes against this Realme, and consequently the cause of their inuasion succeeding the same. For, whereas (after this crueltie, executed by the instigation of Godwine) it happened Harold (his sonne) to arryue at Pountiou, against his will, by occasion of a sudden perry (or contrarie winde) that arose while he was on Sea-boorde, whether for his owne disport only (as some write) or for the execution of the Kings message (as others say) or of purpose to visite Wilnote and Hacun, his brother and kinsman (as a thirde sorte affirme) or for what soeuer other cause, I will not dispute. But vpon his arriual, taken he was by Guy the Earle of Pountiou, and sent to William the Duke of Normandie: where, being charged with his fathers fault, and fearing that the whole reuenge should haue lighted vpon his owne heade, hee was driuen to deuise a shift for his deliuerance.

He put the Duke in remembrance therefore, of his neare kinred with Edwarde the King of Eng= land, and fed him with great hope and expectation, that Edward should dye without issue of his body,

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by reason that he had no conuersation with his wife: So that, if the matter were well and in sea= son seene vnto, there was no doubt (as he perswa= ded) but that the Duke through his owne power, and the ayde of some of the Englishe Nobilitie, might easily after the Kings death obtaine the Crowne: For the atchieuing whereof, he both vo= wed the vttermost of his owne helpe, and vnder= tooke that his brethren, his friends, and allies also, should do the best of their indeuour.

Harold, the King.

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The wise Duke, knowing well, 'Quam malus sit custos diuturnitatis metus,' 'How euill a keeper of con= tinuance, feare is,' And therefore (reposing much more suretie in a friendly knot of alliance, than in a fear= full offer proceeding but onely of a countenance) accepted Haroldes othe for some assurance of his promise, but yet withal, for more safetie, affied him to his daughter, to be taken in marriage: And so, after many princely giftes, and much honorable entertainment, bestowed vpon him, hee gaue him licence to depart.

But Harold, being now returned into Englande, forgetteth cleane that euer he was in Normandie, and therefore so soone as King Edward was dead, he (violating both the one promise and the other) reiecteth Duke Williams daughter, and setteth the Crowne vpon his owne head.

Hereof followed the battaile at Battel in Sussex, and consequently the conquest of this whole realm and Countrie. In contemplation where= of, we haue likewise to accuse the olde †<azenian> (or ra=

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The vncurte= sie of the En= glish nation, toward stran= gers.

Busyris, was a tyrant that sacrificed straungers: & was there= fore slaine by Hercules.

ther <miso xenian>) the inueterate fiercenesse, and cancred crueltie of this our English nation against forreins and straungers: which, ioyning in this butcherly sacrifice with bloudie Busyris, deserued worthily the reuenging club of heauenly Hercules: which, fearing (without cause) great harme that these fewe might bring vnto them, did by their barba= rous immanitie giue iust cause to a great armie to ouerrunne them: And which, dreading that by the arriual 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 sla= uerie, to possesse their goods and inheritances.

It were worthy the consideration, to call to me= morie, what great 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 sixt, and in the daies of later memorie: But, since that matter is parergon, and therefore the discourse would proue tedious and wearisome, and I also haue beene too long already at Gilling= ham: I will rather abruptly ende it, onely wishing,

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that whatsoever note of infamie we haue heeretofore contracted amongst forreigne writers by this our ferocitie against Aliens, that now at the least (hauing the light of Gods Gospell before our eies, and the persecuted partes of his afflicted Church, as gwestes and straungers in our countrie) wee so behaue our selues towards them, as we may both

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vterly rubbe out the old blemish, and from henceforth stay the heauy hand of the iust Iupiter Hospitalis, which otherwise must needes light vpon such stubburne and vncharitable churlishnesse.

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Our Lady, & the Roode, of Chetham, & Gillingham.

Chetham.

Although I haue not hitherto at any time, read any memorable thing recorded in historie touching Chetham it selfe, yet, for so much 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 superstitious religion, to renew to mind the Priestly practises of olde time (which are now 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 commit faithfully to writing, what I haue received credibly 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 Parish of Chetham, and being there taken vp, was by some charitable persons committed to honest buriall within their Churchyarde: 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 pa-

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rishe Clarke, (which then was in the Streete a good distance from the church) and making a noise at his windowe, awaked 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 hir owne aunswere, that it was the Lady of Chetham, hee chaunged his note, and moste mildely asked the cause of her **good Ladiships** comming: She tolde him, that there was lately buried (neare to the place where she was honoured) a sinfull person, which so offended her eie with his gastly grinning, that vnlesse he were remoued, she could not but (to the great grieffe of good people) withdraw her selfe from that place, and cease 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.

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The Clerke obeyed, arose, and waited on her toward the Church: but the good Ladie (not wonted to walke) waxed wearie of the labour, and there-

fore was inforced for very want of breath to sit downe in a bush by the way, and there to rest her: And this place (forsooth) as also the whole tracke of their iourney (remaining euer after a greene path) the Towne dwellers were wont to shew.

Now after a while, they go forward againe, and comming to the Churchyard, digged vp the body, and conueied it to the water side, where it was first found. This done, our Lady shranke againe

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into her shrine, and the Clerke peaked home to patch vp his broken sleepe, but the corps now eft=soones floted vp and downe the Riuer, as it did be=fore. Which thing being at length espied 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 Miracles, was now depriued of all that his former vertue: but also the very earth and place where this carcase was laide, did continually for euer af=ter, settle and sinke downeward.

This tale, receaued by tradition from the El=ders, was (long since) both commonly reported and faithfully credited of the vulgar sort: which although happily you shall not at this day learne at euery mans mouth (the Image being now ma=ny yeeres sithence defaced) yet many of the aged number **did lately** remember it wel, and in the time of darknesse, 'Hæc erat in toto notissima fabula mundo.' But here (if I might be so bould as to adde to this Fable, **his** <epimythion> (or 'Fabula significat') I woulde tell you, that I thought the Morall and minde of the tale to bee none other, but that this Clerkly <mythoplastês>, this 'Talewright' (I say) and Fableforger, being either the Fermer, or Owner of the offerings giuen to our Lady of Chetham, and enuying the common haunt and Pilgrimage to the Roode of Gillingham (lately erected 'Ad nocumentum' of his gaine) deuised this apparition, for the aduance=ment of the one, and defacing of the other.

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For (no doubt) if that age had beene as prudent in examining spirits, as it was prone to beleeeue il=lusions, it should haue found, that our Ladies path was some such greene trace of grasse, as we daily behold in the fields (proceeding in deede of a natu=rall cause, though by olde wiues and superstitious people, reckoned to be the dauncing places of night spirits, which they call Fayries) And that this sinking graue, was nothing else, but a false fil=led pitte of Maister Clearks owne digging.

The man was too blame, thus to make debate betweene our Lady and her Sonne, but since the whole religion of Papistrie it selfe, is Theomachia, and nothing else, let him be forgiuen, and I will go forward.

Alfred of Beuerley, and Richard of Ciceter, **bothe following Beda**, haue mention of a place in East Kent, where Horsa (the brother of Hengist) was bu=ried, and which euen till their daies did continue

the memorie of his name. And we haue in this shire a Towne called Horsmundene, which name (resolved into Saxon Orthographie) is horsgemyndene, and soundeth as much as, the Valley of the monument (or memoriall) of Horsa.

Horsted, the new, and the olde.

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But for as much as that place lieth in the south part of this Countrie toward Sussex: and I reade that Horsa was slaine at Ailesford (as you shall see anone) in that encounter wherein he ioined with his brother Hengist again the Brytons which at that time inhabited Kent, It is more proouable to affirm, that he was buried at Horsted here, which

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woord properly signifieth, the Place of Horsa: after the which name also certeine landes (lying in this parish on the part towardes Ailesforde) be yet called, namely, new Horsted, and the olde in the confines of the territorie made subiect to Rochester.

This Horsa, and his brother Hengist (both whose names be Synonuma, and doe signifie a horse) were the Chieftains of those first Saxons that came into this land to the aide of Vortiger and the Brytons, as we haue before shewed: and after the killing of this Horsa, his brother Hengist neuer ceased to follow the warre vpon the Brytons, vntill such time as he had driuen them out of Kent, and created him selfe King thereof, as hereafter in fitter place wee shall further declare.

Saint Bartilmewes Hospitall.

In this parish standeth yet a poore shew of that decayed Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew, the foundation whereof as you shall finde in Rochester, was layde by Gundulphus the Bishop.

King Henrie the thirde calleth it the Priorie of brothers and sisters of the Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew of Chetham, in a certaine confirmation which he made vnto them of 40. shillings by yeere, the which Roger Fitz-Stephen of Northwood had giuen vnto them before. Besides the which, King Edward the third and Henrie the sixt made general confirmations vnto them, and Henrie the sixt exempted them from all Taxes and tallages. Their Reuennew consisted of the Tythes of Kyngsdoune, Henhyrst, and Rode, chiefly: the rest being patched vp out of the offerings of the Altars of Saint

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lames and Saint Giles.

1594.

Sir Ioh. Hawkins Hospital.

In the confines of this parish, towardes Rochester also, was now lately builded a receptacle for ten or moe aged, or maimed Mariners and Shipwrights, which (after the founders name) her Maiestie our souereigne in her letters Patents of the incorporation, dated 27. August. 36. of her Reigne, would to be called, The Hospitall of Iohn Hawkins knight, in Chatham.

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A religious skirmish betweene the Monkes of Rochester, & the Brethren of Stroude.

Frensbury, 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 Monks

of Rochester agreed among themselves to make a solemn procession from their owne house thorowe the citie, and so to Frensbury on the other side of the water, of a speciall intent and purpose to pray to God for raine.

And because the day of this their appointed iourney happened to bee 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 themselves in that their heauie and masking attire, they desired lycence of the Maister of Stroud Hospitall, to passe through the Orchyarde of his house, whereby they might both

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ease their companie, and saue the glorie of their shewe, which otherwise through the iniurie of the weather must needes haue beene 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 thereunto. 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 Bishop of Rochester) betweene whom and the predecessors of these Monks there had been great heats for the erection of the same: and therefore, fearing that the Monkes (pretending a procession) intended to attempt somewhat **iniuriously** against their priuileges (as in deede all orders in Papistrie, were exceeding ielous of their prerogatiues) they resolved with all might **and maine** to resist them.

And for that purpose (**not calling their Maister to counsell**) they both furnished themselves, and procured certaine companions also (whom the Historie calleth Ribaldes) with clubbes and battes to assist them, and so (making their ambushe in the Orchard) they awaited the Monkes comming.

It was not long, but the Monkes (hauing made all things readie) approched in their battell array and with banner displaid, and so (minding no harm at all) entred boldely into the house, and through the house passed into the Orchard, merily chanting their latine Letanie: But when the Brethren

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and their Ribaldes had espied them within their daunger, they **issued out of their lurking holes, and ranne vpon them**, and made it raine such a shoure of clubbes and coulestaues vpon the Monkes Copes, cowles, and Crownes, that for a while the miserable men knew not what waie to turne them.

After a time, the Monkes called their wits and spirities 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 **and** behauing themselves like prettie men: **Some** made pikes of their

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banner poles: And others (flying in to their aduersaries) wrested their weapons out of their handes: amongst the rest, one (sauing his charity) laide lode vpon a married Priest, absolving him (as mine authour saith) 'A culpa,' but not 'A pæna.' Another, draue one of the Brethren into a deepe ditch: and a thirde (as big as any Bull of Basan) espied (at the length) the posterne (or backe doore) of the Orchyarde, whereat he ran so vehemently with his head and shoulders, that he bare it cleane downe before him, and so both escaped himselfe, and made the waie for the rest of his fellowes, who also, with al possible haste conueied themselues out of the iurisdiction of the Hospitall, and then (shaking their ears) fell a fresh to their Orgia, I should haue said to their former Orisons.

After this storme thus blowne (or rather born)

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Frensbury Clubbes.

ouer, I do not maruaile if the Monkes (as the reporter saith) neuer sought to carrie their procession through Stroud Hospital for auoiding of the winde, for in deede it could not lightly blowe more boisterously out of any quarter. And thus out of this tragical historie, arose the byword of Frensbury Clubs, a tearme not yet clean forgotten. For they of Frensburie vsed to come yeerely after that vpon Whitsonmondaie to Rochester, in procession with their Clubs, for penance of their fault, which (belike) was neuer to be pardoned, whilest the Monkes remained.

For albeit I reade not of any that was slaine in the affraye, as peradventure these Monkes had the priuilege of those that performed their Sacrifice, 'Fustuaria pugna,' in which none could be killed, as Herodotus in his Euterpe writeth of the Egyptians report: yet I doubt not but that they were so well blisshed with Friendsburie Battes, that they had good cause to remember it many a yeere after.

Eslingham.

Appropriations of benefices.

The land of Frensbury, 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 Frensbury (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 themanie of Rome, in the darke night of superstition.

†r. 'the man'

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on, and yet suffered to liue in this day light of the Gospell, to the great hinderance of learning, the empouerishment of the ministerie, **decaie of Hospitality**, and infamie of our profession.

Rochester, is called in Latine, Dorobreuum, Durobreuum, **Durobrouæ**, and Durobreuis: in Britnish, Dourbryf, that is to say, a swift streame: in Saxon, hrofesceastre, that is, Rofi ciuitas, 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, either in Cæsars owne Commentaries, or in any other credible Historie, dare not auow any other beginning of this citie (or castle) than that which I finde in Beda: least if I shoulde aduenture as they doe, I might receiue as they haue, I meane, 'The iust note of more reading and industrie, than of reason or iudgement.'

The Citie.

And although I must (and wil freely) acknowledge, that it was a Citie before that it had to name Rochester (for so a man may well gather of Beda his woordes) yet seeing that by the iniurie of

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the ages betweene, the monuments of the first beginning of this place and of innumerable suche other be not come to our handes, I had rather in such cases vse honest silence, than rash speeche, and do prefer plaine vnskill and ignorance, before vaine lying and presumptuous arrogance.

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For (**trust me**) the credite of our English Historie is no one way so much empaired, as by the blinde boldnesse of some, which taking vpon them to commit it to writing, and wanting (either through their owne slothfulnesse, or the iniquitie of the time) true vnderstanding of the original of many things, haue not sticked (without any modestie or discretion) to obtrude new fantasies and follies of their owne forgerie, for assured truthes, and vndoubted antiquitie.

As for examples of this kinde, although there be at hande, many in number, and the same moste fond and ridiculous in matter, yet bicause 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 generall note, I will proceede with the treatise of the place that I haue taken in hand, the which may 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 booke hath it) which was sometime the Lorde, and

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owner of the place.

This name, Leland supposeth, to haue continuance in Kent till this our time, meaning (as I suspect) Rolf, a familie wel inough knowne. Whatsoeuer the estate of this Citie was before the coming in of the Saxons, it seemeth, that after their arriuall, the maintenance thereof depended chiefly



- upon the residence of the Bishop, and the religious persons: And therefore no marvaile 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 aduance it) was but meane, and on the other side the calamitie of fire and sworde (bent to destroy it) was in manner continuall.
- <295>
- For I reade, that at such time as the whole Realme was sundred into particular kingdomes, and each part warred for superioritie and enlarging of boundes with the other, Eldred (then King of Mercia) inuaded Lothar the King of this Countrie, and finding him vnable to resist, spoiled the whole Shyre, and laide this Citie waste.
- 680.
- The Danes also, whiche in the daies of King Alfred came out of Fraunce, sailed vp the riuer of Medway to Rochester, and (besieging the Towne) fortified ouer against it in such sorte, that it was greatly distressed and like to haue beene yeilded, but that the King (Pæonia manu) came speedily to the reskew, and not onely raised the siege, and deliuered his subiects, but obtained also an honourable bootie of horses and captiues, that the besiegers had left behinde them.
- 884.
- The same people, hauing miserably vexed the whole Realme in the daies of King Ethelred, came at the last to this Citie, where they found the inhabitants ready in armes to resist them: but they assailed them with such furie, that they compelled them to saue themselues by flight, and to leaue the place a pray to their enimies: The which was somewhat the lesse woorth vnto them, bicause King Ethelred himselfe (not long before) vpon a displeasure conceiued against the Bishop, had besieged the Citie, and would by no meanes depart thence, before he had an hundreth pounds in ready money payd him.
- i. a healthfull hand.
- 999.
- And these harmes, Rochester receiued before the time of King William the Conquerour, in whose reigne it was valued in the booke of Domesday at 100 s'. by the yeere, and after whose daies (besides sundry particular damages done to the Citie, during the sieges laide to the Castle, as shall appeere anon) it was much defaced by a great fire that happened in the reigne of King Henrie the first, the King himselfe, 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 which was euen then newly finished.
- 1130.
- And it was againe in manner wholly consumed with flame, about the latter ende of the reigne of King Henrie the second, at which time that newly builded Church was sore blasted also: But yet
- 1177.
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- after all these calamities, this Citie was well repaired and ditched about, in the reigne of King Henrie the third.
- 1225.
- The Castle.
- As touching the Castle at Rochester, although
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763. I finde not in writing any other foundation there= of, than that which I alledged before, and reckon to be meere fabulous, yet dare I affirm, that there was an olde Castle aboue eight hundreth yeeres agoe, in so much as I reade, that Ecgbert (a King of Kent) gaue certeine landes within the walles of Rochester Castle, to Eardulfe, then Bishop of that See: And I coniecture, that Odo (the bastard bro= ther to King William the Conquerour) which was at the first, Bishop of Baieux in Normandie, and then afterwarde, aduanced to the office of the chiefe lustice of Englande, and to the honour of the Earledome of Kent, was either the first author, or the best benefactour to that which now standeth in sight.

And hereunto I am drawne, somewhat by the consideration of the time it selfe, in which many Castles were raised to keep the people in awe: and somewhat by the regarde of his authoritie, which 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.

1088. Not long after which time, when as William Rufus (our English Pyrrhus, or Redhead) had step= ped betweene his elder Brother Robert and the

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<297> crowne of this Realme, and had giuen experiment of a fierce and vnbrideled gouernment: the Nobilitie (desirous to make a chaunge) arose in armes against him, and stirred his brother to make inuasion: And to the ende that the King should haue at once many yrons (as the saying is) in the fire to attend vpon, some moued warre in one corner of the Realme, and some in another, But amongst the rest, this Odo betooke him to his Castle of Rochester, accompanied with the best, both of the English and the Norman nobilitie.

This when the king vnderstood, he sollicitated his subiectes, and specially the inhabitants of this country, by all faire meanes and promises to assist him, and so (gathering a great armie) besieged the Castle, and straightened the Bishop and his complices the defendants in such 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 yeeres before had been (as it were) a Viceroy, and seconde person within this Realme, was now depriued of all his dignitie, and driuen to keepe residence vpon his benefice, till such time as Earle Robert (for whose cause he had incurred this danger) pitying the cause, appointed him gouernour of Normandie his owne country.

After this, the Castle was much amended by Gundulphus, the Bishop: who (in consideration of a Manor giuen to his See, by King William Rufus) bestowed threescore poundes in building that

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great Towre, which 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 Archbishop of Canterbury and his successours, the custody, and office of Constable ouer the same, with free libertie to builde a Towre for himselfe, in any part thereof at his pleasure. By meanes of which cost done vpon it at that time, the Castle at Rochester was much in the eie of such as were the authors of troubles following within the realme, so that from time to time it had a part (almost) in euery Tragedie.

1126. For, what time King Iohn had warre, with his Barons, they got the possession of this Castle, and committed the defence thereof to a noble man, called William Dalbinet, whom the King immediately besieged, and (through the cowardise of Robert Fitz Walter, that was sent to rescue it) after three moneths labour, compelled him to render the peece.

1215. The next yeere after, Lewes (the Frenche Kings Sonne) by the aide of the English Nobilitie, entered the same Castle, and tooke it by force.

1264. And lastly, in the time of King Henrie the thirde (who in the tenth of his Reigne commaunded the Shyrife of Kent to finish that great Tower which Gundulph had left vnperfect) Simon Mountforde, (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 stood thereon, wanne the first

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gate (or warde) of the Castle by assault, and spoiled the Church and Abbay: But, being manfully resisted seuen daies together, by the Earle Warren that was within, and hearing suddenlye of the Kings comming thitherwarde, hee prepared to meete him in person, and left others to continue the siege, all which were soone after put to flight by the Kings armie.

1251. This warre (as I haue partly shewed before) was specially moued against strangers, which during that Kings reigne, bare such a sway (as some write) that they not onely disdained the naturall borne Nobilitie of the Realme: But did also (what in them lay) to abolish 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 foorth into flame: But amongst other things, that ministred nourishment thereto, this was not 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 themselues against the strangers, and so ouermatched them, that following the victorie, they made them with great shame to flie into the Towne for couert. But I dwell too long (I feare) in these two parts: I will therefore now visite the Religious building, and so passe ouer the bridge to some other place.

S. Andrewes Church in Rochester.

The foundation of the Church of S. Andrewes in Rochester, was first layd by King Ethelbert (as we haue touched before) at such time as he planted

604. the Bishops chaire in the Citie, and it was occupi=  
ed by Chanons, till the daies of Gundulphus, the  
Bishop: who bicause he was a Monke, and had  
heard that it was sometimes stored with Monkes,  
1080. made meanes to Lanfranc (**sometimes a Monke,  
but then** Archbishop) and by his aide and authori=  
tie, both builded the Church and Priorie of newe,  
threw 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.
- Priests had  
wiues in Eng=  
land, of olde  
time.
- And this is the very cause, that William of  
Malmesbury ascribeth to Lanfranc, the whole thank  
of all that matter: for in deed both he and Anselme  
his successour, were wonderfully busied in placing  
Monkes, and in diuorcing Chanons, and Secular  
Priests from their wiues, the which (in contempt)  
they called, Focalia, no better than White kerchiefs,  
or kitchenstufte: although both the lawe of God  
maketh the accouplement honorable amongst all  
men, and the law of this countrie had (without any  
check) allowed it in Priests, **euen** til their own time.
1102. For Henrie of Huntingdon writeth plainly, that  
Anselme in a Synode, at London, 'Prohibuit sacer=  
dotibus vxores, ante non prohibitas,' Forbad Priestes  
<300> their wiues, which were not forbidden before. And  
William of Malmesburie affirmeth, that hee there  
decreed, 'Ne inposterum filii presbyterorum sint hæredes  
ecclesiarum patrum suorum,' 'That from thencefoorth  
Priestes sonnes should not be heires to their fathers  
benefices.'

- Which I note shortly, to the ende that men  
should not thinke it so straunge a matter (in this  
Realme) for Priestes to haue wiues, as some pee=  
uish Papists goe about to persuade.
- But to returne to Gundulphus, from whom I  
am by occasion digressed, he (as I saide) reedified  
the great Church at Rochester, erected the Priorie,  
and where as he found but halfe a dozen secular  
Priests in the Church at his comming, hee neuer  
ceased, till he had brought together at the least  
threescore Monkes into the place.
- Then remoued he the dead bodies of his prede=  
cessors, and with great solemnitie translated them  
into this new worke: and there also Lanfranc was  
present with his purse, and of his owne charge in=  
coffened in curious worke of cleane siluer the body  
of Paulinus, the thirde Bishop of Rochester, who  
had left there the Palle of the Archebishopricke of  
1087. Yorke, that was not recouered long after: to the  
which shrine there was afterwarde (according to  
the superstitious maner of those times) much con=  
course of people, and many oblations **made**.
- Besides this, they both ioined in suite to the  
King, and not onely obtained restitution of sundry  
the possessions withholden from the Church, but  
also procured by his liberalitie and example, newe  
donations of many other lands and priuileges.
- To be short, Gundulphus (ouerliuing Lanfranc)

neuer rested building and begging, tricking and garnishing, till he had aduanced this his creature, to the iust wealth, beautie, and estimation

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1138. of a right Popish Priorie. But God (who moderating all things by his diuine prouidence) shewed himselfe alwaies a seuerer visitour of these irreligious Synagogues) God (I say) set fire on this building wise within the compasse of one hundreth yeeres after the erection of the same: and furthermore suffered such discorde to arise betweene Gilbert Glanuille, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Monkes of this house, that he for displeasure be-  
1177. reaued them, not onely of all their goodes, ornaments, and writings, but also of a great part of their landes, possessions and priuileges: and they, both turmoiled themselues in suite to Rome for remedie, and were driuen (for maintenance of their ex-  
1212. pences) to coine the siluer of Paulinus Shrine into ready money.

Which **act of theirs** turned bothe to the great empouerishing of their house, and to the vtter abasing of the estimation and reuerence of their Church: for that (as in deede it commonly falleth out amongst the simple people, that are led by the sense) the honour and offering to this their Saint, ended and died together with the gay glorie and state of his Tumbe.

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 Bel, Celebration of seruice, or dooing of any other funerall Obsequies.  
1214.

But to these their calamities, was also added one other great losse, sustained by the warres of

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1215. King Iohn, who in his siege †gainst the Castle of Rochester, so spoiled this Church and Priorie, that (as their owne Chronicles report) he left them not so much as one poore Pixe to stande vpon their Altar.

It was now high time therefore, to deuise some way, wherby the Priorie and Church of Rochester, might be, if not altogether restored to the auncient wealth and estimation, yet at the least somewhat releued from this penurie, nakednes, and abiection. And therefore, Laurence of Saint  
<302> Martines, the Bishop of Rochester, perceauing the common people to be somewhat drawne (by the fraude of the Monkes) to thinke reuerently of one William, that lay buried in the Church, and knowing well that there was no one way so commendous to gaine, as the aduancement of a Pilgrimage procured at the Popes Court the Canonization of that man, with indulgence to all such as woulde offer at his Tumbe: vnderpropping by  
1256. meane of this new Saint, some maner of reuerent opinion of the Church, which before, through defacing the olde Bishops shrine, was **almost** declined to naught.

Saint William, of Rochester.

But to the end that it may appeere, to what hard

shift of Saints these good Fathers were then dri= uen, and how easily the people were then deluded, you shall heare out of Noua Legenda it selfe, what great man this Saint William of Rochester was.

He was by birth, a Scot, of Perth (now com= monly called Saint Iohns Towne) by trade of life

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a Baker of bread, and thereby got his liuing: in charitie so abundant, that he gaue to the poore the tenth loafe of his workmanship: in zeale so fer= uent, that in vow he promised, and in deede attemp= ted, to visite the holy land (as they called it) and the places where Christ was conuersant on earth: in which iourney, as he passed through Kent, hee made Rochester his way: where, after that he had rested two or three daies, 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 seruant escaped, and the Maister (bicause he died in so holy a pur= pose of minde) was by the Monkes conueied to Saint Andrewes, laide in the quire, and promoted by the Pope (as you heard) from a poore Baker, to a blessed Martyr.

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Here (as they say) **he moalded** miracles plenti= fully, but certaine it is, that madde folkes offered vnto him liberally, euen vntill these latter times, in which, the beames of Gods trueth shining in the harts of men, did quite chase away, and put to flight, this and such other grosse cloudes of will worship, superstition, and idolatrie.

Almehouse  
in Rochester.

Besides this Priorie (which was valued by the Commissioners of the late suppression, at 486. pounds by yeere) there was none other religious building in Rochester. **But I remember, that about the 21. yeere of the Reigne of our now So= uereigne Lady, one Richarde Wattes of the Bolly**

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hill at Rochester, by his last Will deuised certeine landes to the Maior and Communalitie there, for the nightly entertainment and reliefe, with foure pence, for euerie of sixe lawfully trauailing men, in a poore Almehouse within the Citie: which de= uise, being very vnskillfully conceaued, had thorow the manifold imperfections thereof come to naught, had not Maister Thomas Pagitte (an Ap= prentice at the lawe of the Middle Temple) labou= red to reforme and rectifie it: by whose meanes, the place is now assured of sixtie pounce lands by yeere, and is drawn to order, as well for that first purpose, as also for procuring of Hempe, and Flax in stocke, whereby to set the poore on woorke.

Rochester  
Bridge, both  
the olde, and  
the new.

Now therefore am I come to the Bridge ouer Medway, not that alone which we presently behold, but another also, much more auncient in time, though lesse beautifull in woorke, which neither stood in the selfe place where this is, neither yet ve= ry farre **from it.**

For that crossed the water ouer against Stroude Hospitall: and this latter is pitched some distance

from thence towarde the South, and somewhat nearer to the **Castle** wall, as to a place more fitte, both for the fastnesse of the soile, and for the breake of the swiftnesse of the streame, to builde a Bridge vpon.

1282. That olde woorke, (being of timber building) was fiered by Simon the Earle of Leicester, in the time of King Henrie the third, as hath already appeared: and not fully twenty yeeres after, it was

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borne away with the Ise, in the reigne of King Edward his Sonne. Wherefore, least that as the Frost and flame, hath already 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, whereof the one was taken out of a booke (sometime) belonging to the late worthy and wise Counsellour, Doctor Nicholas Wotton, and which he had exemplified out of an auncient monument of Christs church in Canterbury, bearing this Title.

<304> Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi, &c.

1. Episcopus Roffensis debet facere . . . . .

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ton dimid. sull. . . . .

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Hallebroc & Herebertest . . . . .

. . . de omnibus hominibus in eadem valle,

The other antiquitie, I found in an olde volume of Rochester Librarie, collected by Ernulfus the Bishop, and intituled, 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi:' in which, that which concerneth this purpose, is to be read both in the Saxon, (or ancient English) toong, and in the Latine also, as hereafter followeth.

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<307> This is the Bridgewoorke at Rochester.

Here be named the landes, . . . . .

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to laye of (from) halling . . . . .

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Then is the fifte peere . . . . .

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yardes and a halfe to planke: . . . . .

. . . plates to laye;

Hæc descriptio demonstrat aperte, vnde debeat pons de Rouecestre restaurari, quousque fuerit fractus.

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1. Primum, eiusdem Ciuitatis Episcopus . . . . .

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9. Nona pera, quæ vltima est, . . . . .

Et sciendum est, . . . . .

. . . . . & omnium desuper transeuntium rerum.

By these it may appeere, that this auncient bridge consisted of nine Arches, or peres, and contained in length, about twenty and sixe roddes, or yardes, as they be here termed, Toward the reparation and maintenance whereof, diuers persons, parcels of lands, and townships (as you see) were of dutie bound to bring stufte, and to bestowe both cost and labour in laying it.

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This dutie grew, either by tenure, or custome, or both: and it seemeth, that according to the quantitie and proportion of the Land to be charged, the cariage also was either more or lesse.

For heere is expresse mention, not of Townes and Manors onely, but of Yokes and Acres also, whiche were contributarie to the aide of carrying, pitching, and laying of piles, plankes, and other great timber.

And heere (by the way) it is to be obserued, that so much of the worke as ariseth of stone and earth,

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is called, Pera, of the Latine word, Petra: that the great grounde postes, plates, or beames, be termed (Sulliuæ) of the olde Saxon woorde (Sylle) which we yet euerie where knowe by the name of a Ground Sille: And that the Tables, or Boords, which are laid ouer them, are named (Plançæ) or Plankes, as we yet also in our vulgar language do sound it. But, by reason that diuers Landes are **sithence properlie** giuen to mainteine the newe Bridge, al this auncient duetie of reparation **was** quite and cleane forgotten, although by a statute (21. Rich. 2.) the forenamed landes remaine liable **thereunto** as before: yea, the new Bridge it selfe also (for want of the execution of that, or some other such politique way of maintenance) **hath lately lacked** helpe, and **was** like **shortly** (if remedie in time **had not beene** applied) to decline to great decaie and **vtter** ruine: Which thing **was** so much the more to be foreseene, and pittied, as that the worke is to the fonder a Noble monument, to this Citie a beautifull ornament, and to the whole Countrie a **moste seruiceable** commoditie, and easement.

Syr Robert Knolles, a valiant Capitaine.

Of this latter woorke (being not much aboue eightscore yeeres of age) Syr Robert Knolles (a man aduanced by valiant behaiour, 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 Fraunce, and there (in despite of all their power) had driuen the people

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like sheepe before him, wasting, burning, and destroying, Townes, Castles, Churches, Monasteries,



and Cities, in such wise and number, that long after in memorie of his acte, the sharpe points and Gable endes of ouerthrown Houses and Minsters, were called Knolles Miters: he returned into England, and meaning some way to make himselfe as well beloued of his Countrie men at home, as he had been euery way dread and feared of Straungers abroade, by great policie maistred the Riuer of Medwey, and of his owne charge made ouer it the goodly woorke that now standeth, and died full of yeeres in the midst of the Reigne of King Henrie the fourth.

At the East ende of the same Bridge, Sir Iohn Cobham erected a Chapell, and was not wanting to the principall woorke it selfe, either in purse or guift of landes. And afterwarde Archbishop Warham added to the Copping of the Bridge woorke, those Iron Barres which do much beautifie the same, intending to haue performed it thorow out: But, either wanting money by the losse of his prerogatiues, or time by preuention of Death, he left it in the halfe, as you may yet see it.

Neither is the princely care of the Queenes Maiestie lesse beneficiall to the continuance of this Bridge, then was the coste and charge of the first Authours to the first erection of it: as without the which, it was to be iustly feared, that in short time there would haue beene no Bridge at all.

For, besides that the landes contributarie to the

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repaire thereof were not called to the charge, euen those landes proper were so concealed, that verie fewe did know that there were any such to support it: the reueneue being so conuerted to priuate vses, that the countrie was charged both with Tolle and Fifteene, to supplie the publique want, and yet the woorke declined daily to more and more decaye. At such time therefore as her Maiestie (in the fifteenth yeere of her Raigne) made her Princely progresse into Kent, she was informed heerof by Syr William Cecill, then principall Secretarie, now Baron of Burghley and Lord Treasurer, that Noble Nestor, and most woorthie States man: at the contemplation whereof she was pleased to graunt Commission to certaine Lords, to him, and to diuers knights and Gentlemen of the Country, to enquire as well of the defects and causes thereof, as of the meanes for remedie. In which part, the laborious endeuour of the late sir Roger Manwood, Chiefe Baron of her Maiesties Escheaquer, deserued special commendation: who, passing thorow all difficulties, first contriued a plot of perfect reformation, And then within three yeeres after, procured that statute of the 18. yeere of her Highnesse Reigne, and lastly that other Act of the 27. yeere: By the carefull execution of which, not onely the present estate of the Bridge is now much bettered, but also the reueneue of the lands proper is so increased (I might say Tripled) that there is good hope for euer to mainteine the defence of the Bridge onely therewithall, and without the helpe

of the landes contributarie, which neuerthelesse stande liable, if any vnlooked for necessitie shall so require.

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Stroode: of the Saxon, Strogd, that is, Strowed, or scattered: because it consisted then of a few scattered houses, without the Citie.

About the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the third, Gilbert Glanville (the Bishop, of whome you haue hearde) founded the Hospitall at Stroude (called Neworke) dedicating his cost to the honour of the blessed virgine Marie, and endowing it to the yeerely value of fifty two poundes.

The Manor of Stroude (to which the Hundred of Shamele belonged) was graunted to the Templers, by the name, 'Magistro, & fratribus Militiæ Templi Solomonis,' in the xi. yeere of the same King Henrie the third. And after the suppression of that most rich and stately order, it was bestowed by king Edward the thirde (in the xii. of his reigne) vpon Marie the Countesse of Penbroke, who within sixe yeeres after gaue it to the Abbesse and Sisters Minorites, of the profession of Saint Clare, of Deney in Cambridgeshyre, to which place she had removed them from Waterbeche, where they were first planted by her. But, seeing that 'Non omnes arbusta iuuant, humilesque Myricæ,' let vs looke higher.

Thomas Becket.

Polydore Virgil (handeling that hot contention, betweene King Henrie the seconde, and Thomas Becket) saith, that Becket (being at the length reputed for the kings enimie) began to be so commonly neglected, contemned, and hated, 'that when as it happened him vpon a time to come to Stroude, the inhabitants therabouts (being desirous to despite that good father) sticked not to cut the taile from the horse on which he roade, binding themselues thereby with a perpetual reproach: For afterward (by the will of God) it so happened, that euery one which came of that kinred of men which had plaid that naughty pranke, were borne with tailes, euen as brute beasts bee.'

Such another like tale did Alexander Essebye sometime write of Augustine, Becket's predecessour, (or rather founder) in that See: who, as he saieth, when fish tailes were despitefully thrown at him by certeine men of Dorsetshire, was so furiously vexed therewith, that he called vpon God for reuenge, and he forthwith heard him, and strake them with tailes for their punishment. This later fable, doth Iohn Maior the Scot (by what warrant, God woteth) translate from Dorsetshyre to Rochester in Kent, and so maketh the way open for Polydore, both by like poeticall or popish licence, to carie it to Stroude, and also to honour his great God Saint Thomas with it. But Hector Boetius (another Scot) looking better vpon the matter, sendeth

it home to Dorsetshyre againe, and saieth that it chaunced at Miglington there.

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These reportes (no doubt) be as true as Ouides historie of Diana, whome hee feigneth in great furie to haue bestowed vpon Actæon a Deeres head with mightie brow Anthlers. But, as Alexander Essebye and his followers might easily haue beene restrained to tell so fond a tale of Augustine, both by the silence of Beda, who writing of set purpose Augustines doings, and being nothing dainty of vaine miracles, reporteth yet no such thing of him, And also by the plaine speeche of William Malmesburie, who setting foorth the same reprochfull dealing against Augustine at Cerne in Dorsetshyre (a third place, for false witnesses doe seldome agree) hath yet neuer a worde of any such reuenge, but saieth plainly that the people afterward were sorie for it, and that Augustine pardoned the offence: Euen so Polydore might well haue spared to magnifie Becket with this lie, so farre off for the time, so incredible for the matter, and so slaunderous for the men, vnlesse he had brought his Talesman with him, seeing that neither the Quadriloge of Beckets life, nor the Legend (though neuer so full of lies) nor any other auncient historian (so farre as I can hitherto obserue) hath once reported it before him. Let the Westernmen therefore (if they will) thinke themselues pleased by Polydore, who taking (as you see) the miracle from Augustine applieth it to Becket, and so (remouing the infamous reuenge from them) laieth it vpon our men of Kent. But I dare pronounce, that Dorsetshyre, Kent, and each other part of the realme, is little beholden to

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Alexander and the rest, but least of all to Polydore, who haue amongst them brought to passe, that as Kentish men be heere at home merily mocked, so the whole English nation is in foreine countries abroad earnestly flowted, with this dishonourable note, in so much that many beleeeue as verily that we be Monsters and haue tailes by nature, as other men haue their due partes and members in vsuall maner. Behold heere one of the fruites of their spitefull miracles.

But yet, least any shoulde thinke that I did wrong, to charge another with vntrueth, and not to set downe the trueth my selfe, to the ende that all men might iudge of vs bothe, hearken (I pray you) what the Quadriloge (or foure mans tale, of Beckets life and death) and the new Legende also haue left vs of this matter.

'A few daies (say they) before the Christmas, in which the Archbishop was slaine, he roade to London with a great troupe (minding to haue visited his prouince) where albeit that he was ioyfully receaued of the common sort and of the citizens also, yet the Kings sonne streightly enioyned him to proceede no further, but to returne to Canterbury againe, the which also he did accordingly. Afterward, one Robert Brock (a man of the Clergie, and

dwelling in Canterbury) meeting by chauce with a horse of the Archbishops that carried certeine stuffe of his kitchin (or Scullerie) did cut off the taile of the beast in despite of the maister: who (vp= on the vnderstanding thereof) stepped the next day

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(which was Christmas day) into the pulpit at Canterbury, and there, 'ferus, indignabundus, ardens, & audens' (the very woordes of the Quadriloge) all fierce, wrothe, fierie, and bolde, excommunicated Brock for his labour, as he did sundry others also (by name) that had griued him in his absence out of the realme. And this excommunication (say they) was of such force, that the very dogs vnder the table wherat Brock sate, would not once touch, and much lesse taste, any bread that he had fingered, no not although it were mingled with other bread that neuer came in his handes:' But of any tailles, or other reuenge, not one woord haue these men.

And truly, albeit this which they say be a good deale more than I may with any reason desire you to beleuee (vnlesse happily I would haue you think, that their excommunication is meeter punishment for dogs than for men, since Brock, so far as they tell, neuer forbare his meate for it, (whatsoever the dogs did) yet could not Polydore be contented so to exemplifie it, but he must needes lash out further, and contend to outly the lowdest Legendaries. Whereof if you yet doubt, conferre (I pray you) his report with theirs, and it shall resolue you.

He saieth, that Becket was contemned of the common sort; they say, that he was much made of: he saieth, that such as dwelt about Stroude, did the shrewd turne, they say that Robert Brock, which dwelt at Canterbury, committed it: he speaketh of many, they but of one: he telleth vs of the common people, they of a clergie man, their owne an=

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nointed: he affirmeth it to be done at Stroude, they about Canterburie: hee will haue it of prepensed purpose, they of sudden chauce: he saieth it was the horse that the Archbishop roade vpon, they that it was a poore beast which caried spits, dishes, or dripping pannes: So that (omitting other contrarieties) either many must be one, the common sort must become the clergie, Stroude must be Canterbury, determinate deuice must be sudden hap, and finally the Archbishop must bee but kitchin= stuffe, or else Polydore must be attainted of lying by these fiue witnesses.

It seemeth, that he himselfe was afraide that issue might be taken vpon this matter, and therefore he ascribeth it to certeine families which he nameth not: And yet (to leaue it the more incerteine) he saieth, that they also be long since worne out, and sheweth not when: And so, affirming hee cannot tell of whome, nor when, he goeth about (in great earnest) to make the world beleuee he cannot tell what.

But (will some man say) although he misse in the manner and circumstaunces of the thing done,

whereof he might thinke it no great necessitie to be much carefull: yet he may hit in the matter and substance, that is to say, in the plague ensuing, which is the very marke whereat he aimed.

Truely there is no cause to trust him in the sequel, that is found vntrustie in the premises: Nevertheless, for mine owne part I thinke for all this that he hath saide well, in telling us that the posteritie

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borne of such as curtailed S. Thomas horse, were afterwarde plagued with tailes for it: And this forsoothe may be the mysterie. It is commonly saide, and not without good cause beleueed that 'Maidens children, and Bachelers wiues bee euer well taught and nurtured:' and no marueile, for neither hath the one sort any children, nor the other any wiues at all. After the very same figure and phrase, may Polydore's speech be verified also. For (as you see well) Brock alone did this great acte, who (being one of the clergie) could haue no wife, and then (if he liued without a concubine) he could leaue none issue behind him: and so Polydore might safely say, that all they which came of him, had not onely tailes like beastes, but also feete like fowles, scales like fishes, or whatsoever other vnkindly partes, that might make vp a fit picture for Horace and his friends to be merrie withall.

But (in earnest) I doe not thinke, that he meant thus, and much lesse doe I beleue that hee did but seeke for a byword that might be a match or fellow for (Coglioni di Bergamo) The Collions of Bergamo, that scoffe of Italie, his owne countrie: nay rather, it is plaine that he had another purpose in it. For (as the Prouerbe is) 'Cauda de vulpe testatur,' the taile is enough to bewray the foxe, And his words, ('Bonum patrem,' the good father) do euidently shew, that he would not sticke to straine a point, so that he might glorifie Saint Thomas thereby. He had forgotten the lawe whereunto an Historien is bounden, 'Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non au-

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deat,' That he should be bolde to tell the trueth, but yet not so bold as to tell an vntrueth: Neither did he remember that he himselfe had told the King in his Preface to his booke, that sincere trueth, and olde wiues tales, doe not agree.

I doe gladly graunt, that his Historie is a worke, whether you will respect the Stile and Methode thereof, or the Storie and matter, excepting the places blemished with such and some other follies: the which, since he inserted many times, without all choice or discretion, he must be read of the wiser sort, and that not without great suspition and warynesse. For, as he was by office collectour of the Peter pence to the Popes gaine and lucre: So sheweth he himselfe thorowout by practice, a couetous gatherer of lying Fables, fayned to aduaunce, not Peters, but the Popes owne religion, kingdome, and Miter.

the holsome lowe place, or  
Medowe.

Many Kings  
at once, in  
Kent.

I haue seene in an auncient booke (con=teining the donations to the See of Rochester, collected by Ernulphus the Bishop there, and intituled 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi') a Chartre of Ecgbert (the fourth christened King of Kent) by the which he gaue to Dioram the Bishop of Rochester tenne ploughlandes in Halling, together with certaine

778.

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Denes in the Weald, or common wood. To the which Chartre, there is (amongst others) the sub=scription of leanbert the Archbishop, and of one Heahbert, a King of Kent also, as **he** is in that booke tearmed. Which thing I note for two speciall causes, the one to shewe, that about that age there were at one time in Kent, moe Kinges than one: The other, to manifest and set fourth the manner of that time in signing and subscribing of Deedes and Chartres: a fashion much different from the in=sealing that is vused in these our daies. And as touching the first, I my selfe woulde haue thought, that the name King, had in that place been but only the title of a second magistrate (as Prorex, or Vice=roy) substituted vnder the very King of the country for administration of iustice in his aide or absence: sauing that I reade plainly in another Chartre, of another donation of Eslingham (made by Offa the King of Mercia, to Eardulfe, the Bishop of the same See) that he proceeded in that his gift, by the con=sent of the same Heahbert, the king of Kent, and that one Sigaered also (by the name of 'Rex dimidiæ partis prouinciæ Cantuariorum') both confirmed it by writing, and gaue possession by the deliuerie of a clod of earth, after the manner of seison that wee yet vse. Neither was this true in Heahbert onely, for it is euident by sundry Chartres, extant in the same Booke, that Ealbert the King of Kent, had Ethelbert (another King) his fellow, and partener: who also in his time was ioyned in reigne with one Eardulfe, that is called, 'Rex Cantuariorum,' as well

764.

Liuerie of  
Seisine.

<318>

738.

762.

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as he. So that, for this season, it should seeme, that either the kingdome was diuided by discent, or els, that the title was litigious and in controuersie, though our histories (so farre as I haue seene) haue mention of neither.

The old man=ner of Sig=ning & Sea=ling of deeds.

This olde manner of signing and subscribing, is (in my fantasie) also not vnworthie the obserua=tion: wherein we differ from our auncestors, the Saxons, in this, that they subscribed their names (commonly adding the signe of the crosse) toge=ther with a great number of witnesses: And we, for more suretie, both subscribe our names, put **to** our seales, and vse the help of testimonie besides. That former fashion continued throughout **without any sealing, euen** vntill the time of the conquest by the Normans, whose manner by little and little at the length preuailed amongst vs. For the first sealed

Chartre in England, that euer I read of, is that of king Edward the Confessors 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 cuntry custome (as naturally all nations doe) reiected the manner that they found heere, and retained their owne, as Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croyland, which came in with the conquest, witnesseth, saying: 'Normanni, cheirographorum confectio- nem, cum crucibus aureis, & aliis signaculis sacris, in Anglia firmari solitam, in ceræ impressionem mutant, mo- dumque scribendi Anglicum reiciunt.' The Normans

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(saith he) doe chaunge the making of writings, which were woont to be firmed in Englande with Crosses of golde and other holy signes, into the printing with waxe: and they reiect also the manner of the English writing. Howbeit, this was not done all at once, but it increased and came forward by certein steps and degrees, 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 part) and none other: which thing a man may see in the historie of Battell Abbie, where Richard Lucy chiefe lustice of Englande, in the time of King Henrie the seconde, is reported to haue blamed a meane subiect, for that he vsed a priuate seale, when as that pertained (as he said) to the King, and Nobilitie onely. At which time also (as Iohn Rosse noteth it) they vsed to engrave in their seales, their owne pictures and counterfeits, couered with a long cote ouer their armours. But after this, the Gentlemen of the better sort tooke vp the fashion, and bicause they were not all warriours, they made seales of their seueral coates or sheeldes of armes, for difference sake, as the same author reporteth. At the length, about the time of King Edwarde the thirde, Seales became very common, so that not only such as bare armes vsed to seale, but other men also fashioned to themselves signets of their owne devise, some taking the letters of their owne names, some flowers, some knots and flourishes, some birds, or beasts, and some other things, as we now yet daily behold in vse.

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I am not ignoraunt, that some other manner of sealings besides these, hath been heard of amongst vs, as namely that of King Edwarde the thirde, by which he gaue,

To Norman the Hunter, the hop and the hop towne,  
with all the boundes vp side downe:

And in witnes, that it was soothe,

He bitt the waxe withe his fong toothe:

And that of Alberic de Veer also, containing the donation of Hatfielde, to the which he affixed a shorte blacke hafted knife, like vnto an olde halpenny whittle, in stead of a seale: and such others, of which happily 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 custome, and that they were not rather the deuises and pleasures of a few singuler persons, he is no lesse de= ued, than such as deeme euery Chartre and writing that hath no seale annexed, to be as ancient as the Conquest: whereas (indeede) sealing was not com= monly vsed till the time of King Edward the third, as I haue already tolde you.

1184.

Thus farre, by occasion of this olde Chartre, I am straied from the historie of Halling, of which I finde none other reporte in writing, saue **this, first** that in the reigne of King Henrie the seconde, Ri= charde the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immedi= ate successour to Thomas the Archtraitour of this Realme, ended his life in the mansion house there, which then was, and yet continueth, parcell of the possessions of the See of Rochester: The circum=

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stance and cause of which his death and depar= ture, I will reserue till I come to Wrotham, where I shall haue iust occasion to discover it.

Then, that Hamon of <sup>†</sup>Hothe (Bishop of Roche= ster, and Confessor to King Edward the second) rai= sed from the ground that Hall and high Front of the Bishops <sup>†</sup>place which now standeth, reedified the Mill at Holboroe neare vnto it, and repaired the rest of the buildings here, as he did at Trosclif also, which is another Manor house belonging to the same See. At this place of the Bishop in Hal= ling, I am drawing on the last Scæne of my life, where God hath giuen me 'Liberorum Quadrigam,' all the fruite that euer I had.

As touching that Holboroe (or rather Holan= bergh) it lieth in Snodland, pertaining likewise to the same Bishop, and tooke the name of beorh, or the Hill of buriall, standing ouer it: in throwing downe a part whereof (for the vse of the chalke) my late Neighbour, Maister Tylghman discovered in the very Centre thereof, 'Vrnam cineribus plenam,' an earthen pot filled with ashes, an assured token of a Romane Monument: the like whereof (as Twyne writeth) was in the reigne of King Henrie the eight digged vp at Barham downe, by Sir Christopher Hales, sometime Master of the Rolles.

<1590:74-5>

And now, for want of a Bridge at Halling, wee may vse the Fery, and touch at Woldham, giuen by Ethelbert King of Kent, to Erdulph Bishop of Rochester in the yeere 751. and yet parcell of the possessions of the Cathedrall Church there. It is

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the same in deede, that it hath in name wolde, a faire downe (or Hill) without bush, or wood, opposite to wealde, which is a lowe woodie region: of the same reason, those large champaignes of Yorkswold, and Cotswolde, tooke their appellation also. But since here is none other thing woorthy Note, let vs make towards Ailesforde: for there may you see the most assured marke of great Antiquitie, that we haue within the Shyre of Kent.



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Ailesforde, or Eilesforde, called in Bryttish (as Master Camden citeth out of Nennius) Sassenaighai Bail, of the ouerthrowe of the Saxons, called in some Saxon copies, Egelesford, that is, the Foorde, or passage ouer the Riuer Egle, or Eile: or rather the passage at Eccles which is a place in this parish: In others Angelesford, which is, the passage of the Angles, or English men. It is falsly tearmed of some, Alencester, of some Allepord, and of others Aelstrea, by deprauation of the writers out of the sundry copies as I suspect.

<1586:169>

455.

Within a feweees after the arriual of the Saxons, the Britons (perceiuing that Vortiger their King was withdrawn by his wife from them, and drawn to the part of their enimies) 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 giuen at this place, and discomfiting

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the residue) they first chased them from hence, as farre as Tanet (in memorie of which flight, happily this place, was called Anglesford, that is, the passage of the Angles or Saxons) and after that compelled them to forsake the lande, to take shipping towarde their owne countrie, and to seeke a newe supplie: Howbeit, as in warre and battaile, the victorie is commonly deere bought and paid for: So in this selfe conflicte (otherwise verie fortunate) the death of Horsa was recompensed with the losse of Categern, one of the brothers of King Vortimer. And truely, had not the vntimely death of King Vortimer himselfe also immediately succeeded, it was to be hoped, that the Saxons should neuer after haue returned into this lland.

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But the want of that one man, both quailed the courage of the Britons, gaue newe matter of stomacke to the Saxons to repaire their forces, and brought vpon this Realme an alteration of the whole Estate and Gouernment. The Britons neuerthelessse in the meane space followed their victorie (as I saide) and returning from the chase, erected to the memorie of Categerne (as I suppose) that monument of foure huge and hard stones, which are yet standing in this parish, pitched vpright in the ground, couered after the manner of Stonage (that famous Sepulchre of the Britons vpon Salisbury plaine) and now tearmed of the common people heere Citscotehouse. For I cannot so much as suspect, that this should be that, which Beda and the others (of whom I spake in Chetham

Citscote= house in Tottington ground.

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before) do assigne to be the Tombe of Horsa, which also was there slaine at the same time: partly because this fashion of monument was peculiar to the Britons, of which nation Categerne was, but chiefly for that the memorie of Horsa was by all likelihood left at Horsted, a place not farre off, and

both then and yet so called of his name, as I haue already tolde you.

893. There landed within the Realme in the time of Alfred, two great swarmes of Danish Pyrates, whereof the one arriued neare Winchelsey, with two hundreth and fiftie saile of Ships, and passing along that riuer fortified at Apledore, as wee haue shewed before: The other entred the Thamise, in a fleete of eighty saile, wherof part encamped them= selues at Midleton on the other side 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 <sup>r</sup>dapart the Realme, and neuer after to vnquiet it. That done, he marched with his armie against those other also.

And bicause he vnderstood, that they had diuided themselues, and spoiled the Countrie in sundrie partes at once, he likewise diuided his armie, inten= ding (the rather by that meane) to meete with them in some one place or other: which when they hearde of, and perceiued that they were vnmeete to in= counter him in the face, they determined to passe ouer the Thamise, and to ioyne with their countrymen in Essex, of whose discomfiture they had as yet re=

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Fernham. The Danes compelled to take the Thamise. <323>

ceiued no tydings. But when they came at a place in this parish, called (both now and aunci= ently) Fernham, that is, the ferny Towne, or dwel= ling, one part of the Kings power couragiously charged them, and finding them giuen to flight, fol= lowed the chase vpon them so fiercely, that they were compelled to take the Thamise without boate or bridge, in which passage there were a great num= ber of them drowned, the residue hauing ynough to doe to saue their owne liues, and to conuey ouer their Capitaine, that had receiued a deadly wound.

1016. The Danes, are chased from Ot= forde. Earle Edric, an infamous traitor.

No lesse notable was that other chase, wherein (many yeeres after) Edmond Ironside, most fiercely pursued the Danes from Otforde to this towne: in which also (as some write) he had giuen them an ir= reparable ouerthrowe, had he not (by **the** fraudu= lent, and traitorous persuasion of one Edric, then Duke of Mercia (or middle Englande) and in the Saxon speech surnamed, for his couetousnes, Streo= na, that is to say, the Getter, or gatherer) with= drawne his foote, and spared to follow them.

No doubt, but that it is many times a part of good wisdom, and warlike policie, not to pursue ouer fiercely thine enimie that hath already turned his backe towards thee, least thou compell him to make vertue of that necessitie, and he (turning his face againe) put thee in daunger to be ouercome thy selfe, which before haddest in thine owne hande assurance to ouerthrowe him: In which behalfe, it was well saide of one, 'Hosti fugienti, pons aureus faci= endus;' If thine enimie will flie, make him a bridge

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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 peril, but rather of feare lest the whole armie of Canutus should be ouerrun and destroyed, he is iustly taxed for this, and other his treasons by our ancient historians, who also make report of the worthy reward, that in the end he receiued for al his trechery.

A noble example of King Edmunde Ironside.

For, this was he (as William Malmesburie writeth, though some others ascribe it to his sonne) that afterwarde (when these two Kings had by composition diuided the Realme betweene them) most villanously murdered King Edmonde at Oxford, and was therefore done to death by King Canutus: who, in that one act shewed singular arguments, both of rare iustice, and of a right noble hart: Of iustice, for that he would not winke at the fault of him, by whose meanes he obtained the Monarchie of the whole realme: and of great Nobilitie of minde, in that he plainly declared himselfe, to esteeme more of his owne honor, than of another mans Crowne and Scepter, and to haue digested quietly, that impatiencie of a partner in kingdome, which great Alexander thought as intolerable as two sunnes in the world at once: and which Romulus could in no wise brooke, since he would not suffer one kingdome to content him and Remus, whome one belly had contained before.

<324>

There was at Ailesforde, a house of Carmelite and preaching Friars, the foundation whereof is by a Recorde ascribed to Richard the Lorde Gray of

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Codnor, in the time of King Henrie the third, vpon whom the same King had bestowed the Manor it selfe, which (in assurance that it was sometime of the demeanes of the Crowne) is yet knowne to be Auncient Demesne. I finde neuerthelesse, that in the time of king Iohn (father to this Henrie) one Osbert Gipford gaue him forty markes, 'pro habendo recto de Manerio de Elleisforde, quod Willmus de Caen, ei defarciat. (Rotul. fin. 9. Ioannis)' which I note for two reasons: the one to shew that it was aliened from the Crowne before the daies of Henrie the third: the other, for prooffe of the Antiquitie of Fines paid vpon the purchase of Writs Original.

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Malling, in Saxon, Mealing, of Mealu ing, that is, the Lowe place flourishing with meale, or Corne, for so it is euery where accompted.

This Towne 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 fifty yeeres after which time, Gundulphus (a successour in that See, as you haue read before) hauing amplified the buildings, and multiplied the number of the Monkes in his owne Citie, raised an Abbay of women here also: which (being dedicate to the name of the Blessed Virgin) during all his life he gouerned himselfe,

The Abbay.

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and lying at the point of death, he recommended to

the charge of one Auice (a chosen woman) to whom notwithstanding he would not deliuer the Pasto= rall staffe, before she had promised Canonically Obedience, **and** fidelitie, to the See of Rochester, and **had** protested by othe, that there should neither Abbasse nor Nonne, be from thencefoorth receiued into the house, without the consent and priuitie of him, and his successors.

1106.  
The Solaces,  
of Sole life.  
<326>

Now, whether this 'Rus propinquum,' and poli=tique prouision, were made of a blinde zeale that the man had to aduance superstition, or of a vaine glorie to increase authoritie in his succession, or els of a foresight that the Monkes (which were for the most part called Monachi, of Sole liuing, by the same rule, that Montes haue their name of remoo=ing) might haue a conuenient place to resort vn=to, and where they might ('Caute,' at the least) quench the heats, kindled of their good cheare and idlenes, God knoweth, and I will not iudge: But well I wote, that this was a very common practise in Pa=pistry: for as S. Augustines had Sepulchres: S. Albans Sopewell: Shene Sion: the knights of the Rodes, the Nonnes of Clerkenwell: all adioyning, or sub=iect to such obedience: **euen** so Sempringham, and some other of that sort, had bothe Male an<d> Female within one house, and wall together, the world be=ing (in the meane while) borne in hand, that they were no men, but Images, as Phryne said sometime of Xenocrates. The house was valued in the Recordes, at 218. poundes of yeerely reuenewe.

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The termina=  
tions, of the  
names of  
townes.

The name **hath** (as you see) his termination in (ing) which betokeneth plainly that it hath a low scitua=tion: for (ing) signifieth a lowe ground, or medow, and so remaineth knowen in the North countrie of England till this present daie: of which reason also, the names of Halling, Berling, Yalding, and others heere at <sup>r</sup>haude, were at the first framed to ende in (ing) as this doth. For, as a Name is nothing else, but a worde appointed by consent of men to signifie a thing: Euen so, the Saxons our auncestors endeored to fashion their names of places after a certaine naturall force and reason, taken from the scituation of the place it selfe (most commonly) 'Vt fons, vt nemus, vt campus placuit,' as Tacitus saieith of the olde Germanes.

And hereof it falleth out, that a man (but meanly exercised in their language) may (for the most part) as readily vnderstand the Scite, or soile, of their townes by the onely sounde of the name, as by the verie sight of the place it selfe.

For prooffe wherof, let vs (if you will) take some of those names (or rather Terminations of names) that be most vsuall in this Shyre.

Ford.

Crayford, Dertford, Ailesford, Ashford, and such like, ending in (Ford) do manifestly bewraye, that they be passages ouer those Riuers by which they do stande. For (Ford) in olde English, is the same that (Vadum) is in Latine, the one being deriued of (faran) and the other of (Vado) both signifying, to go, or to wade, ouer.

dene, and  
dune.

Dene with them, betokeneth a valley, and Dune

a hill: and heereof the lowe townes in the Weald, as Mardene, Smardene, Bydendene, Haldene, Tyn=terdene, and others, do beare their name of the one: And among high placed villages, as Kingsdowne, Luddesdowne, and the Boughdownes (though commonly called and written Boughtons) do reteine their calling of the other.

Hyrst. Of hyrst, signifying a woode, Ashehyrst, Spel=hyrst, Lamberhyrst, Gowdhyrst, Hawkhyrst, and the names of many other wooddie parishes haue gotten their last Syllable: And of Stæð, denoting the banke of a riuier, Plumstede, Brastede, Chepstede, Nettlestede, and their fellowes, haue gained the like.

Steth.

Ea. Ea, which meaneth water, and which we nowe sounde (ey) closeth vp the names of many marrish groundes and waterish places, as of Hartey, Stur=rey, Oxney, and (besides others) of Rumney it selfe:

Leah. The like may be affirmed of leah, a pasture, which we now likewise call (ley) being the last particle of Tudeley, Langley, Pluckley, and of many other good pastures and feedings.

I must purposely omit a number, that ende in Brooke, Boorne, Bridge, Land, Field, Hill, Dale, Clif, Woode, and such like, whereof no English man can doubt, that vnderstandeth his mothers tongue.

Neither may I stand here to boult out the whole Etymologie (or reason) of euery Townes name: For, to speake of the first sort, it were altogether needelesse, seeing that euery man perceaueth what they meane as well as I: And, to attempt the latter, it were vtterly endlesse, since they carie (almost)

so many diuers matters as they be seueral names: some of them being drawn from the proper callings of men, some from the nature of the soile, some from the coast and manner of the scite, and some from some other causes, which it were not onely infinite to rehearse, but also impossible to disclose at this day.

And therefore, as I ment at the first to giue you but a taste of this matter: So, for an end thereof, I wil leaue you one note, which may not only leade you along this shyre, but also guide you (in manner) throughout the whole Realme, to discerne (probably) of the degrees and dignitie that towns and dwelling places had during the time of the auncient Saxons here, howsoeuer since their daies the same be changed, some to the better, some to the worse, and some from all maner of habitation.

How to discerne of townes, by the ending of their names.  
Bye,  
tun,

wic,

Such therefore, as were then numbred in the inferiour sort and degree, are commonly founde to haue their names to ende, either in Bye, Tun, Wic, Ham, or Sted. Bye, signified a dwelling, as Byan, did to dwell: Tun, which we nowe sounde (Ton) and (Towne) was deriuied of their woorde (Tynan) to tyne, or inclose with a hedge: Wic and Wice (for they bothe be one) was vsed for a place vpon the edge of the Sea or Riuier, and was borrowed of the Latine woord (Vicinus) though it be spoken Wic: for the Saxons (hauing no single v consonant in all

their Alphabet) vsed to sound it as double w: ma= king of Vinum, Ventus, and Via, Wine, Wynd, and Way.

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ham, Ham, properly signified a Couering, and (by Metaphore) a house that couereth vs: This woord, we here call (Home:) but the Northren men (not swaruing so farre from the Originall) sounde it still (Heam.)

Sted, Finally, by (Sted) they meant a seate, or standing by a Riuer, deriuing it (happily) from the Latine woord (Status:) and by Thorpe, or Dorpe, a village, yet vsed in the lower Germanie.

ceastre, Againe, such towns and dwellings as then were of greater price and estimation (either for the woor= thinesse of the owner, or for the multitude of the inhabitants, or for the strength or beautie of the building it selfe) had their names shut vp com= monly with one of these fiue particles, Ceaster, Bi= ry, Burgh, Healle, or Weorth: Chester, denoted a walled or fortified place, being the same both in woorde and weight that the Latine (Castrum) is:

byrig, Bury, or Biry (then byrig) was vsed for a court, or burh, place of assembly: Burh (now also Burgh, and som= times Burrough) is none other in sounde or sub= stance, than <pyrgos> in Greeke, which we now call a

healle, Towre, of the Latine name (Turris:) Healle, or (as we now speake it) Hall, is all one with the Latine Aula, or Greeke <aulē>: Weorth (which also is now spoken, Woorth) signified Atrium, a base court, or yarde, such as is commonly before the better sorte of houses. And thus much generally, and for this purpose, may suffice: For, to deale thorowly herein, belongeth rather to a peculiar Dictionarie, than to this kinde of treatie and discourse.

weorp, which some deriue of the German word (werd) a poole.

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Bockinfolde commonly: but truly buccenweald, that is, either the Wood of Buckes, or of Beeches: for the Mast of Beeche is called Bucke also.

King Edward the second, being (in the 19. yeere of his reigne) vpon the way towards Fraunce, for the dooing of his Homage, due for his Duchie of Aquitane, suddenly drewe backe his foote, and withdrewe himselfe to this place, where he reposed him somewhile, and caused many to bee endited for their vnlawfull Huntings. The same time, his ghostly Father (or Confessour) Hamon the Bishop of Rochester, sent him thither a present of his drinkes, and withall both wine and grapes of his owne growth in his vineyarde at Halling, which is now a good plaine meadoe.

Combwelle: that is, the spring in the place betweene two hilles.

Robert of Thurnham was the Author and founder of the Abbay of Comb= well and Friers there, in the reigne of

King Henrie the seconde, for the Honour (as he thought) of Saint Mary, and therefore bestowed his landes vpon it. And king Henrie the thirde, not onely confirmed that gift of his, but moreouer vouchsafed to the Prior

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and Chanons there his owne graunt of a Faire by two daies together, on the feast and morow of S. Mary Magdalene yeerely. The yeerely reuennue hath appeered before, and more I had not to speak of this place.

<333> Ashyrst, in Saxon, Ascehyrst, that is, the Wood of Ashes.

The Roode of Ashyrst, was a growing Idol.

In the Southeast corner of this shire, towarde the confines of Sussex and Surrey, lieth Ashyrst, a place nowe a daies so obscure (**being little better than** a Towne of two houses) that it is not woorthy the visiting: but yet in olde time so glorious for a Roode which it had of rare proprietie, 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 could not then make the worlde to beleeeue?) that the Roode (or Crucifix) of this church, did by certaine increments continually wax and growe, 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 wheras **before time** the fruits of the Benefice were hardly able to susteine the Incumbent, now by the benefite of this inuention (which was in papistrie, 'Nouum genus aucupii') the Parson there, was not onely furnished by the offe=

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ring to liue plentifully, but also well aided toward the making of a **rich** Hoorde.

<334> But as Ephialtes, and Oetus, the sonnes of Neptune who (as the Poets feigne) waxed nine inches euery moneth, **were so** heaued vp with the opinion, and conceite of their owne length and hautinesse, **that they** assaulted heauen, intending to haue pulled the Gods out of their places, and were therefore shot thorowe, and slaine with the arrowes of the Gods: Euen so, when Popish idolatrie was growne to the ful 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, **euen** then this growing Idoll and all his fellowes, were so deadly wounded, with the heauenly arrowes of the word of God (Qui non dabit gloriam suam sculptilibus, **which will not giue ouer his glorie to any grauen workmanship,**) that soone after they gaue up the ghost, and left vs.

<327> Tunbridge, called (**after Mathew Par.**) Thunnebrugg, corruptly for tonebrycge, that is, the Bridge ouer Tone: but if it be truely written tunbrycge, then it signifieth, the towne

of Bridges, as in deede it hath many.

The Castle. Although I finde no mention of Tunbridge in that copie of Domesdaye booke (which I haue seen) concerning the description of this Shyre: yet reade I in historie, that there was a

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Castle at Tunbridge soone after the Conquest, if not euen at the same time when that booke was compiled.

1088. For, omitting that which Hector Boetius writeth concerning a battel at Tunbridge, wherin the Conquerour (as he saith) should preuaile against Harold, bicause it is euidently false and vntrue, vnlesse he meane it of the continuance of the chase after the fight euen to Tunbridge, I haue read, that at such time, as Odo (ioining 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 yeeld it. Happily this Odo (being the Kings vncler, and of great authoritie within the Shire, 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 yeeres together in the possession of the Earles of Clare, afterwards called of Gloucester.

<328-> 1163. For, in the daies 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 answer, affirming stoutly, that it was none of his, but the Kings owne, as a Lay Fee.

1215. Falcasius (a hired Souldiour, that was entertained by King Iohn, during the warres with his No-

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bilitie) tooke by force this Castle from the Earle of Gloucester, and kept it for a season to the Kings behoofe.

1231. King Henrie the thirde also, after the death of Gilbert the Earle of Gloucester, seised the Wardship of his Heire, and committed the custodie of this Castle to Hubert of Burgh: But Richarde the Archbishop (surnamed the great) being offended thereat, came to the King in great haste, and made his claime, by reason, that the Earle Gilbert died in his homage: the King gaue answere, that the whole Earledome was holden of him, and that hee might lawfully commit 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 realm, 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 execu-



The Clergie  
was lawlesse.

tion, by reason that he died in his returne towarde home. Yet you may here see, by the way, that in those daies, there was no Lawe in Englande to rule the proude Prelacie withall, no not so much, as in things meere Lay and temporall.

1259.

The same King Henrie graunted to Richarde Clare, Earle of Gloucester and Hereforde, licence to Wall, and Embattell his Towne of Tunbridge, by these woordes in that Charter, 'Claudere muro, & kernellare:' which latter woord, being made Latine out of the French 'Charneaux,' signifieth that inden=

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ted forme of the top of a Wall which hath Vent, and Creast, commonly called Embatteling; bicause it was very seruiceable in fight to the defendant within, who might at the loopes (or lower places) annoy the enimie that assailed him, and might with= all shrowd himselfe vnder the higher partes, as vn= der the fauour of a shield.

This manner of warlike Wall, was euermore prohibited within this realme, for feare of inwarde Sediton, and was therefore (amongst many other Articles) inquirable before the Escheatour, by the woordes, 'De domibus carnellatis,' which I the rather note, bicause I haue knowen many to stumble at it.

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Concerning this entended Wall at Tunbridge, either the Earle did nothing therein, or that which he did is now inuisible, and come to naught. But the same king Henrie, within foure yeeres after, and not long before the Battaile at Lewys in Sussex, hauing burned the Citie of Rochester, suddenly also surprised this Castle at Tunbridge, 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 Priorie  
at Tunbridge.

1558.

There was sometime neare to this Castle, a Priorie, 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 liberalitie of Sir Andrew Iudde, a Citizen and Maior of London, which submitted the same to the order and ouersight of the

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company of Skinners there, whereof himselfe had beene a member. Neither may I with silence slippe ouer, the great stone causey, raised at the end of the towne in the high way towardes London, by the charitable charges of Iohn Wilforde another citizen of London, almost thirty yeeres before.

The Lowy of  
Tunbridge.

Round about the Towne of Tunbridge, lieth a territory, or compasse of ground, commonly called the Lowy, but written in the auncient Records and Histories Leucata, or Leuga, and being (indeede) a French League of ground, which (as I finde in the Chronicles of Normandie) was allotted at the first vpon this occasion following. There was in Normandie, a Towne (and lande thereunto adjoining) called Bryonnie, which was of the auncient possession of the Dukedome, and had continually remained in the hands of the Dukes there, till such

time as Richard (the second Duke of that name) gave it amongst other Landes to Godfrey, his natural brother, for his advancement in living.

This Godfrey enjoyed it all his life, and left it to one Gislebert his sonne (which happily was Gilbert the Capitaine of Tunbridge Castle, of whome we had mention before) who also held it so long as he lived. But after the death of Gislebert, Robert (the Duke of Normandy, and eldest Sonne to king William the Conquerour) being earnestly laboured to bestowe it vpon one Robert, Earle Mellent (whose offspring were sometimes Earles of Leicester within this Realme) seized it into his owne hands, pretending to vntite it to the Dukedome

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again. But when Richard (the Sonne of Gislebert) vnderstoode of this, he put to his claime, and making his title by a long continued possession (euen from Godfrey his grandfather) so encountered the suite of Earle Mellent, that to stoppe Richards mouth 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 receiue in recompence, the Towne of Tunbridge in England, and so much lande about it, as Bryonnie it selfe contained in circuite.

And to the ende that the indifferencie of the dealing might appeere, and his full satisfaction be wrought, they caused Bryonnie and the land about it to be measured with a line, which they afterward brought ouer with them into England, and applying the same to Tunbridge and the land adjoining, laid him out the very like in **precinct and** 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 hands of the Earles of Gloucester, betweene whome, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, there arose oftentimes contention, both for the limits of this league, and for the preeminence of their priuileges. At the last, Boniface the Archbishop (next but one in succession after Richard, of whome we spake before)

1264.

42. Hen. 3.

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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 bounds was brought to an end.

But as touching their priuileges, and iurisdiction in the place, it fel out by inquisition in the time of King Edward following, that the Archbishop had nothing to do within the league, that the Earle had returne of Writs, creation of certaine Officers, an especiall sessions in Eire, &c. most of which things the Towne hath not these many yeeres enjoyed.

<331>

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, Vielstone, Horsmund, Melyton, and Pettys, of the Archbishop and his successours, by the seruice of foure knights fees, and to be high Stewardes, and high Butlers, to the Archbishops at the great feast of their inthronizations, taking for their seruice in the Stewardship, seuen competent Robes of Scarlet, thirtie gallons of wine, 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 Archbishops in that Feast, and at their departure the diet of three daies 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

4<2>8

of Butlership, other seuen like robes, twenty gallons of wine, fifty pounce of waxe, like liuery for threescore Horses by two nights, the cup wherewith the Archbishops shoulde be serued, all the emptie hogsheds of drinke, and (for sixe tunne of wine) so many as should be drunke vnder the barre also.

The Archbishops, hath an Earle to his Butler.

<332>  
1295.

The Articles of which their composition, were afterward accordingly performed: first betweene Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, and Robert Winchelsey the Archbishop: next betweene the same Earle, and the Archbishop Reignoldes: Then betweene Hugh Audley the Earle of Gloucester, and the Archbishop Iohn Stratford: After that, betweene the Earle of Stafford (to whome the Lordship of Tunbridge at the length came) and Simon Sudbury Archbishop, in that See: and lastly betweene William Warham the Archbishop, and Edward the late Duke of Buckingham, who also executed the Stewardship in his owne person, and the Butlership by his deputy sir Thomas Burgher Knight: the whole pompe, and ceremony whereof, I haue seene at greater length set fourth, and described, than is meete for this time and place to be recounted.

1504.

<335>

Depeforde, in Latine, Vadum profundum, and in auncient Euidences, West Greenewiche.

This towne, being a frontier betweene Kent and Surrey, was of none estimation at all, vntill that King Henrie the eight, aduised (for the better preseruacion of

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the Royall Fleete) to erect a Storehouse, and to creat certaine officers there: these he incorporated by the name of the Maister and Wardeins of the Holie Trinitie, for the building, keeping, and conducting, of the Nauie Royall.

The Masters of the Nauie Roiall.

There was lately reedified, a fayre wooden bridge also, ouer the Brooke called Rauensbourne, which riseth not farre off, at Hollowoods hill, in the parish of Kestane, and setting on woorke some Corne milles, and one for the glasing of Armour, slippeth by this Towne into the Thamyse, carying

continually matter of a great Shelve with it.

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Greenewiche, in Latine, Viridis sinus: in Saxon  
grenawic, that is to say, the Greene Towne. In ancient  
evidences, Eastgreenewiche, for difference sake  
from Depford, which in olde Instruments  
is called Westgreenewiche.

In the time of the turmoiled King  
Ethelred, the whole fleete of the Danish  
army lay at roade two or three  
yeeres together before Greenwich:  
And the souldiours, for the most part,  
were incamped vpon the hill about the town, now  
called Blackheath.

1011.

Ælphrey, the  
Archbishop  
was cruelly  
slaine.

During this time, they pearced this whole coun=  
trie, sacked and spoiled the Citie of Canterburie,  
and brought from thence to their ships, Aelphrey,  
the Archbishop. And here, a Dane (called Thrum)  
whome the Archbishop had confirmed in Christia=  
nity

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the day before, strake him on the head behinde  
and slew him, because he would not condescend to  
redeeme his life with three thousand pounds, which  
the people of the Citie and Diocesse were conten=  
ted to haue giuen for his raunsome: Neither would  
the rest of the souldiours suffer his body to be com=  
mitted to the earth, after the maner of Christian  
decencie, till such time (saith William of Malmesb.)  
as they perceiued that a dead stick, being annoin=  
ted with his blood, waxed suddenly greene againe,  
and began the next day to blossome. Which by all  
likelihood was gathered in the wood of Dea Feronia:  
for she was a Goddess, whome the Poets do phan=  
tasie to haue caused a whole woode (that was on  
fire) to waxe greene againe: of whom Vergile said,

Et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

<337>

32. Shyres in  
England.

But, referring the credit of that, and such other  
vnfruitful miracles (wherewith our auncient mon=  
kish stories doe swarme) to the iudgement of the  
godly and discrete Readers, most assured it is,  
that about the same time, such was the storme and  
furie of the Danish insatiable rauine, waste, spoile,  
and oppression, within this Realme besides, that  
of two and thirtie Shyres (into which number the  
whole was then diuided) they herried and ransac=  
ked sixteene, so that the people being miserably  
vexed, the King himselfe (to auoide the rage) first  
sent ouer the Seas his wife and children: after=  
ward compounded, and gaue them a yeerely tri=  
bute: and lastly for very feare forsooke the Realm,  
and fled into Normandie himselfe also.

1013.

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Great sumes  
of money pai=  
ed to the  
Danes.

They receiued (besides daily victuall) fourtie  
eight thousand poundes in readie coyne of the sub=  
iects of this Realme, whilest their King Swein li=  
ued: and twentie one thousand after his death vn=  
der his sonne Canutus: vpon the payment wherof,  
they made a corporall othe, to serue the King (as  
his feodaries) against all straungers, and to liue as  
freendes and allies without endamaging his sub=  
iects

iects.

1015. But howe little they performed promise, the harmes that daily followed in sundrie parts, and the exalting of Canutus their owne councountrieman to the honour of the Crowne, were sufficient witnesses.

<338> In memorie of this Campe, certaine places within this parish, are at this daie called Combes, namely Estcombe, Westcombe, and Midlecombe almost forgotten: For Comb and Compe in Saxon (being somewhat declined from Campus in Latine) signifieth a field or campe for an Arrie to sojourne in: And in memorie of this Archbishop Aelpheng, the parish Church at Greenewiche (being at the first, dedicated to his honour) remaineth known by his name euen till this present day.

Thus much of the antiquitie of the place: concerning the latter historie, I read, that it was soone after the conquest, parcell 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

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1416. Henrie the fift, seising into his handes (by occasion of warre) the landes of the Priors Aliens, bestowed it, together with the manor of Lewsham, and many other landes also, vpon the Priorie of the Chartrehouse Monkes of Shene, which he had then newly erected: to this it remained, vntill the time of the reigne of King Henrie the eight, who annexed it to the Crowne, wherunto it now presently belongeth.

The Priorie of Shene. The Obseruant or graye Friers, that sometime liued at Greenwiche (as Iohn Rosse writeth) came thither about the latter end of the reigne of King Edwarde the fourth, **where** they obtained **by the means of Sir William Corbrige (as some thinke)** a Chauntrie with a little Chapel of the holy crosse, a place yet extant in the towne: And (as **Polydore and Lilley say**) king Henrie the seuenth builded for them that house adioining to the Palaice, which is there yet to be seene. But, 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 ende 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, than honoured for his high estate and parentage) was the first that laid the foundations of the faire building in the towne, and towre in the Parke, and called it his Manor of pleasance.

<339> After him King Edwarde the fourth bestowed some cost to enlarge the worke: Henrie the seuenth

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followed, 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 progenitors in setting vp of sumptuous housing, so he spared no cost in garnishing Greenewiche, till he had made

1516. 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 gladsome Gouvernour, was likewise borne in this house: and his deere sonne king Edwarde (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his life in the same house.

One accident touching this house, and then an ende: it happened in the reigne of Queene Marie, that the Master of a Ship, passing by whilest the Court lay there, and meaning (as the manner and dutie is) with saile and shot to honour the Princes presence, vnaduisedly gaue fire to a peece, charged with a pellet in steede of a tampion, the which lighting on the Palaice wall, ranne through one of the priuie lodgings, and did no further harme.

<340> Blackheath, of the colour of the Earth, or blæcheap, of the high and cold situation: for bleake signifieth cold also.

Adioyning to Greenewiche, lieth the plaine, called (of the colour of the soile) Blackheathe, the which, besides the burthen of the Danish Campe (whereof we spake euen now) hath

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The rebellion of Iohn Tylar. 1380. borne three seuerall rebellious assemblies: One in the time of king Richarde the second, moued (as it shal appeere anon in Dartford) by Iohn Tylar, whom William Walworth, then Maior of London, slewe with his Dagger, in Smithfield: in memorie whereof, the Citie had giuen them (for increase of honour) a Dagger, to be borne in their shielde of armes for euer.

The rebellion of lack Cade. lack Cade (that counterfeit Mortimer) and his fellowes, were leaders of the second: who passing from hence to London, did to death the Lord Say, and others, in the time of king Henrie the sixt.

These two (besides other harmes, that vsually do accompanie the mutinie and vprore, of the common and rascal sort) defaced foully the Recordes and monuments, both of the lawe, and Armourie: the partes of Rolles remaining yet halfe brent, doe witnesse the one: And the Heralds vnskill (comming through the want of their olde bookes) is sufficient testimonie of the other.

The rebellion of the blacke Smith. The thirde insurrection was assembled by Michaell Ioseph (the black Smith) and the Lord Audley, vnder the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth: at which time, they and their complices receiued their iust desert, the common number of them being **discomfited and** slaine, and the leaders themselues taken, drawen, and hanged.

<341> Of this last there remaineth yet to be seene vpon the Heathe, the place of the Smithes Tent, called commonly his forge: And of all three, the graue hilles of such as were buried after the ouerthrowe.

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Graue hilles, or hillocks. These hillocks, in the West Countrie (where is no small store of the like) are called Barowes, of the

olde English word burghes, which signifieth Se=  
pulchres, or places of burying, which **last** woorde  
**Burying** (being a spring of that olde stocke) we doe  
yet reteine alieue.

The first and last of these commotions, were stir=  
red of grieffe that the common people conceaued,  
for the demaund of two subsidies, of which the one  
was vnreasonable, bicause it was taxed vpon the  
Polls, and exempted none: The other was vnsea=  
sonable, for that it was exacted, when the heads of  
the common people were full of Parkin Warbeck.

The third and midlemost, grew vpon a grudge,  
that the people tooke for yeelding vp the Duchie  
of Angeow, and Maynie, to the king of Sicil: The  
comming 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 Blackheath, wearing their red hoods,  
badges, and blew gownes: as in sequele, the mar=  
riage, and whole government it selfe, was knowen  
to be detested of the countrie Commons, by bea=  
ring 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 further thereof **now**,  
but crosse ouer the next way to Lesnes, and (prose=  
cuting the rest of the boundes of this Bishopricke)

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1415. take some other time and place for it. Leauing  
you neuerthesse to knowe, that Blackheath hath  
borne some other gorgeous and more pleasant  
spectacles: as that of king Henrie the fift, when he  
receaued Sigismund the Emperour: and that also  
1539. of king Henrie the eight, when hee brought in the  
Lady Anne of Cleue.

<342> Lesnes, mistaken (as I thinke) for  
Leswes (Leswes) which signi=  
fieth, Pastures.

I could easily haue beleueed, that the  
name Lesnes, had beene deriued out  
of the Frenche, and that it had beene  
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 think 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 which **woorde** (in the Saxon  
tongue) signifieth Pastures, and is not as yet vt=  
terly forgotten, forasmuch as til this day pastures  
be called Lesewes in many places.

This is my fantasie touching the name, where=  
in if I faile, it forceth not greatly, since the matter  
is no more weightie: Concerning the Historie of  
the place, I finde, that **after such time as King  
Henrie the second had not onely purged himselfe by**

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1179.

a corporal oath, that he was neither aiding nor consenting to the slaughter of Thomas the Archbishop: but had also submitted himselfe to performe such penance as it should please Pope Alexander to lay vpon him: Then triumpheth the holy father for ioy of his victory, and taking his owne pleasure in all the matter, first sendeth the deed-doers down to the Diuell with his black curse, and then in open councell canonizeth Becket for a shyning Saint, and alloweth him place in heauen aboue. This being once done, what remained (I pray you) but that altars should be raised, incense burned, giufts offered, praiers powred out, religious orders inuented, and diuine woorship exhibited, to this our newe found Godlyng? The which thing, that it might with the more <sup>†</sup>conntenance and credite be brought to passe, and that the example also might inuite others to follow and do the like, the Lord *Richarde Lucy* (then chiefe Iustice of England, and thereby the second person in this realme) offereth himselfe to go before and leade this holy daunce. He therefore commeth out of Essex, and taking his paterne from king Henrie the first (which had builded a conuenuall church at Colchester to the honour of S. Iohn the Baptist) laieth heere at Westwoode in Lyesnes, the foundations of such a like woorke, and dedicateth it in like sort to the name of S. Thomas the Martyr.

Now truly, if he thought that he had espied any resemblance, between Saint Iohn the Baptist, and this shrewd Bishop, it is a plaine token, that he

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looked no further than to the vttermost vizare, which if he had pulled off, and had viewed the very visage it selfe, he should easily haue founde that there had beene no cause at all to resemble them. For, albeit that Becket was slaine by the Kings seruants for that he encountred with King Henrie their maister, euen as Iohn the Baptist was beheaded because he boldly reprehended King Herodes fact to his owne face: yet, if the cause make the martyr (as no doubt it doth) then is this but a vizare: for Iohn was the forerunner of our Lorde Christ, and Becket was a wilfull follower of the Pope, which by al scripture and good interpretors, is very Antichrist: Iohn withstood king Herode for his wicked adulterie, and Becket withstoode king Henrie in the execution of godly iustice: Iohn preached to al men repentance of former <sup>†</sup>missooing, and Becket proclaimed to his shaelings, immunitie of condigne <sup>†</sup>punishmment, euen in a case of most wicked murthuring: and this is the liuely visage in deede, both of the one and the other.

But loe, this great man may stand for one good prooffe, that the wisdom of this worlde, is foolishnesse with God, &c.

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And by this woorke and such other euery man may vnderstande, with what cost of buildings, variety of <sup>†</sup>seates, plenty of possessions, and care of great personages, Poperie was in times past provided for, and appareiled. No corner almost (you see) which had not some one religious house, or

<sup>†</sup>r. 'sectes'



other: Their sundry suites and orders are hardly

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The value of  
the religious  
houses in  
Kent.

to be numbred: to behold their landes and reuenues, it was halfe a worlde: and he liued without glorie, and died without fame, that endeouored not by one means or other to amend them. I dare affirme, that the cleere yeerely extent of the religious houses within this one shyre, amounted to fiue thousand poundes, at the least, the Bishoprickes, Deanries, Archdeaconries, parsonages, vicarages, frieries, chaunteries, heremitages, Saintes offerings, and such others, not accounted. And this I do the rather note, to the end that you may see, how iust cause is giuen vs at this day, both to wonder at the hoat zeale of our auncestors in this spirittuall fornication, and to lament the coldnesse of our owne charitie towards the maintenance of the true spouse of Christ. For, if euer, now most truly, is that verified which the Poet long since said, 'Probitas laudatur, & alget,' vertue is praised, but starueth for cold: God (in his good pleasure) blowe vpon our harts with his holy spirite, and kinde in vs a new and true fire to warme it againe.

After this done, not only Reignold and Godfrey (two of the Sons of the said Richard, and of whom the latter was Byshop of Winchester) added somewhat to their fathers guift, but also King Iohn by his Chartre (dated at Douer in the seuenth yeere of his reigne) confirmed whatsoever had beene done, and gaue many immunities and faouours vnto the place, by the wordes, 'Deo, & Ecclesiæ beati Thomæ Martyris de Westwood in Lyesnes, & canonicis ibidem.' These Chanons were of the Order of the Augu-

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stines: and as they were deuoted to Thomas Becket: So were they deuoured by Thomas Wolsey, being of that number which he suppressed for his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

The Marshes  
at Lyesnes.

The Annales of Saint Augustines doe report that in the yeere after Christ 1279. the Abbat and Couent of Lyesnes inclosed a great part of their Marshe in Plumsted, and that within twelue yeeres after they Inned the rest also to their great benefite. And this continued vntill about the yeere 1527. at which time the Riuer of Tamise made irruption in two places, the one at Plumstede, and the other at Earyth, which (thorow the vntowardnesse of some owners and occupiers) was not recouered of long time after, notwithstanding the statute made 22. of Henry the eight, for the speedie payment of the Taxes and Scotcs imposed vpon the same: in so much as if the King with his treasure, and Sir Edward Boughton with his industrie had not interposed themselues, that whole leuell of rich lande had beene vtterly surrounded and lost. Some partes were recouered, but the quantitie of two thousand acres lay still vnder water, whereof the owners had none other profite, but onely by fishing and cutting of Reede.

At the length, in the reigne of our Souereigne that now is, certeine gentlemen and merchantes

vndertook the Inning of the whole, for the one half to be had to themselues: and for assurance to them, and furtherance of the enterprise, sundry actes of Parlement haue passed in the 14. 23. and 27. yeeres

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of her Maiesties reigne, by meanes whereof, first the lesser breach was stopped, and therewith about fiue hundred acres rescewed from the Riuer: after that, in the yeere 1587. there was an Inning of one thousand acres more, whereof the Inners (by the benefite of the last Statute) enioyed the one halfe and an eight part of the other halfe, leauing onely the residue to the owners. The great Breache is not yet made vp, whereby fiue hundred Acres (or thereabouts) next to Lyesnes, are still maistered by the Water: but so, as it daily giueth way, and fil= leth vp the lande with his residence (or bottome) which maketh hope, that the same also within short time, and with no great cost, may be made sounde and sweete lande againe.

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Earethe, 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 our Elders before the Conquest, had their trials for title of lande, and other contro= uersies in each shire, before a Iudge, then called Alderman, or Shireman, of whome there is very frequent mention in the lawes of our auncestours the Saxons, the which some yeeres since were collected and published in one volume: and for assured prooffe also, that in those daies they vsed to proceede in such causes by the oathes of many persons (testifying their opi=

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nion of his credite, that was the first swearer, or partie) a<f>ter 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 Historie, conteyning briefly the narration of a thing done at this place, by Dunstane the Archbishop of Canterburie, almost a hundreth yeeres before the comming of King William the Conquerour.

970.

A rich man (saith the text of Rochester) being ow= ner of Cray, Eareth, Ainesford, and Woldham, and hauing none issue of his body, deuised the same lands (by his last will, made in the presence of Dun= stane, and others) to a kinswoman of his owne, for †ife, the Remainder of the one halfe thereof, after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other halfe to Saint Androwes of Rochester, for euer: he died, and his wife tooke one Leofsun to husband, who (ouerliuing her) retained the lande as his owne, notwithstanding that by the fourme of the deuise, his interest was determined by the death of his wife.

The office of a Shyreman.  
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Hereupon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the Scyreman, or Iudge of the Countie (as the same booke interpreteth it) before whome, both Dunstane the Archbishop, the parties them=

Wager of  
Lawe.

selues, sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the Lay people, appeered, all by appointment at Eareth: and there in the presence of the whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a crosse in his hand) made a corporall oath vpon the booke of the Ecclesiastical lawes, vnto the Shyreman (which

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then tooke it to the Kings vse, bicause Leofsun himselfe refused to receaue it) and affirmed, that the right of these landes, was to Christes Church, and to Saint Androwes.

For ratification and credite of which his oath, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East, and West Kent, Eastsex, Midlesex, and Sussex) tooke their oathes also, vpon the Crosse after him.

And thus, by this manner of iudgement, Christs Church and Saint Androwes were brought into possession, and Leofsun vtterly eiectioned for euer.

The towne of Eareth, is an ancient corporation, **either by reputation, or Chartre**, but whether it hath been at any time, of greater accompt, I finde not: and therefore, hauing already declared in manner, whatsoever it hath note woorthie, I will set downe this one thing, and leaue it.

1457.

Toward the latter ende of the reigne of King Henrie the sixt, there were taken at this Towne, foure very great and rare fishes, of which one was then named to be Mors Marina, another a swoorde fish, and the rest were supposed to be Whales.

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Crayforde (**alias Earde**) in Saxon Creccanford, that is, the Ford (or passage) ouer the water, **then called** Crecca, now Cray.

Hengist, and  
Horsa.

After the death of Horsa (of whome we haue spoken in Ailesford before) The Saxons made his brother Hengist their onely King and leader. And he, minding forthwith to shewe himselfe

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selfe woorthie of his newly attained Honour, and willing to supply in himselfe the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gaue them sundrie great encounters: in diuers of which, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting with them at Crayforde, he slew foure of their chiefe capitains, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abandoned this countrie, and with great feare fled to London before him.

457.

The **verie**  
beginning of  
the Kentish  
Kingdome.

After this fight, the Britons not onely neuer inuaded Hengist (as Ralfe Higden writeth) but fled him like fire, as the Saxon Historie 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, which beginneth at **Newell in** Orpington (vnto so termed for Dorpendun, which signifieth the head, or spring of the Hill water) runneth by Saint Marie Cray, Poules Cray, Fotescray, and Crayford (to all which it likewise giueth name) and cometh at length to Dartford, where it minglet

Orpington, &  
the course of  
Cray water.

with the Riuer Darent, and so openeth into the  
Thamise.

Caues, vnder  
the ground.

There are to be seene, as well in the open Heath  
neare to this Towne, as also in the closed grounds  
about it, sundry artificiall Caues, or holes, in the  
earth, whereof some haue ten, some fiteene, and  
some twenty fathoms in depth: at the mouth (and  
thence downeward) narrow, like to the Tonnell of  
a chimney, or passage of a well: but in the bottome

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large, and of great receipt: insomuch as some of  
them haue sundry roomes (or partitions) one within  
another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pil=  
lers of chalke.

And, in the opinion of the inhabitants, these were  
in former times digged, as well for the vse of the  
chalke towards building, as for to marle (or  
amend) their arable lands therewith. But I sup=  
pose, that they were made to another ende also, by  
the Saxons our auncestors, who (after the manner  
of their elders) vsed them as receptacles, and pla=  
ces of secret retraict, for their wiues, children, and  
portable goodes, in the times both of ciuil dissenti=  
on, and foreine inuasion. For, Cornelius Tacitus, trea=  
ting of the maners of the olde Germanes (the verie  
Syres of these Saxons) writeth thus: 'Solent & sub=  
terraneos specus aperire, & si quando hostis advenit,  
aperta populatur, abdita autem & defossa aut ignorantur,  
aut eo ipso fallunt quod quærenda sunt.' 'They vse to dig'  
(saith he) 'certeine Caues vnder the grounde: and if  
the enimie come he spoileth all that is abroade: but  
such things as bee thus hidden, either they lie vn=  
knowne, or otherwise they deceiue him in that he is  
driuen to seeke after them.' If these be not founde in  
other places, it is to be imputed to the soile, which  
in chalke onely will affoorde this woorkmanship.  
Besides that many beasts haue tumbled into some  
of these: it happened a late Noble person in fol=  
lowing his Hauke, not without great perill of his  
life, to fall into one of them, that was at the least  
twelue fathoms deepe.

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Vpon the water of Cray, was lately builded a  
Mill, for the making of plates, whereof Armour  
is fashioned.

<346>

Dartforde, in Saxon, Derentford, in Latine,  
Derenti vadum: it signifieth, the ford,  
(or passage) ouer the Riuer  
Derent.

Mesopota=  
mia signifieth  
a country en=  
compassed  
with riuers.

Now be we returned into Mesopota=  
mia, for so me thinketh that this coun=  
trie lying betweene the riuers of Da=  
rent and Medwey, may **not vnaptly** be  
termed.

And here you must call to minde that, which you  
heard in Rochester before: namely, that King Iohn  
wan the Castle of Rochester from William Dalby=  
ney, through the faint hart and cowardize of Ro=  
bert Fitzwalter, whome the Nobilitie had sent of  
purpose to rescue it: and now (the place so requi=

ring) you shall vnderstand the whole maner of the thing, and how it happened.

Rochester castle besieged.

The Noble men, that maintained the warre against King Iohn, vnderstanding that he laide siege to the Castle at Rochester, and fearing that William Dalbinye (or Dalbinet) the Capitaine thereof, coulde not long defende it without supply of such things 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 great armie. This man, when

1215.

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he came to Dartforde, mette with a Gentleman of the order of the Temple, of whom he demaunded sundry questions for intelligence of the number of the Kings campe: Who (finding him to be afraid) told him of set purpose, that the Kings armie was much greater than his, whereas in deede his power was thrise so big as the Kings: Hereupon Robert, (being with this false terrour stricken into an exceeding great feare, whose companion is flight, as Homer well saieth) without further inquisition, sought to saue himselfe by the swiftnes of his feet, and so through a faint hart left Rochester to the vttermost aduenture.

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If King Iohn had followed, I thinke it woulde haue become of **this man**, as it sometime chaunced of a certaine white liuiered **fellow**: who, hearing great praise of Hercules strength, foorthwith conueyed himselfe into a caue, and when he had spied him (by chaunce) passing that way, he died out of hand for extreme feare.

1235.

Princes, may wooue by picture, and marriage by proctor.

I read, that in the time of King Henry the third, Frederic the Emperour sent hither the Archbishop of Colein, accompanied with sundry Noble personages, to demaunde Isabell the Kings sister to bee giuen him in marriage: the which (forasmuch as the Embassadors liked the young Lady wel) was (after such a solemnization as in absence may bee performed) 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

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at Dartforde, before the time of the Abbay, which was raised long after this marriage; yet there was some faire house of the Kings, or of some others, euen at this time there: For otherwise, I knowe not how to make it a meete place for so honourable an appointment. But leauing all coniecture, certaine it is, that afterwarde King Edward the third **about the 24. yeere of his Reigne**, founded there a faire Monasterie consisting of a Prioress, (who was a Recluse) and of 39. Sisters, that were after the Order and rule of the Friars preachers of Saint Augustine, dedicating their Seruice to S. Marie and S. Margaret, the virgins. And because some imperfections were founde in diuers of his grauntes, King Edward the fourth in the seuenth yeere of his reigne vouchsafed them a new patent of confirmation and amendment. The reuennue

The Abbay.

of this house, at the general dissolution, was found to be three hundreth and eightie pounds by yeere, and of it King Henrie the eight (not without great cost) made a fit house for himselfe and his successors.

The old man=  
ner of Tour=  
neament.

1331.

The same King Edward the thirde, at one time in his returne from Fraunce, proclaimed a generall Torneament (or lustes) to be holden at Dartforde, which he and his Nobles performed most honourable.

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This manner of exercise, being then vsed, not at the Tilt (as I thinke) but at Randon, and in the open field, was accompted so dangerous to the persons hauing to do therein, that sundry Popes had forbidden it by decree, and the Kings of this

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Realme (before King Stephan) would not suffer it to be frequented within their land: so that, such 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 afterwarde, King Stephan in his time permitted it: and then after him King Richard the first not onely 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 most pleasant, vsuall, and familiar pastime.

But, to returne to Dartforde againe: The first motiue of that rebellious assembly of the Common people of this Shyre, which chaunced in the time of king Richard the second (wherof you heard somewhat in Blackheath before) was giuen at this Towne, by this occasion.

1381.

The occasion  
of Iohn Ty=  
lars rebel=  
lion.

The Parleмент, holden at Northampton in the thirde yeere of king Richardes reigne, had assessed a great subsidie for the maintenance of his warres beyond the Seas: namely, halfe a marke vpon the head of euery religious and ecclesiasticall person, both man and woman: and one shilling (though Polydore being deceiued himselfe, and deceiuing such as follow him, say that it was but a groate) vpon the head or polle of euery lay man and woman, married or vnmarried. The collection of which Taxe, was at the first committed to such, as

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had pitie of their poore neighbours, and spared them: So that when the money was come into the Tresorie, certaine Cormorantes of the Court found fault with the smalnesse of the summe, and therefore, offering vnto the King a great piece of money for that which (as they said) was vncollected, they praied Commission from him to aske and leuie it. The young Prince, that had not yet read in the olde Poet, that he was the Shepheard of his people, and that it was his part, to fleece, but not to flea his flocke, assented to their desire: And they forthwith came downe into the Countrie, made their petie collectors in euery quarter, and with great extremities raked much money from the mi=

serable people. Amongst the rest, one naughtie fel= lowe dishonestlye intreated a young Damosell, Daughter to one Iohn Tyler that dwelt in Dart= ford: which thing when the Father heard, he fell at woords with the Officer, and from words to worse, so that in the end he slew him.

This done, the Common people of the Towne, partly for grudge at the imposition, and some other things, which shall follow anone, partly for maintenance of that, which they thought well done: and partly to eschew the punishment that by execution of lustice might fall vpon them, as= sembled their neighbours, and growing to some number, made this Tyler their Capitaine, named him lacke Strawe: and did and had further, as you in part haue heard before, and may at large reade almost in euerie English Chronicle. The narration

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whereof, I doe the rather passe ouer, bicause I am heere to note another matter, no lesse pertinent to mine own purpose, and more beneficial for the aduer= tisement of such as it shall like to reade that histo= rie. Polydore Virgile, in the report of this mat= ter, cannot abide that there should be alleaged any other cause of this commotion than that Taxe of money whereof I haue before spoken, and saith plainly, that they doe but serue the Princes eares that seeke any further. But as I haue beene hi= therto contented to ioyne with him in laying it forth as the present occasion of the sturre: So he must now giue me leaue to leaue him, since hee will haue it also the onely cause and fountaine of all that hurling, as they termed it.

For it is plainly true, not onely by Thomas Walsingham, which liued in that very age, but also by the recordes of the Parlements of the time it selfe, that the bondmen, landtenants, and other the common and inconstant people, did run to weapon on heapes, purposing no lesse to deliuer themselues from the seruitude of body and lande which they endured before, than to be acquitted of that Taxe that was by parlement then newly laid vpon them.

The beginning and ende of all which thing is to be seene in the actes of the first and fifte yeeres of King Richard the seconde: of which two statutes, the first being made two yeeres before the gene= rall insurrection was ripe, taketh order for the pu= nishment of such as did then riotously assemble in many parts of the realm, threatening as it were a

Cap. 6.  
Cap. 6.

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rebellion at hand, and had sought by force, some to be enfranchised, and some to get releases from their Lords of their rents, customes, and woonted serui= ces: the latter Lawe maketh voide all such manu= missions, bonds, and releases, as they had by might and manaciug wrested from their Lordes during the time of this very rebellion it selfe. The midst also (which containeth the whole historie of their proceeding in that vproare) is largely set foorth by Thomas Walsingham, who not onely sheweth, that the demaunds of those seditious persons concer=

ned chiefly villenage, and custumarie seruices, but reciteth also (woord for woord) the Recordes of the Proclamations, rescriptes, and pardons of the Prince in that behalfe: which things being laide together, do make mine assertion so full and manifest, that no man shall neede to doubt thereof, if hee will vouchsafe but once to reade them.

I gather therefore, that euen as a Pistole that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a man do but touch the Seare; And as the euill humor in a naturall bodie (being eiection into the outward partes, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily breake, if it be neuer so little prickte or launced: So the commons of some partes of the realme, being at that time full swolne with rancor that they had before conceiued against their lords, lay now in await for some opportunitie to cast out their venome: and therefore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them al, they flocked together by and by, and laboured vnder that couert

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to pull their necks cleane out of the Collers.

I might heere also vse the auctoritie of this last named Author, to controll Polydore withall in one or two other points of this selfe historie: But because my purpose is, not to refourme his writing, but to enfourme mine owne reader, I will spare to speake any further therof at this time.

This place (as Crayford before) hath the name of the Water running thorow it, commonly called Derent, but more cunningly (as Leland saith) Dorquent, which in the Brytish noteth the Cleare water. It riseth from two fountaines, the one appeering neare the edge of our Shyre at Squyrreys in Westminster (the Towne where Iohn Fryth, that learned Confessour, and most constant Martyr, was borne) the other at Tittesey in Surrey: so watereth it Otforde, Aynesford, and †Dart (whereto it giueth the name) thence falleth to this towne, and in company of Cray water, offereth some helpe to the Riuer of Thamyse.

Vpon this Derent also, haue beene lately erected two Milles of rare deuise (or rather singular, within our †our Realme) the one emploied for the making of all sortes of Paper: the other exercised for the drawing of Iron into Wyres, and bigger lengthes and fashions, as well for the readier making of Nailes of all kindes, as for the easier dispatch of Barres for windowes, and other Seruices.

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The Brent, or Dartfordes  
Brent.

The sight of this ground, not onely reduceth to my remembrance that deadly and dolefull diuision of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (or rather of this whole Realme in their behalfe and quarrell:) But also induceth me, by a



The dissenti=  
on betweene  
the houses of  
Yorke and  
Lancaster.

manner of necessitie, to make rehearsall of that long and wofull historie it selfe, least otherwise I be not vnderstood of my reader, whilst I shall labour to set downe such partes thereof as belong to the place now presently come to my hande. Take it therefore thus, wholly, and withall so truely and shortly as I can.

The reigne,  
and troubles  
of King Ri=  
chard the  
second.

King Edward the third had issue (amongst others) these fiue sonnes: First Edward, the noble Prince of Wales, commonly tearmed the Blacke Prince: Then William of Hatfield, which died in his child=  
hood: Thirdly Lionel, the Duke of Clarence: after him, Iohn the Duke of Lancaster, surnamed of Gaunt: and fiftly Edmund, that was borne at Lang=  
ley, and was first made Earle of Cambridge, and afterward created Duke of Yorke. Prince Ed=  
ward, the eldest, died in the life of his father, and left behinde him Richard, his sonne, which at eleuen yeeres of his age succeeded his graundfather in the kingdome, and was called the seconde of his name.

This mans government was after a time

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greatly misliked, bothe of his owne neare kinsmen, and of sundry others of the Nobilitie, in so much that (either for his fault, or of their own ambition, or both) they not onely discommended it boldly to his face, but also forceably compelled him to som=  
mon a Parlement in the eleuenth yeer of his reigne, and against his owne liking to punish, some by exile, and others by death, whom they charged to haue misledde him.

But so farre off was it, that any good came ther=  
by, either to the King, to themselues, or to the estate, that he continually from thenceforth sought after reuenge; they (for the most part) smarted for it, and all things in the Common-wealth declined from euill to worse.

And first, he caused the head of his owne vncler Thomas of Woodstock (the sixt sonne of King Ed=  
ward) whom the common people in honour of his vertue vsed to call the Good Duke of Gloucester, to be striken off, bicause he had beene a principall actor in that Parlement. Afterward he beheaded the Earle of Arundale, banished the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Earle of Warwicke, and adiudged some others to perpetuall imprison=  
ment. Furthermore, he confined his nephew Henrie of Bolinbrooke (the Duke of Hereford, and eldest sonne to Iohn of Lancaster) vpon a very light and slender accusation, and after the death of Duke Iohn his father, he withheld his proper inheritance (the Duchie of Lancaster) from him.

By which his fierce dealing, the harts of his

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nobilitie were quite estraunged: yea the common people also began to be offended, partly for griefe of Duke Thomas his death, partly for pitie of Henries exile and iniurie, and partly for the Kings indirect proceeding in the Parlements at London and Shrewsbury, where he bothe repealed his for=  
=

King Richard  
the second  
loseth the  
harts of his  
subjects.

mer pardons giuen to his subiectes, and falsified some Rolles of the Parlement it selfe, but principally because he charged †17. at once seuerall shires of his Realme with high treason, for assisting the Duke of Gloucester in that Parlement whereof I spake, and had not onely constrained euerie man in them to sweare vnto him the othe of Fidelitie of new, but enforced each man also to confesse himselfe a traitor vnder his owne hande writing, and withall to subscribe a Blanke bill of debt, whereby he might be afterwarde charged with whatsoever summe it should please the King himselfe to insert and lay vpon him.

Henry the 4. inuaded the Crowne.

Hereupon, Henrie of Bolinbrooke, perceauing that all men could like of a change, and being secretly assured of his owne welcome, awaited the opportunitie, and whilest the King was busie in Ireland, he returned into this realme, inuaded the crowne, and within forty daies after, and without any bloudshead, or blowe giuen, obtained it.

King Richard the second is murdered in prison.

And so Richarde, whilest he sought vniustly to gaine another mans Duchie, was by the iust vengeance of God depriued of his owne Roialtie and kingdome. The remnant of his daies he spent in prison, where after a while he was violently made

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away, and left none issue behinde him.

Thus tooke Henrie the Regalitie vpon him, and so did his sonne, and his sonnes sonne, two other Henries, called the fift and the sixt, after him, which three Princes, for as much as they were lineally descended from Iohn of Gaunt (the Duke of Lancaster) were called of the house of Lancaster, and gaue to their friendes and followers, a red Rose for their badge or conusance.

The white Rose, and the Redde, with their pedegrees, and titles.

Against these, the bearers of the White Rose, that is, they of the familie of Yorke, became Competitors of the crowne, and striued for chiefe place in the garland: whether rightfully, or no, let that be tried by this Pedegree following.

Lionell the Duke of Clarence, and thirde sonne to king Edward the third (for of his first, second, and fourth sonnes, I haue tolde you already) had issue Philip (his daughter, and heire) which was married to Edmund Mortimer (Earle of the Marches of Wales) who also, for the better establishment of the succession, was therefore in the life of king Richard the second, openly declared heire apparant to the crowne, if it should happen that King to die without issue of his bodie. Edmund and Philip had issue, one Roger Mortimer: and he left issues, Edmund, Roger, Anne, and Eleonore: of which foure, three died without any issue, but Anne was giuen in marriage to Richard the Earle of Cambridge (a younger sonne to Edmund of Langley) the fift sonne (as I first told you) of king Edward the third, and which was the first Duke of Yorke, of which ho-

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nour, all the race following, were surnamed of the house of Yorke also.

This Earle of Cambridge, had issue by Anne,

†r. 'at once 17.'

Richard Plantagenet the Duke of Yorke, who also (besides eleuen other children) begate Edwarde, that was afterwarde King, and named the fourth of that calling.

Hereby you see, that after the death of King Richard the second, none of the house of Lancaster could succede him as next heire, so long as any of Duke Lionels race did remaine: vnlesse you will say, that the fourth brother ought to inherite before the third, and consequently the younger sonne before the elder. Which absurditie, when King Henrie the fourth (hauing caught the crowne) did well ynough see, and knew withall that thousands (euen then aliue) could haue witnessed the trueth of all this matter against him, he thought it best to mount higher, and by fetching his title aboue the memorie of any man, to make it, if not plausible, yet at the least more coulorable and likely.

And therefore, when as at the time of his coronation, it was of set purpose openly pronounced, that King Richarde had resigned the crowne, and that thereby the kingdome was vacant: he arose out of his throne, and in plaine speech challenged it to himselfe, as descended of the bloud royall from King Henry. Now, what he ment thereby, I will but touch the matter, and tell you.

King Henrie the third (for him he ment) had two sonnes, Edward, and Edmund: of which two, Ed-

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The title and claime of the house of Lancaster, was but feigned.

ward (as all histories of the time doe without controuersie agree) being the elder by three and twenty yeers and aboue, was first Prince of Wales, and then the first king of his name, and (for his tall personage) by-named Longshanke.

Edmund, the younger was Duke of Lancaster, and (for the bowing of his shoulders) surnamed Crouchbacke. This oddes of their ages notwithstanding, it was long after feigned (in fauour of the house of Lancaster) that Edmund was the first borne of the twaine, and that he was reiected for his deformitie, and Edward preferred (as the more woorthy) to the inheritance of the Crowne. And therefore, as King Henrie the fourth had deriued his Duchie from his mother Blaunch, the daughter and heire of Henrie Duke of Lancaster, and descended of that Edmund: Euen so woulde he haue deduced the kingdome by the same line of descent, and thereby disprouue at once (as meere vsurpations) all the former regiments of Edward the first, Edward the second, Edward third, and Richarde the seconde, which kings (with allowance of all men) had rightfully reigned more than 126. yeeres before him.

And truly, as he was now ready thorowe great ambition, to haue maintained this new broched title with his swoorde: So wanted there not afterward some, that through seruile flatterie laboured in woord and writing to recommend it as true and ancient. Of which number (a learned Iudge and Chauncellour to the Prince that was sonne to

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King Henrie the sixt) was one; who wrate a whole Treatise (which I once sawe) in confirmation of that his Maisters right and Title.

But let King Henrie the fourth and his posterity stand here inuested with the roiall Diademe, and let vs a while beholde with what quiet he and they kept it, and for how long season the third heire enjoyed the same.

Troubles  
moued in the  
time of King  
Henry the 4.  
by the house  
of Yorke, for  
recouerie of  
the crowne.

1399.

Not long after the deposition of king Richard, and during the time of his imprisonment, his brother the Duke of Excester, associated with the Duke of Aumarle, the Earles of Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and with others more, coniuered to oppresse the person of king Henrie in a mummerie at Windsore: But as their intention was discovered, and themselues executed therefore, So also king Richard was forthwith made out of the way, least his life should afterward giue occasion of the like attempt to any other.

1400.

Soone after, Sir Roger Claringdon, the Prior of Laund, and certeine Friars went about to stirre vp the subjects, by persuading the world that king Richard was yet liuing: at which time Owen Glendore was for his part very busie in Wales also.

1401.

In the next yeere after that, Sir Thomas Percy (the Earle of Worcester) gaue the king a Battaile at Shrewsbury. And in the sixt yeere of his reigne, Richard Scrope the Archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mombrey (the Earle Marshall) and one Plumton put themselues in armes against him.

1405.

Not past two yeeres after which time also,

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1408.

Henry Percie (the Earle of Northumberland, which had married Elizabeth, a daughter to Edmund Mortimer) adioined himselfe to the Lord Bardolfe and certeine Scots, and taking weapon in hand renewed the warre vpon him.

So that King Henry the fourth, albeit hee kept the Saddle in all this leaping and flinging, yet (as you see) he was exceedingly tossed with domesticall warre almost three parts of his whole reigne.

At the last, hauing gotten a few Halcion daies, or rather cares, he departed this life, sory (as some say) for that which he had done.

1414.

King Henrie  
the fifts reign  
& conquests.

Another at=  
tempt by the  
house of  
Yorke.

Henry the fift (a martiall man also) succeeded his father in the kingdome, whose life was likewise in great daunger the seconde yeere of his reigne. For Richard (the Earle of Cambridge, and husband to Anne the right heire of the crowne) perceauing that the former assaies of his friends had taken no successe, tooke the matter into his owne hands, and allying himself with Henry Scrope the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Graye, purposed to haue slaine the King at Hampton euen when he was ready to embarke towards Normandie. But when his deuice was deciphered, and himselfe assured to suffer therefore, he chose rather to say, that he did it as corrupted with the money and crownes of Fraunce, than to be acknoven that he had directed his shot at the crowne of England, least if that had bene espied, he might together with the losse of his owne life, haue depriued his posteritie of all hope

to recouer their desired right.

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King Henry, when he had bereaued them of life that sought his death, passed ouer into Fraunce, and there spent the time in such prosperous warre and conquest, that hee was made Regent of that realme in the life of king Charles, and declared King after his death. But by reason that Charles of Fraunce ouerliued him, that honour descended to his sonne King Henry the sixt, who was crowned in Paris, within eleuen yeeres after.

King Henry the sixt and his gouernment.

Now, during a great part of the reigne of this latter King Henry also, the Nobilitie, both of this faction, and of our whole nation, was so exercised with the Frenche warres abroade, that they had no leasure to attend their priuate quarrels at home: So that for the first thirty yeeres almost of this King Henries gouernment, nothing was attempted against him in the behalfe of the house of Yorke: vnlesse that be true of Eleonor Cobham, and Roger Bolinbrooke (otherwise called Onley) who are charged by some with a conspiracie to bewitche him, whereof others make doubt and question.

The causes of his woe.

But afterwarde, when this King began to lose that, which his father had gained in Fraunce, and when he had not only married the King of Scicules daughter against his owne precontract made with the Earle of Armenac, and against the aduice of his chiefe Nobilitie: But had also suffred his deere vncler Humfrey (that renoumed Duke of Gloucester) to be treacherously murdered and made away, and himselfe to be altogether ruled by Queene Margaret his wife, and William the Duke of Suffolke,

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the very artificers of Duke Humfreyes destruction, Then Richard Plantagenet (the Duke of Yorke) at whome also Queene Margaret and her complices had priuily pricked, tooke occasion by the forehead, and (as a coale out of the ashes) began by litle and litle to peepe out and bewray himselfe. And although both many of the Nobilitie, and most of the common sort, were wearie of the present estate and gouernment: yet hee, being made wise by his fathers fall, woulde neither plainly disclose his purpose, ne take the matter straightway vpon himselfe, but sought rather to atchieue his desire by other mens cost, then at his owne perill.

Further as saies of the house of Yorke.

Iac Cades rebellion.

And therefore, as in a heard of Deere, the great Bucks, when there is noice abroad, will beate forward the Rascall: So he, first set Iac Cade of Ireland on woorke (as it is to be thought) causing him to call himselfe Mortimer (which name waxed then plausible againe, in hatred of King Henrie) and so to moue the vnsteady multitude, that murmured much, and gaped daily for a change. But when he saw that assembly soone scattered, and yet not so much by any power of the Prince, or loue of his people, as by the counsell and credite of the Duke of Somerset, a man of great valoure, and (as things then stode) the onely stop in his way to the crowne

whereunto he secretly aspired, he determined before all other things, and with all his might and maine to lift at that blocke and impediment.

And therefore, backing himselfe with the Earle

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The Brent at  
Dartforde.

of Deuonshire and the Lorde Cobham, and charging the Duke of Somerset as author of all the euils in the Commonwealth, he gathered a great armie in the marches of Wales, and so making forward tooke the field at the Brent where we now be.

Blackheath.

The King on the other side arraied a strong battaile also, and came to Blackheath ready to haue foughten with him: But through the mediation of certeine noble men, some Lords and Bishops were sent with commission, both to demaund for what cause he had put on armour, and also to enter into conditions of atonement with him. He required onely, that the Duke of Somerset might first bee committed to safe custodie, and then be compelled by order of lawe to aunswere to such crimes as hee had to obiect against him: which being done, hee promised to disarm himselfe, and to dismis his companie. The King assented, and for a colour, caused the Duke of Somerset to withdraw himselfe out of sight: But when the Duke of Yorke came to the Kings campe, he found the Duke of Somerset, not onely set at full libertie, contrarie to the Kings and his Commissioners promise; But armed also with such auctoritie, that he arrested him of Yorke, and made him to be ledde as a prisoner in triumph before the King, against his owne expectation.

Neuerthelesse, when they had considered that they had but a wolfe by the eares, whom they could neither well hold, nor might safely let goe, they yet resolved at the last to restore him to libertie, some=

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what bicause he came in vpon safe conduit of the Kings woord, but more bicause it was then noised that his sonne Edwarde, the Earle of Marche, was marching towards them, with a great power to rescue him.

1456.

King Henry  
the sixt, is  
taken in the  
field at S.  
Albons.

By this meane, on the one side the Duke of Somerset waxed euery day more deere and secrete to the King, and was foorthwith honoured with the Capitainship of Calaise: and on the other side, the displeasure and furie of the Duke of Yorke was a great deale the more incensed: So that thirsting after reuenge, he with the aide of his friendes encountered the King and the Duke of Somerset in a fight at Saint Albons, where also he slew the one, and tooke the other. The Duke he left to bee buried there, the King he brought with al outward shew of reuerence to London with him, and there by a forced Parliament such as had the chiefe roomes before were remooued, himselfe was declared Protector of the Realme, Richarde Neule the Earle of Salisburie made Chancelor and President of the Counsell, and his sonne Richarde Neule the Earle of Warwike, appointed Capitaine of Calaise and leader of the warre.

The Duke of  
York, is made  
Protector.

Thus haue I shewed you (by occasion of the place where we be) the cause of this great strife and partialitie, and brought you by the hande (as it were) bothe to the first steppe of that priuie staire which they of the house of Yorke made for recouerie of their right, and to the first act of open hostilitie in that quarrell: And now bothe mine owne for=

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mer order, and the haste that I haue to make an ende, doe require that I should leaue the matter here: But yet, partly for my promise sake, partly because I am loth to mangle and maime the historie, which if it stand whole is so much the more worthy of the reading, and partly also for that it hath in the sequele some things that belong to this Shyre, I will breake square for this once, and tell you out bothe the course and conclusion of all this tragicall historie.

Queene Margaret, (which had before time ruled all, and could not now beare to be directed by any) seeing well ynough that the Duke of Yorke had alreadie gotten the swoorde, and that the king her husband had but onely the crowne left him, wherat also the Duke secretly aimed, she neuer ceased to sollicite the king, till this new Protector and Chancellor were discharged of their offices: and not so contented, she practised with her husband to sende for them and the Earle of Warwicke to Couentrie, where (hauing before laide the trappe) she had almost taken them.

This deuice of hers, as it had made an ende of the controuersie if it had taken place: So, being discouered, it greatly amended the quarrell of her aduersaries, and gaue them good colour to fall to armes againe for their iust defence.

1458.

The matter therefore being now like to growe to open war and enmitie, it was eftsoones thought meete, that the king should pretend a vehement

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A feigned reconciliation betweene these two houses.

desire of reconciliation: and for that purpose, they met shortly after at London on al hands, and from the teeth forward departed good friends againe: but in deede enuious rancour so boiled in the brest, that it not onely belched, but also brake foorth immediately. And that was the cause, that soone after the Kings owne housholde assaulted the Earle of Warwicke at Westminster, and the Lorde Audeley set vpon his father the Earle of Salisbury at Bloreheath, each so fiercely, that the Earles with much adoe escaped their hands.

From thencefoorth therefore the hatred waxed deadly, and the strife seemed to be now, not who should leade and reigne, but rather who shoulde liue and remaine: in somuch as foorthwith there was on both parts open conference of warre, the men were mustered, and the armies ranged, being ready ouer night to haue ioyned in the morning, when (loe) the Duke and his complices, partly vpon sight that they were the weaker, and partly for the defection of some which had bewraied their

counseiles, suddenly forsooke the field, and fledde, some into Ireland, and the residue vnto Calaiçe.

Sandwiche, twice surpris= ed by force.

Howbeit neither lande nor Seas could so diuide them, but that they met both in minde and person, to communicate of their affaires. In which meane while also, they wan the towne of Sandwich twice, by the hand of Denham their Capitaine, who at both times tooke away all the vessels that he found in the hauen, and first ledde away as prisoners the Lorde Ryuers and the Lorde Scalys his sonne, and

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then afterwarde beheaded Mountfort that succeded them.

But after some entercourses, and when they had agreed vpon a plat of their businesse, then the Earles of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwicke came ouer from Calaiçe, furnished with some strength which they brought, but assisted with more that fell vnto them here, the rather bicause it was by policie sounded abroad, that these noble men intended nothing against the king, but onely against certeine euill counsellors that were about him.

King Henrie the sixt, is secondly taken prisoner at Northampton.

The king, on the other side, slept not when hee heard of their arriual, but with all possible power made ready against them. At the length, both the armies met at Northampton, and there was the kings power discomfited, sundry noble men of his part slaine, and he himselfe secondly brought into captiuitie.

The Duke of Yorke is declared heire to the crown.

Thence is he once more caried to London, and his name vsed to sommon a Parlement, whereunto also commeth the Duke of Yorke in al haste out of Ireland, maketh his claime to the crowne, sheweth his right, and preuaileth so far that he is by assent presently made Protector and Regent of the realm, and declared heire to the crowne after the death of the king; with Prouiso semper, that if king Henry should go about to impeach this ordinance, that then the Duke shoulde reioice the kingdome in possession immediately.

†<? r. 'receiue'>

And thus hath this Duke at once both opened and in manner obtained his desire. For now hath

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he climbed the seconde steppe of this staire to the crowne, and there wanteth nothing to atchieue the toppe, but onely to bring the Queene into handes, who also (by refusing to obey the agreement) hath ministred him iust cause to demaund it. But, euen as many things happen (according to the proverbe) betweeue the Cup and the Lippe: So this man hauing brought the crowne more than halfe way to his head, leaueth the king with the Earle of Warwicke, and speedeth himselfe with all preparation to pursue the Queene: by whose friendes and their power, he was met withall at Wakefield, and there slaine dead in the fight. In the necke (or rather in the nicke) of which also the Queene setteth fiercely vpon the Duke of Norfolke and the Earle of Warwicke at Saint Albons, and so plyeth them, that they were glad to saue themselues by flight, and to leaue the king their prisoner behinde them.

†<r. 'his handes'>

1459.

The Duke of Yorke is slain in a battell at Wakefield.

Another fight at S. Albons.



Sir Thomas  
Kyriel be=  
headed.

There was he eftsoones restored to libertie, and his keeper Sir Thomas Cyriel (or Criel) a man of great prowess, and parentage in this shyre, cut shorter by the head.

Now would a man haue thought, that the house of Yorke had hitherto but beaten water in a mortar, and lost al their former labour. And truly the Duchesse her selfe, seeing her husbande slaine, and his best helpes discomfited, began to thinke the case desperate, and therefore dispatched George and Richard, her younger sonnes, out of the realme. But Edward her eldest, the Earle of March, whome God (reiecting his father) had reserued for the crowne,

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Edward the  
fourth, ob=  
teineth the  
crowne to  
the house  
of Yorke.

not a whit dismaied at all this matter, had in the meane while made way with his weapon by discomfiture of the Earles of Penbroke and Wilshyre at Mortimers crosse, and so ioyning with the Earle of Warwicke at Cotswolde, marcheth forthright to London, claimeth the crowne by his owne right and king Henries forfaiture, receaueth the homage of all the Nobilitie, is embraced of the Commons, and proclaimed the fourth King of his name.

A great bat=  
tell & slaugh=  
ter at Tow=  
ton.

From thence he passeth in roiall array towards Yorke, where king Henry and his wife then lay, and at Towton (not farre from the Citie) woonne the fight and field, where were slaine 36000. in one battle. So that he and his entred Yorke in triumph, but Henry, his wife, and some of their friendes fled thence in great feare vnto Scotlande, and she with her sonne afterward into Fraunce.

1461.

This feate thus luckily atchieued, king Edward committed the charge of the North partes to the Earle of Warwicke, and retired himselfe to London, where about Midsomer after, he was with great pompe annointed king, and so recontinued the right of the house of Yorke, which by the space of 61. yeeres before had beene withholden from it.

But now, as he sawe that he had not woonne the garland without great labour and bloudshead, his enimies being at home: So neither did he thinke that he could weare it without continuall care and vigilancie whilest they liued abroad. And therefore (foreseeing in minde, what followed in deede) hee caused all the marches toward Scotland to be kept

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against Henry, and the Sea coasts towards France to be watched against his wife: So that when shee (within a yeere after) thought to haue arriued heer, she was beaten to the Sea againe, and by the Sea and weather driuen into Scotlande where her husband was.

Hee also, being by that time growne to some strength, partly by her companie, and partly by others aide, inuaded king Edward vpon the north, and pearced as far as to Hexam: But there was the Lord Montacute ready for him, who gaue him such a welcome, that his whole band was defeated, his chiefe friendes were taken, himselfe being driuen to great shift, and his wife enforced to returne to her father into Fraunce againe.

1465.

Henrie the  
sixt is the  
third time  
taken at  
Hexam.

Not long after, when Henrie (being out of all hope to recouer his place by forreigne aide) dissembled his person to the ende that he might sollicite some new helpes within the Realme, he was thirdly taken with the manner, brought vp to the King, and laide fast in the Tower at London.

These things thus prosperously succeeding, king Edward sought (for three or fower yeeres together) not onely by iustice and liberalitie to fortifie himselfe amongst his owne subiects, but also by encountre of forreine alliance to weaken Queene Margaret, whose hope of helpe (if any were left) was altogether reposed in his neighbours. And for this purpose, it was thought good to sende the Earle of Warwick into Fraunce, with commission to mooue and make vp a marriage for the king,

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King Edward  
and the Earle  
of Warwicke,  
fall out.

with the Ladie Bona sister to the kings wife there. But this became such a bone of dissention between these deere friends king Edward and the Earle, that they were from thencefoorth so diuorced by it, as they could neuer after be vnited againe.

For whilest the Earle had in that treatise so handled the matter with the king of Fraunce and the young Ladie, that his Maisters suite was thereby obtained, he (no lesse suddenly, than secretly) bestowed himselfe vpon the Lady Graye, a widowe, whose husband was slaine in the fight at Saint Albons. This, whether it happened of a certeine leuitie and wanton loue (as in deede he is noted of that fault) or whether he (following that Oracle and counsell in husbandrie, 'In olea, ramus cæteris lætior recidendus, ne tota arbor contristetur') did it of set purpose and policie to discountenance the Earle, whose popularitie and greatnesse he had to feare, I knowe not, but assuredly I finde that the Earle conceaued such implacable hatred against the king therefore, that (howsoeuer he dissembled it for a time) he sought by all waies to remoue him, and to restore Henry to the crowne.

The Earle of  
Warwick see=  
keth reuenge.

First therefore, he communicateth this grieue with his two brethren, George the Archbishop of Yorke, and Iohn the Marquesse Montacute, and by great persuasion assureth them vnto him: Then, by cunning meanes and mariage of his daughter, he assureth vnto his part George the Duke of Clarence, and withdraweth him from the king his own brother. The match thus made, a quarrel is piked,

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the Northren people are incited to take vpon, and warre is made vpon the king with great successe.

Fight at Northampton.

Fight at  
Banbury.

For, first the Northren men, of their own power compell the Earle of Penbroke to turne the backe neare to Northampton: And afterward by the aide of the Duke and the Earle discomfite his men secondly, and take himselfe in the field at Banbury. Then commeth king Edward in person, and encountreth himselfe at Woolney: where, whiles the time was spent in a treatie of pacification, with the Duke and the Earle, which were then at Warwick,

King Edward  
is taken, and  
escapeth.

his aduersaries come suddenly vpon him by night  
in a Camisado, and killing his watch, take himselfe  
vnwares in his tent also.

But albeit that it pleased God thus to chastise  
him for a season, yet ment he not to cast him away,  
neither to suffer the ioy of his enimies to haue long  
continuance. For soone after (being conueied in=  
to Yorkshyre by night iourneies, and there kept in a  
liberall prison) what by the negligence or corrup=  
tion of his keepers, and what by the happie assi=  
stance of his friends, he escaped their hands, repai=  
red new forces, and finding that no parle woulde  
bring him peace) first so chased Sir Robert Welles  
and his Lincolnshyre men at Edgecoate, that the  
battail (in memorie that they threw away their  
coates, to the end that they might runne away the  
lighter) was called by allusion Losecoatefield: and  
afterwarde so daunted both his brother and the  
Earle, that they finding themselues vnable to

1470.

Losecotefield  
in Lincoln=  
shire.

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hold out any longer heere, fled ouer into Fraunce  
with their friends and familie.

There founde they Queene Margaret, Henries  
wife, and Prince Edward his sonne, between whom  
and the Earle of Warwicks daughter, a new knot  
of alliance (by mediation of the Frenche king, a ve=  
ry Bellowse of this fire) was forthwith knit vp and  
tyed, and withall another plot of reuiuing the war  
against king Edward was agreed vpon.

This done and concluded, Lewes the king of  
Fraunce, and Renard Queene Margarets father, spare  
neither cost nor labour to furnish out the Duke of  
Clarence, and the Earles of Warwicke, Oxford, and  
Penbrooke (who also was now of the same deuoti=  
on) with men and mony, weapon and vessel: And they  
(not tarying till the Queene and her sonne coulde  
make ready for the iourney) came ouer to giue the  
first attempt, and left them as a supplie to follow.

And here, it was a world to behold the manner of  
the common and moueable multitude. For these  
Noble men were no sooner landed at Dartmouth in  
the West cuntrye, and had stricken the drumme in  
the name of King Henry, but there was flocking on  
heapes to them from all the partes of the realme,  
and crying, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, King Henry,  
King Henry: So that K. Edward, astonished at the  
straungenesse of the matter, thought not so much  
of any meane how to resist his enimies, as how to  
saue himselfe. And therefore, in all haste, and not with=  
out great hazard, he conueieth himself, his brother  
Richard, and a few others, by land vnto Lynne, and  
from thence by sea into Flaunders, there to vse the

For the in=  
constancie  
of the com=  
mons, king  
Edward fli=  
eth ouer the  
Sea.

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1471.

aduice and aide of his brother in lawe Charles the  
Duke of Burgundie. Queene Elizabeth his wife  
also, being then great with childe, and destitute of  
better shift, shrowdeth her selfe at Westminster, in  
the Abbots Sanctuarie.

This while commeth Warwicke (our English  
Martell that would make and marre kings at his  
pleasure) with his complices forward to London,

King Henry is restored by the Earle of Warwick.

and without any manner of resistance goeth straight to the Tower, and vnprisoneth king Henry, whome he had emprisoned before. He also most ioyfully resumeth his former Roialtie, calleth a Parlement, denounceth king Edward a traitor, maketh newe Lords, new Lawes, turneth al things vpside downe, and draweth (as it were) a new world after him.

King Edward, on the other side, hauing now recovered breath after his running away, and seeing right well, that delay of time would breede daunger to himselfe, and begette assurance to his enemies, taketh such helpe as the Duke (his brother in lawe) could presently make him, and speedeth him ouer to Rauensport in Yorkshire, trusting that vpon the knowledge of his arriuall, infinite numbers of men would haue fallen vnto him. But when he found by prooffe, that few or none there durst shew him countenance, for feare of the contrarie facti= on, he was driuen to chaunge his note, and wheras he came ouer at the first to recouer his kingdome, he was then glad to say that he sought nothing but the Dukedome of Yorke, his proper inheritance.

King Edward vseth foule shifts.

By which policie partly, and partly by periurie

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(a fowler shift) he first gained the citie of Yorke, and drew vnto him a great companie. Then proceedeth he further, and reconcileth his brother the Duke of Clarence, and so handeleth the matter with the Marquesse Montacute also (who was laid to encounter him in the way) that he suffered him to passe by vntouched.

Henry the 6. is fourthly taken at London.

Thus commeth Edward to London vnlooked for, and therby so amaseth the Nobilitie, that (each man making the best shift for himselfe) poore King Henry was left post alone, and now fourthly and finally taken, and cast into miserable prison.

This while the Earle of Warwicke, all wroth and griued that king Edward was not stopped in the way, hasteth after with the Marquesse his brother to the towne of Barnet, where (to the increase of his sorrow) it was tolde him, that <sup>†</sup>unfortuuate king Henry was once more fallen into the handes of his enimie, and therefore he thought good to stay vpon Gladmore heath there, of purpose to deliberate of some further enterprise.

The Earle of Warwicke is slaine at Barnet.

But king Edward, thinking it best to make hay, whilst the sunne shyned, maketh forward in great speede, and embatteleth himselfe hard by against him. To make short, their armies meete and fight, the Earle and the Marquesse are both slaine dead in the field, some noble men of their part saue themselves by flight, but their maine battaile is ouerthrowne, and defeated.

This was no sooner done, but (behold) Queene Margaret with her sonne (which had sundry times

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before attempted the Seas, and were alwaies repulsed with contrarie winde) arriueth in Dorsetshire, thinking to haue ioined with the Earle and the rest of her friends. But when the siely woman vnderstood of all that was happened, she tare and

King Henries  
wife taketh  
Sanctuarie.

tormented her selfe, being ready to die for extreme sorrow and anguish. Howbeit when that passion was put ouer, she bethought her better, and withdrew to the Sanctuarie at Beaulieu for safegarde of her life.

There was she somewhat recomforted by the Duke of Somerset, and such others as were escaped from Gladmore: And there also (after conference of counseiles) she resolued (like to one that had sped ill at Primero) to set vp her last rest, in hope to recouer her losses againe.

The fight at  
Tewxbury.

But the matter fell out farre otherwise: for king Edward, who had beene taught to vse his victorie, setteth vp all his sailes, like a man that had the winde on his sterne, and vseth such celeritie against her, that before the powers which she and her friendes the Earles of Penbrooke and Deuonshire had prouided could ioine together, he assailed her, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset (the Generall of that armie) at Tewxbury, and taking them all three prisoners, sleaeth the Earle of Deuonshire, and ouerturneth the rest of their companie.

And now King Edward, hauing thus recouered his kingdome by Gods clemencie, seeketh to confirme it (after the manner of vnkinde men) by his

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owne witte and vngodly policie: whereof what scourge ensued, you shall perceiue anone.

Henrie the  
sixt is slaine.

First therefore the young Prince that was taken prisoner, is suffered to be cruelly slaine in his owne presence: And then king Henry (within sixe monethes after his readeption) is wofully made away in the Tower at London. But as for the Queene, she had no wrong at all, for she bought her life with a summe of money: The Earle of Penbrooke likewise with his nephew Henrie (called afterward the seuenth king of that name) sailed safely ouer the Seas to Fraunces the Duke of Britaine.

The Bastard  
Fawconbridge,  
assaileth  
London.

I had almost forgotten to tell you here, of that adoe which Thomas Fawconbridge (the Earle of Kents bastarde, and Viceadmirall to the Earle of Warwicke) made at London with a handfull of rakehelles which he had scummed together in this our shire, whilest the king was in his returne from Tewxbury: and how valiantly for their owne praise, and faithfully for the kings seruice, the Londoners fought and repulsed him. But the matter is not great: for as his comming was too late for his friendes succour, so it was soone ynough for his owne destruction, his enterprise being resisted at the first, and himselfe shortly after apprehended at Southampton, and rewarded with a hatchet for his labour.

The end of  
the ciuile  
warre.

This end then, had all the ciuile warre that was moued for the title of the crowne: but yet the contention was not wholly quenched, ne could it pardy whilest any of the house of Lancaster was left to

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remaine. And therefore as you haue patiently heard of the Diuision, So heare me I pray you a woord or

1483.

King Edward  
the fifth.

twaine of the Vnion of these titles also.

Ten, or eleuen yeeres after all these victorious conflictes, king Edward was called away in the flowre of his age, and not without suspition of poisoning. He left two sonnes behinde him, Edward and Richard: of which, the elder was king, but yet neuer crowned: For his vnkle, Richard of Gloucester, who had before embrued his hands with the bloud of king Henry the sixth, and of the young Prince his sonne, sticketh not to bathe them nowe in the bowels of these his owne nephewes: and so, through shamelesse fraude, corruption, and other cruelties, vsurpeth the crowne to himselfe. The which, thus gotten by Parricide, he would haue vp=holden by Incest, seeking to haue married (or rather marred) Elizabeth the eldest daughter of his late brother king Edward.

King Richard  
the third.

But within sixe and twenty monethes, the Nobilitie and Commons waxed so wearie of his barbarous Tyrannie, that they sent ouer the Seas and inuited Henry the Earle of Richmonde, a man that was descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, and preserued by God to weare the crowne, notwithstanding all that euer king Edward the fourth had practised to destroy him.

King Henry  
the seuenth,  
vniteth the  
two houses.  
Boswoorth  
field.

He then crosseth the Seas from Britaine, landeth in Wales, and is receaued with greedy hartes and good liking. From thence he marcheth into Leycestershire, and in a battaile at Boswoorth there,

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encountereth with King Richard, and killeth him. Then is he honourably crowned in the field, and Richard shamefully (but yet woorthily) conueied to the ground.

This done, king Henry both straineth a point of policie in killing innocent Edward, sonne to the Duke of Clarence, and onely heire male that remained of the house of York: and also taketh to his wife, Elizabeth the eldest daughter and very heire of that familie, and so (making his Garland of bothe the Roses) quieteth for euer that long and bloudie controuersie.

Thus haue I now at the length ledde you along the reignes of seuen sundry kings, and in a few leaues giuen you a totall of this tedious and tumultuous historie, which to haue been prose=quuted at large woulde require a whole booke, or Iliade.

It remaineth, and is requisite, that as a historie is truly called the Maistresse of our life, so some fruit be gathered of it. But bicause I feare, that as I haue wearied my selfe with writing, so I should tyre you also in reading, I will onely point at a few matters and so leaue them.

At a worde therefore, Kings and Princes are here (in the persons of these Princes) admonished of the instabilitie of earthly Kingdomes, and thereby prouoked to see after that heauenly kingdome, which is not subiect to mutabilitie or change. And this they are taught to do, by vsing pietie towards him by whome they reigne, and equitie towards

them ouer whom they be set: nam cætera regna,  
Luxuries vitiis, odiisque superbia vertit.

Noble men and Counselors are warned to ad=  
uise well their Kings, and to auoide ambition in  
themselues: for as a noble and wise Counselor  
late liuing was wont to say,

Callida consilia, prima fronte læta, tractatu difficilia,  
Euentu tristia.

Crafty counseiles haue a faire shew in the first ope=  
ning, but they be hard in the handeling, and wofull in  
the winding vp.

And as for Ambition, the winde neuer bloweth  
out of that quarter, but stormes arise withall, and  
wrecke of noble houses doth ensue.

The Commons also (who many times, and  
namely here, deserue well their name, bicause they  
be common to euery side) may by others harmes  
learne to leaue their continuall wauering and in=  
constancie. For light heads (as they see here) finde  
heauie rappes: and they shal euer prooue that true,  
which the Poet (or more truly in this behalfe, the  
Prophet) once sang:

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achiui.

When Princes doate, in taking armes,  
Their subiects smart, and beare the harmes.

At once both Kings, Counselors, Commons, and  
all men are assured to respect God heedily, to dwel  
in their own callings quietly, neither seeking other  
mens things wrongfully, nor labouring to defend  
their owne vnlawfully.

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Swanscombe, called in Saxon, Swegenscomb,  
that is, the campe of Sweyn the Dane  
that encamped at Grenehithe  
harde 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 toward the end of my labour.

The matter for the which it is especially renow=  
med, is alreadie bewrayed in the discourse of the  
auncient estate of this Shyre, whereunto I will re=  
ferre 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 Ro=  
chester Castle, and oweth seruice toward the de=  
fence 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, sundrie Knights fees, as petie Captaines  
(or inferiour souldiours) bound to serue vnder her  
banner there.

The Church  
of S. Hilde=  
ferthe.

The Church at Swanscombe, was much haun=

ted in times past, for Saint Hildeferthes helpe (a Bishop, by coniecture of his picture yet standing in the vpper window of the South Ile, although his name is not read in all the Catalogue of the Saxons) to whome such as were distracted, ranne

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for restitution of their wits, as thicke as men were wont to saile to Anticyra, for Helleborus.

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This cure was perfourmed **heere**, by warmth, close keeping, and good diet: meanes not onely not straunge, or miraculous, but meere naturall, ordinarie, and reasonable. And therefore, as on the one side, they might truely be thought madde men, and altered in their wits, that frequented this pilgrimage for any opinion of extraordinary wor= king: So on the other side, S. Hildeferth (of all the Saintes that I knowe) might best be spared, seeing we haue the keeper of Bethleem, who ceaseth not (euen till this day) to woorke mightily in the same kinde of Myracle.

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Grauesende, in Saxon, Gerefesend: in Latine, Limes Præ= torius.

The name of Portreue, whereof it commeth.

The original cause of the name of this place, lieth hidd in the vsuall name of the officer, lately created in the town: He is commonly called Portreue, but the woord (aunciently and truly soun= ded) is Portgereue, that is to say, the Ruler of the Towne. For Porte (descending of the Latine woord Portus) signifieth a Port Towne, and Gereue (be= ing deriued of the Saxon verbe gereccan, to rule) was first called gerecfa, and then gerefa, and beto= keneth a Ruler: So that, Portreue, is the Ruler of the Towne, and Greues-end, is as much to say, as

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the Limit, Bounde, or Precinct of such a Rule or Office.

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The name of Sherife.

Of the very same reason, they of the lowe and high Germanie (whence our language first descen= ded) cal one ruler, Burgreue, another Margreue, and the third Landsgreue: And of the same cause also, our Magistrate now called a Sherif, or (to speake more truly, Shyrereue) 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 either of Maior or Baylife there, was knowne by the name of Portreue, as in the Saxon Chartre of King William the Conqueroure (sundry examples wher= of bee yet extant) may appeere. It began thus, 'william cyng greit william bisceop, + godfreges portgerefan, + ealle þa burhwaren þe on lunden beon,' 'William the King, greeteth William the Bi= shop, and Godfrey the Portreue, and all the **Burgesses** 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 on= ly to leuie the Lords rents, to set to worke his ser=



uauents, and to husband his Demeasnes to his best profit and commoditie: but also to gouerne his tenants in peace, and to leade them foorth to war, when necessitie so required.

And although this name, and so much of the au=thoritie as remained, was (after the comming in of the Normanes) transferred to another, which they

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called Baylife: yet in sundry places of the Realme (especially in Copiholde Manors, where olde cu=stome preuailleth) the woord, Reue, is yet wel inough knowne and vnderstood.

Neither ought it to seeme any whit the more straunge, bicause I call now Reue, that which in old time was Gereue, for as much as this particule (Ge) was in processe of time, in some places chaunged in sound to (y) and in some other partes cleane lost and forgotten: As for example, wheras the Saxons vsed to say, he was Geboren, they of the West countrie pronounce it, he was yborne, and we of the countries nearer London, he was borne.

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Thus farre the Etymon of the name (Greues end) hath carried me out of the Historie, whereto I did the rather yeelde, bicause I had not mucche to write concerning the place it selfe. Howbeit I reade, that in the beginning of the reigne of King Richard the second, whilst the Lorde Neuel was by the Kings appointment, entred into Fraunce, with a great company of English souldiors, the French men came vp the Thamise with their Gallies, and brent diuers townes, and at the last (comming to Grauesende) spoiled and set it on fire also.

1379.

The Manor of Grauesend belonged then to the Abbot of Tower hill at London, of the guift of king Edwarde the thirde, founder of that and of some other religious houses. And bicause this Towne was brought to beggerie by that misfortune, the Abbot taking such aduantage for reliefe thereof as that time very happily afoorded, had conference

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with his tenants, and finding that by the continual recourse to and from Calyce (which the same king Edward had gained to his crowne) the passage by water betweene London and Grauesend was much frequented, both for the great ease, good cheape, and speedie transportation (requiring not one whole tide) he made offer on their behalves to the young King Richard the second, that if he would be pleased to graunt vnto the inhabitants of Graues=end and Mylton the priuilege, that none shoulde transport any passengers by Water from Graues=end to London, but they only, in their own boates, then shoulde they of those two parishes vndertake to carrie all such passengers, either for two pence each one with his farthell (or trusse) or otherwise, making the whole Fare (or passage) worth foure shillings. The King assented for the present, and some of his successors haue sithence confirmed the graunt: besides the which, continuall vsage hath so established the same, as it is notorious to all, not onely by the eie, but by delyuerie of the Statute

also, made 6. Henr. 8. cap. 7.

For the Order of this passage, and gouernment of the Watermen labouring therein, there is be= longing to that Manor a proper Court, intituled 'Curia cursus aquæ,' which was for sundry yeeres dis= continued, by the niggardly negligence of the Fermors of the Manor of Grauesende, but nowe lately hath beene reuiued by the Honourable care of the Lorde Cobham, Lorde Chamberlaine of her Maiesties Housholde, owner of the same: And by

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the example heerof, they of London obtained (vpon like offer) the like priuilege of transportation from London to Grauesende, which also to this day they enioy accordingly.

King Henry the eight, warned by that which had happened, raised a platforme at Grauesende, one other at Mylton, and two others ouer against them on Essex side, to commaund the Riuer in those pla= ces, at such time as he fortified other the Coastes of his Realme, as we haue before opened.

Heigham.

Of the Nunnes of Heigham Priorie I finde none other note, saue onely that they were vnder the visitation of the Bishop of Rochester. For in the be= ginning of the reigne of King Ed= ward the third, Hamon of Heth Bishop there, con= firmed the election of Mawde of Colchester, Prio= resse of this house, and about fourteene yeeres af= ter he visited both the head and whole companie, as the Registrar of Rochester, that wrote his actes and life, hath amongst many other small matters, some= what curiously ob= serued.

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<352>

Cliffe, written commonly in auncient Bookes, Cloueshoo, for Clifeshoo, which is as much to say, as, Cliffs hoo, or Cliffe at Hoo.

Theodore the seuenth Archbishop of Can= terbury, and the first (in the opinion of William Malmesburie) that exercised the authoritie of an Archbishop (which ap= peered (as others say) in that he tooke vpon him to depose Wilfrid of Yorke) called together a Synode of Bishops at Hereforde: in which it was agreed amongst them, that for the more speedie reforma= tion of abuses that might creepe into the Church, they should all assemble once euery yeere at Cloue= shoo, vpon the Kalends (or first day) of August: By vertue of which decree, Cuthbert, the eleuenth Archbishop, somoned the Bishops of his Prouince to the same place, and there (amongst other things woorthie note) it was enacted, that Priestes them= selues should first learne, and then teach their Pa= rishoners, the Lordes praier, and the Articles of their beleefe in the English tongue: To which de=

A learned age, in which Priestes had more Latine than English, and yet almost no Latine at all.

870.

cree, if you list to adde the testimonie of King Alfred, who in his Preface vpon the Pastorall of Gregorie, that he translated, saith, that when he came first to his kingdome, he knew not one Priest on the South side of the riuer of Humber that vnderstood his seruice in Latine, or **that** could translate an Epistle into English: And if you will **also** adioine **first** that which Alfric writeth in his Proeme to the

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803.

824.

Grammar, that is to say, that a little before the time of Dunstane the Archbishop, there was neuer an English Priest that could either endite, or vnderstand a Latin Epistle: **And then that which William of Malmesbury reporteth, to wit, that at the time of the Conquest, almost all the Bishops of England were vnlearned:** Then I doubt not but you shall euidently see, how easie it was for the Diuell and the Pope to creepe into the Church of England, when (whole ages togither) the Clergie was so well fed, and so euill taught. But to our matter againe. By vertue of the same decree and ordinance also, two other Councels were holden at Cliffe at Hoo: one vnder Kenulph, the King of Mercia, or middle Englande, 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 bicause 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 historie, that it was in the dominion of the King of Mercia, which I feare not to call middle England. But, for as much as I once read a note, made by one Talbot (a Prebendarie of Norwiche, and a diligent traualer in the English historie) vpon the margine of an auncient written copie of William Malmesburies booke 'De Pontificibus,' in which he expounded Cloueshoo, to be Cliffe at Hoo neare Rochester: and for that I do not finde the expresse name (Cloueshoo) in all the catalogue of **townes in** that precinct which was sometime the

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kingdome of Mercia (although there be diuers places therein that beare the name of Cliffe, as well as this) I am contented to subscribe to Talbots opinion: but with this protestation, that if at any time hereafter I finde a better, I will be no longer bound to follow him.

The towne is large, and hath thereto a great parish Church: and (as I haue beene tolde) many of the houses were casually burned (about the same time that the Emperour Charles came into this Realme to visite King Henrie the eight) of which hurt it was neuer yet thorowly cured. It hath the name Cliffe, of the situation, and lieth in the hundred of Shamel, albeit that it be called at Hoo, which in deede is the hundred next adioyning, and taketh his name (as I suppose) of the effect: for Hoh in the olde English signifieth sorrowe, or sicknes, wherwith the inhabitants of that vnwholesome hundreth be very much exercised.

And thus haue I now visited the places of chiefe

1520.  
Stowe.

<Stow 1580:925>

The order of  
this descrip=  
tion.

note that lie in the skirts of the Diocese, wherunto if I had added a few other that be within the body of the same, I woulde no lesse gladly, then I must necessarily, finish and close vp this winters trauell.

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Mepham, aunciently written  
Meapaham.

Simon Mepham (the Archbishop that per=  
formed the solemnities at the inaugu=  
ration of King Edward the thirde) had  
bothe his natiuitie **and name** of this

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1320.

towne, although Polydore Virgil hath no mention of the man at all, in his hystorie, or catalogue of Archbishops, either not finding, or forgetting, that euer there was any such.

It is probable also, that the same Bishop builte the Church at Mepham, for the vse of the poore, which William Courtney (one of his successours) repaired fower score yeeres after, and annexed therunto fower new houses for the same ende and purpose.

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The auncient  
fourme of a  
testament.

Besides these notes, it hath chaunced me to see **one** antiquitie of Mepham, which both for the pro=  
fit and pleasure that I conceiued therof, I thinke meete to insert, though happily some other man may say, that I do therein (and in many others also) nothing els but 'Antiquiora Diphtera loqui.'

Neuerthelesse, to the ende that it may appeere, what the auncient forme and phrase of a Testament was: howe the Husbande and the wife ioyned in making their Testaments: 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 tenant: and howe it was procured by a guift of Heriot, which as Bracton saieth, was done at the first, 'Magis de gratia, quam de iure:' Furthermore, how this town of Mepham, and sundrie others came at the first to Christes church, S. Augustine, and Rochester: and finally, that you may know, as well what aduancement to Gentry was then in vse, as also what weapons, iewels, and

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†and ornaments were at that time worne and occupied, I will 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 Shyre, and had his abiding at Mepham more then sixe hundreth yeeres agoe.

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This is Birtricks . . . . .

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First, to his naturall Lord, . . . . .

494

markes, and a Cuppe . . . . .

495

And after his dayes . . . . .

496

soule their Lord, . . . . .

497

deale, (betweene God . . . . .

. . . . . þe hit healdan wille.

The auncient estate of a Gentleman, and by what meanes gentrie was obtained in the olde time.

It shall suffice, for the most part of the matters (woorthie obseruation) in this testamēt, that I haue already **only** pointed at them (as it were) with **my** finger: for that they **do** appeere and shew themselues manifestly **euen** at the first sight: Only therefore, touching the estate and degree of this Testatour, I wil (for the more light and discouerie

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thereof) borrow a few wordes of you.

He himselfe here calleth Aelfric, his Lorde, and naturall Lord, and saith further, that Aelfere was Father to this Aelfric: Now, what Aelfere and Aelfric were, it is not hard to finde: for all our auncient Historians tell vs, that in the daies of King Edgar, of King Edwarde the Martyr, and of King Ethelred, these men were by birth, cousines of the blood royall: by state (Eorles **Earles**) which woorde 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 profites of the Shire, or Countie: that they were also by dignitie (Ealdor=men) that is, Senators, and Gouvernours of all Mercia, or middle England: And finally that they were of such great power and credite, that Aelfer the Father, immediatly after the death of King Edgar, restored all such priests thorowout Midle England, to their houses, as the king (by aduice of Dunstane the Monke) had in his life expulsed, for the placing of his Monks: And that Aelfric the sonne, resisted king Ethelred in that siege of Rochester, whereof you heard when we were there.

For as much therefore, as Aelfric was hlaford, or Lorde, to our Testator, and hlaford and ðegn, that is to say, Lorde and Seruiteur, be woordes of relation, I gather, that he was ðegn, which signifieth properly a Minister, or free Seruiteur, to the king, or **to** some great personage. But vsually at those times taken for the very same, that wee cal

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now of the Latine woorde (Gentilis) a Gentleman, that is (<Eugenēs>) a man well borne, or of a good stocke and familie.

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Neither doth it detract any thing from his Gentrie at all, that I said he was a Minister, or Seruiteur: for I meane not thereby, that he was (Seruus) which woorde (straightly construed) doth signifie a seruaunt, or slaue, whom they in those daies called ðeowe: but my minde is, that he was a seruitour of free condition, either aduanced by his owne vertue and merite, or els descended of such auncestors, 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, dis= daine to beare: For, out of the very same olde word (Denian) to serue, is framed his Poesie, or woorde vpon his armes (Ic Dien) I serue. **The like whereof is vpon the Armes of the Counties Palatine of Chester, and Durham also.**

And thus I suppose that it is manifest, that Byr= thryc our Testator was by condition a Noble man, or (which in common acceptance abroade is all one with it) a Gentleman.

Howbeit, to the ende that bothe this thing may haue the more authoritie and credite, and that it may withall appeere what degrees of Nobilitie and Gentry there were in this Realme before the coming in of the Normanes, and by what merits men might ascend and be promoted to the same, I will reach a litle higher, and shew you another English (or Saxon) antiquitie, which I haue seene

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placed in diuers old copies of the Saxon lawes, af= ter the end of all, as a note or aduertisement.

It was sometime . . . . .

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journey (expedition) fiue hides . . . . .

. . . . . notian ne moste.

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The degrees of Freemen, Earle, Theyn, and Churle.

By this you see, first, that in those daies there were but three estates of free men (for bondser= uants, which we **do** nowe since call by a strained worde Villaines are 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: **and** as touching that which is heere spoken of the seruant of the Theyn, or Gen= tleman, I deeme it rather ment for a prerogatiue belonging to the maister, then mentioned as a se= uerall degree in the man.

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Alderman, Shireman &c. were names of offices.

Neither doth it make against me in this diuis= on, that you shall many times reade, of Ealdorman, Scyrman, Heretoga, Seðcundman, twelfhyndman, twyhindman: for these be not names of difference in degrees, but **they** do either denote the offices and dignities, or els the estimation and values, of those to whome they be attributed: as Alderman and Shyremen, do signifie that Earle or Noble man, to whome 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: Syðcundman, that Gentle= man, that had the manred (as some yet call it) or the office, to lead the men, of a Towne, or Parish: And as for twelfhindman, it was giuen to the Theyn, or Gentleman, bicause his life was valued at Twelue hundreth shillings (as in those daies the liues of all sorts of men were rated at certaine summes of money) And twyhindman, to the Churle or Yeoman, bicause the price of his head was taxed

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at two hundred shillings: which thing (if it were not expressly set forth in sundry old lawes yet extant) might well ynough be found in the Etymologie of the woordes themselues, the one **being** called a Twelfhynd, as it were, a Twelue hundred man, and the other a Twyhynd, for a man of Two hundred.

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Wisdom is more profitable, when it is ioyned with riches.

Furthermore, you may heere behold, with what discretion and equitie, our elders proceeded in bestowing these promotions: for whereas all Nobilitie and Gentry **is either, Natiue, or Dative, that is to say**, commeth either by Discent, or by Purchase, wherof the first, if it be not accompanied with vertue, is but an emptie signe, and none other thing, than (as one well saied) 'Nobilitatem in Astragulis gestare.' But the latter (being both the maker and maintainer of the first) as it ought by all reason to be rewarded with due enseignes of honour, to the end that vertue may be the more desirously embraced: So haue they heere appointed three seuerall path waies to leade men streight vnto it, that is to say, Seruice, Riches, and Learning, or (to speake more shortly) Vertue and Riches: in which two (as Aristotle confesseth) all the olde Nobilitie consisted, and which two (as the Ecclesiastes or Preacher teacheth) make a good accouplement: for (saith hee) 'Vtilior est sapientia, cum diuitiis coniuncta.'

And in this part, you may lastly perceiue also, that out of all those trades of life, which be (<chrēmastika>) that is to say, conuersant in gaine, they admitted to the estate of Gentry such onely, as increased by honest Husbandrie, and plentiful Merchandize:

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Merchandize, and Husbandrie.

Of the first of which Cicero affirmeth, that 'There is nothing meeter for a Freeborne man:' And of the other, that 'It is praise woorthy also, if at the length 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 fantasie) where as Geruas. Tilberiens. (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 keeping of a standing shop: and to Inuection (which is to exercise Mercerie) or (as some call it) to play the Chapman: and not to Nauigation, or **Merchandize**, which (as you see) is the only laudable part of all buying and selling.

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And againe, whereas **the Ciuile Lawe saith**, 'Patritii cum plebeiis coniugia ne contrahunto:' and in our law it is reputed a Disparagement for a warde in Chualrie (which in old time was as much to say, as a Gentleman) to be married to the daughter of one that dwelt in a Borowe, I thinke that it also ought to be restrained to such onely as professed handycrafts, or those baser Artes of buying and selling, to get their liuing by.

But of all this matter, my Maisters the Heralds can better infourme you, to whome (least I be blamed for thrusting my Sicle into another mans Haruest) I will without any more, referre you.

Tunbridge, Wrotham, this towne, and North=

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fleete, doe lie North and South one from another: and it is a commune and receiued 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 truth, let himselfe make the triall, for I dare not warrant it.

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Wrotham, in Latine **by some, Vagniacæ, but mistaken.** It is in the Domesday booke **also** corruptly written (Broteham) for I suppose, that wyrtham is the very right name, giuen for the great plentie of woortes (or good herbes) that growe there.

There was in Wrotham, of auncient time, a Manor house, pertaining to the See of the Archbishops. For Geruasius witnesseth, that one Ri=chard (the Archbishop that succeeded Thomas Becket) lay there: And that after suche time as he had, by great largition and briberie, pre=uailed at Rome, bothe against King Henrie (the sonne of the second of that name) in his owne con=secration) against Roger the Bishop of Yorke in the quarel of preeminencie, and against others in other vaine suites, (so that it might neuer be more truly said of that Citie in Paganisme it selfe, 'Romæ omnia ire venum,' than in that time of Papistrie) hee had a

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moste terrible dreame (or vision) in his sleepe at Wrotham, the manner whereof (as he reporteth) was this.

It seemed to him, that a very graue and reue=rend personage, came to his bed side by night, and demanded of him in a loude voice, who art thou? with which noise, when the Archbishop awaked, and for feare answered nothing, it added moreo=uer, '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 woorde) vanished out of sight.

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The Archbishop arose in the morning, and ha=uing intended a iourny to Rochester, addressed him selfe thitherward: but this vision continually pre=sented it selfe before the eie of his minde, and so troubled him, that for ease of his inward griefe, he began to disclose the whole order of it to suche as were in his companie: whereof he had no sooner made an ende, but he was forthwith stricken with such a horroure, and chill colde, that he was driuen of necessitie to alight at Halling in his way, where in great torment he ended his life, the next day fol=lowing.

This house continued heere, vntill the time of Simon Islip, the Archbishop: who hauing a desire to finishe the Palaice at Maidstone, which Iohn Vfford his predecessour had begun, and wanting



wherewith to accomplish it, not only pulled downe the building at Wrotham, and conueied the stuffe thithier, but also obtained of the Pope, licence to

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leuie a Tenth throughout his whole Prouince, to performe his worke withall.

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Kemsing.

i. The worship of many Gods.

In the late time of the Popish <polytheia>, the Image of Edith (the Daughter †King Edgar, and sometime Prioeresse of Wylton in the West Countrie) was religiously frequented in the Church= yarde at Kemsing, for the preseruacion of Corne and Graine, from Blasting, Myldew, Brandeare, and such other harmes as commonly **do** annoy it.

Saint Edithe, and her offering.

The manner of the which sacrifice was this: Some seelie bodie brought a pecke, or two, or a Bushell of Corne, to the Church: and (after praies made) offered it to the Image of the Saint: Of this offering, the Priest vsed to **toll** the greatest portion, and then to take one handfull, or litle more of the residue (for you must consider he woulde bee sure to gaine by the bargaine) the which after aspersion of holy water, and mumbling of a few woordes 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 woulde preserue from harme, and prosper in growthe, the whole heape that he should sowe, were it neuer so great a **Stacke, or mowgh**.

I remember, that I haue read in Terentius Varro,

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that the olde Romanes (amongst innumerable others) had in great veneration, one God, which (of Robigo, a canker in Corne) they called Robigus, and to whome they made deuout intercession and solemne sacrifice, for the preseruacion and deliuerie of their graine, from the selfe same annoyances, that ours is subiect vnto.

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How much that God of the Romanes, and our Goddess of Kemsing, differed in profession, let some Popish gadder after straunge Gods make the account, for I my selfe can finde no oddes at all.

The olde and new Romans, agree in many points of religion.

And truly, were it not that I am loth to anticipate nowe before time, that which I shall (God granting) haue both fit place, and meete time to vtter hereafter, I coulde easily shew, that the olde Romanes, and our new Romanistes, agreed in manner throughout, both 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 forms of their solemnities, in the report of their false and fained miracles: and finally, almost in the whole heape and dunghill of their filthy and superstitious Idolatries.

But I will awaite conuenient seasons, and at this time giue to euerie man the same, and none other counsell, than Plautus, (a heathen Poet in

deede, and yet in this behalfe more heauenly than any Papist) sometime gaue in the like case, saying: 'Vnus dum tibi propitius est lupiter, tu hosce minutos Deos flocci feceris.' 'While lupiter is thy friend, set not thou a strawe by all these petie Gods.'

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Falcasius (or Fulco) de Breant, was owner of the Manor of Kemsing, and (by graunt of King Henrie the third) had a Market there vpon each Monday. But that is long since lost, and the place shadowed by Sennocke the next Market: Howbeit, Kemsing is yet the mother Church (as they say) and Seale is but a childe (or Chappell) of it.

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Otforde, in Saxon, Ottanford.

We haue mention in auncient historie of two famous battels foughten at Otforde, whereof the one happened amongst the Saxons themselues, contending for glorie and supreme souerainty: The other, betweene the Danes and Saxons, striuing for landes, liues, and libertie.

773.

In the first, Offa the King of Mercia (hauing already ioined to his dominion, the most part of Westsex, and Northumberland, and seeking to haue added Kent also) preuailed against the inhabitants of this countrie, not without great slaughter of his owne subiects, and after the victorie, he both tooke diuers landes from the Archbishopricke, and also transferred (as it were in triumphe) the Archbishopps Chaire into his owne kingdome, as you heard in the beginning. Neuerthelesse he continued his fauour towardes the priorie of Christes church, and increased it with his owne gifte of Ickam, Roking, Perhamstede, Sandhyrst, this Otford,

786.

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and sundry other lands in the same Shyre.

1016.

In the other fight, King Edmund (surnamed for his great strength, Ironside) obtained against King Canutus the Dane, a most honourable victorie, and pursued him (flying toward Shepey) vntill he came to Ailesforde: committing vpon the Danes suche slaughter, and bloudie hauocke, that if Edric the traitour, had not by fraudulent counsell withholden him, (as we haue before declared) he had that day made an end of their whole armie.

S. Thomas Becketts spite full miracles.

These be the written antiquities that I finde of Otford, which happily some men will esteeme lesse, than 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 too many beleueed, that while Thomas Becket lay at the olde house at Otford (which of long time (as you see) belonged to the Archbishopps, and whereof the olde hall and chapell onely doe now remaine) and sawe that it wanted a fit spring to water it, that he strake his staffe into the drie ground, (in a place thereof now called Saint Thomas Well) and that immediately the same

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water appeered, which running plentifully, serueth the offices of the new house till this present day.

They say also, that as he walked on a time in the olde Parke (busie at his praies) That he was much hindered in deuotion, by the sweete note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bush besides him: and that therefore (in the might of his

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holinesse) he inioined, that from thencefoorth no birde of that kinde should be so bolde as to sing thereabout.

Some men report likewise, that for as much as a Smith (then dwelling in the towne) had cloyed his horse, He enacted by like authoritie, that after that time no Smith shoulde thriue within the Parish. Innumerable such toyes, false Priestes haue deuised, and fonde people (alas) haue beleued, of this iolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which, for the vnworthinesse of the things themselves, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightened) I neither will, nor can, now presently recount, but must pursue the residue, that pertaineth to this place.

S. Bartilmew of Otford, & his offering.

For besides this Thomas, there was holden in great veneration at Otford, another Saint, called Bartilmew, the Apostle (as I trowe) for his feast day was kept solemne, both with a faire, and good fare there.

This man serued the parson as Purueyour of his poultrie, and was frequented (by the parishioners, and neighbors about) for a most rare and singular propertie that he professed.

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For the manner was, that if any woman (conceiued with childe) desired to bring a male, shee shoulde offer to Saint Bartholmew a Cocke chicken, and if her wish 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

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much from the Priests of olde Rome, called Luperci: For a litle of the water of the one, and the doing of a certaine Ceremonie by the other, was (at pleasure) as able as Saint Bartholmew, to make barrene women become fruitfull.

Assuredly, through the fraude of this foxe, the Countrie people (as wise as capons) were many yeeres together robbed of their Hens and Cocks: till at the length it chaunced King Henrie the eight (after exchange made with the Archbishop for this Manor of Otford) to haue conference with some of the Towne, about the enlarging of his Parke there: Amongst the which, one, called Maister Robert Multon (a man, whom 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 him, vnfolded the whole packe of the idolatrie, and preuailed so farre in fauour, that shortly after, the King commaunded Saint Bartholmew to be taken downe and to be deliuered vnto him.

Thus haue you hearde, the contention of the Saxons, the ouerthrowe of the Danes, the fraude of Popish Priestes, the follie of simple folkes, and the fall of deceitfull idolatrie. Now a few woordes (for example) of the prodigalitie of a proude Prelate, and then to the residue.

The Palace at Otford.

William Warham the Archbishop, minding to leaue to posteritie, some glorious monument of his worldly wealth, and misbegotten treasure, determined to haue raised a gorgious Palaice for

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himselfe and his successours in the Citie of Canterbury, but (vpon occasion of a difference that arose betweene him and the citizens for the limits of his soyle there) he chaunged his former purpose, and in displeasure towards them, bestowed at Otforde, thirty and three thousand poundes, vpon the house that is now to be seene, notwithstanding that **hee** himselfe, Morton his immediate predecessour, and **Bourchier before him** had not long before liberally builded at Knolle, a house little more than two miles from it.

For, that house also (so called of the situation which is vpon the knap, (or Knoll) of a hill,) had **Bishop Bourchier in the beginning of** his time purchased of **William Fynys** the Lorde Saye, of **the Seale**, and appropriated it to the See of the Archbishopricke.

Erasmus doth misreport the cause of the contention, between the King, & Thomas Becket.

But now before I can depart from Otford, I am to begge licence for a worde or two more, as well for the satisfaction of mine owne promise heeretofore made, as also for the direction of my Reader, which otherwise by the countenance of a certaine famous and learned writer, might be quight and cleane carried from me.

Des. Erasmus taking occasion, in the Preface to Francis the French King (prefixed before his Paraphrase vpon Saint Markes Gospell) to discourse vpon the great troubles and warres that were in his time betweene the Princes of Christendome, declareth, that it were a laudable labour for some man of the Clergie (euen with the hazard of his

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life) to become the instrument of their reconciliation.

And amongst other examples of times passed, he bringeth in Thomas Becket, who (as he speaketh) spared not to exercise the Euangelicall libertie (meaning excommunication, belike) vpon the King himselfe, and that for a verie small matter: wherein, although he profited little in his life (saith he) yet by his death he purchased both gaine and glorie, to himselfe, and the <sup>t</sup>wole Clergie.

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Which saide, he addeth in effect as followeth: They contended (saith he) not for reconciling Princes one to another, but the controuersie was onely for a certaine withdrawing house, called Otforde, a place more meete for a religious mans meditation, then for a Princes pleasure, with the which (saith Erasmus) I my selfe could not haue beene greatly in loue, till such time as William Warham

the Archbishop, bestowed so great cost vpon it, that he might be thought rather to haue raised a new house in the place, then to haue repaired the olde: for he left nothing of the first woorke, but onely the wals of a hall, and a chapell:

Thus farre out of Erasmus. Wherein first (by the way) you may espie the reason that mooued King Henrie the eight, to take that house by exchange from the Archbishop, namely, bicause Warham (not contented to continue it a plaine house, fit to withdrawe himselfe vnto for contemplation and praier) had so magnificently enlarged the same, that it was now become meete, to make

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a Palaice for a Kings habitation and pleasure.

But let vs come to our matter. You see heere that Erasmus maketh this house, the matter, and motiue of al the contention that was betweene the King and the Archbishop: which if it be so, then haue not I faithfully dealt, in laying the cause thereof to be such, as appeereth in Canterburie before, and consequently, I haue too too much abused the Reader.

But for a short answere hereto, I doe eftsoones auow, that not onely William of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, and Mathew Parise, (whom chiefly I haue followed in this storie, and which all, were, either men liuing when the matter was in hande, or borne immediatly after) do plainly 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 historiens following, yea and the very authours of the Quadriloge it selfe (or song of foure parts, for they yeeld a concert, though it be without Harmonie) doe all, with one pen and mouth, acknowledge the same.

Amongst the rest, Polydore sheweth himselfe exceeding angrie, with some that had blowne abroad some such like sound of the cause of this great hurley burley: for he saith plainely, that they were 'Amentiaē pleni, qui deblaterabant, Thomam conseruandarum possessionum caussa, tantum iniuriarum accepisse.' starke madde, which babbled that Thomas did receive so many iniuries, for sauing of his possessions.

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But for all this, to the ende that it <sup>†</sup>may fully appeere, both that Erasmus hath said somewhat, and also from whence (as I suppose) this thing was mistaken, I pray you heare the Quadriloge or storie of his life it selfe: for that only shall suffice to close vp the matter.

It appeereth by the authors of that worke, that after such 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 alwaies by contrarie winde repulsed, and driven to the land againe: The King in his iust indignation, sought by all possible meanes to bridle his

immoderate peeuishnesse: and therefore, first resu=  
med into his owne handes, all such honors and ca=  
stles of his owne as he had committed to the Bi=  
shops custodie: Then called he an assembly of all  
his Nobility and Bishops to Northampton castle,  
where before them all, he first charged Thomas with  
**fiue hundred poundes** that he had long before lent  
him: for the repaiment wherof, he there compelled  
him to giue fiue seuerall sureties.

This done, he called him to an account for **thir=  
tie thousand** Markes, receiued of the reuenues of  
the crowne, during the time that he was Chaunce=  
lour. Now, whilst the Archbishop was much trou=  
bled with this matter (sometime denying to yeelde  
any account at all, sometime crauing respite to  
make a resolute aunswere, but alwaies delaying

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the time, and meditating how to shift the place)  
there come (on a time) into his lodging, the Bi=  
shops of London and Chichester: who, finding him  
at supper, saide vnto him (woorde for woorde of the  
Quadriloge) as followeth, that is, 'That they had  
found out a way for peace: and when the Archbishop  
had required, vnder what forme? They aunswered:  
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 beleeeue that he being therewith paci=  
fied, will not onely resigne you the Manors againe,  
and forgiue you the money, but also a great deale the  
sooner receiue you to his fauour.' To this, the Arch=  
bishop replied, 'The Manor of Hethe was sometime  
belonging to the Church of Canterburie (as I haue  
hearde) which the King now hath in demeane: And  
albeit that the only challenge of the thing is sufficient  
cause to haue it restored to the Church of Canter=  
bury, yet I doe not looke that it will be done in these  
times: Neuerthesse, rather than I will renounce the  
right, which the Church of Canterbury is saide to  
haue in that Manor, either for the appeasing of any  
trouble whatsoever, or for recouerie of the Kings fa=  
uour, I will offer this head of mine (and touched it)  
to any hazarde or daunger, whatsoever it be:' The  
Bishops being angrie with this, went out from  
him, and tolde the King of all, and his indignation  
was sore kindled with it. Thus much out of the  
Quadriloge faithfully translated.

The Manor  
of Wingham.

Now, vpon the whole matter, it appeereth: first,

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that the quarrell was for the lawes of Clarendune  
which yet depended: and then, that, euen as a fire  
being once kindled, the flame seeketh all about, and  
imbraceth whatsoever it findeth in the way: So  
the King being offended with the rebellion of this  
Bishop, left no stone vntaken vp, that might bee  
hurled at him, and therefore brought in against him,  
bothe debtes, accomptes, and whatsoever other  
meanes of annoyaunce.

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Moreouer, **it falleth out** that this matter of Ot=  
forde and Wingham (for as you now see it was not  
Otford alone) was not at all tossed betweene the

King and the Archbishop, but mooued **onely** by the pacifiers (these two Bishops) as a meete meane of reconciliation in their owne opinion and iudge=ment: or, if it may be thought, that they were sent and suborned by the King himselfe with that deuise: yet is it manifest, that the right of the houses them=selues **was** not desired, but only that they might remain as a paune til the account were audited: †Neither if the gift of this house would haue made an ende of the strife, doth it by and by follow, that the contention was mooued at the first about it.

And therefore, as on the one side you may see, that Erasmus his report is but matter of Preface, and no Gospell: So yet on the other side it is euident, that of such and so lustie a stomacke was this Archbishop, that if former cause had not beene, yet he could haue found in his hart to fall out with his Prince for this, or **for** a smaller matter.

For, what would he not aduenture for a Manor

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or twaine in lawfull possession, that would not stick to hazard his head before he would release that right, which he thought he had to a piece of lande, and that but onely by hearesay, or supposition? But it is more then time to make an end, and therefore leauing Thomas, and his house, in the bottom, let vs **now** climbe the Hill toward Sennocke.

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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 Earls of Surrey, which Alfrede of Beuerley calleth Holme, and which the Countrie people do yet terme, the Castle of Holmesdale. This tooke the name, of the Dale wherin it standeth, which is large in quantity, 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 most part) Conuallis, a plaine valley, running between two hils, that be replenished with stoare of wood: for, so much the very word (Holmesdale) it selfe importeth.

In this Dale (a part of which we nowe crosse, in our way to Sennocke) the people of Kent (being encouraged by the prosperous successe of Edward their King, the Sonne of Alfrede, and commonly surnamed Edward the Elder) assembled themselves, and gaue to the Danes, that had many yeers before afflicted them, a moste sharpe and fierce

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904.

encounter, in the which, after long fight they preuailed, and the Danes were ouerthrowne and vanquished.

This victorie, and the like euent in an other battaile (giuen to the Danes at Otforde, which standeth in this same valley also) begate, as I gesse, the common bywoord, vsed amongst the inhabitauntes of this vale, euen till this present day, in which they vaunt after this manner,

The vale of Holmesdale,  
Neuer wonne, nor neuer shale.

<383> Sennocke, or (as some call it) Seuen oke,  
of a <sup>r</sup>innmber of trees, as **they**  
coniecture.

The Schoole,  
and Almes=  
house.

About the latter ende of the reigne of  
King Edwarde the thirde, there was  
found (lying in the streetes at Sen=  
nocke) a poore childe, whose Parents  
were vnknowne, and he (for the same  
cause) named after the place where he was taken  
vp, William Sennocke.

1418. This Orphan, was by the helpe of some charita=  
ble persons, brought vp and nourtured, in suche  
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.

At which time, calling to his minde, the goodnes  
of Almighty God, and the fauour of the Townes=  
men, extended towards him, he determined to

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make an euerlasting monument of his thankfull  
minde for the same.

1418. And therefore, of his owne charge, builded both  
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 yeerely liuing (as the daies then suffe=  
red) towards their sustentation, and maintenance:  
But since his time, the Schoole was much amen=  
ded by the liberalitie of one Iohn Potkyn, which ly=  
ued vnder the reigne of King Henrie the eight: and  
1542. now lately also, in **the second yeere** of the reigne of  
our souereigne Ladie, through the honest trauaile  
of diuers the inhabitants there, not only the yeerely  
stipend is much increased, and the former litigious  
possessions quietly established: but the corporation  
also chaunged into the name of Wardeins, and  
foure assistants, **of the towne and parish of Sen=  
nocke, and** of the free Schoole of Queene Eliza=  
beth in Sennocke.

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The Towne.

The present estate of the Towne it selfe is good,  
and it seemeth to haue been (for these many yeeres  
together) in no woorse plight: And yet finde I not  
in all historie, any memorable thing concerning it,  
saue onely, that in the time of King Henrie the sixt,  
lack Cade, and his mischieuous meiny, discomfited  
1449. there Sir Humfrey Stafford, and his Brother,  
two Noble Gentlemen, whom the  
King had sent to encoun=  
ter them.

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Eltham.

An edifying  
Bishop.

Anthonie Becke, that Bishop of Dur=  
ham, which in the reignes of King  
Henrie the thirde, and of King Ed=  
ward his Sonne, builded Auclande  
Castle in the Bishopricke of Dur=  
ham, Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire, and Durham



place at London, was (by the report of Iohn Le=land) either the very Author, or the first beautifier, of this the Princes house here at Eltham also.

It is noted **in historie** of that man, that he was in all his life and Port, so gay and glorious, that the Nobilitie of the Realme disdained him greatly therefore. But they did not consider (belike) that he was in possession Bishop of Durham, which had 'Iura Regalia,' the Prerogatiues of a pety kingdome: and that he was by election, Patriarch of Ierusa=lem, which is neere Cousin to a Popedome: in which respects, he might well ynough be allowed to haue 'Domus splendidas luxu Regali,' his houses, not onely as gay as the Noble mens, but also as gorgeous as the Kings owne. But, 'Sequuntur prodigum rapinæ:' 'Pillage, is the handmaide of prodigalitie.' For, as it is the condition of Prodigal men to catch from some, to cast to others: So this man, hauing got=ten this and other lands by defrauding that trust, which the last Lorde Vescy reposed in him for the behoofe of a Bastard that he left, he bestowed it (as Master Camden writeth) vpon Eleonor the Wife of King Edward the first, for supportation (I think)

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of his owne haughtinesse, and vaine glorie.

And yet he builded no faster here, than he destroi=ed in other places, as may appeere by a complaint exhibited in Parlement against him, for destruction of the woods, and oppression of the tenants of his Bishopricke, whereupon also a speciall prohibition was awarded to restraine him.

To say the trueth, this was not **Bishoplike** to builde vp the spirituall house with liuely stones, resting on the chiefe corner to Heauen, and to God=ward: but with Mammon and Materiall stuffe to erect warrlike Castles for the nourishment of con=ention, and stately Palaces, for the maintenance of worldly pride and pleasure, towardes Hell and the Deuill. Howbeit, letting **all** that passe, let vs see what **afterwardes** became of this peece of his building.

1270.

King Henrie the third (saith Mat. Parise) toward the latter ende of his reigne, kept a Royall Christ=mas (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 do not hereby gather, that hi=therto the King had any propertie in it, for asmuch as the Princes in those daies, vsed commonly both to sojourne for their pleasures, and to passe their set solemnities also, in Abbaies and **in** Bishops houses. But yet (**as you see**) soone after the house came to the possession of the Crowne: for **more** prooffe whereof I praye you heare and

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marke what followeth **also**.

1315.

The wife of King Edward the second, bare vnto him a Sonne at this house, who was thereof sur=named Iohn of Eltham. What time King Iohn of

1363.

Fraunce (which had been prisoner in England) came

ouer to visite king Edward the third (who had most honorably intreated him) the King and his Queen lay at Eltham to entertaine him.

1412. King Henrie the fourth also, kept his last Christmas at Eltham. And King Henrie his sonne and successour, lay there at a Christmas likewise, when he was faine to depart suddenly, for feare of some that had conspired to murder him.

1414. <386> Furthermore, Iohn Rosse writeth plainly, that King Edward the fourth, to his great cost, repaired his house at Eltham: at which time also (as I suppose) he inclosed Horne parke, one of the three, that be here, and enlarged the other twaine.

1476. And it is not yet fully out of memorie, that king Henrie the seuenth, set vp the faire front ouer the mote there: since whose reigne, this house, by reason of the neerenesse to Greenewiche (which also was much amended by him, and is through the benefite of the Riuer, a seate of more commoditie) hath not beene so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the emparked groundes here, may be in manner as well enjoyed, the Court lying at Greenewiche, as if it were at this house it selfe.

The peroration of this worke. These be the things that I had to remember in Eltham: And (to make an ende of all) these be the

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places, whereof I meant to make note in this my Xenagogie and Perambulation of Kent, the first and onely Shyre that I haue described: wherein although I haue not spoken of sundry Townes, **nothing** inferiour, at this present, in estimation to a great many that I haue handeled, and happily equall with them in antiquitie also, yet I thinke I haue neither pretermitted many that be much worthie of obseruation, nor scarcely omitted any, that be mentioned in such bookes of Historie, as bee easily to be had and obtained.

<387> But as for the Feodaries and Tenures of land, **the** Genealogies and Armes of men, **the** Ebbes, Floudes, and Tides of the Sea and Riuers, **the** Flattes **and** Barres of Hauens, and such other **more hidden** things, although somewhat might haue beene seuerally said concerning each of them, yet haue I wittingly, and without touch, leapt ouer them all: Partly for the incerteintie, partly that I scatter not any seede of dissention and enuie, and partly least, whilst (by disclosing secrets, **and** labouring to serue the curiositie of some few) I either offend many of the sadder sort, or deserue euill of the whole estate.

Now therefore, I will **both** deliuer you, and rest me: wishing that some other man of greater profite in reading, deapth in Iudgement, and Dexterity in penning, woulde **haue vndertaken the labour**. For as I at the first assaied it, to prooue my selfe, to prouoke **any**, and to pleasure and profite others: So, hauing now atchieued it (**after the**

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**measure of my small talent**) if any man shall like to take this mettall, drawn **by me** out of a fewe

Sowes into many sheetes, and **will** hammer it to some further and finer fashion, I will not onely not enuie it, but **will** most **gladly** thanke him, and gratulate to our Countrie so good a turne and benefite.

As touching the description of the **residue** of this Realme, **finding** by this one, **how** harde it will be for any one (and much more for my selfe) to accom=plish it for all, I can but wish in like sort, that some one in each Shyre woulde make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours (as it were, 'ex symbolo') we **might** at the last by the vnion of ma=fect bodie and booke of our English Topographie.

Here left I (good Reader) when I first set fourth this Woorke: Since which time I finde my desire not a little serued by Master Camdens Britannia: wherein, as he hath not onely farre exceeded what=soeuer hath been formerly attempted in that kynd, but hath also passed the expectation of other men and euen his own hope: So do I acknowledge it writ=ten to the great Honour of the realme with men a=broad and to the singular delight of vs all at home, hauing for mine own particular found my self ther=by to haue learned much euen in that Shyre wher=in I had endeouored to know most. Neuerthe=lesse, being assured that the Inwardes of each place may best be knowen by such as reside therein, I can

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not but still encourage some one able man in each Shyre to vndertake his owne, wherby both many good particularities will come to discouerie euery where, and Master Camden him selfe may yet haue greater choice wherewith to amplifie and enlarge the whole.

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The Customes of Kent.

Although good order **mighte** haue borne the rehersall of the ancient Customes of this shire, in that generall discourse which we had in the beginning as tou=ching 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 manifold) might haue beene thought too great a Parenthesis, or ra=ther an interruption of the Historie, wherein wee were as then but newly entred, I thought it better to reserue them for this place: to the ende, that both the one and the other, might appeere, without breach, or confusion.

These Customes, therefore, being (for the most part) discrepant from the common lawes of our

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Realme, and annexed to such landes within this Shyre, as beare the name of Gauelkinde, are com=

monly called Gauelkinde Customes, for that they preuaile and haue place, in landes of Gauelkinde nature. In which respect, it shall not be amisse to shew, for what reason those landes were at the first so termed, and why they doe yet hitherto continue the name.

Two coniectures I haue of the reason of this name: The one grounded vpon the nature of the discent, and inheritance of these landes themselues: The other founded vpon the manner of the dutie and seruices, that they yeelde: bothe which I will not sticke to recite, and yet leaue to each man free choice, to receiue either, or to refuse both, as it shal best like him.

The name Gauelkind, whereof it arose.

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I gather by Cornelius Tacitus, and others, that the auncient Germans, (whose ofspring we be) suffered their landes to descende, not to the Eldest Sonne alone, but to the whole number of their male Children: and I finde in the 75 Chapter of Canutus lawe (a King of this Realme before the Conquest) that after the death of the father, his heires shoulde diuide both his goods, and his lands amongst them.

Now, for as much as all the next of the kinred did this inherite together, I coniecture, that therefore the land was called, either Gauelkyn, in meaning Giue all kyn, bicause it was giuen to all the next in one line of kindred: or Giue all kynd, that is, to all the male children: for kynd, in Dutche, signifi-

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eth yet a male childe. Besides this, the Welshmen also (who but now lately lost this custome) do in their language call this discent, Gwele, and in their Latine Recordes, Lectus, progenies, & gauella, of their own woord, Gefeilled, which signifieth Twins, or such as be borne together, bicause they doe all inherite together, and make (as it were) but one heire, and not many.

To shift land, is an olde terme,

And here (by the way) I cannot omit to shew, that they of this our Kentish cuntry, do yet call their partition of lande (shifting) euen by the very same woord that the lawe of Canutus many yeeres since termed it, namely (Scyftan) in Latine, Herisciscere, that is, to shift, depart, or diuide land.

My other coniecture, is raised vpon the consideration of the rent and seruices going out of these landes: for it is well knowen, that as Knights seruice lande, required the presence of the tenant, in warfare and battaile abroad: So this land (being of Socage tenure) commaunded his attendance at the plough, and other the Lordes affaires of husbandry, at home: the one by manhoode defending his Lordes life and person, the other by industrie mainteining with rent, corne, and victual, his estate and familie.

This rent, and customarie paiment of woorkes, the Saxons called, gafol, and thereof (as I thinke) they named the lande that yeelded it gafollette, or gafolcynd. that is to say, lande Letten for rent, or of the kinde to yeelde rent. In this sense I am sure, that the rents, customes, and seruices, which the

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tenants of London pay to their lande lordes, were wont (and yet are) to be recouered, by a Writ, thereof called Gauellet, as by an auncient statute, made in the tenth yeere of king Edward the second, intituled, 'Statutum de Gaeleto,' in London, and by daily experience there, it may well appeere. Thus much then concerning the Etymon of this woorde Gauelkinde, being said, let vs proceede further.

The antiqui=  
tie of Gauel=  
kind custome.

It hath already appeered, how the Kentishmen, immediatly after the Conquest, obtained the continuation of their customes: and it is very manifest by auncient writers, that the same (for the more part) haue beene 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 thirde chapter: Bracton, that liued in the time of king Henrie the third, in his second booke, 'De acquirendo rerum <sup>†</sup>domino:' And Bretton, that wrate vnder king Edwarde the first, and by his commandement: 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 plainly of all, an auncient Treatise, receiued by tradition from the handes of our elders (whereof I my selfe haue one exemplar, written out, as I suppose, in the time of King Edwarde the first) agreeing with the daily practise of these customes, proueth the continuance of them, to stand with good lawe and

The diuision  
of this dis=  
course.

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What lands  
be of Gauel=  
kind nature.

liking. And therefore, forbearing (as needlesse) further testimonie in that behalfe, I will descende to the disclosing of the customes themselues: not numbring them by order as they lye in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shal concerne, either the lande it selfe, or the persons that I will orderly speake of, that is to say, particularly the Lord and the Tenant: The husband and the wife: The childe and the gardien, and so after addition of a few other things incident to this purpose, I will drawe to an end.

As touching the lande it selfe, in which these customes haue place, it is to be vnderstanded, that all the lands within this Shyre, which be of auncient 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 Knights seruice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, are neuerthelesse departible, as it may appeere by an opinion of the Iudges in the Kings Benche, 26. H. 8. fol. 4. And that grew by reason of a graunt, made by King Iohn, to Hubert the Archbishop, the tenor whereof (being exemplified out of an auncient roll, **late** remaining in the handes of the **deceased** Reuerend father, Mathew, the Archbishop) hereafter followeth.

Some Knight  
fee, is Gauel=  
kind.

'Ioannes Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiber= niæ, Dux Normaniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauen. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baro=

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nibus, Iusticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis ministris, & omnibus Balliis, & fidelibus suis: Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, & præsentis charta nostra confirmasse, venabili patri nostro ac Chro. Huberto, Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, & successoribus suis in perpetuum, quod liceat eis terras, quas homines de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. tenent in Guelkind, conuertere in feodo militum. Et quod idem Episcop. & 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 habebunt, in alios milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & in hæredes. 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 æquiualem. 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

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S. Archid. Willielmi apud Rupem auriual. 4. die Maii Anno regni nostri tertio.' **And I finde a Note of a Recorde, within 4. yeeres after, to this effect:** 'Henricus Pratt dat Regi. 2. palfredos, pro habenda confirmatione Domini Regis de 4. iugatis & 5. acris terræ, in villa de Bradborne in Guelkynd ad tenendum de cætero in dimidio feodi militis, sicut Charta Baldwini de Betun Comit. Albemarlæ testatur: Fyn. Reg. Ioannis, memb. 8.' But now for as much as it is disputable, whether these actes of the King and other men be of sufficient vertue to chaunge the nature of the Guelkynd land or no, and for that the certeintie of all the landes so conuerted into Knight fee, doth not anywhere (that I haue seene) appeere (onely in a copie of the booke of Aide, leuied in this Shire, Anno. 20. Edward. 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 proceede to prooue, that all the landes of auncient tenure in Knights seruice, be subiect 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 Nor=

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wiche, lustices, 26. H. 8. 5. And by plaine recital in the acte of Parleament, made. 31. H. 8. Ca. 3. by which statute, the possessions of certeine Gentlemen (there named) were deliuered from this custome of marie discent, and incorporated to the common lawe. For (amongst other things) in that acte it is

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saide, 'That from thencefoorth, such their landes shall be changed from the said Custome, and shall descend as lands at the common lawe, and as other lands being in the saide countie of Kent, which neuer were holden by seruice of Socage, but alwaies haue beene holden by Knights seruice, do descend.' By which words it is verie euident, that the makers of that estatute, vnderstood all lands holden by Knights seruice, to be of their proper nature descendable after the common lawe, and that Socage tenure was the onely subiect in which this our custome of Gavelkind discent **had place and** preuailed.

Auncient Knight fee, is not of the nature of Gavelkind.

But when I thus speake of Socage, and Knights fee, I must alwaies 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 hand, who afterwarde giueth the same out againe to a common person, to be holden of his Manor of Eastgrenewiche in Socage, I suppose that this land (notwithstanding the alteration of the tenure) remaineth descendable to the eldest son 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 either of the Prince in Capite, or by Knights seruice of any Manor, I thinke it ought to descend according to the custome, notwithstanding that the tenure be altered.

And if this be true, in the graunt of the King

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The change of Gavelkind tenure, is no change of the nature of Gavelkind.

himselfe, then much lesse (sauing the reuerence due to King Johns Chartre) **might** the Archbishop **or any other** by a new creation of tenure, make to his tenants any alteration, of this olde custome and maner. For, as the pleading is, 'Quod terræ prædictæ sunt de tenura & natura de Gavelkind:' Euen so the trueth is, that the present tenure only guideth not the discent, but that the tenure and the nature together, do gouerne it. And therefore, as on the one side, the custome cannot attache, or take holde of that which was not before in nature subiect to the custome, that is to say, accustomedly departed: So on the other side, the practise of the custome, long time continued, may not be interrupted, by a bare alteration of the tenure. And this is not my fantasie, but the resolution of all the lustices (as Iudge Dalison himselfe hath left reported) 4. & 5. Philippi & Mariæ: And also of the Court. 26. H. 8. 5. where it was affirmed, that if a man being seised of Gavelkind lande, holden in Socage, make a gift in taile, and create a tenure in Knights seruice, that yet this land must descend after the custome, as it

A contrarie vsage, changeth not the nature of Gauelkind.

did before the chaunge of the tenure.

Moreouer, as the chaunge of the tenure cannot preuaile against this custome: So neither the continuance of a contrarie vsage, may alter this prescription. For it is holden. 16. E. 2, Præscription. 52. in Fitzherbert, that albeit the eldest sonne only hath (and that for many discents together) entered into Gauelkynde land, and occupied it without any contradiction of the younger brothers, that yet the

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lande remaineth partible betweene them, when so euer they will put to their claime. Against which assertion, that which is saide 10. H. 3. in the title of Præscription. 64. namely of the issue taken thus, 'Si terra illa fuit **partibilis, & partita, nec ne,**' is not greatly forceable. For it is not expresly there spoken of **Kent (where the custome is most generall) and although it were** so that the lande were neuer departed in deede, yet if it remaine partible in nature, it may be departed when so 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 taken, that the woord (partibilis) onely is of substance, and that the worde (partita) is but of forme, and not materiall, or trauersable at all. **And this caused them of the Parlement (31. H. 8. cap. 3.) to speake in the disiunctiue, 'that haue beene departed, or bee departible.'**

Yea, so inseparable is this custome from the land in which it obtaineth, that a contrarie discent (continued in the case of the Crowne it selfe) can not hinder, but that (after such time as the lande shall resort againe to a common person) the former inueterate custome shall gouerne it. As for the purpose. Landes of Gauelkynde nature come to the Queenes handes, by purchase, or by eschete, as holden of h<e>r Manor of A. **which she purchased.** Now after her death, all her sonnes shall inherite and diuide them: But if they come to her by forfeiture in Treason, or by gifte in Parleament, so

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heahbeorg, in Saxon is a high defence: and the customes of Normandie call that fiefe, <396>

that her Grace is seised of them in 'lure Coronæ,' then her eldest sonne onely (which shall be King after her) shall enioye them. In which case, although those lands which the eldest sonne (being King) did possesse, doe come to his eldest sonne after him (being King also) and so from one to another, by sundrie discents: Yet the opinion of Sir Anthonie Browne was 7. Elizab. that if at any time after, the same lands be graunted to a common person, they shall reuolt to their former nature of Gauelkynde, and be partible amongst his heires males, notwithstanding, that they haue runne a contrarie course, in diuers the discentes of the Kings before. But much lesse **then** may the vnitie of possession in the Lorde, frustrate the custome of Gauelkynd discent, as it may appeere 14. H. 4. in the long Recordare. Onely therefore these two cases I doubt of, concerning this point, and thereupon iudge them meete to be inquired of. That is to say, first, if a



or fee, de Haubert, which oweth to defend the land by full armes, that is, by horse, haubert, target, sworde, or helme: and it consisteth of 300. acres of land, which is the same (as I suppose) that we called a whole knights fee.

The custome of Gavelkind is vniuersall in Kent.

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tenancie in Gavelkynde eschete to the Lord, by reason of a Ceasser (as heereafter it shall appeere, that it may) or if it be graunted vnto the Lorde by the tenant, without any reseruatiou, which Lorde holdeth ouer by fee of Haubert, or by Serieancie (both which I take to be Knights seruice) whether now this tenancie be partible amongst the heires males of the Lord or no. For the auncient treatise of the Kentish Customes so determineth, but I wot not whether experience so alloweth. The other doubt is this, if it be so that any whole towne, or village in Kent, hath not at any time (that can be

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shewed) beene acquainted with the exercise of Gavelkynde descent, whether yet the custome of Gavelkynde shall haue place there or no. Toward the resolution of which later ambiguitie, it shall tend somewhat to shewe, how farre this custome extendeth it selfe within this our country.

It is commonly taken therefore, that the custome of Gavelkynde is generall, and spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole Shyre, into all landes subiect by auncient tenure vnto the same, such places onely excepted, where it is altered by acte of Parleament. And therefore 5. E. 4. 8. and 14. H. 4. 8. it is saide, that the custome of Gavelkynde is (as it were) a common law in Kent. And the book 2. E. 4. 19. affirmeth, that in demaunding Gavelkynde lande, a man shall not neede to prescribe in certaine, 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 been there (time out of minde) that the lands within the same towne, borow, or citie, should descend to all the heires males.' But that it is sufficiently ynough, to shew the custome at large, and to say, 'That the lande lieth in Kent, and that all the landes there be of the nature of Gavelkinde.' For, a Writ of partition of Landes in Gavelkynde (saith Maister Littleton) shall be as generall, as if the lands were at the Common lawe, although the declaration ought specially to containe mention of the Custome of the Countrie. This vniuersalitie therefore considered, as also the strait bond (whereby the Custome is so inseparably knit to the land,

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as in manner nothing but an acte of Parleament can cleerely disseuer them) I see not, how any City, Towne, or Borow, can be exempted, for the onely default of putting the Custome in vre, more than the Eldest Sonne (in the case before) may for the like reason prescribe against his yonger brethren.

This was the resolute and settled opinion, not onely of the best professors and practizers, but also of the Moderne Iustices and Iudges of the Law, at such time as I first published this Customal of our Shyre: and accordingly was this custome of Gavelkynde descent then put in vre, without any claime in the Countrie, as a great many yet aliue can testifie with me.

Howbeit, knowing that of latter yeeres there hath beene some strong opposition, and seeing that

now at this day some doe incline, and others doe stagger therein, I hold it necessarie, to let the reader knowe, both what they say, and what I reade, that may enforme his vnderstanding in that point also.

Socage, of two sorts.

'Granting therfore (say they) that all the lands of Gauelkynde nature be of the Tenure in Socage: yet is it not therefore to be graunted, that on the other side, that all the landes of Socage Tenure be of the nature of Gauelkynde. For, as there be two sortes of Socage, the one Free, the other Base, So is the nature of their Discent diuers also: the Free Socage descending to the eldest alone, the Base falling in diuision betweene him and all his Brethren.'

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This distinction and difference of Tenure and Discent, they faile not to iustifie by a great number of Inquisitions, remaining of Recorde in the Tower of London, whereof my louing friend, Master Michael Henneage (the worthy keeper of them) hath shewed sundrie vnto my selfe. Amongst them all, one hath fallen into my handes, whereof bothe this and further vse may be made, and to that end I will exemplifie it vnto you, as it lieth before me.

Ex Bundello Eschaet. de Anno Primo Edwardi tertii.

Langley & Boughton.

Inquisitio facta apud Thonebregge, coram Eschaetore Domini Regis, in Comitatu Kanc, xxv. die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum primo, Per sacramentum Ioannis Pieres, Thom. Grigory, Richardi de Clyue, Thom. Polteman, Alexandri at Bourne, Martin. Prikell, Walteri Partriche, Thom. de Beltring, Wilhelmi Flishert, Daniel de Ryddenne, Thom. at Longe broke, & Clementis de Prikel: Qui dicunt per Sacramentum suum, quod Walterus Colpeper (qui obiit tempore Domini nuper Regis Angliæ patris Domini Regis nunc) tenuit Coniunctim cum Iohanna vxore eius die quo obiit in villis de Langelegh & Bokton Monchency in eodem comitatu, Duas partes vnus Mesuagii, vnus carucat. terr. quindecem solidorum annui redditus, & redditus quindecem gallinarum & quinquaginta ouorum, de Agnete Domina de Leybourne per seruicium vnus paris Calcarium, vel trium Denariorum per Annum pro omni seruicio: Et dicunt quod prædict. Duæ partes valent per Annum in omnibus exitibus xxxiiii s. iiii. d.

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East Farleigh.

Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde in dominico suo vt de Feodo die quo obiit quædam tenementa in E. Farlegh in eodem comitatu de Priore Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ per seruicium xx. s. per Annum, & faciend. sectam a<d> Curiam dicti Prioris de E. Farlegh, de tribus septimanis, in tres septimanas. Et dicunt quod sunt ibi vnum capitale Mesuagium, lxx. acr. terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xxxv.s. Item sunt ibi redditus per Annum xxx. s. ad quatuor terminos principales soluend. Item sunt ibi de redditu ad terminum dictum xii. gallinæ, quæ valent per annum xviii. d. Item dicunt quod idem Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde, in Dominico suo vt de feodo die prædicto

West Ear= v. s. redditus, & redditus ii. gallinarum, prec. iii. d. in West  
leigh. Farlegh in eodem comitatu, de prædicto Priore per serui-  
cium prædict. Item, dicunt quod prædictus Walterus te=  
Yealeting. nuit in Gauelkinde die quo obiit in villa de Elding in  
eodem comitatu quendam annum Redditum, vnus galli  
& xiii. gallinarum quæ valent per Annum xix. d. de  
Hugone Dandele, absque aliquo seruicio inde faciend. Item  
dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde in  
Malling. dominico suo vt de feodo die quo obiit vnum Mesuagium  
in villa de Malling, quod valet per annum ii. s. iii. d. de  
Wilhelmo Large per seruicium ii. d. per Annum. Item  
dicunt quod prædict. Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde die  
Brencheley. quo obiit quædam tenementa in villa de Brenchesley, vocat.  
Marescales de Domino Hugone de Audele, vt de honore  
de Thonebregge, per seruicium reddend. ad lardarium  
Tunbridge. dicti Hugonis viii. porc, & dimid. ad Festum Omnium  
Sanctorum per annum prec. xv. s. Et de Wilhelmo de Ore  
milite, per seruicium v. s. ix. d. per annum. Et dicunt quod  
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sunt ibidem in eisdem tenementis vnum Mesuagium  
nullius valoris vltra reprec, lxxx. acre terr. arabilis quæ  
valent per annum xx. s. prec. acr. iii. s. iii. d. xx. acr. pa=  
sturæ, quæ valent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. i. d. xiiii. acr.  
prati, quæ valent per annum iii. s. viii. d. prec. acr. iii. d.  
Item tenuit ibidem in Gauelkinde xviii. acras terræ ara=  
bilis quas adquisiuit de Matil Salmon, quæ valent per  
annum iii. s. vi. d. prec. acr. iii. d. De Galfrido atte Hole=  
dene per seruitium v. s. per annum. Item tenuit in Gauel=  
kinde in eadem villa de Brenchesle, die quo obiit ix acras  
terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ii. s. iii. d. prec. acr.  
iii. d. De Richardo de Sheyfelle, per seruicium iii. d. per  
annum pro omni seruicio: Item dicunt quod prædictus  
East Peckam. Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde die quo obiit, quædam te=  
nemente in villa de Est Peckam, in eodem comitatu de  
Iohanne de la Chekere, vt de Manerio suo de Adynton  
per seruicium i. d. per annum, pro omni seruicio, & red=  
dendo per annum Domino de Cosinton vii. s. Et sunt in  
eisdem tenementis, vnum Mesuagium nullius valoris vl=  
tra reprisas, xxvii. acr. terræ arabilis, quæ valent per  
annum ix. s. iii. d. prec. acr. iii. d. ii. acr. prati qui va=  
lent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. x. d. Item tenuit con=  
Liberum feodum. iunctim cum Iohanna vxore eius in liberum Feodum in  
Shirborne. Shybourne in eodem comitatu quendam annum redi=  
tum xxvi s. & vnus galli prec. i. d. & iii. gallinarum,  
prec. iii. d. ob. De Rogero Bauent absque aliquo seruicio  
inde faciend. Item dicunt quod Thomas Colpeper filius  
prædicti Walteri quoad liberum feodum est eius heres pro=  
pinquior & xx. annorum & amplius: Et quoad tene=  
menta in Gauelkinde, prædictus Thomas, Galfridus, &  
Iohannes fratres eiusdem Thomæ sunt heredes ipsius Wal=  
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teri propinquiores. Et prædictus Galfridus est ætatis  
decem annorum, & Iohannes est ætatis ix. annorum. In  
cuius rei Testimonium prædicti Iuratores huic Inquisi=  
tioni sigilla sua apposuerunt.

To this, I thinke it agreeable, to adioine, what  
I reade first in the Booke, commonly ascribed to  
Glanuille, and then in the Woorke of Master Brac=  
ton also.

Si quis (saith Glanuille fol. 46.) hæreditatem habens,

moriatur, & plures reliquerit filios, tunc distinguitur vtrum ille fuerit Miles (siue per feodum militare tenens) aut liber Socmannus: Quia si Miles fuerit (vel per militiam tenens) tunc secundum ius Regni Angliæ primogenitus filius patri succedet in totum, ita quod nullus fratrum suorum partem inde de iure petere potest. Si vero fuerit liber Socmannus, tunc quidem diuidetur hæreditas inter omnes filios (quotquot sunt) per partes æquales, si fuerit Socagium, & id antiquitus diuisum: Si uero non fuerit antiquitus diuisum, tunc primogenitus (secundum quorundam consuetudinem) totam hæreditatem obtinebit: secundum autem quorundam consuetudinem, postnatus filius hæres est.

To the like intent, and almost in the like words, writeth Master Bracton, fol. 75.

Si liber Socmannus moriatur, pluribus relictis hæredibus & participibus, si hæreditas partibilis sit & ab antiquo diuisa, hæredes (quotquot erunt) habeant partes suas æquales. Si autem non fuerit hæreditas ab antiquo diuisa, tunc tota remaneat primogenito. Si autem fuerit Socagium villanum, tunc consuetudo loci erit obseruanda. Est enim consuetudo in quibusdam partibus, quod post-

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natus præfertur primogenito, & e contra.

And that you may knowe, what he meaneth by Socagium villanum, take these his woords (fol. 77.)

Tenementum aliud dicitur per Seruitium Militare, aliud per Serieantiam: Et de hiis Homagium faciendum est. Aliud tenetur in libero Socagio, vbi fit seruitium in denariis: aliud in Socagio villano: Et in hiis fidelitatis sacramentum requiritur.

It seemeth plaine, by this Harmonie of these Writers, that in Socage lande, (whether free, or base) the diuision of the inheritance stode wholly vpon the practize of the Custome: So as, no Gavelkinde partition could be challenged, but onely, where the custome of Diuision had preuailed. And likewise, this Inquisition (found after the death of Walter Colpeper) most cleerely distinguisheth free Socage from the Gavelkinde: but yet mainteineth not Bractons difference of them, by which the one should consist of money, and the other of base seruices, which were called 'Manu opera.' For, in this Inquisition some lands are denoted to be of Gavelkinde nature, which neuerthelesse doe yeelde none other but money alone: So as thereby also, it seemeth, that Gavelkynde was not tried by the manner of the Socage seruices, but only by the touch of some former partition. Yea, the very Customall of Gavelkinde it selfe vseth neuer a woord of Socage tenure, but of Gavelkynders, tenants in Gavelkynd, tenements of Gavelkynde, heritage in Gavelkynd, and such like.

How befalleth it then (may a man well say) that

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this seuerance of Socage tenure, holding force in the time of King Henry the second when Glanuille liued, and so downward till the daies, not onely of

King Edward the third (as this Inquisition bewraith) but sundrie yeeres after his reigne also (as many other the like offices do conuince) shoulde thus growe into disuse and obliuion, so as the way hath beene opened to that vniuersalitie, by which all Socage seruice was clothed with the apparell of Gauelkynde? To say what I thinke, I must say, that this latter declination from that elder vsage, was not any chaunge at all, but rather a restitution of the first custome, and a recourse to the right Originall. For, by the Custome of Normannie, from whence we receaued our Gauelkynde, by the deliuerie of Odo (Earle of Kent, and bastarde brother to King William the Conquerour) the landes there be of two like sundry discents and natures, as be our Knights seruice and Socage, whereof the first they call 'Fife de Heaubert,' that descendeth to the eldest sonne onely, the other they terme 'Fife de roturier' (the plowmans fee) which falleth vpon all the Sons together, without any distinction of Free, or Base. I suppose moreouer, that the sundrie fauours of our Gauelkynde custome enticed many to creepe into it, and by one and one (vpon occasion of the intestine troubles that ensued the depriuation of king Richarde the second) to shrowde and couer themselues vnder the safetie and shadowe of the priuileges that do waite vpon it, as not to forfeite landes for Felonie, not to be subiect to seruices be=

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fore the lustices, not to be challenged for villanies, and many others that landes of other nature did not afoorde.

By these meanes (as I gesse) the custome was spred, and growne to such generalitie, that the statute (made 18. H. 6. cap. 3.) taketh knowledge, that 'There were not at that day within the Shyre aboue 40. persons at the most, which had lands to the yeerely value of xx. pounds without the tenure of Gauelkynde; and that the greater partie of this Countie, or well nigh all, was then within that Tenure.'

Thus much I had to say of this matter Academically, and without taking any part, leauing to the consideration of the learned and ludicall sort, whether it be now more tolerable, that the country be yet lulled asleepe in this Error (if it be any) or otherwise to awake so many questions, and to moue so many Suites (as will ensue) of the contrarie.

The reason of Gauelkynde Custome.

But here, before I conclude this part, I thinke good, first to make maister Litletons answer to such as happily will demaund, what reason this custome, of Gauelkynde descent hath, thus to diuide land amongst all the Males, contrarie to the manner of the whole Realme besides. The younger sonnes (saith he) be as good gentlemen, as the Elder, and they (being alike deare to their common auncestor, from whom they claime) haue so much the more neede of their friends helpe, as (through their minoritie) they be lesse able then the Elder Brother to helpe themselues: secondly to put you

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in remembrance also of the statute of Prærogatiua Regis, Ca. 16. Where it is saide, that 'Fæminæ non participabunt cum Masculis,' The Females, shall not diuide with the Males, which is to be vnderstoode, of such as be in equall degree of kinred, as Brothers and Sisters, &c. **But** if a man haue issue three Sonnes, and the Eldest haue issue a daughter, and die in the life of his Father, and the Father dyeth: In this case (it is holden) that the daughter shall ioine with the two other Brethren her Vnclcs, for that she is not in equall degree with them, as her Father was, whose heire she neuerthelesse must be of necessitie.

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What thinges  
shal ensue the  
nature of the  
land.

And nowe, thus much being spoken, touching the name, tenure, nature, generality, necessity, reason, and order of Gavelkind, 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 which behalfe, it may generally be saide, that some of them shall ensue the nature of the Lande, and some shall keepe the same course that common Law hath appointed. But in particular, it is to be vnderstoode, that if a Rent be graunted in Fee out of Gavelkinde land, it shall descende to all the males, as the land it selfe shall doe, **as Fitzherbert helde, against the opinion of Shelley, who mainteined that the Custome extended, not to rentes, but to landes onely.**

Rent.

Vide collect.  
Dyar, fol. 5.

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And, Ald. and Chart. in 7. E. 3. were of opinion, that albeit a tenancie be of Gavelkynde nature, yet the rent seruice, by which that tenancie is holden, might well be descendable at the common Lawe.

The like shall be of a Remainder of Gavelkynd land: for if it be tailed to the Heires Males, they altogether shall inherite it, as Fitzherbert and Norwiche two lustices, thought. 26. H. 8. 8. But that is to be vnderstoode of a discent only: for if lands of Gavelkinde nature be leassed for life, the Remainder to the right Heires of I. at Stile, Which hath issue four sonnes and dieth, and after the Leassee for life dieth, now 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. en Maister Brooke: But if the lands had beene **Deuised** to I. at Stile for life, the remainder to his next Heire Male, this had beene **in the opinion of some** an estate taile in I. S. himselfe, and then the Land (as I take it) should haue descended to al his Sonnes, in so much as in that case the woordes (Next Heire Male) be not a name of purchase, **but of limitation.**

Remainder.

Howbeit, it was greatly doubted 3. & 4. Philip. & Mariæ (as lustice Dalison reporteth) if **Lande in Gavelkinde** be deuised by Testament to S. for life, **the remainder** (proximo hæredi masculino de corpore eius procreato, and the deuisee hath diuers sonnes) whether in that case the Eldest Brother only shall haue it, in so much as (in the vnderstanding of the Law, which is a ludge ouer all Customes) he is the next

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Heire Male: and therefore inquire of it.

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Voucher. As touching Vouchers, it appeereth 11. E. 3. that all the Heires in Gauelkinde shall be vouched for the warrantie of their auncestour, and not the eldest onely. But the opinion of Maister Litleton, and of the lustices. 22. E. 4. is cleerely: that the Eldest Sonne onely shall be rebutted, or barred, by the warrantie of the auncestour. To be short, the Condition. Eldest Son only shall enter for the breach of a condition: but the rest of the Brethren shall be ioyned with him in suing a Writ of Attaint, to reforme a false verdite, or in error to reuerse a iudgement: Attaint, and Error. And they all shall be charged for the debt of their auncestour, if so be that they all haue Assetz in their handes: But if the eldest onely haue Assetz remaining, and the residue haue aliened their parts, then he onely shall bee charged after the minde of the Booke. 11. E. 3. Fitz. Det. 7. And this also for this part, at this time shall suffice.

No Battaile  
nor graund  
Assise in Ga=  
uelkinde.

Now a woorde or twaine, touching the triall of right in this Gauelkinde land, and then forward to the rest of my purpose. There be at the common Lawe, two sorts of triall 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, Battaile it admitteth not at all, and the graund Assise it receiueth, not by the election of foure Knightes, but of foure Tenants in Gauelkinde, 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 knowe) I meane not that which was lately

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imprinted, but an other with much more faith and diligence long since exemplified: a Copie whereof you shall finde, at the end of this Booke. For, not onely in this part, the woordes (Ne soient prises per battail) be cleane omitted in the imprinted Booke, but in sundry other places also the woordes be mangled, the sentences be curtailed, and the meaning is obscured, as by conference of the variations, it may to any skilfull reader most easily appeere. But all that, I will referre to the sight and iudgement of such, as will search and examine it, and (returning to my purpose) shewe you, what belongeth to the Lord of this Gauelkinde land, by reason of this Custome. And, for bicause the Prince is chiefe Lorde of all the Realme (as of whom all lands within the same be either mediatly 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 fellonie, and suffer the iudgement of death therefore, the Prince shall haue all his Chattels for a forfaiture: But as touching the Lande, he shall neither haue the Eschete of it, though it be immediatly holden of himselfe, nor the Day, Yeere and Waste, if it be holden of any other. For in that case, the Heire, notwithstanding the offence of his auncestour, shall enter immediatly, and enioy

the landes, after the same Customes and seruices, by which they were before holden: in assurance whereof, it is commonly said,

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The Father to the Boughe,  
The Sonne to the Ploughe.

But this rule holdeth in case of Felonie, and of murder onely, and **not** in case of treason at all: **nor (peradventure) in Piracie, and other Felonies made by Statutes of later times, bicause the Custome cannot take holde of that, which then was not at all.** It holdeth **moreouer**, in case where the offender is iusticed by order of Lawe, and not where hee withdraweth himselfe after the fault committed, and will not abide his lawfull triall.

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For if such a one absent himselfe (after proclamation made for him in the Countie) and be outlawed: or otherwise, if he take Sanctuarie, and do abiure the Realme, then shall his Heire reape no benefite by this Custome, but the Prince or the Lorde, shall take their forfeiture in such degree, as if the Landes were at the common law. Which thing is apparant, both by the Booke 8. Edward 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 literall interpretation. And also by the plaine rehearsall 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: **But, seeing that the woordes of our Customal extend to the Heire, and be not restrained to the Sonne, they bee aunswered, and we may proceede.**

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Duties, of the  
Tenant, to his  
Lord.

There belongeth moreouer, due by the Tenant, to each common person, being his Lorde of Lande in Gauelkinde, Suite to his Court, the othe of fidelitie, and the true doing and paiment, of all accustomed Rents, Duties, and Seruices. Also if the Tenant die, leauing his heire, within the age of fifteene yeeres: the Lord hath authoritie to commit the nouriture of the body, and the custodie of the goods, and lands of the infant, to the next of the kinred, to whome the inheritance cannot descende. But, as neither the Lorde ought to take any thing for the custodie, neither to tender to the Heire any marriage at all: So must he take good heede, that he credite not the custodie to any person, that shall not be able to answere therefore. For if the Heire, at his full age of fifteene yeeres, shall come to the Lordes Court, and demaund his inheritance, although the Lorde may distreine the Gardein to yeelde his accompt (as it appeereth. 18. E. 2. Auowrie 220.) Yet in default of his ability, the Lord himselfe, and his Heires, remaine charged to the Heire for the same. **For which onely feare (as I thinke) the Lordes at these daies do not enterpose themselves in this businesse.**

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Cessauit, in  
Gauelkinde.

Furthermore, if the Tenant shall withdrawe from the Lord his due rents, and seruices, the Cusse of this Countie giueth to the Lord, a speciall, and solemne kinde of Cessauit, and that after this manner.

The Lord, after such a Cessing, ought by award of his three weekes Court, to seeke (from Courte

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to Court, vntill the fourth Court) in the presence of good witnes, whether any distresse may be found vpon the Tenement, or No: And if he can finde none, then at the fourth Court it shal be awarded, that he shall take the Tenement into his handes, as a distresse, or pledge, for the Rent and seruices, withdrawne, and that he shall deteine it one yeere and a day, without manuring it: within which 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 Court the Lorde ought openly to declare all that his former proceeding, to the end that it may be notorious: which being done, at his owne Court, next following the said Countie, it shall be finally awarded, that hee may enter into that Tenement, and manure it as his proper demeane.

And that the forfeiture, due to the Lord for this Ceasser of his Tenant, was fiue poundes (at the least) besides the arrerages: it doth well appeere by the olde Kentish bywoorde, 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 heald.

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That is to say, 'Hath he not since any thing giuen? nor hath he not since any thing paide? Then let him pay fiue pounde for his were, before he become tenant, or holder againe:' But some copies haue the first verse thus.

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Were, is the  
price of a  
mans life.

'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 woorde (were) in olde time signified, the value, or price of a mans life, estimation, or countenance: For, before the Conquest, each man in the Realme was valued at a certaine 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, whereunto for this purpose I will send you. This custome of Cessauit, is set forth in the treatise of Customes, and hath beene 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 now, as these aduantages arise to the Lord 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 lande at his owne pleasure, without suing to him for li-

cence: 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 very right also he ought to admit an Essoine, if any be cast for the Tenant, whether it be in a cause of Plaint, or for common suite to his Court: And lastly, he may not exact of him any maner of oth, other than that of Fidelitie, which groweth due by reason of his Tenure.

And thus leauing the Lord and his Tenant, let

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Tenant by  
the Courtesie.

vs come to the husband and the wife, and first shew what courtesie the husband shall finde by order of this custome after the death of his wife that was seised of landes of Gauelkinde tenure: and then what benefite the wife may haue after the decease of her Husband dying seised of Lands of the same kinde and nature.

The Husband (saith our treatise of Gauelkinde Custome) shall haue the one halfe of such Gauelkinde lande, 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 will keepe himselfe widower, and vnmarried. For if he marrie, he looseth all. Neither may he commit any waste, more than Tenant by the courtesie at the common lawe, may. So that one way (namely, in that he shall haue his wiues land for life though he neuer had issue by her) this our Custome is more courteous than the common lawe: but another 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.

Tenant in  
Dower, The  
difference be=  
tweene com=  
mon Lawe,  
and Custome  
therein.

The wife likewise, after the death of her Husband, shall haue for her life, the one moitie of all such lands of Gauelkinde tenure, whereof her Husband was seised of any estate of inheritance during the couerture betweene them. Of which Custome also, though it exceede common measure, the common lawe of the Realm (bearing alwaies speciall fauour to Dower) hath euermore euen hitherto

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shewed good allowance: Neuerthelesse, as tenant by the courtesie after this custome, had his conditions annexed: so tenant in Dower, by the same Custome, wanteth not some conditions **waiting vpon** her estate. One, that she may not marrie at all: and another, that she must take diligent heede, that shee be not found with childe, begotten in fornication.

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For in either case she must loose her Dower: But yet so, that lawful matrimonie is by a meane (contrarie to the Apostolique permission) vtterly forbidden, And the sinne of secret Lecherie (according to the Popish Paradoxe, 'Si non caste tamen caute') is in a sort borne and abidden, Seeing that by this custome, she forfeiteth not in this later case, vnlesse the childe be borne, and heard to crie, and that of the cuntry people, assembled by hue and crie: For then (saith the custome)

Se that his wende,  
Se his lende:

But corruptly, for in true Saxon letters it standeth thus,

Se þat hire wende,  
Se hire lende.

That is to say,

He that 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, **no lesse** for honest marriage, **than** for filthie fornication. In which behalfe, as I must needes confesse, that the later condition hath reason, because it tendeth

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Single life,  
much magnified.

(though not fully) to the correction of sinne and wickednesse: So yet dare I affirme, that the former is not onely not reasonable, but meerelewyde and irreligious also. For, although the Ethnickes did so much magnifie widowhood, that (as Valerius reciteth) 'Fæminas, quæ vno matrimonio contentæ erant, corona pudicitæ honorabant,' and although that the common Lawe also (being directed by the Popish Clergie, which therein followed the error of Rome) doth in another case, by the name of Bigamie, dislike of a womans second marriage: Yet Saint Paule saith plainly, 'Mulier, si dormierit maritus eius, libera est, vt cui vult nubat, modo in Domino.' But for all this, seeing that our treatise of vsages reciteth it, seeing also that common experience of the countrie approoueth it, and that the common lawe 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 proceede with the residue.

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Differences,  
betweene the  
common law,  
and this custome,  
for  
Dower.

It appeereth, by that which is already said, that the common lawe, and this custome, differ in two things concerning Dower: One, in that the common lawe giueth but a third part, whereas the custome vouchsafeth the halfe: Another, in that this custome giueth conditionally, whereas the gift of the common law, is free and absolute. Now therefore, there remaine to be shewed, certaine other pointes, wherein they varie also. As, if the husband commit Felonie: at the common Lawe, his wife

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hath lost her title of Dower, but by the custome of this countrie, she shall not loose her Dower for the fault of her husband, but onely in such case, where the heire shall loose his inheritance, for the offence of his father. Which thing is manifest, both by the treatise of our Kentish customes, and by the opinion of the Court 8. H. 3. Præscription. 60. At the common lawe also, the wife shall be endowed of a possession in law, but (as me thinketh) she shall haue no Dower by this custome, but only of such lands, whereof her husband was actually and really sei=

sed. For the woordes be (Des tenements, dount son Ba=ron morust seisei, et vestu,) which woord (vestu) being cleane omitted in the imprinted booke, inforceth a possession in deede, and not in law onely. And there=fore, if landes in Guelkinde descende to a married man, which dieth before he make his entrie into the same, inquire whether it be the manner to endowe his wife thereof, or no: for vse is the onely Oracle that in this case I can sende you vnto. Againe, **it may seeme, that the conditions laide vpon the Dower, do runne onely to those lands whereof he died seised: and that of such as he aliened, she is at libertie both for demaunde of Dower at the com=mon lawe, and otherwise.**

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Moreouer, at the common lawe, a woman shall be endowed of a faire, **or bailywike**, or of any such other profite. But (for as much as the wordes of this customarie Dower, be (terres et tenements) and for that all customs shal finde a literall and streight interpretation) the opinion of Maister Parkins is,

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Dower of Chattels.

that no Dower lieth of a faire, &c. by this custome, **vnlesse it be appendant to lande.** Furthermore, if the wife recouer her Dower at the common law, she ought of necessitie to be endowed by metes and bounds: But in Dower after this custome (saith the same Authour) she may very well be endowed **†**a of moitie, to be holden in common with the heire, that enioieth the other halfe. Lastly, this custome, besides Dower of the one halfe of the husbandes lande, prouideth Dower of the moitie of suche goods also, as he died possessed of, if he had no chil= dren, and of the third part, though he leaue issue: whereas the common lawe (at the least in common practise at this day) hath no consideration of any such endowment. These then be the differences, betweene the common lawe of the Realme, and the particular custome of this countrie 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 deter= mine, least I my selfe might seeme rashly to preiu= dicate in another thing, wherein I most gladly de= sire to be iudged by other men: namely, whether a woman, intituled to Dower in Guelkinde, may wayue her Dower of the moity 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 which doubt, wil depend **partly** vpon comparison, whether it be more aduantage to her, to haue the thirde at the common lawe absolutely,

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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 stand to the worse, which is the custome: euen as tenant by the 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 much 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 Third, or of the Moitie: But bicause it was vttered by them in a passage of sudden speech, and not spoken vpon studied argument, I will not vse the authoritie of their names, to **encounter the opinion of the Court 2. E. 4. 19. onely this I repeate (and that with Master Bracton)** that if she marrie before Dower assigned, she is not afterwarde to be endowed.

The childe, and the gardian.

After the husband and the wife, there followeth next in order of our diuision, the childe and his Gardian, whom also (since they be Relatiues, as the other be, and that their interestes carrie a mutuall, and Reciproque eie, each hauing respect to other) we will likewise couple together in one treatise. And bicause the custome was woont to commit the custodie, not of the landes only (as the common lawe doth) but of the goods and chattels also, we will first shew, what portion of goods did growe to the childe, by the death of his parent.

The manner of this countrie sometime was (as

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Partition of chattels.

it appeereth by our olde treatise) that after the funeralles of the dead man performed, and his debts discharged, the goodes should be diuided into three equall portions, if he left any lawfull issue behinde him: of which three, one part was allotted to the dead, for performance of his legacies: another to the children **(that were not his heires, nor aduanced)** 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 which, the one belonged to the wife for her endowment, and the other to her departed husband, to be bestowed by his executors, if he made a testament, or by the discretion of the ordinarie, if he died intestate. **To this effect soundeth the recorde (claus. 9. H. 3. memb. 13.) where it is saide thus: 'Rex mandauit vicecomiti Kancie, quod omnia Catallia quæ fuerunt Roberti Nereford in Heyham, Borham &c. faceret esse in pace donec sciatur, vtrum filius & hæres dicti Roberti ea habere debeat, aut alii pueri dicti Roberti vna cum eo, vel sine eo.'**

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London.

The selfesame 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, both by the lawe of King Canutus before remembred, by Maister Glanuille in his booke Cap. 18. and by the woordes of Magna Carta, that the wife and children had their reasonable partes of the goods by the common lawe of the Realme, howsoeuer it came to passe at the length, that it was admitted for lawe but in such Countries only,

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where it was continued by daily vsage (as it is holden 17. E. 2. and in many other bookes) and that all the Writs in the Register 'De rationabili parte bonorum,' haue **now** mention of the special Custome of the Shyre, in which 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 law 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 Gardian is deliuered of this charge, wee also will leaue to speake further of the goods, and come to the parti= tion and custodie of the land of this Infant.

Partition, of Gauelkinde lands.

If a man die seised of landes in Gauelkinde, of any estate of inheritance, all his Sonnes shal haue equall portion: and if he haue no Sonnes, then ought it equally to be diuided amongst his daugh= ters: But yet so, that the eldest Sonne or Daugh= ter, hath by the Custome a preeminence of electi= on, and the yoongest Sonne or Daughter, a prefer= ment in the partition. For as of ancient time, there ought to be graunted to the eldest, the first choice after the diuision: so to the part of the yoongest, there ought to be allotted in the diuision, that piece of the Mesuage, which our treatise calleth *Astre*, that is to say, the stocke, harth, or chimney, for fire: which woord (as I thinke) was deriued of the La= tine *Astrum*, a starre, bicause the fire shineth in the house, as the *Starre* therof: and which, though it be not now commonly vnderstood in Kent; yet do they of

*Astre*.

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Shropshyre and other parts reteine it in the same signification till this day, euen as the first case (23. lib. *Assis*.) doth interpret it. I knowe, that Master Bracton in the place before cited, writeth that the eldest ought to haue the Capital Messuage: But at this day there is no regarde of either in making the partition: onely consideration is had that the parts be equall and indifferent.

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Gardein by this custome.

Now therefore, if the Childe be vnder the age of fifteene yeeres, the next Cousin to whom the in= heritance may not descend, shall (by appointment of the Lord if diuers be in equall degree of kinred) haue the education, and order of his bodie, and landes, vntill such time as he shall attaine to that age: euen as the Gardein in Socage at the com= mon Lawe 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 such sort, and none other, than as the Gardein in Socage at the common lawe is: Saue onely (as it is partly remembred already) that he is both chargeable to the Heire in accompt for his receipt, and subiect also to the distresse of the Lorde for the same cause: Yet doe I not heare, that the Lordes take vpon them (at this day) to commit the custodie of these infants, but that they leaue it altogether to the order of the **common lawe**, the rather (belike) for that they themselues (if they in= termedle) stand chargeable (as I saide) in default of the abilitie of such as happily they might credit therewithall: Euen as by Iustinians ordinance,

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such as appoint *Datiue tutours*, must do it at their owne perils. So that vpon the whole matter, the

Sale, at fif= teen yeeres of age.

oddes consisteth onely in this, that Gardein in Socage at the common Lawe shall keepe the land till the Infant be fourteene yeeres of age, and Gardein by this custome till he haue attained fully fifteene: whiche diuersitie, ariseth not without great reason: For whereas the Infant in Socage at the common law, cannot make alienation of his lande vntill he haue reached to the full age of one and twenty yeeres (although he be long before that, free from al wardship.) The Infant in Socage by this Custome, may giue and sell his land so soon as he is crept out of this Custodie.

And therefore it was expedient to adde one yeere (at the least) to the common Law, before he should be of power to depart with his inheritance, which otherwise (being vnaduisedly made away) might worke his owne impouerishment and ouerthrowe. And truly it seemeth to me, that the Custome it selfe hath a watchfull eie vpon the same matter, in so much as it licenceth him at fifteene yeeres, 'Not to giue his Lande' (for that he might doe for nothing) 'But to giue and sell his land,' which it meaneth he should not doe without sufficient recompence. Such 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. Ed. 4. 24. where it was saide, that an Infant cannot declare

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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 such age, was to no purpose at all, although a lease with release might happily be good by the Custome, because that amounteth to a Feoffment. And in my simple iudgement, it is not fit that this Custome should be construed by equitie, for as much as it standeth not with any equitie, to enable an Infant, of little discretion, and lesse experience, to sell his lande, and not to prouide withall that hee should haue, 'Quid pro quo,' and some reasonable recompence for the same: for that were, not to defend the Pupill and Fatherlesse, but to lay him wide open to euerie slie deceit, and circumuention.

In which respect, I cannot but very well like of their opinion, who hold, that if an Infant in Gavelkinde, at this day will sell at fifteene yeeres of age, these three things ought of necessitie to concur, if he will haue the sale good and effectuell. The first, that he be an Heire, and not a Purchasour, of the lande that he departeth withall: The seconde, that he haue recompence for it: And the third: that he doe it with liuerie of seison by his owne hande, and not by warrant of Attourney, nor by any other manner of assurance.

And these men for prooue of the first and seconde point of their assertion, doe builde vpon the words 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 which, the woordes (Ceux Heires) doe re= straine the Infant that commeth in by Purchase: And (Doner & Vender) in the copulatiue (for so they lie in deede, though the imprinted booke haue them disiunctiuely) do of necessitie implie a recompence, for as much as, 'Vendere,' cannot be 'Sine precio.'

&lt;413&gt;

And for maintenance of the thirde 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 woorde (Doner) to meane a Feoffment (as I haue before shewed) which not onely disalloweth of any gifte made by an Infant, but also punisheth the taker in trespasse, vnlesse he haue it by liuerie from the Infants owne hands.

Thus haue I **lightly** run ouer suche Customes, as by meane of this Guelkinde tenure doe apper= teine, either to the Lorde or the Tenant, the Hus= band or the Wife, the Childe or the Gardein: To these I will adde (as I promised) confusedly, a few other things, of the which, some belong gene= rally to the Kentishe man throughout the whole Shyre: Some to the inhabitants of some parti= cular quarter of the Countrie: and some to the tenants in Guelkinde onely, and to none other.

No villains in Kent.

It appeereth, by claime made in our auncient treatise, that the bodies of all Kentish persons be of free condition, which 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

## 567 &lt;sig 2O&gt;

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 say, that himselfe was borne in Kent, I haue knowne it (for good reason) doubted.

Apparance

It seemeth by the same treatise, that such per= sons as helde none other lande than of Guelkinde nature, be not bound to appeere (vpon Sommons) before the lustices in Eire, otherwise than by their Borsholder, and foure others of the Borowe, a few 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 ap= parance of a Borsholder, and two, foure, or sixe other of the inhabitants.

Commen.

&lt;414&gt;

Furthermore, I haue read in a case of a written report at large of 16. E. 2. which also is partly abridged by Fitzherbert, in his title of Præscription, that it was tried by verdite, that no man ought to haue commen in landes of Guelkinde, Howbeit, the contrarie is well knowne at this day, and that in many places.

Chase and driue out.

The same booke saith, that the vsage in Guel= kinde is, that a man may lawfully inchase, or driue out into the high way to their aduenture, the beastes of any other person, that he shall finde doo= ing damage in his land, and that he is not compel= lable to impound them, which custome seemeth to



me directly against the rule of the common Lawe,  
But yet practised it is till this present day.

Attaint.

The Parleament (15. H. 6. 3. **which I touched**

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**before**) mynding to amplifie the Priuileges of Ga= uelkinde, graunted to the Tenants of that lande, exemption in Attaints, in such sort as the inhabi= tants of ancient demeane, and of the Fiue Ports had before **enjoyed**: But within three yeeres after (**18. H. 6. cap. 2.**) vpon the complaint of the Countrey (which informed the Parleament house that there was not in the whole Shyre about the number of thirtie or fortie persons, that held to the value of twenty pound lande, out of Gauelkinde, who in de= fault of others, and by reason of that exemption, were continually molested by returns in Attaints) that Acte was vtterly repealed.

Chaunging  
of waies.

The Statute <1>4. H. 8. Cap. 6. giueth libertie to euerie man, hauing high way (through his Lande in the Weald) that is worne deepe, and incommo= dious for passage, to lay out another way, in some such other place of his lande, as shall be thought meete by the view of two Iustices of the Peace, and twelue other men of wisdom and discre= tion. Finally, the generall Lawe, made 35. H.

Coppies.

8. 17. for the preseruacion of Coppies woods, tho= rough out the Realme, maketh plaine exception of al woods within this Weald, vnlesse it be of such as be common.

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Thus much concerning the Customes of this our Countrey, I thought good to discourse, not so cunningly (I confesse) as the matter required, nor so amply as the argument would beare (for so to doe, it asketh more art and iudgement, than I haue attained) But yet sufficiently (I trust) for vnder=

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standing the olde treatise that handeleth them, and summarily ynough for comprehending (in man= ner) whatsoever the common, or Statute Lawe of the Realme hath literally touching them, which is as much as I desired. Now therefore, to the ende that neither any man be further bound to this my discourse vpon these Customes, then shall be war= ranted by the Customes themselues: neither yet the same Customes bee hencefoorth so corruptly caried about, as hitherto they haue beene, but that they may at the length be restored to their aunci= ent 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 Fa= ther in lawe, and which sometime belonged to Ba= ron Hales of this Countrey. I will adioine also, mine owne interpretation in the English, not of any purpose to bind the learned vnto it, but of a desire to infourme the vnlearned by it.

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Kent.

These are the vsages, . . . . .

571  
him in that which . . . . .

572  
townes, which ought . . . . .

573  
which her husband held . . . . .

574  
their Eschetes of those . . . . .

575  
then let the eldest . . . . .

576  
before accustomed: But . . . . .

577  
taunce can not . . . . .

578  
that from such time . . . . .

579  
the ancient vsage: . . . . .

580  
strippe, or waste, . . . . .

581  
their fees, fermes, and . . . . .

582  
tenement into his hande, . . . . .

583 <sig 2P>  
tenements, as in his . . . . .

584  
the crowne of our . . . . .

585  
ground assises, let . . . . .  
... Idots since till now.

586  
Sir Henrie Wiat, Knight, procured his posses=  
sions to be changed from the nature of  
Gauelkynd Discent, by one acte  
of the Parlement hol=  
den 15. H. 8.

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The names of such persons, as procured their  
possessions to be altered from the nature of  
Gauelkinde, by acte of Parlement  
made. 31. H. 8. cap. 3.

Thomas Lord Cromwell.  
Thomas Lord Burghe.  
George Lord Cobham.

Andrew Lord Windsore.  
Sir Thomas Cheyne.  
Sir Christopher Hales.  
S. Thomas Willoughby.  
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.  
Edward Isaac.  
Perciuall Harte.  
Edward Monyns.  
William Whetnall.  
Iohn Fogg.  
Edmund Fetiplace.  
Thomas Hardres.  
William Waller.  
Thomas Wilford.  
Thomas Moyle.  
Thomas Harlakenden.  
Geffrey Lee.  
Iames Hales.  
Henrie Hussey.  
Thomas Roydon.

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The names of such as be likewise  
prouided for 2. & 3. E. 6.

**Sir Thomas Cheyney.**  
**Sir Anthonie Seintleger.**  
S. Robert Sowthwell.  
**S. Iohn Baker.**  
S. Edward Wootton.  
S. Roger Cholmley.  
S. Thomas Moyle.  
S. Iohn Gate.  
S. Edmund Walsingham.  
S. Iohn Guldforde.  
S. Humfrey Style.  
S. Thomas Kempe.  
**S. Martyn Bowes.**  
S. Iames Hales.  
S. Walter Hendley.  
S. George Harpar.  
S. Henry Isley.  
S. George Blage.  
**William Roper.**  
**Thomas Wylforde.**  
**Thomas Harlakenden.**  
Thomas Colepeper of  
Bedgebury.  
Iohn Colepeper of Ailes=  
forde.  
**Thomas Colepeper, son**  
**of the said Iohn.**

William Twisenden.  
Thomas Darrell of Scot=  
ney.  
Robert Rudstone.  
Thomas Robertes.  
Stephen Darrell.  
Richard Couarte.  
Christopher Blower.  
Thomas Hendley.  
Thomas Harman.  
Thomas Louelace.  
Reignald Peckam.  
Herbert Fynche.  
William Colepeper.  
Iohn Mayne.  
Walter Mayne.  
Thomas Watton.  
Iohn Tufton.  
Thomas White.  
Peter Hayman.  
Thomas Argal.

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The names of such, as be specified in  
the acte made for the like  
cause, 5. Elizabeth.  
Cap.

Sir Thomas Browne, of Westbecheworthe  
in Surrey.  
George Browne.

It were right woorthie the labour,  
to learne the particulars and  
certeintie, (if it may be) of all  
such possessions, as these men  
had, at the times of these seue=  
rall Statutes, for that also will  
be seruiceable in time to come.

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A Table, **comprising** the principall pla=  
ces, **men**, and matters, handeled in  
this Perambulation.

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FINIS.

Faultes escaped.

Pag 52. line 5. reade Watrinbury.

Pag. 54. lin. 12. reade lfield.

Pag. 57. lin. 23. reade Motingham.

Pag. 368. lin. the last. reade man of Rome.

Pag. 438. lin. 27. reade sectes.

Pag. 456. lin. 7. reade at once 17.

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<A new edition of Lambard's book was published in 1596 – why exactly then I do not know. (On internal evidence, in fact, it cannot have been published till early 1597, but that was still 1596, as the reckoning went at the time.) The text was extensively revised. Not very much was omitted. In the preliminaries, though Fleetwood's verses (1576, page xii) were dropped, Wotton's preface (pages iii–xi) was retained; but it was printed in very small type and superseded by a new preface, a 26-year-old letter from Lambard to Wotton. (Copies of this letter survive in manuscript as well.) In the body of the text, the only large omission is the list of the nobility and gentry of Kent (pages 54–8); possibly this had given some offence. (It was not for Lambard to say who counted as a gentleman and who did not.) The additions, which I have printed black, are numerous, and some of them run on for several pages. (Longest of all is the potted history of the fifteenth-century civil wars (1596, pages 454–81), which is only incidentally connected with Kent.) Camden's 'Britannia' is cited several times, usually with some complimentary remark; there are also some references, mostly dismissive, to John Twine's 'De rebus albionis', published by his son Thomas Twine in 1590 (STC 24407). In a few places, Lambard acknowledges help from some of his friends – John Stow (pages 184, 287), Francis Thin (page 317), Michael Heneage (page 540). Like Lambard himself (or 'Mr Lambert', as he was often referred to, even by people who were personally acquainted with him), these men were all members of the discussion group – the unofficial 'college of antiquaries' – which began meeting in London in the mid 1580s. Another friend mentioned is a Rochester man, the surveyor Philip Simonson (page 220), whose map of Kent had just recently been published. – C.F. September 2010, last revised February 2011.>