

William Somner
A treatise of the Roman ports and forts
in Kent
with notes by Edmund Gibson
Oxford
1693



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A TREATISE
Of the ROMAN
Ports and Forts
in KENT.
BY
WILLIAM SOMNER.

Publish'd by JAMES BROME, M. A. Rector of
CHERITON, and Chaplain to the CINQUE-
PORTS.

To which is prefixt the Life of Mr. SOMNER.

<vignette – the Sheldonian Theatre>

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<Kennett's 'Life of Mr. Somner'>

1 <sig A>

THE
HISTORY
Of the ROMAN
PORTS
AND
FORTS
in KENT.

For the discovery both of one and the other, the Itinerary vulgarly ascribed to Antoninus (/1 about which there is some dispute amongst the Learned) and that 'Notitia Imperii' publish'd by Pancirollus, must be our chiefest guides. To begin with

/1 Vossius de Historicis Latinis, in the Life of Livy, mentioning the Itinerary, says 'seu Antonii, seu Antonini, seu Æthici'; and afterwards speaking of that which Annii Viterbiensis publish'd, he calls it 'hypobolimaion', and 'Antoninus supposititius'. Vide de hac re Philippi Cluverii Italiam. Andredreæ Schotti Præfationem ad Itinerarii Editionem Coloniensem, An. 1609. Burton upon the Itinerary, p. 5.

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the Ports: the Itinerary mentioneth only three, Rutupia, Dubris, and Lemanis: 'unde colligo hos tantum tres portus apud Cantios antiquitus fuisse celebres.' So Leland (to whom I subscribe) in 'Doris'.

<Leland 1658:56>

Rutupium.

As to the first; Ptolomy calls it 'Urbem Rutupiæ'; Antoninus 'Rutupæ', 'portus Ritupium', also 'portum Rutupa'; the Notitia 'Rutupis', placing there the Provost or Præfect of the 'Legionis secundæ Augustæ': the /1 Peutingerian Tables 'Rativipis'; Ammianus Marcellinus 'Rutupias'; Cornelius Tacitus rightly reads 'portum Rutupensem'; Beda 'Ruthubi portum, qui portus' (so he /2 adds) 'a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacester vocatus, &c.' /3 Thus we see what some call 'urbem' a City or walled Town, others call 'portum', a Port, Haven or Harbour. The same Marcellinus, as he calls it also 'Rutupias', so by way of character he terms it 'stationem Britannicæ tranquillam', a

/1 First publish'd by Marcus Velselus; and so call'd, because they were found out in the Library of Conrado Peutinger, a noble man of Auspurg. /2 Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 1. /3 The Saxon word 'port' does not only signifie 'portus', but also 'urbs, oppidum'. So 'Hamton-port' is us'd in the Saxon-Annals, An. 1010. to signifie the Town of Northampton: and 'Porthund', near Shrewsbury, where Althelm was treacherously slain, is interpreted by Florentius Wigorniensis 'oppidum canis'.

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quiet or calm station or bay for ships. In Orosius we read it call'd 'Ruthubi portus'.

tum & civitatem', the Port and City Rhotubi.

The situation of Rutupium.

Before we offer at the Etymology of the name, let us enquire out the place's situation. Twyne will have Dover hereby understood: but that conjecture of his is not only questioned, but rejected of Mr. Lambard; and that very justly, as I conceive, in regard that Rutupia and Dubris, as distinct, are under several names mentioned in the Itinerary: to say nothing here of the distance (which continues and holds good to this day) between Gessoriacum and it. Meantime Mr. Lambard disliking the /1 Monk of Westminster's applying the name to Sandwich, and consequently his referring whatsoever he findeth storied of the one to the other, with /2 Leland and

<Twine 1590:50>

<Lambard 1596:113>

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/1 He is commonly call'd Matthew Westminster, and Florilegus, the writer of the Flores Historiarum. /2 Of the same opinion is Burton, in his Comment upon the Itinerary p. 20. which makes me wonder why he should say afterwards p. 94. that the Iter secundum began near upon the mouth of Ituna, and had it's ending in the east of the Island at Rutupiaë, or Richburrow, 'now call'd Sandwich in Kent'. I cannot tell why he should confound Richburrow and Sandwich, unless it be upon an opinion he and Camden had, that the old Haven at Richburrow being stopt up with Sand, open'd a new one at

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Camden, restrains it to that place half a mile distant from Sandwich northward, which Alfred of Beverly calls Richberge, and is at this day vulgarly called Richborough or Richborough Castle.

Sandwich formerly call'd Rutupium.

For my part, with Florilegus of old, and Pancirollus of late, I persuade myself that Sandwich Town and Haven is the place intended under those afore-recited various names and titles; not the whilst excluding Richborough as the proper seat of that Legion, lying in garison in a Castle there purposely erected, as in respect of the ascent or high rising ground whereon it stands, of singular advantage both as a specula for prospect and espial of enemies and invaders, and as a Pharos or high tower, to set up night lights for the sea-mens better and safer guidance into the harbour. For that Richborough-Castle was ever other, or of other use in the Romans time I cannot believe.

Sandwich; which made the first call it the 'old Haven', and Sandwich 'the new Town, risen out of the ruines of Rutupiaë': the second, the Rutupiaë of the Romans, 'prolem suam paulo inferius ostendit, quam a sabulo Sondwic dixerunt Saxones, nos vero Sandwich.' So that Richburrow and Sandwich, (if that opinion of their's be true) may seem to be the same Port, which had only a little chang'd it's place.

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/1 Gildas tells us of the Romans erecting on this coast, at convenient distances, Watch-towers for such uses as I have intimated, that of espial and discovery. 'In litore quoque Oceani ad meridiem, quo naves eorum habebantur, quia & inde Barbarorum irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant, &c.' So he; and with him /2 Venerable Bede. And of these Watch-towers, our County had (I take it) five in number, one at Reculver, a second here at Richborough, a third at Dover, a fourth at Folkstone, and a fifth at Limne or Limhill, of all which hereafter in due place.

Never a City at Richborough.

/3 Some will tell you (what others take up more upon fancy and fabulous traditions than good authority) that

/1 Gildæ Historia p. 12. Sect. 16. Edit. Oxon. /2 Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12. /3 Leland, Camden, Burton, and Lambard, are all of that mind; grounding no doubt upon Venerable Bede's words, 'Civitas quæ dicitur Ruthubi portus' (Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 1.) For first certainly concluding that this was no other but our present Richborough, they might very well on course settle there an ancient City. So that if Bede's Ruthubi should be at Sandwich, their City must necessarily be remov'd. 'Beda civitatis nomine insignivit,' says Camden. And; 'In dejectu collis urbs exporrecta videbatur.' What he offers (besides Bede's authority) as a confirmation of this, namely, the 'platearum tractus cum seges succreverit se intersecantes,' I think Mr. Somner (who view'd the place very curiously) sufficiently answers.

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Richborough was a City, the streets whereof (say they) are as yet visible and traceable, at least in the spring and summer time, by the thinness of the corn on those dry and barren tracts and places of the ancient streets, which they call St. Augustin's Cross. But would you truly be informed of the cause of that? Why then know, that there was sometime indeed a Cross there; a parcel, I mean, of the Castle ground, about the middle or center of it layd out cross-wise, and set apart for the building of a Church or Chappel there: and such a structure at that place really there was, and it was call'd Richborough Church or Chappel. One Sir John Saunder, a Prebendary of /1 Wingham, (then a College of Secular Canons) Parson of Dimchurch, and Vicar of Ash, in his Will dated Anno 1509. thus makes mention of it: 'Item I bequeath to the Chappel of Richborough one Portuys printed, with a Mass-book which was Sir Thomas the old Priest's. Item, to the use of the said Chappel 20s. to make them a new window, in the body of the Church.' A Chappel then we see there was, and

<Camden 1610:341-2>

Richborough Chappel.

When demolished.

/1 John Peckham chang'd the Parish-Church of Wingham

into a Collegiate Church, about the Year of our Lord, 1282.

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intended it was, and whilst it stood, which no doubt it did till the Refor= mation, (when many such Chappels and some Churches, by reason of the cessation of Offerings, Obits, /1 Tren= tals, Anniversaries, almesses, and the like Sacerdotal advantages were deserted) was used for a Chappel of ease to some few, inhabiting at or near the Castle, and with those of Fleet and Overland depend= ed upon the head or Mother Church of Ash, as that on Wingham. The rubbish whereof, occasioned either by the de= molition or decay of the building; has rendred the soil whereon it stood of that more barren and less fruitful nature and quality, than the adjacent parts.

And this (I take it) and no other was the estate of Richborough, until these later times, whilst Sandwich doubtless was the Town and Port *<...> by Ritupia or Rhutupia, and the like. So that what Florilegus ascribeth and applyeth unto Sandwich under that name, I am very confident doth rightly appertain unto it; as /2 that of Julius Cesar's hereabouts

*<word missing>

/1 The Trentals was one of the offices for the dead, so call'd because it consisted of thirty Masses; fetch'd from the Italick trenta, i. e. triginta. See Sir Henry Spelman's glossary upon

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landing, and of /1 Vespasian's attempt for landing here Anno gratiæ 52. Advisedly then enough (as I conceive) are the Fryars Carmelites at Sandwich by /2 Harps= field called 'Rutipini sive Sanduichiani'.

<Harfsfield 1622>

Rutupium prov'd to be Sand= wich from the distance between that and Gessoria= cum.

And considerable it is, that as be= tween this place Rutupium and Gessoria= cum i. e. Bolen, more anciently called Portus Iccius (/3 as I have elsewhere at large asserted) it was that in those elder (the Roman) times, the ordinary and usual passage lay between France and England (/4 as afterward between Wit= sand or Whitsand and Dover, and in lat= ter times between Calais and Dover) so the distance between them, according to the Itinerary was 450. stadia or fur= longs, or (as Pliny has it) 50. miles, which is all one. And a distance it is by

the word. /2 Matt. Westm. Cap. 28. 'In Rutupi portu, qui modo Sandwicum dicitur, cum prosperitate applicuit.'

/1 The Historian does not here expresly refer this attempt of landing to Sandwich, but barely says, that as Vespasian came into the haven ('in Rutipi portu', without any mention of San= wich) Arviragus surpris'd him and oblig'd him to retire.

/2 Hist. p. 634. /3 Meric. Causabon, in his Treatise 'de vetere Lingua Saxonica', tells us that Mr. Somner writ an accurate Tract 'de portu Iccio'; which is still in Manuscript. /4 In the

Saxon 'Hwitsand'. So William Rufus coming from France in= to England, is said to have took shipping at 'Hwitsand', and landed at Dover. Chron. Sax. An. 1095.

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modern proof and observation still con= tinuing to this very day. Hither (I say) made those who taking ship at Bolen were bound for Britain, especially if London-bound. 'Adulta hyeme, dux ante= dictus Bononiam venit, quæsitisque navigiis & omni imposito milite, observato statu se= cundo ventorum, ad Rutupias ex adverso sitas defertur, petitque Londinum.' So /1 Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of Lu= picinus, sent Deputy into Britain. And from hence happily this place losing and letting go its former British name of Ritupium or Rutupium, /2 became of the Saxons called 'Lunden-wic'; i. e. the port of London; as in likelihood the place where those that traded either to Lon= don from foreign parts, or from Lon= don into foreign parts, made and had their prime resort and rendezvous. 'Mil= thredæ vero Abbatissæ de Menstre, in In= sula Thaneti, dedit libertatem thelonii ac totam exactionem navigiorum, sibi & ante= cessoribus suis jure publico in Londinensi portu primitus competentem, cartaque sua

Rutupi= um call'd by the Saxons Lun= den-wic.

/1 Lib. 20. /2 And yet in the Saxon Chronicle ad An. 604. it is expressly said that Æthelbert made Mellitus Bishop of 'Lunden-wic,' which is certainly London and not Sandwich; and this reading is confirm'd by all the 5 MSS saving that Cot= ton's reads it 'Lunda-wic.'

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confirmavit;' as it is in a Book of St. Au= gustin's Abby at Canterbury, making mention of Athelbald and Offa, the Mer= cian Kings and Saxon Monarchs, whose grant and Charter is afterward vouched and confirmed by Aldbert or Ethelbert (one of the Kentish Kings, in the *line of the Saxon Heptarchy) in his Charter to Minster-Abby.

*<r. 'time'>

Now that Kentish Sandwich, and not London City, is here intended and to be understood, is plain by this passage in the laws of Lothaire and Eadric, meer Kentish Kings, recorded in that famous ancient monument called 'Textus Rof= fensis', concerning Commerce at that place. 'Gif Cant-wara ænig in Lunden-wic feoh gebycge, hæbbe him þon twegen oð preo un-facne ceorles to gewitnesse, oð cyninges wic-gerefan, &c.' i. e. 'If any Kentish Man shall buy any thing in Lun= den-wic, let him take unto him two or three honest men, or the Kings /1 Portreeve to

/1 The same term frequently occurs in the old Laws. And not only the term, but also a Law much of the same nature

with this, we meet with in the Laws of Edward, son to K. Alfred, whereby 'tis order'd 'ut nemo barganniet extra portum, sed habeat Portireve testimonium, vel alterius non mendicis hominis cui possit credi' And of K. Athelstan: 'Ne quis aliquid emat extra portum supra xx. d. sed in eo barganniet sub testimonio Portireve, &c.' The word signifies the 'Super-

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witness, &c.' /1 as if indeed this were not only a Market-town, but the prime and most frequented Emporium, or Mart-town in Kent, in those days.

Somewhat elder yet is the place's mention under that name; to wit, in the days of Arch-Bishop Brightwold, or (as some call him) /2 Berhtwold (i. e. Illustrious Ruler) to whom by Ina, the West-Saxon King, with the advice of his Clergy, Boniface, afterward the first Arch-Bishop of Mentz in Germany (an English man born, and first named Winfrid) was sent into Kent upon an Embassy. This Boniface shortly after, with that Arch-Bishop's consent, not easily at first obtained, quitting his father's house and native soil, and out of a pious and Christian desire and design

visor of a Port', for the Saxon 'gerefa' (from which the termination 'reve' is melted) signifies 'Præfectus, Præses, Præpositus'. Of this word, see Spelman's Glossary in the word 'Grafio'; and the general rules at the end of the Saxon Chronicle, under the termination 'grave'.

/1 I think this does not necessarily follow from the form of the Law. For tho' Sandwich was, no doubt, a very eminent Port, yet the fore-cited Laws of Edward and Athelstan plainly shew that the same Law was made for all Ports in general; and therefore the words of this cannot give it any peculiar preeminence. /2 From 'beorht' 'clarus' and 'wealdan' 'gubernare'. See the general rules for the names of Men at the end of the Saxon Chronicle.

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to propagate the Gospel, and both by life and doctrine to convert Heathens to the Faith of Christ, determining to travel into Fresia or Friesland, 'immensis peragratis terræ partibus,' i. e. journeying from the Western to the Eastern parts of England, he repairs to this place 'Lunden-wich', from whence taking ship, he sets sail and arrives at 'Dorstat', now Dieerstedde, a town of Holland, and so makes forward into Fresia; whereof Willibald in the Life of Boniface, at the end of his Epistles thus:

/1 'Hic etiam dum spirituali confortatus armatura, & seculari sublimatus sumptura, utriusque vitæ stipendiis minime careret; adhibitis secum duobus aut tribus fratribus, quorum corporali spiritualique indigebat sustentaculo, profectus est: ac sic immensis peragratis terræ partibus, prospero ovans fratum comitatu, pervenit ad locum, ubi

erat forum rerum venalium, & usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonumque vocabulo appellatur Luidewinc' (in the margin more correctly 'Lundenwich'.) The same holy man afterwards returning home, and after some stay here resolving a

[/1 Willibaldus de vita S. Bonifacii, p. 354. Edit. Ingolstad. cum aliis quibusdam Tract. An. 1603.](#)

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visit to Rome, betakes himself again to the same Port; whence setting sail he arrives at 'Cuentawic', a Sea Town in France, now called Estaples in Picardy; whereof the same [/1 Willibaldus](#): 'Qui protinus quidem valedicens fratribus, profectus est, locumque per longa terrarum spatia, qui jam prædictus dicitur Lundenwich' (I follow the margin) 'voti compos adiit, & celocis celeriter marginem scandens, cæpit ignotas maris tentare vias, tripudiantibusque nautis immensa, Coro stante, carbasa consurgebant, & pleno vento prosperoque cursu ostia fluminis citius quod dicitur Cuent, omni jam expertes periculi naufragio aspicunt, & ad aridam sospites terram perveniunt, sed & castra metati in Cuentavic, donec superveniens se collegarum multitudo congregasset.'

Sandwich
why called
Lundenwic.

Clear enough then I suppose it is that by 'Lundenwich', Sandwich Town and Haven was intended and is to be understood; but whether so called from the same ground with that of London City, [/2](#) whereof in my Glossary at the end of the 'Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores anti-

<Somner 1652>

[/1 Vita Bonifacii p. 358. Edit. Ingolstad.](#) [/2](#) He there derives it from the British 'Llawn', 'plenus, frequens', and 'dyn', 'homo', or 'din' (the same with 'dinas') 'urbs, civitas'; either of which joyn'd with 'Llawn' will signifie a 'populous place', as London has always been.

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qui', and in my Saxon Dictionary; or from the trade and traffick there exercised by merchants trading to and from London, as the next Port to the river of Thames, and so most commodious for that purpose; or lastly, from some more special and peculiar interest of the Londoners in that above other of the Ports, I cannot say.

<Somner 1659>

Particular
interest of
the Londoners
in
Stonor.

Only this is certain, that some such interest was challenged by the Londoners [/1](#) in Stonor lying in Thanet, on the other side of the channel, but subject unto Sandwich, as a limb or member of that Port. For in the year 1090. (as it is in Thorn, the Chronicler of St. Augustin's Abby at Canterbury, quoted by Mr. Lambard) there happened a great dispute betwixt the Londoners

<Lambard 1596:103>

and the Abbot of St. Augustin's, and his men and homagers of Stonor. The Londoners challeng'd the Lordship or Seignory of Stonor, as a sea-port subject to their City: but the King (William Rufus) taking the Abbot's part, it was adjudg'd by the Justices upon that place, that none from thenceforth

/1 Falsly written for Estanore, as Mr. Somner in this discourse plainly shews, under the title Folkstone.

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should claim any thing here; but that Wido the Abbot and his Covent, should freely and quietly without any question have the land, and the whole share, as far as to the middle of the water; and that the Abbot of St. Augustin's should freely enjoy all rights and customs to the same village appertaining.

The first mention of Sandwich.

All this while we hear nothing of the name of 'Sandwich'. Indeed that name (for ought I find) occurs not in any coëtaneous writer or writing until the year 979. when (as it is in the Chartularies of the Church of Canterbury) King Egelred granted it by name unto the Monks there, for their supply and maintenance in clothing. */1* King Cnute afterward coming in by Conquest, and consequently having all parts and places of the Kingdom at his disposal, he with some regard (no doubt) to the Monks former right and title to the place (being the same, where coming to subdue the Saxons, and make a Conquest of the country, he first landed) gave, or rather restored, the place (the

/1 Thorn's Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. inter X. scriptores p. 2025. l. 21.

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Port of Sandwich by name) to the same Monks for their sustenance in victuals, with the addition of his golden Crown, and (what perhaps was of equal value in the estimation of the times) St. Bartholomew's arm.

The further tracing and producing of what in story concerns this place, I refer and leave to Mr. Lambard, and such as are willing to be their own informers from our Chronicles; saving that I think it not amiss to observe that signal mention of it in */1* the Writer of the life of Queen Em, where he tells of Cnute's landing there, and calls Sandwich the most famous of all the Ports of England: 'Expectabili itaque ordine, flatu secundo, Sandwich, qui est omnium Anglorum portuum famosissimus, appulsi, &c.' So

The Ety=
mon of
Rutupi=
um.

he.

But to *to return to the old obsolete name Rutupium, or Ritupium: for the etymologizing of it, wherein the most learned and Judicious Camden, (as his manner is) hath been so exceeding happy, that waving all other conjectures that either are or may be started,

*sic

<Camden 1610:341>

/1 His name is not known; but he is suppos'd to have been some Monk, that liv'd about that time. The tract is call'd 'Emmæ Reginæ encomium', edit. Paris. 1619.

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and embracing his, I shall not stick with him to fetch it from the old British 'Rhyd tufith', i. e. 'vadum sabulosum': and the rather because of that subsequent and succeeding name of Sandwich, which plainly betokens 'a sandy reach or creek'; for so it is, being a place notable indeed for abundance of sand of each side of the Channel, whose banks 'sinus'-like are of a winding, curving, and imbowed form and figure; (which to this day we call 'a reach') especially about Richborough, /2 thence happily denominated as being a 'Berg' i. e. a hill, or a 'Burgh' i. e. a castle (like the

/1 But Burton is his Comment upon the Itinerary, p. 24. dislikes it: 'But that anciently' (says he) 'Rutupiæ should be from thence' (that is, from the store of sands cast up from the Goodwyn upon the shore) 'so call'd, when it was an harbour for the Roman Navies, I would fain have some body to satisfy me therein how it might be; except they then had some foresight of what in after ages would come to pass.' So he. However (by his leave) I do not see that Camden's conjecture is so absurd as he would make it. <F>or all that Camden urges the Saxon 'Sand-wic' for, is to show that the sands upon that coast were as old at least as the Saxons, and infers from thence, that 'tis not improbable but the state of those parts under the Britains might be the same, and consequently give occasion to the name 'Rutupiæ'. /2 <I> should rather derive it from the Saxon 'hricge' and the Islandick 'hriggur' 'dorsum', to denote the high situation; so that Richborough may signifie 'a burrow or castle upon a hill'.

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termination 'cester' /1 in its name of Reptacester) 'a castle at or near the reach or creek'. But to keep up to Rutupium, so famous (it seems) in those elder i. e. Roman times was the place for the Romans often landing there, and the frequent passage thence out of Britain into the continent, that the whole Eastern and Southern maritime tract, coast, or shore of Britain was thence denominated, being usually termed 'Rutupinum littus', i. e. the Rutupine or Rutupian shore, whereof instances enough are collected and exhibited by the same Mr. Camden. /2 The Romans

Rutupi=
um a fa=
mous port
in the
Romans
time.

When it
chang'd
it's name.

at length deserting the Island, and the Saxons shortly after being possess'd of it, as they (Conquerour-like) changed the language, introducing their own; so rejecting the wonted name of this place Rutupium, they new-named it (/3 as was shewed above with the reasons for

/1 If 'it's name' refers to Richborough (as I cannot see what else it should relate to) our Author seems to be incoherent with himself. For a little before he is angry with Leland, Lambard, &c. for placing Rutupium at Richborough; and yet if Richborough was otherwise call'd Reptacester (as he here intimates) Rutupium must be there too; for Bede puts them at the same place; 'Ruthubi portus, qui portus a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacester vocatur,' Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 1. /2 Their going off was about the year 418. /3 pag. 9.

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it) 'Lunden-wic'; which name it afterward retain'd until their supplanting by the Danes; of whom or about whose time, from the sandy soil there and thereabouts extending from thence so many miles, even as far as about Walmer-castle, casting off the former name of 'Lunden-wic' call'd it was Sandwich, which it retaineth to this day; having formerly given name to a family of Knights for several descents called de Sandwico, or of Sandwich; one of which, Sir Simon of Sandwich, /1 was the Founder of St. Bartholomew's Hospital there. But of that Roman Port hitherto. Only let me here add the account given or taken of it in the Conquerours Survey, call'd Doomsday-Book in these words.

'Sanduic est Manerium Sanctæ Trinitatis, & /2 est de vestitu Monachorum, & est /3 Leth

/1 So Mr. Kilburn (says Somner) but I am otherwise inform'd by an Historian of Edw. 2's time, who saith it was founded at the common charge of the Towns-men. /2 The land allotted for the cloathing of Monks is call'd in the ancient records 'scrud-land', from the Saxon 'scrud', 'vestis'; as that for maintenance in victuals is call'd 'foster-land'. /3 The 'leth' or 'lath' is a larger sort of divisions in Counties, containg so many Hundreds. I think there is no doubt but it comes from the Saxon 'gelapian', 'congregare, convocare', from convening the inhabitants within such a jurisdiction. The 'leta'

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& Hundredus in seipso, & reddit Regi servitium in mare, sicut Dovera: & homines illius villæ, antequam Rex dedit eis suas consuetudines, reddebant XV libras; quando Episcopus recuperavit reddebat XL libras, & XL millia de alecibus, & in præterito anno reddidit L libras, & alecia sicut prius. Et in isto anno debet reddere LX & X lib'. & alecia sicut prius. In /1 T. E. R. erant ibi CCC & VII mansuræ, nunc autem LX & XVI plus.'

To gratifie the curiosity of such as may be studious either of the genius and temper of that age, or of their mode and way of framing and phrasing their Grants and Conveyances; /2 I shall here, from the original subjoyn that of Sandwich Town and Haven by the King Cnute, to the Monks of Christ-church Canterbury, as I find it there ex= tant both in Saxon and Latine.

Goodwyn-
sands.

The common opinion much counte=

(the court) seems to have the same original; tho' Spelman doubts of it. Vide Glossar. ejus in voce Leta.

/1 i. e. 'Tempore Edwardi Regis'. This is generally observ'd in Domesday-book; in the description of e<a>ch place, to set down the state of it, number of inhabitants, &c as it stood in the days of Edward the Confessor. /2 This grant is not ex= tant either in Saxon or Latin in Somner's original MS.

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nanced and confirmed by our coun= trymen /1 Twine, /2 Lambard and some o= thers, (late writers only whilst all the elder sort are silent in the point) is that this being before an Island of some call'd 'Lomea', very fertile and abound= ing with pastures, &c. was by an hi= deous tempest of winds and rains, and an unusual rage and inundation of the sea, hapning /3 in the reign of William Rufus, in the year 1097. overwhelmed; and hath been ever since a quick-sands, Charybdis-like, dangerous to Naviga= tors. This I say is the common opi= nion.

Never an
Island.

Notwithstanding which, that it ever was other than what it is at present; that at least it was till that inundation such a piece of firm and fertile ground as /1 Twine in his description of it a= voucheth, or that ever it was /4 Earl Goodwyn's patrimony, and took name from him, I dare confidently deny; and that with warrant enough I trow

/1 Comment. de rebus Albionis p. 27. /2 Perambulation p. 105. /3 Lambard adds, 'or the beginning of Henry the first.' /4 As Lambard lays down for an undoubted truth, and with= out more adoe derives thence the name of the place. And Twine; 'Lomea vero, quæ aliquando fuit Godwini Comitibus ditio, ejus nominis hodie arenæ vel syrtes dicuntur.' Antiquit. Albion. p. 24.

22

from hence alone, that in the /1 Con= querour's Survey (that famous and most authentick Record and Repertory of all lands whatsoever throughout the whole English Empire) wherein (a= mongst the rest, and in the first place) Kent, with all the lands in it, whether of the King, the Arch-Bishop, the Earl, or whatsoever person high or low is

amply and accurately described, surveyed, and recorded; in this universal Terrier (I say) there is not any mention made, or the least notice taken of such an Island. And as not there, so not elsewhere (in any Author wheher foreign or domestick, of any antiquity, that ever I could meet with) doth it occur: whereas both of Sheapy, Thanet, &c. (other Kentish Islands) there is frequent mention both in Dooms-day-Book, and in many of our English Historians, as well elder as later, to say nothing of several Charters both of Christchurch and St. Augustine's in Canterbury, where they are very obvious.

[/1 Commonly call'd 'Dooms-day-Book'; a specimen whereof the eminent Dr. Gale has given us in his first Volume of Historians, p. 759. as also a dissertation upon it, p. 795.](#)

23

Original
of the
name of
Goodwyn-
sands.

And as for that argument (much insisted on /1 by the most) drawn from the name of Goodwyn-sands, it may (as I conceive) receive this answer, that probably it is not the true, genuine, ancient, and original name, but rather a corruption of the right name contracted and caused by that grand corruption as well of names as things, time. Yet what the true and right original name was, I cannot possibly say, nor am scarce willing to conjecture, least I seem to some too bold. But when I consider the condition, nature, and quality of the place in hand; the soil or rather the sand, which is both 'lentum & tenax', soft and pliant, and yet tenacious, and retentive withall; I am almost persuaded it might take the name from the British 'Gwydn' so signifying, which in tract of time much the easier, and rather corrupted into 'Goodwyn', because of a Kentish Earl of that name a little before the Norman-Conquest. A conjecture in my judgment much favoured by the name /2 given it by Twine,

[/1 Twine, Lambard, and others.](#) [/2 'De Lomea vero, vel \(ut nunc est\) Godwinianis syrtibus.' Twine Comment. de rebus Albion. &c. p. 27.](#)

24

(from what authority it appears not) 'Lomea', which (though not in sound yet in sense) seems in some sort to answer the British 'Gwydn', as coming probably of the /1 Saxon 'lam', whence our modern English 'lome', as that I conceive of the Latine 'limus', slime, mudd, &c. and that as some derive it of the Greek 'leimōn', i. e. 'terra madida, locus humidus'. These sands (happily) being so called

for distinction's sake from those many other thereabouts, as the Brakes, the Fower-foots, the White-ditch, &c. as consisting of a more soft, fluid, porous, spongius, and yet withal tenacious matter than the neighbouring sands, and consequently of a more voracious and ingurgitating property than the rest, which were more hard, solid, rugged, and rocky.

Why it cannot be of a British original.

But in regard of that 'altum silentium', the pretermission of it in utter silence by ancient Authors, and the no other than a very late notice taken, and mention made of it by any writer, it will hardly pass with judicious men for a thing of such antiquity as to owe its name to the Britains. Indeed were it a

/1 The Saxon 'lam' signifies 'limus', dirt, clay.

25

thing of that great antiquity (a place I mean of that strange and stupendous nature for such a standing) so very remarkable it is, as we cannot easily believe it should have quite escaped the many elder writers both at home and abroad, or not indeed be reckoned amongst the wonders of our Britain. And therefore with several men of judgement it is look'd on as a piece of /1 later emergency than Earl Goodwyn, much more than the British age. What in this case to reply I scarcely know; that it is a most notable and wonderful thing as to the nature and quality of it, I cannot but acknowledge, and yet that it hath escaped the pens of all ancient writers both foreign and domestick, I neither can deny. Upon a 'melius inquirendum' therefore resuming and reviewing the matter, I cannot but refer to consideration as their conjecture who are for the late emergency of it, so withal what is said in favour of it.

Cause of Goodwyn-sands.

Instead then of the over-whelming this place (formerly supposed an Island, and a part of Earl Goodwyn's possessions)

/1 Earl Goodwyn dy'd in the year of our Lord 1053. Chron. Sax.

26

by that inundation of the sea in or about William the second or Henry the first's time, whereunto the loss of it is of some (as we have seen) ascribed; more probable it seems to others, that (on the contrary) this inundation being so violent and great, as to drown a great part of Flanders and the Low-Countries, was and gave the occasion

Inunda= tions in the time of King Henry 1.

of the place's first emergency, by lay= ing and leaving that, which formerly was always wett and under water, for the most part dry and above water. Or if happily that one inundation did it not alone, yet might it give such a good essay to it, and lay so fair a begin= ning of it, as was afterward perfected and compleated by following irrupti= ons of that kind; especially that upon the parts of Zealand, which consisting of old of fifteen Islands, eight of them have been quite swallowed by the sea and utterly lost. Whence that of a late /1 Geographer of our own concerning both inundations. 'The Country Belgium lyeth exceeding low upon the seas, inso= much that it is much subject to inundations. In the time of Henry the second' (it should

/1 Heylin Cosmogr. p. 231.

27

be 'the first') 'Flanders was so overflown, that many thousands of people, whose dwellings the sea had devoured, came into England to begg new seats, and were by the King first placed /1 in Yorshire, and then removed to Pembrokeshire. Since that it hath in Zealand swallowed eight of the Islands, and in them 300 Towns and Vil= lages: many of whose Churches and strong buildings are at a dead low water to be seen; and as Ovid has it of Helice and Buris Cities of Achaia,

Invenies sub aquis, & adhuc ostendere
nautæ
Inclinata solent cum mœnibus oppida
versis.

The water hides them, and the shipmen
show,
The ruin'd walls and steeples, as they row.'

To the same purpose the /2 Belgick Geographer thus: 'Zelandia multis in= sulis distinguitur: tametsi enim superiori seculo Oceanus magnam huic regioni cladem intulit, & aliquot insulas, perruptis agge= ribus, penitus hausit, alias mirum in mo=

/1 Lambard says 'about Carlisle'. /2 Laët, descriptio Belgii p. 124.

28

dum arrosit, &c.' And what saith /1 Guicci= ardine speaking of Flanders? Usque ad annum salutis 1340 &c. 'Until the year 1340.' (saith he) 'as often as any bargain was made for the sale of any lands along the maritime tract, provision was expresly made, that if within ten years space next ensuing, the land should be drowned, then the bargain to be void and of none effect.

These inundations the cause of Goodwyn-sands.

That this (the emergency of what we call the Goodwyn) was the product and consequence of those inundations, that at least a probable conjecture may hence be grounded of its emergency by this means, they thus make out. This shelf (the Goodwyn) although it were a kind of shallow lying between the English and the Flemish coast, yet until so much of the water found a vent and out-let into the neighbouring parts of Flanders and the Low-countries, was allways so far under water, as it never lay dry, but had such a high sea running over it, as it no way endangered the Navigator; the sea or channel being as safely passable and navigable there as elsewhere. But so much of the water betwixt us and them having for=

/1 Comment de rebus memorabilibus in Europa, in Belgio maxime.

29

saken its wonted and ordinary current and confines, and gained so much more elbow-room and evacuation into those drowned parts on the other side, (the sea usually losing in one place what it gains in another) this shelf (the Goodwyn) from thenceforth, for want of that store of water which formerly overlaid it, became (what it is) a kind of 'arida', a sand-plott, deserted of that water's surface in which it was formerly immersed.

This (for ought I perceive) is probable enough, and hath nothing that I can see, to oppose or controul it, but the name (the Goodwyn) which indeed cannot consist with so late an emergency, whether by the 'Goodwyn' we understand the Earl sometime so called, or the British word or Epithet for 'soil or ground of that tenacious sort and temper'. Not knowing therefore what further to reply, I shall leave it 'in medio', not daring to determine either way, as being a research of so much difficulty, as I foresee, when all is done, must be left to conjecture, which may prove as various as the Readers.

30

Dubris. It's derivation.

Now to Dubris, another of the Kentish Roman Ports, and of them so called; /1 but whether from the British 'Dyffrin' signifying a 'vale' or 'valley' (whence that famous vale or valley of Cluyd in Denbigh-shire is called 'Dyffrin Cluyd', as one would say, 'the inclosed vale' or 'valley'; for so it is, being on all quarters but the North environed with hills or mountains;) or from their 'Dufur' or 'Dur'

or 'Dyfr', betokening 'water', 'running water', or a 'river', (whence 'Dowerdwy' is of Girald Cambrensis in his Itinerary of Wales in Latine rendred 'Fluvius Devæ' i. e. the river of Dee) is somewhat disputable. Both derivations are enough probable, the former in regard of the place's situation in a valley, between two very high hills or rocks: nor is the latter less probable in respect of the water, the fresh or river running through it, and presently emptying it self into the sea, and by the way serving to scour the haven, and keep it open. So that leaving the Reader to his liberty of

/1 'Dover' (says Lambard) 'call'd diversly in Latine Doris, Durus, Doveria and Dubris; in Saxon dofra, all seem to be drawn from the British word dufir water, or dufirra high or steep, the situation being upon a high rock over the water, which serveth to either.'

31

choice, I shall have done with the name when I shall have told him, that after the Romans it was of their immediate successors, the Saxons, called 'Dofris, /1 Dofra, Dofer'; and of after times /2 Dovor and Dover.

Dover
falsly
call'd
Doro=
bernia.

/3 Some have called it by what is the proper name of Canterbury, 'Dorobernia', others 'Dorvernia'; but very erroneously both; and upon that mistake, what tumult or hurly-burly hapned in the year 1051. or as some have it 1052. at Dover by the means of Eustace, Earl of Bolen and his men, likely to have ended in a sore and bloody civil war, (the King taking part with his brother in law, and Earl Goodwyn siding with the Doverians as his Clients and Vassals) the scene, I say, of that commotion is of some laid at Canterbury: whereas it is /4 hence clear enough that Dover was the place, inasmuch as Marianus and Hoveden, who (as Malmsbury speaks of a

/1 As also 'dofera'. /2 Doomsday-Book calls it 'Dovere', Huntingdon 'Douere' and 'Doure'. Sim. Dunelm. 'Dovere'. Hovd. 'Dowere': /3 Speed, Holinsheed and Milton, (out of a mistake either of the Saxon 'dofra', or else led into it by those who translated it out of the Saxon) place the scene of this action at Canterbury. /4 What makes it yet more clear, are the circumstances of that expedition deliver'd by the Saxon Chro=

32

Castle there which Knighton calls 'Castellum Dovorienne') make express mention of a Castle on the cliff or by the cliff-side, which must needs be Dover-castle; Canterbury being an inland-town and standing (both City and Castle) in a level or valley. But for more certainty, the Saxon relation of the matter (in

When
Dover
came to be
a haven.

which language I take it the story was originally penned) as I find it in a small Saxon MS sometime belonging to Mr. Lambard, and procured for me by my late deceased friend Thomas Godfrey of Hodiford Esq; lays the scene at Dover. 'On þam ylcan geare (1052) Eustatius com up æt Doferan, &c.' 'The same year (1052) Eustatius came on shore at Dover, &c.' So that what of that tumult is recorded in our Chronicles as hapning at 'Dorobernia' belongs to Dover, not Canterbury. What also is spoken by /1 Pictaviensis of Alfred's landing place, or place of arrival, under the same name, relates thither, and is to be under-

nicle, ad An. 1048. It tells us that after he had deliver'd his message to the King, he came East-ward to 'Cant-wara byrig', i. e. Canterbury; where he with his men, dining, afterwards 'to Dofran gewende', i. e. 'went forwards to Dover.'

/1 'Non multo post deinde intersticio temporis, Doroberniam venit Aluredus, transvectus ex portu Iccio, &c.' Gesta Guil. Ducis, in initio.

33 <sig C>

stood not of Canterbury but Dover. But to keep us to the Port; a Roman Port it was, and continued afterwards a Port through the Saxon, Danish, and Norman ages unto this present. But as after the Roman times Bolen decayed and grew into some disuse on the French coast, so Rutupium or Sandwich in tract of time did the like on the British, that being supplanted and put by of Witsand, this of Dover, as of most advantage to the passenger by reason of the greater shortness of the cut between.

Witsand
when
first a
Port.

Yet late was it ere Witsand came into request, no mention in story being found of it in the notion of a Port, /1 until between 5. or 600. years ago. But from about that time indeed it became much frequented, and no notice scarce taken of any other thereabouts. Whence that of Lewis the French King, who in the year 1180. coming in pilgrimage to visit Thomas of Canterbury, besought that Saint, by way of humble intercession, that no

<Camden 1610:348>

/1 I believe the first mention of it is Anno 1095. where (as was before observ'd) William Rufus is said to have taken shipping there. Chron. Sax.

34

passenger might miscarry by shipwrack between Witsand and Dover. Yet neither was this Port Witsand very long liv'd; for not many years after Calice-Port coming into request, Witsand gives it place, which it retains to this

Dover
the place
where
Cæsar in=
tended to
land.

day. And indeed it is matter of more wonder, that it held up so long, than that it decayed no sooner, in regard of the danger of the passage between, through the greater narrowness and straitness of the British Channel or Frith at that place, rendring it apter to a more impetuous motion than where, as somewhat further off, on either hand more sea room may be had.

Here without all doubt it was that Julius Cæsar, in that famous expedition of his for the Conquest of Britain, first intended and attempted to arrive: a matter evident enough by the description of the place, /1 in his Commentary terming it 'locum ad egrediendum nequam idoneum', a place very unfit for landing; which he further thus describes; 'Loci hæc erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici pos=

35

set.' From whence without any violence we may conclude that the sea in those days more insinuated it self into the valley here than afterwards and at this day (being somewhat excluded and *fell further off by the ingulfed beach) it did and doth, flowing up even as high, if not higher into the land, as where the Town it self is now seated: whereof also 'the Anchors and planks or boards of ships there' (/1 as Mr. Camden hath it) 'sometimes digged up,' are indications sufficient of themselves to evince this truth.

*<? r. 'held'>

<Camden 1610:344>

And more have I not to say of this Port neither; only to represent what description thereof is recorded in Doomsday-book, in these very syllables, /2 'Dovere tempore Regis Edwardi reddebat, &c.' Hereunto let me add a Topographical account hereof given by Guliel. Pictavensis, who (as he was the Conquerour's Chaplain, and one that attended him

/1 Mr. Camden says of Dover; 'Oppidum quod inter cautes considet, ubi portus ipse olim fuit, cum mare se insinaret, ut ex anchoris & navium tabulis colligitur.' /2 There is no more extant in the original MS of Mr. Somner, but I suppose it is the same account that Dr. Gale (Hist. Vol. 1. p. 759.) has given us of Dover out of Dooms-day-book; to whom I refer the Reader.

36

in the expedition, and shared with others of his train in the division of the land) hath written his Life and Acts. His words are these. 'Situm est id castellum (Dovera) in rupe mari contigua /1 .

From this description it appears, that what fortification the place had in

those days to the sea-ward at least, was not so much from art as nature; indeed rather mixt, the rock or cliff's-top with tools and instruments of iron being cut into such notches and indentures, as it both resembled and served in the stead of walls with battlements: which it seems afterwards decaying (as the cliff there consisting more of chalkstone is apt to crumble away, drop down, and fall) such walls as now the Town hath to the sea-ward were erected for supply of those natural Bulwarks, which that 'edax rerum', all devouring time, had so consumed.

/1 The original quotes Pictaviensis no further; but because what follows is very material to this account of Dover, take the whole together: 'Situm est id castellum [Dovera] in rupe mari contigua, quæ naturaliter acuta undique ad hoc ferramentis incisa, in speciem mari directissima altitudine, quantum sagittæ jactus permetiri potest, consurgit, quo in latere unda marina alluitur.'

37

Lemanis
it's names
and situ=
ation.

Passing from hence (reserving the Castle to my future discourse of the Roman-Forts) I come in order to the third and last of their Kentish Ports, 'Lemanis' /1 as called of Antoninus, of the Notitia 'Lemannis', in the Peutingerian Tables 'Lemavius'. Concerning the situation hereof various are the conjectures of our English Chorographers; /2 some placing it at /3 Hyth, others at West-Hyth, a third sort at or under Lim-Hill; to none of all which the distance between it and Durovernum (i. e. Canterbury) in the Itinerary (to omit other arguments) will very well suit being sixteen miles, which is more by two than that between Durovernum and Durobris, which is full out as great as this.

/1 In Antoninus some read 'Limenis', as well as 'Lemanis', says Burton in his Comment upon the Itinerary, p. 193. /2 I think Lime or Limne is the place generally pitch'd upon by our English writers, grounding, no doubt, principally upon the agreement in sound between the old and the new name. What they say of Hithe and West-hithe is, that the former began to flourish upon the stopping up of the latter, and the first rise of West-hithe, was the decay of Limne or Lime, which they suppose to have been the ancient Haven. So Leland; who is followed by Camden and Lambard. /3 If Hythe were of greater antiquity than is generally supposed, it might probably be the ancient Roman Port; for the present name being deriv'd from the Saxon 'hyð' 'portus', would exactly answer the Greek 'limên', from whence Lemanis is suppos'd to be deduc'd.

38

But as there is not much heed to be given to the distances there, being (as some have observed) often mistaken, so am I apt to suspect a mistake here,

New-Romney the Lemans of the ancients.

of 'xvi' I mean for 'xxi', the second of those numeral letters in the Itinerary by an easy mistake of an 'v' for an 'x' being miswritten; which supposed, the Port (as to the distance) is easily found, and that *inneed is Romney, or as we now call it New-Romney, distanced much about so many Italian miles (21) from Durovernum or Canterbury; and so called happily to answer and suit with the Greek /1 'kainos limēn', or the Latin 'novus portus', as some have termed it: although I rather deem that Epithet given it more of late to distinguish it from the other Romney, called Old Romney, which distinction I find used near 500 years ago. But be that as it will, Romney either the Old or the New seems to be the Port of the Ro=

*sic

/1 Camden and Burton are of opinion that 'kainos' is no part of the ancient name, but foisted in by the Librarians: 'Quod [limēn] cum apud Græcos significativum sit, Librarii ut viderentur defectum supplere "kainos limēn" scripserunt, Latiniq; interpretes "novum portum" inepte converterunt, &c.' So Camden; and much to the same purpose Burton in his Itinerary p. 193.

39

mans so termed, and that either from the Greek 'limēn' a Port, according to that of Leland, 'Refert hoc nomen originem Græcam, quod pleno diffluens alveo portum efficiat: est enim Portus, litus, sinus maris Græcis limēn'; or else from their 'limnē' 'palus' a moore or fennish place, as the soil hereabouts for many miles far and wide is none other; which Ethelwerd's 'Limneus portus', and the old and yet continued writings of the Parish and Deanries name of 'Limne' or 'Limpne' seems more to favour. Romney, I say, as I conceive was that Roman Port Lemans, which although at present, and for /1 some hundred of years lying dry, and *unbestead of any channel of fresh water to serve it, yet had of old a fair and commodious river running along by it, and unlading or emptying it self into the sea, in those days nothing so remotely from the Town as (by the sands and beach in process of time cast up and inbeaten by the Sea, and for want of the fresh to repel and keep it back stopping up the Harbour) since and now it is.

<Leland 1658:110>

*sic

/1 Ever since the time of Edw. 1. when by the violent rage of the sea, the Rother chang'd his course, and so the harbour was stop'd up. See Somner hereafter in his third Proposition.

40

Limene-river.

This River /1 rising and issuing or breaking forth about what for the right name Ritheramfield we call now

Rotherfield, (a place in Sussex) and so passing under Rother-bridge (corruptly termed 'Roberts-bridge) is from thence called the Rother: but afterwards running and keeping on it's course to Appledore, and from thence to Romney called (as we said) Lemanis, and serving the Haven there, becomes from thence termed Limena, as the mouth thereof where it falls into the sea, Limene-mouth. And thus may those be reconciled that are at odds about this River's right name, some calling the whole River Rother, others Limene; which former name occurreth not to me in any ancient record, whereas the /1 latter doth, and that as high up as whereabout it first riseth. It was afterward (from the Port so called, to and along by which it had it's course and current)

/1 'It riseth' (says Leland, and after him Lambard) 'at Argas hill in Sussex, near to Waterdown-forest, and falleth to Rotherfield, &c.' /2 An. 5. Edw. 1. (says Somner) in an extent of the Lord Arch-Bishop's manor of Terring in Sussex, under the title of Borga de maghefeud: 'Martinus le Webb tenet quartam partem unius rodæ apud la Limene, & debet quad. ad festum S. Mich.'

41

named Romney, as shall be shewed anon. Mean time for better method's sake, I shall endeavour to assert three things. First, that there was such a river; one, I mean, of that name of Limene, and Romney. Secondly, that this river had it's mouth at or by Romney-Town. Thirdly, about what time, and by what occasion it ceased running hither, and forsook it's wonted channel.

1 Proposition.
That a river there was call'd Limene and Romney.

Now as to the first, express mention is found made of it by that name of Limene, in a Charter or Grant of Ethelbert the son of the Kentish King /1 Wihthred, about the year 721. whereby he grants to Mildred, the then Abbess of Minster in Thanet, 'terram unius aratri circa flumen Limenæ,' i. e. a plough-land lying by or about the river Limene. It next occurs to me in a Charter of King Eadbright dated in the year 741. granting to the Church of Canterbury 'capturam piscium quæ habetur in hostio fluminis cujus nomen est /2 Limeneia, &c.

/1 I think the right name is 'Wihthred'. He is always call'd so in our Saxon Annals, and most of our English Historians.

/2 In the ancient Church-record (as set down by Mr. Somner in his Antiquities of Canterbury) I find it thus: 'Eadbrigt Rex dedit Ecclesiæ Christi in Dorobernia capturam piscium in Lam=

42

i. e. the taking or catching of fish to be had in the mouth of the river, which

is named Limene, &c. In a Charter or Grant of Egbert, the West-Saxon King, and first English Saxon Monarch, and Athulf or Ethelwulf his son to one Godwin in the year 820. it thus again occurs: 'Duo aratra in loco qui dicitur Anglicis Werehornas, in paludosis locis; & emptā est pro M solidis nummorum. Et hæc sunt territoria: On east-healfe se rece *suo ofer Limen-ea oð Suð-seaxena mearce,' i. e. 'Ex orientali parte porrigit Austrum versus, ultra Limenæ fluvium usque ad Australium Saxonum litem,' i. e. Two plough-lands in a place in English called Werehorns, amongst the fens, and cost M. shillings or 50l. of money: and these are the boundaries; on the East-part it extendeth South-ward over the river Limen, unto the South-Saxon limits. In a Deed or Grant (of one

*<r. 'suð'>

[/1 Warhard or Warnard a Priest](#)) to the Monks of Canterbury, dated Anno 830. thus again we meet with it: 'unum jugum quod jacet in australi parte Limene,

[hethe, & alia quædam Ecclesiæ de Liminge, tempore Cuthberhti Archiepiscopi.'](#)

43

[/1 In an original Charter he is written Werhardus.](#)

& ab incolis nominatur Lambeham, pertinet autem ad Burnham, &c.' i. e. One yoke of land lying on the South-side of Limene, and of the inhabitants is called Lambeham, but belongeth to Burnham, &c.

To pass over the mention of it in our English [/1 Saxon Annals Anno 893.](#) not long after it was (Anno sc. 895) that the same river (that part of it at or near Romney Town) in a Grant of Plegmund the Arch-bishop of Canterbury under the name of Romney occurs thus. 'Terram quæ vocatur Wefingmersc juxta flumen quod vocatur Rumeneia, &c.' i. e. The land called Wefingmersh, beside the river called Romney. In an old Deed sans date of Thomas and James, sons of Kennet of Blakeburn and others, it comes into mention thus: 'Totum nostrum imbrocum de Blakeburn, sive præ dictus brocus sit major sive minor, cujus broci longitudo ex australi parte incipit ad pontem de Oxenal, & ducit super aquam de Limenal usque ad piscarium de Blakeburn, &

[/1 Where the Danish army is said to have come on 'Limene muðan'](#) (Canterbury copy reads it 'Limenan muðan') 'mid CCL. scipa.' i. e. in Limeni ostium, cum ccl. navibus.

44

de eadem piscaria incipit longitudo ex parte Aquilonis, & ducit per wallam de Piggbroke,' i. e. All our im-brook of Blake-

2 Propo=
sition.
That Li=
mene and
Romney=
river ran
out at
Romney.

burn, whether the said brook be greater or less, the length whereof on the South-part begins at Oxney-bridge and leadeth over the water of Limene, unto the fishing place of Blakeburn; and from thence begins the length of it on the north-part, and leads by the wall of Piggbrook, &c. So much, and enough of the first.

Passing from which to the second re=
search or Proposition, that the river or
water so called, Limene and Romney,
or (as more of late) Rother ran to
Romney, and there by its mouth or out=
let called (as in that old Charter of King
Eadbriht) Limen-mouth, emptying it self
into the sea, gave beginning and occasion to
the Port or Haven there. For this, if /1 Mr.
Camden's testimony, chiefly grounded
(I suppose) on the inhabitants tradition
of his time, be not full satisfaction,

<Camden 1610:350-1>

/1 'Verum regnante Edw. 1. cum Oceanus ventorum violentia exasperatus, hunc tractum operuisset, lateque hominum, pe=
corum, ædificiorumque stragem dedisset; & Promhil viculo
frequenti pessundato, etiam Rother, qui hic prius se in Oceanum
exoneravit, alveo emovit, ostiumque obstruxit, novo in mare
aditu compendio per Rhiam aperto.' Camd. Britain.

45

who saith, 'that /1 in the reign of Edward
the first, the sea raging with violence of
winds, overflowed this tract, and made pi=
tiful waste of people, of cattel, and of houses
in every place, as having quite drowned
Promhill, a pretty Town well frequented,
and made the Rother forsake his own chan=
nel, which here beforetime emptied himself
into the sea, and stopped his mouth, open=
ing a new and nearer way to pass into the
sea by Rhie; so as by little and little he
forsook this Town, &c.' If this (I say) be
not sufficient, let me add, that as New=
Romney is to this day a Port, and one
of those five, which lying on the East
and South sea-coasts of England, are
called the Cinque-Ports, so doubtless
hath it been from the first. 'It was some=
time' (/2 saith Mr. Lambard) 'a good sure
and commodious Haven, where many ves=
sels used to lye at road. For /3 Henry the
Archdeacon of Huntingdon, maketh re=
port, that at such time as Goodwyn Earl

<Lambard 1596:198>

/1 About the year 1287. /2 Mr. Lambard speaks all this of
Old Romney, and expresly tells the reader in the beginning:
'as touching the latter (New-Romney) I mind not to speak,
having not hitherto found either in record or history any thing
pertaining thereunto.' /3 This account of Goodwyn, is very
distinctly deliver'd in the Saxon Annals, from whence Henry
of Huntingdon transcrib'd.

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of Kent and his sons were exiled the Realm,

they armed vessels to the sea, and sought by disturbing the quiet of the people to compel the King to their revocation. And therefore, among sundry other harms that they did on the coast of this shire, they entred the Haven at Romney, and led away all such ships as they found in the Harbour there.'

In the Conquerour's expedition for the Conquest of England, some of his company by mistake it seems landed, or were put a shore at Romney, and were rudely and barbarously treated by the inhabitants hereof; and of the revenge upon them taken by the Conquerour after his victory, and settling his affairs at Hasting, his Chaplain /2 Pictaviensis, and after him /3 Ordericus Vitalis, gives us this account. 'Humatis autem suis, dispositaque custodia, Hastingas cum strenuo Præfecto Romanarium' (saith the former, for 'Romaneium', as it is in the latter) 'accedens, quam placuit pœnam exegit pro clade suorum, quos illuc errore appulsos fera gens adorta prælio cum utriusque partis maximo detrimento fuderat.'

[/1 A full account whereof see in the Saxon-Annals, ad An. 1052.](#) [/2 Gesta Guil. Ducis, p. 204.](#) [/3 Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. An. 1066.](#)

47

Romney
in dooms-
day-book
call'd
Lampport.

This I take it is the Port in Doomsday-book called Lampport, and the hundred wherein it lay, the hundred of Lampport. 'In Lampport, hundred' (so that book) 'Robertus de Romanel tenet de Archiepisc. Lampport: pro 1 solino & dimid. se defendit. Ah hoc manerium pertinent 21 Burgenses qui sunt in Romanel, de quibus habet Archiep. 3 forisfacturas, latrocinia, pacem fractam, foristellum. Rex vero habet omne servitium ab eis, & ipsi habent omnes consuetudines, & alias forisfacturas pro servitio maris, & sunt in manu Regis.' Thus in the account of the lands and possessions of the Arch-Bishops Knights: afterward in that of the Bishop of Bayon thus. 'In Lampport hund. Robertus de Romanel tenet de Episcopo /1 Affetane, pro 1 solino se defendit. Idem Robertus habet 50 Burgenses in burgo de Romanel, & de eis habet Rex omne servitium, & sunt quieti pro servitio maris ab omni consuetudine præter latrocinium, pacem infractam, & /2 foristel.' It was since,

[/1 al. Offetane, says Somner in the margin of the original MS.](#) [/2 Otherwise written faristel; as also forstall, forstallatio. The meaning and definition of it is given us by the history publish'd under the name of Brompton, amongst the X Scriptoros, p. 957. 'Forstal est coactio vel obsistentia in regia strata facta.'](#) 'Tis of a Saxon original, from 'fore' 'ante', or 'for' 'contra', and

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and is at this day altered into Langport,
and containing the Towns of St. Ni=
cholas, *ctc. And as there was and is a
double Romney, the old and the new;
so in the 14th. year of Edward the 2d,
I read of an old and a new Langport.
By the way, /1 Mr. Lambard in his Per=
ambulation represents the state of this
place otherwise than Dooms-day-book
doth, whom the Reader may please
hereby to correct accordingly.

*sic

<Lambard 1596:197-8>

The river
Limene
turn'd
from
Romney
another
way.

Now as all Sea-Ports or Havens have,
at least first had (what since sometime,
as here, is discontinued and diverted)

'stal' or 'steal' 'statio, status'; an intercepting such things as
were design'd for the market, before they came to publick
sale, with an intent to gain by them. And such a person (as
we learn from a law of Edw. 1.) was look'd upon as 'patriæ
publicus inimicus & pauperum depressor.' Vide Spelman. Glos=
sar. in voce 'Forstallator'.

/1 What Mr. Lambard quotes out of Dooms-day-book con=
cerning Romney, is this: 'It was of the possession of one Robert
Rumney, and holden of Odo (then bishop of Baieux, Earl of
Kent, and brother to K. William the Conquerour) in the which
time the same Robert had thirteen Burgesses, who for their
service at the sea were acquitted of all actions and customs of
charge, except felony, breach of the peace, and forestalling.'
Which account differs from Dooms-day-book, 1 In the name
of the possessor, which is in Dooms-day 'Romenel'. 2 The
number of Burgesses, in Dooms-day 21. 3 The actions and
customs of charge; besides these three, is reckon'd in Dooms=
day 'Forisfactura', some heinous crime for which a man 'for=
feited' his estate, liberty, life, &c. Some will have it deriv'd

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a river, stream, or course of fresh wa=
ter falling into them for their better
keeping open, and to prevent their
obstruction and choaking by sands,
beach, slime, or other like suffocating
matter, without which it cannot be, or
be properly called a Port: so doubtless
did this Port or Haven sometime par=
ticipate of this commodity and pro=
perty, and had a river, a fresh, a cur=
rent running to it, and there discharg=
ing or shedding it self into the sea; and
the same so called (from the seve=
ral places by which it had it's passage)
Rother, Limen, and Romney. For albeit
the Rother (for that only is the now
remaining name, though some call it
Appledore-water) cuts or falls many miles
short of Romney-Port, (after it is once
gotten to Appledore, wheeling about
and running into that arm of the sea
or æstuary insinuating into the land by,

from 'foris', and so extend it to nothing but the 'loss of liberty',
or 'estate', which (as Spelman observes) by such a crime 'sibi
extraneum facit.' But Somner in his Glossary derives it from
the Saxon 'for' and 'facio'; which is in effect confirm'd by the
Learned Dr. Hickes, when he lays down this rule in his Saxon-

Grammar, p. 85. 'For sæpe dat composito significationem, quæ simplicis significationem pessundat, & in malum sensum vertit.' <S>o that 'forisfacere' is nothing but 'male, prave facere'. Vide Spelmanni. & Somneri Glossar. in hanc vocem.

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The river
Limene
had a
wide
mouth.

what from that or some other current became so called, Rye) yet had it here= tofore a direct and foreright continued current and passage as to Appledore, so from thence to Romney, the old and new: on the West-side whereof meeting with the æstuary, it presently dis= embogued and fell into the sea, which in elder times with so large and wide a mouth flow'd up within the land there, that in the year 774. Lyd, both to the Northern and Eastern bounds thereof, is said to border on the sea. Witness the Charter of K. Offa of that Mannor, given to /1 Janibert the then Arch-bishop, of this tenour. 'In nomine Jesu salvatoris mundi, &c. Ego Offa Rex totius Anglorum patriæ, dabo & concedo Janibert Archiepiscopo ad Ecclesiam Christi, aliquam partem terræ, trium aratorum, quod Cantianite dicitur three /2 sulinge, in occidentali parte regionis quæ dicitur Mersware ubi nominatur ad Lyden: & hujus terræ sunt hæc territoria: Mare in Oriente, in Aquilone, & ab Austro terra Regis Edwy — nominant Deugemere us=

/1 Otherwise called in our English Histories Jeanbryht, Janberht, Eanbriht, Janbyrht, Lanberht, Lanbyrht. He was made Arch-bishop in 763 and dy'd in 790. /2 From the Saxon 'sulh' 'aratrum', a plough.

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que /1 ad lapidem appositum in ultimo terræ, & in Occidente & Aquilone confinia regni ad Bleechinge. Et hoc prædictum do= num, &c.

From whence clear enough it is that the sea with a large and spacious inlet, arm, and æstuary, in those days flowed in between Lyd and Romney, and was there met with the river Limen, which of necessity must have a very large capacious mouth, or bosom to receive, as it did, /2 a Fleet of 250 sail, the number of those Danish pyrats being no less, who in the year 893 put in here, and towing up their vessels four miles within the land, even as far as to the Weald (which /3 then extended East-ward unto Appledore) there cast anchor, and destroying a fort or castle, as old and imperfect as ill defended, built a new one and kept their rendezvous there.

For I can easily believe that how= ever Appledore be distanced from Rom= ney about six miles, yet so large a bo=

/1 This 'Lapis appositus in ultimo terræ,' is at this day called Stone-end in the south part of Kent. /2 See an account of this in the Saxon Chronicle, An. 893. /3 The Saxon Annals tell us, it was 'longa ab Oriente ad Occidentem centum & viginti milliarum ad minimum, & triginta milliarum lata.'

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som had that arm or æstuary, and so high up into the land the sea then flowed, (haply so high as that place in Romney-Custumal written about Edw. 3d's. time, called Readhill, whither the Franchise from the entrance of the haven is said to reach) that Appledore was not above four miles from the river's mouth: some vestigia and remains whereof, that trench of large extent both for length and breadth between Appledore and Romney along the wall, (from thence called the Ree-wall) by the diversion of the current at this day lying dry and converted to pasturage, (if it be not all one with that hereunder mentioned, passed over by the King to the Arch-bishop and others) may seem to be: over which (I take it) there sometime was a passage between Romney-marsh and Walland-marsh, by that bridge which in these latter days is (as the hundred wherein it lay) called Allowesbridge, for what of old was called Alolvesbridge, so named haply from some Lord or great person, who (whether he or some other that gave name to that Bocton called Aloof for Alolfe an Earl so called, whence the place of old is otherwise termed Earl

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Bocton, I cannot say) was known by the Christian name Alolfe, or the like.

Romney
the place
of Limen-
mouth,
from
Eadbrigt's
Charter.

Observable here it is to our purpose, that amongst the places mentioned in that Grant or Charter of K. Eadbrigt to the Church of Canterbury, (without which the Arch-bishop of old had had no interest in Romney) some if not all agree and suit to Romney for the place of Limen-mouth, as that of the situation of St. Martin's Oratory, the Fishermen's houses, the Ripe, Bishop's-wike, &c. The first of which, as it was in our forefather's days to be found in Romney-Town, being one of the Parish Churches there, (St. Nicholas being the other;) so those houses or some of them might probably enough be the same which in Dooms-day-book are said to be 21 'Burgenses' belonging to Lamport; which Port in those days belonged to the Arch-bishop, and as his of right, was (with other things) by him recovered from some Norman-usurpers in or by

that 'Placitum' or pleading at /1 Pinedene,
published by the most learned Selden.
Upon this account it was (the Arch-
bishop's peculiar interest there) that

<Selden 1623:197–200>

/1 I think 'tis generally call'd Pinenden; it was held An. 1072.

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Arch-bishop Becket in the year 1164.
intending a /1 secret escape and depar=
ture out of England, made choice of
this Port to put to sea. But to pro=
ceed to the other places mentioned in
that most ancient Charter: not far
from hence (I take it) lay the Marsh
called (from the Arch-bishop as the
owner) /2 Bishop's-wike; whilst the Ripe
(though cleared of the wood, if ever it
were wood) yet remains by that name
at Lyd. In an old Accompt-Roll of the
Arch-bishop's Mannours sans date, the
Accomptant of Oxeney craves this al=
lowance. 'Oxenal. In conducendis batellis
ad ducendum 105 /3 summas avenæ usque
Rumenal missas ad Liminge, 5s. 9d.'
Whence it appears that there was then
a channel leading down to Romney from
Oxeney: not to urge any thing from
what we find in that Ordinance of John
Lovetot and Henry of Apuldefeild made
Anno 16 Edw. 1. and extant in that

/1 The cause whereof see in Lambard's Perambulation, p.
209. /2 i. e. Episcopi vicus; a 'wic' vicus, sinus, castellum.
/3 'Summa est mensura continens 8 modios Londonienses,' says
Spelman. 'Tis primarily deriv'd from the Greek 'sagma', onus
jumentu sarcinariu; thence sauma and summa signifie a horse
load of any thing, and summarius, saumarius, or somarius
denote the carriage-horse, or (what we now call him) a

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little Treatise called 'the Charter of Rom=
ney-marsh', where order being taken
for the security and defence of that
Western part of the Marsh, at this day
called Walland-marsh, lying west-ward
of Romney-channel (the Eastern part, or
that on the other part of the channel,
called Romney-marsh, and no more, be=
ing formerly provided for by the Or=
dinance of Henry of Bath and his asso=
ciates, Nicholas of Handly, and Alured
of Dew, in the 24th. year of Henry the
third) we have that part of the Ordi=
nance ushered in with this preamble,
Et quia &c. i. e. 'And because before that
time in this Marsh of Romenal beyond
the course of the water of that Port run=
ning from the Snergate towards Romen=
hal, on the west-part of the same Port as
far as to the County of Sussex, there had
not been any certain law of the Marsh
ordained, nor used otherwise than at the
will of those who had lands in the same, &c.'

<Wolfe 1597>

<Wolfe 1597:48>

Not (I say) to insist on this, because it brings the water-course but from Sner=gate not from Appledore; let us now in the third and last place, having brought the Channel to Romney, shew (if we

[Sumpter-horse. Vide Spelmanni Glossarium. Somneri Glossar. ac Vossium in voce 'Saginarius'.](#)

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can) when it forsook it, when and how it came to be diverted; and whither; which is the third Proposition.

3 Propo=
sition.
When
and how
Romney-
river cea=
sed, and
came to
be diver=
ted; and
whither.

For forsaken *it hath, insomuch as there is neither Haven, Harbour or Channel, neither in-let nor out-let near it, but left quite dry it is and destitute both of salt and fresh water. And indeed so long it hath been thus, that without some difficulty the certain time is not retrievable: nor may we think it came to pass all at once, but at times and by degrees, which we shall track and trace out as well as we can.

*<r. 'it it'>

Gaufridus, the Prior of Christ-church Canterb. in Henry the first's time with his Covent, made and passed many grants of Land at Appledore /1 in Gavelkind, with this covenant and tye upon the Tenants; 'Et debent wallas custodire & defendere contra friscam & salsam, & quoties opus fuerit, eas reparare & firmas facere secundum legem & consuetudinem marisci, &c.' setting them but at small rents in respect hereof. But I shall not insist on this and many such like any further, than to note that the sea did

[/1 Of Grants in Gavelkind, see Somner's Treatise upon that subject, publish'd 1660. p. 38.](#)

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much infest and endanger those parts with its æstuations and irruptions, in those days. Witness this demand in our Accompt-Roll of the Arch-bishop's Mannor of Aldington, about the year 1236. 'In expensa Johannis de Watton & Persona de Aldington per tres dies apud Rumenal & Winchelse & Apelder, una cum seneschallo, ad vidend. salvationem patriæ & marisci contra inundationem maris, 41s. 4d.' This inundation was the same (I take it) with that mentioned of both the /1 Matthews (Paris and Westminster) in that year. The same Matthew Paris relating the hideous, uncouth, violent rage and æstuation of the sea in the year 1250. and the inundations consequent, reports thus. 'Apud Winchelsey &c.' 'At Winchelsey, above 300. houses with some Churches, by the seas violence were overturned.' In an ancient French Chronicle, sometime belonging to the Church

of Canterbury, and written by a Monk

/1 Matthew Paris thus describes it: 'In crastino vero beati Martini, & per octavas ipsius, vento validissimo, associato tumultu, quasi tonitruo, inundaverunt fluctus maris, metas solitas transeuntes, ita, quod in confinio ipsius maris, & in marisco, ut pote apud Wisebiche & locis consimilibus, naviculæ, pecora, nec non & hominum maxima periit multitudo.' The like account Matthew Westminster gives of the great devastations caused by the overflowings of the sea and rivers this year.

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of the place in Edw. 2d's days, which I light on in Sir Simon Dews his Library, I read thus. 'And the same year (1286) on the second of the nones of February, the sea in the Isle of Thanet rose or swelled so high, and in the marsh of Romenal, that it brake all the walls, and drowned all the grounds: so that from the great wall of Appledore as far as Winchelsey, towards the South and the West, all the land lay under water lost.' Mr. Camden (I suppose) intends the same inundation when he saith, that in the reign of Edw. 1. 'the sea raging with the violence of winds, overflowed this tract, and made pitiful waste of people, cattel, and of houses, in every place, as having quite drowned Promhill, a pretty Town well frequented: and that it also made the Rother forsake his old Channel, which here beforetime emptied himself into the sea, and stopped his mouth, opening a new and nearer way for him to pass into the sea by Rhie.' Hence followed that Ordinance of John of Lovetot and his associates the very next year, 16. Edw. 1. (whereof before) by the King's writ, to whom sent and promised, they are assigned 'ad superviden=

<Camden 1610:350>

/1 See Mr. Camden's own words, as quoted in the notes, p. 44.

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dum Wallas, &c.' i. e. to view the walls and ditches upon the sea-coasts and places adjacent within the County of Kent, in divers places then broken through, by the violence of the sea, &c. To proceed, /1 Mr. Lambard tells us of a strange tempest 'that threw down many steeples and trees, and above 300 mills, and housings there, in the 8th year of Edw. 3d. about the year of Christ 1334.' Now lay to all these what occurs in a Grant or Letters Patents from K. Edw. 3d. in the 11th. year of his reign, passing over to the then Arch-bishop, the Prior, and Covent of Christ-church, and Margaret de Basings, an old trench lying betwixt Appledore and Romney, with licence at their pleasure to obstruct, dam, and stop it up, as by reason of the sands, and other imbelched, ob=

<?>

structive matter, made and become useless and unserviceable, and so having then continued for 30 years past and upward: lay all this, I say, together, and then it will be credible enough that the old trench was lost and disused upon that inundation about the year 1287. and the new one made and be=

[/1 Perambulation of Kent, p. 209.](#)

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gotten by that other about the year 1334. being the same that is mentioned in the same Ordinance of Jo. de Lovetot, and his Associates.

Before we proceed, take here the Grant it self in it's own words as I met with it in the Archives of that Church of Canterbury, and thus there intituled. 'Licentia Dni. Regis super quadam antiqua trenchea apud Apulder habenda Dno. Archiepiscopo, Priori, & Conventui Ecclesie Christi Cantuar. ac Dnæ. Margaretæ de Passele, prout eisdem melius visum fuerit esse expediens, Anno regni ejus 11. Edwardus dei gratia, /1 &c.'

Here we find that by the seas impetuosity and rage, the old trench was lost, and a new one made and succeeded in the room; both the old when in being, and the new afterwards from Appledore to Romney; the time we have also both of the one and the other's beginning. And now as on the one hand some violent irruptions of the sea by the parts of Rye and Winchelsea, had made way for the Rother's mingling her waters with that æstuary, and the

[/1 The Grant is transcrib'd no farther in Mr. Somner's original MS.](#)

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breaking off it's wonted course by Appledore and Romney, so the in-let, creek, or haven at Romney, wanting the river's wonted help to scour and keep it open, what with that and the working of the sea still casting up and closing it with sands and beach, became in time obstructed, and for many ages hath been so quite dammed up, that the sea now lyes off at a great distance and remoteness from the Town. And thus far of those three Propositions.

To return now to our Port Lemanis, whereof I have not more to say than that as the inhabitants of this Marish Countrey, were of the English Saxons called 'Merscware' i. e. 'viri palustres', marsh-men or fen-men, /1 and the Region it self 'Mersc-warum' as in Ethel=

The various names of the inhabitants of the Marshes.

[/1 I think our Historians are generally mistaken in this and](#)

such like passages. For translating from the Saxon, which they did not well understand, and finding there 'on Mersc-wa=rum', 'on Norðan-hymbrum', &c. presently concluded that these were certainly the names of the Countries, whereas no doubt they are the inhabitants of such places. Which as it holds in all, so especially in such as end in 'warum', since the Saxon 'wara' signifies 'incolæ habitatores, &c.' But when the Saxons mention the name of any Country, they express it generally by the genitive case plural of the possessive, and 'land' or 'lond'; as 'Myrcna lond' 'Merciorum terra'; 'Nor=ðan-hymbra lond' 'Northymbrorum terra'.

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werd, Anno 795. and 'Mersware' as in King Offa's /1 fore-recited Charter or Grant of Lyd to the Arch-bishop, and 'Merseware' as Hoveden, /2 if rightly printed, Anno 838. so were the same inhabitants also called 'Limware', and the whole Lath (since and to this day called Shipway) as in Doomsday-book often, 'Limware-best', and 'Limeware-leth', and the like; which if derivative from the Greek word *'limēn', 'Limware' is of the same sense and signification /3 with that other 'Merscware'. It (the Port) was also called Romeneý, Rumeney, and sometimes Ru=menal, by the same misrule that Oxney, Graveney, Pevensey, &c. are of old called Oxenel, Gravenel, Pevensel, &c. The el=dest mention that I find of Romney, is in /4 that Grant or Charter of Plegmund the Archbishop, in the year 895.

*<r. 'limnē'>

The Ety=
mon of
Romney.

Whence that name might come va=rious also are the conjectures. /5 Some latine it 'Romanum mare', as if it were sea

<Twine 1590:31>

/1 Pag 50. /2 'Tis certainly a mistake of the press for 'Mersc=ware'. /3 As 'limēn' in the Greek, so 'mersc' in the Saxon sig=nifies 'palus'. /4 Vid. supra p. 43. /5 'Quis quæso hodie credat, magnam partem illius prati seu planicie, nobis nunc Rumnensis marshii, id est, Romani maris, nomine dictæ, fuisse quondam altum pelagus & mare velivolum.' Twine Comment. de rebus Albion. p. 31.

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in the Romans time. Indeed much more of it formerly than at present has been under water as overflowed by the sea; whence I read of Archbishop Becket's, Baldwin's, Boniface's, and Peck=ham's Innings; to which I may add what bears the name to this day of Elderton's Innings. Wibort a Prior, and his Covent of Christ-church Canterbury, near upon 500. years since, grant to Baldwyn Scade=wey and his heirs, as much lands at Mistelham in the Marish (about Ebony I take it) as he could inne at his own cost against the sea, gratis for the two first years, and at 4d. the acre per an=num afterwards. /1 Others perhaps fetch it from the Saxon 'Rumen-æa' the large water or watry place; to which I sub=

<Lambard 1596:197>

scribe: though some perhaps meeting with the Tyber's ancient name of 'Rumon' (whereof Marlianus in his Topography of Rome) and the etymology of it from 'rumino, quasi ripas ruminans & exedens,' may fancy the same etymology for this of Romney, especially considering how, if not the river, yet the sea, impatient of restraint within the channel of our narrow seas, all along

[/1 Amongst whom is Mr. Lambard, Perambulat. p. 208.](#)

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this coast, hath been and is very apt to eat away the shore, and either breaking through, or swelling over the banks and walls, to overwhelm and drown much of the level, as the inhabitants and owners of land there find by woe-ful and costly experience.

First
mention
of Ap=
pledore.

Having had so much occasion to mention Appledore, I may not part from hence without giving some further account both of place and name. The first mention I find of it is in the year 893. when (as in that fore-cited place of our Saxon Annals) it is called 'Apuldre', /1 Ethelwerd recounting the same story calls it (if not mis-printed) 'a Poldre', for 'Atpoldre' or 'Apledore', according as it is also named in a Charter or Grant of it to Christ-church by one Ædsi a Priest becoming a Monk there, with the consent of his Master King Cnute and his Queen, in the year 1032. where also it is written 'Apeldre', and the like before in the Charter or privilege of K. Ethelred about the year 1006. and

[/1 Ethelwerd likewise calls it 'Apoldore', Florence of Worcester 'Apultrea', and King Æthelred's Charter to the Church of Canterbury, publish'd by Spelman. Concil. T. 1. p. 505. 'Apeldra'.](#)

65 <sig E>

in Doomsday-book, where said it is to lye in 'Limewareleth' or the Lath of the men of Limene or Lime, the same which is since (/1 as was said) called Shipway. Since which time undoubtedly there hath been some alteration of the Laths, and other divisions of our County; for as there Niwenden also is said to be in the same Lath, so both it and Appledore, both in that elder record of Knight's fees of Henry 3d. or Edw. 1's. time, and in that latter of the 13. of Queen Elizabeth, exemplified by Mr. Lambard, are said to be in the Lath of Scray or Sherwinhope (as called at this day) but of old, as in Doomsday-book 'Wiware-lest', i. e. the Lath of the men of Wye, and are accordingly placed by

<Lambard 1596:36-58>

Deriva=
tion of
Appledore.

Mr. Kilburne in his Alphabetical Kentish tables, and his Survey.

<Kilburne 1657, 1659>

The place, the soil is moorish, boggy, and fenny, such as our Ancestors here at home, with some of their neighbours abroad, have usually called 'Polder'; (we have a place near Canterbury lying by the river's side of that name, and another of a moorish situation at Herbaldown) a word of Kilianus in his Teutonick Dictionary, turned 'palus

/1 Pag. 62.

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marina, pratum littorale, ager que e fluvio aut mare eductus, aggeribus obsepitur,' i. e. a marish fenn, a meadow by the shore side, a field drain'd or gain'd from a river or the sea, and inclosed with banks. To all which qualities and properties, our Appledore fully answereth, being a kind of meer bogg or quagmire, bordering on the water, and often overlaid with it. Witness the great innings, securing, and improving of it at several times, by the care and at the charge of the Church of Canterbury, whereof in their accompts and other records. Whilst therefore /1 others fetch it (without all probability in my apprehension) from the Saxon 'Apple-treow', 'malus, pomus', an Appletree, (a plant for which the soil is nothing proper, nor scarce for any other) I rather would derive it from that other name 'Polder' to which 'æt' being (/2 as in the

/1 Appledore, corruptly, from the Saxon 'Apultreo'; in Latin 'malus', that is, an Appletree, says Lambard, Perambulat. p. 205. 'Tis probable Florence of Worcester was of the same opinion, because he writes it 'Apultrea'. /2 The general way of naming places in the Saxon times was prefixing the 'æt', 'apud' to the name of some thing remarkable in the place. But the succeeding Monks, who translated their records, or else those who publish'd their translations, have bred some confu=

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names of most places) prefixed by the Saxons, it was originally called 'Ætpuldre', and in process of time (wearing out the 't') 'Æpuldre', as since and at present more corruptly Appledore; from their seat or abode at or about which place the families name of Apuldor=field.

Appledore
never a
Haven.

Some perhaps may fancy a Latin derivation of the name from 'appello', to arrive or land, and hence probably it is that some do hold the place to have been sometime a Haven or sea-town, or Port, and consequently a landing place, or a place of ships arrival. But to this I first answer, that the name is

not found until the Saxon times, and they never used to borrow or be holding to the Latin for any, whether local or other name. Next, although now and of latter years, that arm or æstuary of the sea flowing in by Winchelsea and Rye, reach up as high as

sion in them by joyning the two words, and very often for the easier pronuntiation, leaving out the 't'. For I believe those who writ Annals, did not set down the names of places exactly as they found them in the Author from whence they took their matter; but as they were commonly call'd by the age wherein they liv'd. An argument whereof is this, that the nearer our own age they come, the more we find them melted and contracted.

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Appledore-town, yet questionless of old it did not so; so long ago at least, as there is mention made of Appledore, which out-dates the first institution and original of the Ports, referred at the furthest no higher up than Edward the Confessor's time, at what time had it been since and at this present a maritime place, and used as an Harbour or Haven-town, it could not in all probability have escaped the being taken in as a limb or member at least, either as Winchelsey and Rye of Hastings, or as Lyd and Promhill of Romney, or some other of the Ports. But no marvel that it is not, it being more than likely, that till some such great flood or inundation /1 as that spoken of before, happening in the year 1287. or some other about the same time, that æstuary, although beginning somewhat early to put fair for it, (witness that Charter of Prior Wibert in Henry the first's time, providing for defence against the sea's encroachment) was not of so far and large extent into the land: but then or about that time, by the violence of that inundation rolling and reaching up as far as Appledore, it not only kept its

/1 Pag 45.

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ground, but laying hands on the River in her wonted course by those parts to Romney, and without regard to poor Romney's detriment and damage, by the loss of so advantageous a friend both to Town and Haven (by no better title than that of a plain rape) keeps possession of her, enforcing her along in the same channel (or torrent rather) with her by Gilford (so called from the gill, gulel, or rivulet there of old easily fordable) to (what in all likelihood owes its name to that Ree or

Derivation of
Gilford
and
Winchelsea.

channel) Rye, and so to /1 what by its name betokens a waterish place seated in a corner, as old Winchelsey was, lying at the corner of Kent and Sussex) Winchel= sea: making ever now and then bracks and breaches by the way, to the pre= judice of the level or low grounds near adjacent. Whence (besides what we have in that little Treatise called *Or=

*<r. 'Ordinatio'>

dinalia Marisci', or (for so it is entituled in English) 'the Charter of Romney-marsh', /2 before remembred, providing against such inundations and the damages

/1 Twine in his *Comment de rebus Albion*. p. 25. erroneously imagines that the true name of it is 'Windchelseum'; 'olim' (so he adds) 'vento, frigori, & ponte obnoxium, unde ei nomen obvenit.' /2 Pag. 55.

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consequent) that Charter or /1 Letters Patents granted and directed to certain Knights, and other persons of quality in the 2d. year of Henry the 5th. to empower them for the repairing breaches past, and preventing the like for the time to come, in the parts betwixt Rye and Odiam-bridge, whereof many other of like nature concerning other parts of the level in /2 Mr. Dugdale's *History of Imbanking*, &c.

<Dugdale 1662>

But to return to Appledore; Dooms= day-book shewing it to be a Mannor belonging to Christ-church, and (as that which the Saxons called 'Foster-land') allotted 'ad cibum monachorum', i. e. towards feeding of the Monks, or towards their provision of sustenance, thus speaks of it. 'In Letd de Limware, &c.' as /3 in my *Antiquities*. Would you see the first grant of it, with some other places to the Church? I shall here for a close of my discourse concerning this place, present you with a true copy of it for a * /3 second taste and specimen of the

*sic

/1 The originals whereof (as Somner tells us) are among the records of Christ-Church Canterbury. /2 Pag. 87. /3 Pag. 435. /4 There was before a specimen of this nature hinted to, pag. 20. but neither of them are set down in the original MS. However, least the reader should be altogether disappointed, I

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mode and manner of the donations of that age; and the rather, that hereby you may see the vast difference between the candid simplicity and plainness of those elder times (when conscience was accounted the best evidence) and the serpentine subtilty of these, (justly taxed by that eminent Lawyer and Antiquary /1 Mr. Selden;) when no conveyance but in folio, when an acre of land cannot pass without almost an acre of

<Selden 1610:70>

writing, such a voluminous deal as would in a manner, if not serve to cover, yet if cut in thongs (as that Bull's hide wherewith the circuit of what was hence to be called Thong or Thoang-Castle was said to be laid out) would go near to compass it; their honest meaning of old going further in point of security than our much writing now, whilst their plain dealing supplied and made up what was wanting either in matter of form or multitude of words.

thought fit to give him here out of Somner's Gavelkind, p. 214. the grant of Appledore to Christ-church, in Saxon and English, which I am confident is the same as he refers to in this place.

/1 Lib. 2. Jani Anglorum p. 70. 'Quam facilis & apicibus juris soluta, videre est, domini fuit translatio, simul & a perplexantium captiosa malitia, turgescensque membrarum fascibus & polyptychis libera.'

72

Her swutelap and gif hi

<Somner 1660:214-16>

73

mid ænegan unrede mid him sylfan.

Here appeareth with meat

/1 What the 'gebind æles' is, Sir Henry Spelman has told us out of the Stat. Composit. Ponderum & mensurarum: Binde anguillarum constat ex 10. sticks, & quælibet stick ex 25. anguillis.

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and with men, for witness Cnute

/1 Somner in his Glossary says of the 'Hustingi pondus', that it was 'statutum pondus commercio inserviens, ipsum scil. Standardum (ut vocant) Regis, (quod pondus signat originale & Canonicum, ad quod alia pondera ejusdem speciei debent examinari, & cum eo concordare.' Vide Somneri Glossar. in voce 'Hustingum'.

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King, and Ælfgifre to himself.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Forts
in KENT.

The Romans had their Forts in Kent.

That the Romans having once the supreme command in Britain, had their Forts as well as Ports in Kent, is evident enough by that 'Notitia Imperii Occidentalis', that Roman Office-Book set out by Pancrollus, where we find the names of Dubris, Lemanis, Anderida, Rutupis, and Regulbium, under that notion. All which our Antiquaries generally agree

to be Kentish Roman garrisons or stations. Gildas, followed by Venerable Bede, hath respect hither in that passage of his /1 Epistle, where giving an account of the Roman's care to provide against the invasions and infesta-

/1 The passage here cited is not in the Epistle, but in the Treatise entitled *Historia Gildæ*, p. 13. Edit. Oxon.

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tions of such Barbarians and Saxons, as annoyed this maritime tract, he saith, /1 'In littore quoque Oceani ad meridiem, &c.' i. e. On the Southern coast of Brittain, where the ships were, because they feared from thence the Barbarians would make their in-roads, they placed Towers, (watch-towers) at convenient distances, to take from them a prospect of the Ocean.

Regulbium.

I shall begin with the last, /2 Regulbium. Hereof in that Book of Notices, where the Lieutenant of the Saxon shore (whose office it was with those garrisons to repress the in-roads and depredations of the Rovers) with such as are under his command, is spoken of, we read, that the 'Tribunus cohortis, &c.' The Captain of the Premier band of the Vetasians lay here in garrison. Now to prove that by this name Regulbium, what we now call Reculver is intended and to be understood, will be no hard task. For first, that so it was is the common and received opinion and verdict of the whole College

Regulbium the same with Reculver.

/1 See the whole passage quoted before, p. 5. /2 Twine calls it erroneously *Reculfum*.

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of our English Antiquaries; and that reason of /1 Mr. Camden rendred for his conjecture, is very plausible and satisfactory; 'the often digging and turning up there of Roman Coins'; which of my certain knowledge is to this day very true and usual, who have been owner of many, as I am still of some, pieces of old Roman coin had from thence.

<Camden 1610:335>

The Roman tile or brick here also found, some in buildings, others by the clift-side, where the sea hath wash'd and eaten away the earth (as it daily doth, to the manifest endangering of the Church by it's violent encroachments) give like evidence of the place's Roman Antiquity; whereof some are remaining in and about that little stone cottage within the Church-yard, (of some holden to be the remains of an old Chappel or Oratory) and others not far off. If this give not satisfaction,

let me add here that observation of the learned Antiquary /2 Mr. Burton: 'It is to be observed' (saith he) 'that all places ending in Chester, fashioned in the Saxon

<Burton 1658:41>

/1 Et hanc sane suam antiquitatem effossis Imperii Romani nummis adhuc testatur.' Camd. Britan. /2 Comment upon the Itinerary, p. 41.

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times, arise from the ruines of the old Roman castra; and therefore the ancient stations about the wall, the carkasses of many of which at this day appear, are called Chesters by the country people.' Very good; (to bring this observation home) Reculver was of old in the Saxon's time, as /1 sometimes (from the Monastery there) called 'Raculf-minster', so likewise other while (from that Roman castle or garrison there in former time no doubt) 'Raculf-cester'. As for instance, in a Charter of Grant of Eadmund, a Kentish King, in the year 784. running thus: 'Ego Eadmundus, Rex Cantiaë, do tibi Wihtrede, honorabili Abbati, tuæque familiæ degenti in loco qui dicitur Raculf-cester, terram 12. aratrorum, quæ dicitur Sildunk, cum universis ad eum rite pertinentibus, liberam ab omni seculari servitio, & omni regali tributo, exceptis /2 expeditione, &c.' Nor is that parcel of evidence resulting from and couched in the present and forepast name of the place to be slighted, especially that

/1 That Monastery was founded about the year 669. 'Hinc Raculf-minster etiam a monasterio dictum fuit, cum Edredus, Edmundi senioris frater, Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ donaret.' Camd. /2 The 'Expeditio' was an obligation upon the tenant to serve the Lord with so many men, horses, &c. in war.

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more ancient name of it in the Saxon times 'Raculf', altered since into Raculfre and Reculvre, and (which it now bears) Reculver; none of which but do retain a grand smack and quantity of that Roman name /1 Regulbium.

Whereabouts at Reculver the Fort was plac'd.

Whereabouts at Regulbium this Castrum stood, where the place of this Roman garrison or station was, is not at this day so clear and certain. but /2 as it is well observed that 'all the Roman Colonies, Towns, Stations, or Forts generally were set upon hills,' so I suppose this might be placed on that ascent or rising ground whereon the Monastery afterward stood, and the Church now stands erected, within (I mean) that fair square plot of ground converted to the Church-yard, and environing the Minster or Church, enclosed and circumscribed with a wall of stone. The

<Burton 1658:41>

Minster, I say; for of a Royal Palace (to which after the Roman time this Fort or station /3 is said to have received a conversion by King Ethelbert upon his withdrawing thither from Canterbury,

<Lambard 1596:260>

/1 Which (as Lambard thinks) is derived from the British word Racor, signifying forward, 'for so' (says he) 'it standeth towards the sea' /2 Burton's Comment upon the Itinerary pag. 41. /3 Lambard's Perambulation, Pag. 279.

81 <sig F>

in favour of Augustine and his company) it became ere long a Monastery or Abby of the Benedictine Order, of whose founder with the time of the foundation, thus in the English Saxon Annals, 'Anno DCLXIX. Her Ecgbriht cing sealde Basse masse-preoste Raculf mynstre on to tymbrianne.' i. e. 'This year (669) King Egbert gave to Bassa Priest, Raculf, whereon to build a Monastery.'

Regulbi=
um why
call'd
Raculf-
minster.

From thenceforth the place became called Raculf-minster, and was at first governed by an Abbot, Brightwald the 8th. Arch-bishop of Canterbury, from being Abbot there (as Venerable Bede hath told us) was /1 preferred to the Arch-bishoprick. This Abby or Minster, with its whole revenue, was afterward, anno 949. by King Eadred made and granted over to Christ-church, as /2 in my Antiquities, and in the first part of the Monasticon, p. 86. where the Grant or Deed it self is at large recited, with the bounds and extent of the sight and circuit, reaching over the water into Thanet, and laying claim

<Somner 1640:216>
<Dugdale 1655:86-7>

/1 He was made Arch-bishop, An. 696. Dy'd, An. 731.
/2 Pag. 216.

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to four /1 plough-yards there. The Monastery nevertheless (it seems) continued, but with an alteration in the Governour's title from that of Abbot to Dean, as will also appear by /2 my Antiquities from a Charter not many years antedating the Norman Conquest, by what time (it seems) it's Monastick condition ceased, being changed into that of a Mannor (as it still is) of the Arch-bishop's, in which state and notion we meet with it thus described in Doomsday-Book: 'Raculf est manerium Archiepiscopi, & in T. R. E. se defendebat pro VIII. sull. & est appretiatum XL. & II. Lib. & V. sol. tres minutes minus.' I shall close concerning Reculver with that account given of the place by Leland, in Mr. Philpott's Villare Cantianum. /3 'The old buildings of the Abby Church continues,'

<Somner 1640:424-5>

<Philipott 1659:278>

/1 The plough-yard, I take for granted, is the same with plough-land, (for 'geard' in Saxon is 'terra,') and in many ancient Charters, especially belonging to Kent, is term'd 'Sulinga', from 'sulh', 'aratrum'. It may be defin'd in general, 'a quantity of ground that one plough could till yearly,' but the compass, according to the nature of the ground, and custom of the place, seems to have been different. /2 Pag. 424, where is an original Grant of Agelnoth's (made Archbishop about the year 1020) giving to Alfwold and Ædred 'L. agros,' belonging to Raculf-minster, by the consent 'Givehardi, Decani ejusdem Ecclesiæ.' /3 The account is not set down in the original, but in Philpott, p. 278. I find this description of the place.

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(says he) 'having two goodly spiring steeples. In the entering into the Quire is one of the fairest and most ancient Crosses that ever I saw, nine foot in height; it standeth like a fair column. The basis is a great stone, it is not wrought: the second stone being round, hath curiously wrought and painted the image of our Saviour Christ, Peter, Paul, John and James: Christ saith, Ego sum Alpha & Omega. Peter saith Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi. The sayings of the other three were painted majusculis literis Romanis, but now obliterated. The second stone is of the Passion. The third stone contains the twelve Apostles. The fourth hath the image of our Saviour hanging and fastned with four nails, & sub pedibus sustentaculum: the highest part of the Pillar hath the figure of a Cross. In the Church is a very ancient Book of the Evangelies, in majusculis literis Romanis; and in the borders thereof is a Crystal stone thus inscribed, Claudia Alepiccus. In the North-side of the Church is the figure of a Bishop painted under an arch. In digging about the Church they find old buckles and rings. The whole print of the Monastery appears by the old wall; and the Vicarage was made of the ruines of the Monastery. There is a neglected Chappel

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out of the Church-yard, where some say was a Parish-Church before the Abby was suppress'd and given to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury.'

Dignity
of the
Church
and Rector
of
Reculver.

And yet to do the place right, for antiquitie's sake, I cannot leave Reculver, until I have given some further account of the dignity of the Church there, the Parson or Rector whereof, when in being, and when petit Ecclesiastical jurisdictions under 'foreign Commissaries' (as they called them) was in fashion, now 300. years ago and upwards; had the same jurisdiction within his own Parish and Chappelries annexed, as afterward and at this day the

Commissary of Canterbury exerciseth there. I have seen Commissions to this purpose to the Rector there for the time being, both from the Arch-bishop sede plena, and from the Prior and Co=vent sede vacante. And it was indeed a common practice with it and such other exempt Churches, as (like it) were Mother-Churches in the Diocess in those days. When, why, and how this course and custom ceased, may be found /1 in my Antiquities. So much for the Rector.

<Somner 1640:354-5>

/1 Pag. 354. He there sets down on original paper, entitled

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Now for his Church; it was and is a Mother-Church, upon which of old depended four Chappels of ease, Hoth, Hearn, and in Thanet, St. Nicholas and All-Saints. Upon the three last of which, for the Mother-Churche's greater honour and dignity, or 'in signum subjectionis', (as the instrument runs) an annual pension to the Vicar of Reculver, upon the founding of that, with those other Vicarages of Hearn and St. Nicholas, was imposed; the Vicar of *of St. Nicholas and All-Saints being charged with 3l. 3s. 4d. per annum, and the other of Hearn with 40s. per annum. And as the Vicars of these dependant or annexed Chappels were under this charge and burthen to him of the superior or Mother-Church, so the Parishioners and people of those Chappels, however gratified and accommodated with Chappels of ease for lessening their trouble, by shortning their way to Church, whether for divine service in their life time, or interment after death; yet (as the law in that case

*sic

'Revocatio Jurisdictionis Ecclesiarum exemptarum', dated An. 1317. The cause of this revocation, was to advance the dignity of the Commissaryship, then erected.

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requires, where no privilege or discharge from it is indulged at or by the first foundation or following prescription) where it seems left as liable and subject to the repair of the Mother-Church of Reculver, as the peculiar and proper inhabitants of the place, and themselves, before the Chappels erected by laws, were: a thing controverted between them of Hearn and Reculver, in Arch-bishop Stratford's days, who after cognizance taken of the cause and audience of all parties, passed a decree in the year 1335. (which I have seen under seal, whereof I have a copy by me) in behalf of the Reculverians,

condemning and adjudging those of Hearn to the repair of the Mother-Church. Much contest and dispute hereabouts have hapned afterwards between the succeeding inhabitants, until by a decree (which as I remember I have seen) of Arch-bishop Warham, in Henry the eighth's days, the difference was, by and with the consent of all parties, thus finally composed: 'That the people of each Chappel' (Hearn and St. Nicholas) 'should redeem the burthen of repairs with the payment of a certain moderate annual stipend or pension in money, payable

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at a certain set day in the year; but with this Proviso, that if they kept not their day, but overslipt it, they were then laid open, and exposed to the law, and must fall under as full an obligation to the repairs of the Mother-Church, as if that decree had never been.' At which pass (I take it) the matter now stands, and so is like to do, unless any default of payment chance to alter it.

Rutupium.

Passing now from Reculver; the next to this of all the Kentish Roman Forts, Stations, or Garrisons, was Rutupium; whereof [*<...> /1](#) before so largely and fully in my discourse of the Roman Port so called, that I scarce know what to add, except (in observance of [/2](#) Mr. Burton's double direction, to enquire in such cases for a hilly situation, and for that note and badge of what had been a Roman fortress, Chester) to note first, that Richborough (where I have placed this Fort) hath an high and eminent situation, i. e. upon an hill, whereof the present name from good antiquity enjoyed, taketh notice, Richberge, Ratis=

*<words missing>

<Burton 1658:41>

[/1](#) Vide supra pag. 2. & quæ sequuntur. [/2](#) Comment upon the Itinerary, pag. 41.

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burge and Richborough; the latter part whereof betokeneth an hill, whether natural, or cast up by hand, as probably this was; all the ground on each hand of the place for a good distance, being low, plain, and part of a great level, void of all advantage for a 'Specula' or Watch-tower, a place of prospect. Next, (or what is secondly observable) that it participated with Reculver in the composition of the name, as ending heretofore in Chester, being (as Venérable Bede acquaints us) vulgarly called, (and not corruptly, by his favour, if we apply it to the Fort, not to the Port) 'Reptacester'. This is all I thought

to have spoken of this Fort; but since I wrote this, meeting with a /1 relation of Leland's concerning the face and state of the place in the 30th. year of Henry the eighth, I cannot but impart it; and the rather because I find some confirmation from it concerning the quondam existence of a Parish Church within the walls of it, as I have /2 hinted in my discourse of the Port.

<Philipott 1659:53>

/1 The description is not quoted in the original MS. but in Mr. Philipott's Villare Cantianum, pag. 53. it is set down as here you see it. /2 Vide supra, pag. 6.

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'The site of the old Town or Castle' (says Leland) 'is wonderful fair upon a hill, the walls which remain there yet be in compass about almost as much as the Tower of London; they have been very high, thick, strong, and well embattled; the matter of them is flint, marvellous and long bricks, both *whole and red, of the British fashion: <r. 'white'> the cement was made of the sea and small pebble. There is great likelihood that the goodly hill about the Castle and especially toward Sandwich, hath been well inhabited, corn grows there in marvellous plenty; and in going to plough, there hath been time out of mind, and now is, found more Antiquities of Roman mony, than in any place else of England.'

Dubris.

Having taken leave of Rutupium, Richborough; our next remove is to Dubris or Dover: where although we find a Castle, and such a Castle too as /1 of old was called, and both at home and

/1 That it was look'd upon as a place of very considerable importance, is plain from that passage in Knyghton, concerning Lewis the 8th. of France. It seems he came over to assist the Barons against K. John, and sending back an account of his progress, his Father demanded of the messengers, 'Ubi filius ejus esset in Anglia. Responderunt,' (so the Historian goes on) 'Apud Stanfordiam. Et ille, Nunquid habet castrum Doverniæ; At

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abroad accounted the lock and key, the barr and sparr of all England; yet I cannot believe it (the present Castle I mean) either of Julius Cæsar's building, whose time of stay in Britain was too short for so vast an undertaking, or to be that wherein about the time of Theodosius the younger, the 'Præpositus militum Tungricanorum', that band or company of the Tungricans, in the Western Empire's Book of Notices, is said to lye in garrison. And yet I doubt not but such a company lay there in garrison'd, and that the place was then fortified, and had within it a 'specula' or watch-tower also, from whence to

/1 espie out and descry Invaders. And where else to seek or place it than within the confines of that large and spacious round of the present Castle-wall, I know not. Wherefore being upon the place, and casting a diligent eye about me, whilst I give the go by to

illi, Non. Et intulit Rex, Per brachium sancti Jacobi non habet filius meus unum terræ pedem in Anglia,' As if all the devastations they had made in other parts signified nothing, unless they were possessed of that Castle.

/1 All the Roman towers in those parts were built for the espial of enemies, 'ad prospectum maris', says Gildas; least they should be surpris'd by foreign invaders.

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that Castle within the Castle, that noble and goodly pile there called the Kings-keep, with the wall or fore-fence surrounding it; I rather chuse to think, that which at present is, and for many ages past hath been the Church or Chappel to the Castle, either to have risen out of the ruines of that Roman fortress, or that at least the square tower in the middle thereof, between the Body and the Chancel, fitted with holes on all parts for speculation, to have been the very Roman 'specula' or watch-tower: at the same time with Twine, conceiving that which at this day they call the Divil's drop, a mouldring ruinous heap of masonry, on the opposite hill, on the other side of the Town, to be the remains of a Roman 'Pharos', a structure of their's intended for the placing of night-lights to secure their passage (otherwise very perilous) who should put into Port by night.

<Camden 1610:345>

The keep or Dungeon not the Roman Specula.

Why I chuse to single out the Church or Chappel, and balk the Keep or Dungeon, my reasons are first, that whilst I can discover no jot of Roman or British tile or brick about the Keep or

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main Castle, I can discern a great abundance of it about that tower shooting up in the middle of that Church or Chappel; and that after the Romans were gone, the Christians of succeeding times, projecting and designing the accommodation of the garrison with a Church or Chappel, did make use of and take the advantage of that 'specula', and added to it those parts, whereof the rest of the Chappel now consists. Next (and that others may not wonder at my questioning the Roman antiquity of the Castle in general) they may take notice with me, that (as I have it from /1 very good autho=

rity) King Henry the 2d. it was, that about the year of Christ 1153. first erected that pile, the Kings-keep, or (as the French men term a strong Tower or Platform, as this is, on the middle of a Castle or Fort, wherein the besieged

/1 In a short historical account of the Foundation of Dover-monastery, set down in the Monasticon Anglicanum, Part 2. p. 2. we find this passage: 'L'an de grace mil cens cinquante tiers, regna en Engle terre Henry le fitz Maud l' Emperice, cesti fit le haut tour en le chastel, & enclost le dongon de nouelx muers;' i.e. In the year of our Lord one thousand a hundred and fifty three, reign'd in England Henry the son of Maud the Emperess; he built the high tower in the Castel, and enclos'd the 'Dongeon' with a new wall.

<1661:2>

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make their last efforts of defence when the rest is forced) Dungeon, and gave it that inclosure of a wall, bulwarks, and towers, wherewith we now find it fortified, and hence happily it is called the King's-keep.

Folk=
stone.

I have no more to say of Dubris or Dover, as to the garrison. Our next flight therefore is to Folkstone, a place to which, how eminently soever situated, none of the Roman forts or garrisons remembred in the Book of Notices is, or (for ought I know) ought to be referr'd. Yet what saith /1 Mr. Camden of it, 'It was a flourishing place in times past, as may appear by the pieces of Roman coin and British bricks dayly there found. Probable it is' (so he adds) 'that it was one of those *Towns and holds, which, in the reign of Theodosius the younger, the Romans placed to keep off the Saxons, &c.' And if so, Castle-hill a place in Folkstone, whereof notice taken by Mr. Lambard and others,

<Camden 1610:349>

*<r. 'towers'>

<Lambard 1596:171-2>

/1 'Olim floruisse, Romanorum Numismata quotidie inventa persuadent - - Ex illis turribus fuisse probabile est, quas Romani ad Saxones arcendos (Theodosio juniore regnante) per intervalla (ut inquit Gildas) ad meridianam Britanniae plagam in littore collocarunt.'

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might probably be the place of that Turret's situation.

The name Folkstone (I confess) can pretend to no such Antiquity, being purely of a Saxon extraction and composure, signifying (as Mr. Lambard, /1 among other conjectures at the etymology, has it) 'lapis populi' in latine. The mention whereof calls to my remembrance that place's name in /2 Ninius (so famous both for Vortimer's designed monument, and for the last of his notable encounters with the Saxons, and their defeat) 'lapis tituli', which by the common consent of our both Antiquaries

<Lambard 1596:167>

Ninius's
Lapis tituli
not
Stonar in
Thanet.

and Historians, can no where else be found but at Stonar in Thanet: 'a lapide illo Stonar nomen retinet, in Thanato Insula, non procul a Rhutupino portu,' /3 saith one; an Author (I confess) of very high regard, and with none more than my

<Ussher 1639:413>

/1 He falsly imagines that it might be anciently written 'Flostane', 'which' (says he) 'signifies a rock, coaffe, or flaw of stone, which beginneth here; for otherwise' (so he goes on) 'the cliffe from Dover till you come almost hither is of chalke.'
/2 Cap. 46. 'Tertium bellum in campo juxta lapidem tituli, qui est super ripam Gallici maris, statutum.' - - - And a little after, 'Ante mortem suam ad familiam suam animadvertit, ut illius sepulchrum in portu ponerent, a quo exirent [hostes] super maris ripam.' /3 Bishop Usher, *Primordia Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, Cap. 12. p. 413.

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self; but in this (I perceive) led as the rest, chiefly by the allusion and seeming agreement or resemblance of one place's name with the other, that of 'latis tituli' in the latine and 'Stonar' in the English sounding not much unlike. But Ninius, the Author of that story, however he makes mention of 'lapis tituli' as the place of Vortimer's last battel with the invading Saxons, and their overthrow there, yet he lays it not in Thanet, nor gives it any other description than this, that it lyes by or upon the shore of the French sea; 'in campo juxta lapidem tituli qui est super ripam Gallici maris, &c.' those are his words. Probably had this fight been in Thanet, /1 as some of his former were, and Stonar in Thanet the place where the battel was fought, the Author, who mentions those former like encounters in Thanet, would not have gone to a new description of the place in this unwonted new expression, without mention made of Thanet at all.

/1 Ninius, Cap. 45. tells us there were three battels before this, in Thanet: 'Eos [Saxones] usque ad Insulam quæ dicitur Thaneth, [Gourtemir] expulit, illosque illic tribus vicibus conclusit, percussit, obsedit, comminuit, terruit.'

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I confess likewise that Vortimer might give commandment for his burial, and monument to be erected for him at that place of the battel, upon such an account, (like to that of /1 Scipio Africanus) as our stories deliver, namely, to repress hereby the furious outrages of the Saxons, and for their further terror; that in beholding this his trophy, their spirits might be daunted at the remembrance of their great overthrow: this (I say) he might, and happily did command to be done at 'lapis

tituli'. But stay we here, for the text goes no further, no Stonar, no entrance into Thanet mentioned of Ninius; that's of a much later stamp, nothing but the conjectural comment of some /2 after-Scholiast.

Besides, Stonar being a low and flat level apt to inundations, how unfit a

'Quemadmodum Scipio Africanus' (says Camden in the description of this place) 'qui ita sibi sepulchrum statui præcepit, ut Africam prospectaret, ratus vel hoc etiam Pænis terrori futurum.' /2 In the margin of the original MS. Mr Somner has added at this place, Like that put down by the transcribers, whereof Mr. Camden, pag. 803. I cannot certainly tell what edition of Camden he had, but he seems to refer to that passage about Portus Lemanis, which Camden says Ptolemy calls 'limen', 'quod cum apud Græcos significativum sit' (so he adds) 'Librarii ut viderentur defectum supplere, kainos limen scripserunt.'

<1610:803>

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place is it for erecting of an eminent and conspicuous monument, visible at a remote distance; a design that required the advantage of a lofty situation. Such indeed there are many upon this coast; but as in this respect Folkstone seated by high rising hills overlooking the sea, (and thence no doubt of the Romans chosen out (as we see) as a fitting place for a Watch-tower to ken and keep off the invading Saxons) is a far more likely place than Stonar; so in another regard some resemblance, I mean between the names of 'Lapis tituli' and 'Lapis populi' (as Folkstone you see is turned by Mr. Lambard) and as withall in respect of it's /1 situation by the shore of the Gallic Ocean, I should pitch upon Folkstone before any place I know upon this our Kentish sea-coast, for the very place of Ninius his 'Lapis tituli'; but that I am loath to be /2 the first, who but by supposition only, much less suspicion, should charge upon

/1 A very good argument, if we reflect upon what Gildas says about the situation of these Castles; 'In littore quoque Oceani ad meridiem, &c.' /2 This opinion is confirm'd by the learned Bishop Stillingfleet, in his Origines Britannicæ, p. 322.

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the Historian such a mistake as that of 'Lapis tituli' for 'Lapis populi'.

However, to refute and refell that argument drawn from the name of Stonar, as derivative from a stone, I am to acquaint you, that in the first and most ancient Deeds that I have met with concerning Stonar, it is written thus, 'Estanore', and sometimes 'Estanores'. So for instance in a Charter of the Conqueror's to St. Augustine's Abby, whereto it belonged. 'Ego Willelmus Rex Anglor.

Why Stonar can not be the Lapis tituli.

&c. Sciatis quod ego volo & præcipio, ut sanctus Augustinus & Abbas Wido firmiter & honorifice teneat omnes rectitudines suas & consuetudines ad Estanores tam in aqua quam in terra, &c.' So again in a following Charter of his son and immediate successor, William Rufus, wherein it twice occurs by the name of 'Estanores', and the like; and not otherwise in many subsequent Charters, as of Henry the first, King Stephen, and King John, which I have ready by me (if occasion be) to produce.

Derivation of Stonar.

'Stonar' then is but a contraction of 'Estanore', and that in sense and signification, what but 'the Eastern border, shore, or coast'? (whence that double shore famous, the one for 'Cymene', the

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other for Cerdice's landing there, are in our elder Historians, Ethelwerd and Florence of Worcester, written 'Cerdices Oran' and 'Cymenes Oran'.) Which derivation of 'Estanore' is so proper, natural, and suitable to the situation, as none that either know or shall enquire after the place, can make the least question of.

If any man now (desirous to abound in his own sense) acknowledging the ground of this derivation to be sound and good, but not reconciled to the latitude of it, shall incline rather to think, that the place came first to be called Estanore, for distinction's sake from another in this County, hard by Feversham Town, upon the sea-coast, simply called Ore, the conjecture is so plausible and reasonable, and withal so consistent with the former derivation, that I shall not contend; contented rather to concur in the same opinion with him, as to conceive, that that indeed might partly be the cause of the first imposition of the name; especially since this Ore also belonged to St. Austin's. But of this enough.

Lim.

Advance we now to Lim or Lim-

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hill, where, although we find nothing at this day of a Port or Haven, (which, /1 as I have shewed, lay elsewhere) yet want we not sufficient vestigia and remains of a Roman Fort or Garrison.

Stutfall-castle.

/2 Witness Stutfall-castle, that large circuit and plat of about ten acres of ground on the side, brow, or descent of the hill, of old inclosed and fortified on all parts with a wall of the Roman mode and make, full of British bricks, lying by lanes at set and certain di-

stances, but by the edacity of time at this day here and there quite wasted and gone, elsewhere full of gaps and breaches; not so much (it may be) to be imputed to time and age, as to a seizure of it's materials in after times (when become useless as to the primitive institution and design) for building what, with /3 Mr. Lambard I take it, arose out of the ruins of that Fort, Lim-Church, and that vast and sturdy

<Lambard 1596:184>

/1 Pag. 39, 40, &c. where he proves the mouth of the river Limene, and the ancient Port Lemanis, to have been at New-Romney. /2 'Castrum, quod in dejectu collis, decem quasi jugera inclusit, mœniumque reliquiæ supersunt Britannicis lateribus, silicibus, calceque cum arena & grumis intrita sic compactæ, ut nec dum vetustati cesserint.' Camd. Britan. /3 'There are moreover Britain bricks in the walls of the Church and the Arch-deacon's house.' Lambard Perambulat. p. 194.

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structure by it, the Arch-deacon's castellated mansion. /1 Here (within I mean that Roman fortress) the band or company of Turnacenses (so called of Tornacum now Turnoy in France) kept their station under the Count or Lieutenant of the Saxon shore, and by the advantage of that ascent on which it stood, very commodious it was /2 in point of prospect.

But from a Castle, a Garrison, a receptacle, and harbour for men, placed there for the safeguard and defence of the place and the countrey about it, it at length became a receptacle, a fold for cattel, a horse-fold, a place inclosed and set apart for keeping of steeds or stallions, horses and mares for breed, and from thence was and to this day is called (instead of Stodfold as heretofore) Stutfall-Castle, a compounded name from the Saxon 'stod' sometimes written 'stod-hors', in barbarous latine, 'Stotarius' a steed or stallion, (as a mare for breed was called 'stod-myra') and 'fald', 'septum', a fold, close, or inclosure; as in

Derivation of Stutfall.

/1 'Stationem hic sub Comite litoris Saxonici Præpositus numeri Turnacensium habuit.' Camd. /2 The same argument that he elsewhere uses, built upon Gildas's expression about the design of those towers; 'in prospectum maris'.

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'deor-fald', i. e. 'a park, or inclosure for Deer'. The name of Stod-mersh in this County hath thence (no doubt) in part it's origine, being in the signification of it, 'a marsh set apart and noted for that use'.

Lym otherwise call'd Shipwey.

Having /1 formerly given you the derivation of 'Lim' (the place of this quondam Roman Garrison) as to the name

Deriva=
tion of
Shipwey.

of it; I shall stay you here no longer,
than while I observe that the place is
likewise called Shipwey, as the whole
Lath (formerly and of old called 'Lim=
ware leth') is also now altered in the
name of it, and called the Lath of Ship=
wey; a name, I find, of good antiquity
and continuance; witness the mention
made of it in Bracton, Lib. iii. c. 2. and
also in Fleta Lib. ii. c. 55. but with a
mistake of 'Shepey' there for Shipwey.
The name /2 seems to be of a meer Eng=
lish original, betokening /3 the way of
the ships, the rather perhaps fastned
on this place, as by the great advantage
of the lofty situation, remarkable for
prospect and discovery of naval vessels
(whether inward bound or out) in their

/1 Pag. 39. /2 Talbot and Lambard are both of the same
opinion. /3 From the Saxon 'scip' 'navis', and 'wæg' 'via'.

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passage through the Channel. However
for the almost equal distance sake, I take
it, which the place bears to the farthest
of the Cinque-Ports on either hand,
(as lying much about mid-way between
both) it was pitch'd upon of old, as for
the place of holding pleas relating to
the Ports, /1 so for the 'Limenarcha', the
Lord Warden's taking of his oath at the
entrance into his Office.

Anderida,
where si=
tuated.

We are at length arrived at the last
of the Kentish Forts or Garrisons, An=
derida or Anderidos, where they placed
the band of the *Abulæ, with their Cap=
tain; which I should not unreasonably,
methinks, have sought for, as all the
rest, (being designed for espial of sea=
rovers at or by the sea-coast) *<...> so many
miles within the land, and at that great
distance from the sea, as where by the
direction of our /2 best Antiquaries, we
are sent to seek it, namely at or about
Newenden, upon the banks of the river
Rother. Indeed, if we consider Gildas's

*<r. 'Abulci'>

*<words missing>

<Camden 1610:351>

/1 'Guardianus Portuum hic solemne iniit jusjurandum, ubi
primum Magistratum iniit, & hic de causis inter Portuum in=
colas, statis diebus cognoscit.' Camd. /2 Mr. Lambard; with
Camden and Selden, the famous and learned lights and guides,
as Mr. Somner afterwards terms them.

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words, 'In littore quoque Oceani ad meri=
diem, &c.' where in reason are we to
exspect the Garrison in question, but
by the sea-side to the south-ward? A=
mong the British Cities reckoned up
by their Historians (whereof from
thence a catalogue in the Brit. Eccles.
Primordia Cap. 5.) 'Cair Persauelcoit' is
one; by which the /1 Learned Author

Anderida
probably
either at
Pemsey,
or Ha=
stings.

<Ussher 1639:63-4>

there, understands Pemsey in Sussex, of old written Penvessell and Pevensell, 'to which' (saith he) 'the addition of the British word Coit, i. e. wood, doth not ill suit, because' (as he adds) 'the County of Sussex, in which it lyes, is a woody Country.' True it is that 'immanis sylva', that immense and vast wood Andred, was not confin'd to Kent, but extended it self from the south-part thereof quite through Sussex into Hampshire. Add to this what we have from /2 Mr. Camden himself concerning Pemsey. 'It hath had' (saith he) 'a

<Camden 1610:315>

/1 Arch-bishop Usher, after he has in that place express'd his dislike of Camden's opinion, who places it at Ivelchester, adds; 'Mihi tamen Ninii Pensauelcoit, Guilielmi Pictaviensis, Orderici Vitalis, & Guilielmi Gemeticensis Penvessellum potius fuisse videatur; quæ Pemseia hodie dicta, primo Guilielmi Normanni in Angliam appulsu celebris est. Cui & Britannici vocabuli coit adjectio non male convenit: quum sylvestribus sepibus densa fuerit, in qua hæc sita est, Sussexiensis regio.'

/2 These are not Mr. Camden's words, but Mr. Holland's, who

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fair large Castle, in the ruinous walls whereof remain great bricks, such as the Britains used, which is some argument of the Antiquity thereof.' So he. All this put together (a maritime wealdish situation, with the remains of a Castle partly built of British or Roman brick) can it seem unreasonable, that Pemsey should be thought the place of the garrison, we have in chase Anderida? But if any one do more fancy Hastings than Pemsey, since it hath the badge of a quondam Roman Fort or fortress in that addition of 'Chester' given it by the Saxons, 'and can' (as Mr. Camden affirms) 'shew the ruines of a great Castle upon the hill, besides light-houses to direct sailers in the night time, and was thought fit to be made one of the five Ports,' I shall not dispute the probability of their conjecture, and choice of Hastings.

<Camden 1610:318>

But if rejecting both these, and all but Newenden, the Reader cannot think

translating Camden into English, 'did' (as that curious Antiquary Mr. Wood hath observ'd) 'scatter several of his own additions in many places.' And this I the rather believe, because I find Mr. Somner's Quotations word for word in Holland's English, whereas it is not to be found in any latin Edition of Camden, especially that in 1607. which I take to be the last that was publish'd in his life time.

/1 This, as that in p. 104. is not Camden's, but Holland's interpolation.

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of any other place, the authority of such famous and learned lights and guides as Mr. Camden and Mr. Selden especially, (who have pitch'd upon

<Selden 1635:148>

Newenden for the place) is, I confess, so weighty, that I shall not be unwilling to excuse him from refusing me his company in my travails to that double place in Sussex, to seek out this Fort.

The several names of Anderida.

No more then of the place. Somewhat now of the name Anderida, which still in good part survives in Andred, did at least for and through many Centuries of years after the Romans exit. The Britains called it 'Coid Andred', the Saxons sometime simply 'Andred', other while 'Andredsberg', and 'Andredswald', which latter is now the only syllable left surviving in the place's present name, the Weald. In latine it is found of old sometimes called 'saltus Andred', otherwise 'sylva Andred': here 'saltus communis', there 'sylva regalis', and the like. /1 Mr. Lambard discoursing of the place, tells of an opinion which some have maintained, that this Weald was a great while together in a man=

The Weald.

<Lambard 1596:211>

/1 Perambulat. p. 224.

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ner nothing else but a desert and waste wilderness, not planted with Towns, or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shire were; but stored and stuffed with herds of deer, and droves of hoggs only. And he seems to be of the same opinion himself. 'For' (/1 saith he) 'besides that a man shall read in the Histories of Canterbury and Rochester sundry donations, *of which there is mention only of /2 Pannage for hoggs in Andred, and of no other thing: I think verily that it cannot be shewed out of ancient Chronicles, that there is remaining in the Weald of Kent or Sussex any one monument of great Antiquity.' Thus he. For my part, as I embrace the opinion, so I approve of the reasons, especially the former, the mention only in those ancient donations of /2 Pannage for hoggs in Andred. For numbers of such are found in the evidences and Chartularies both at Christ-church and elsewhere.

*<r. 'in'>

Donations of the Weald.

Doubtless, as in those days the whole Weald appertained to none but the King, acknowledging no private Lord or Proprietor, and thence was usually

/1 Perambulat. p. 224. /2 What Pannage was see hereafter among the Catalogue of Quit-rents pay'd out of the Weald.

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called Sylva Regalis, so in Royal 'Landbocs' or donations, (for I find it in no other of that age) wherein this or that prædium or possession, this or that farm,

In the Weald so many distinct Dens.

seat, or mansion out of the Weald was given by the King to any person or place, in the nature of what since is termed a Mannor or Lordship; it was the usual custom (for the better completing of the seat) to accommodate it by an additional grant in the Deed with a Common of Pannage, a liberty for hogg-keeping or hogg-feeding in the Weald, yet not at large, but with a limitation usually, and with reference to such and such a part of it, one or more Den or Dens, in their term, i. e. 'a woody valley, or place yeilding both covert and feeding for cattel,' especially swine. And scarce any ancient Grant is there in either the Church of Canterbury's St. Augustine's, or Rochester's Registers of any considerable portion of land from the King out of the Weald, without the addition and attendance of such a liberty; for example in those of Aldington, Charing, Liminge, Westgate, Reculver, Ickham, Chartham, Godmersham, Brook, Mersham, Westwell, Great and Little Chart, Hollingbourn, Eastry, Newington by Sittingbourn,

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Trottesclyve, Bromley, Darent. And 'Denbera' for the most part, sometime 'Wealdbera', was the usual word and expression, by which such a liberty did pass and was conveyed. For an instance or two. In King Offa's Grant of Ickham to Christchurch, Anno 971. — 'Et in saltu qui dicitur Andred pascua porcorum in his locis, Dunwalingden, Sandhyrst, &c.' In another like Grant of his of *Brasfield to St. Austin's — 'Et ad pascendum porcos & pecora & jumenta in sylva Regali, &c.' In the gift of Lenham to the same place by Kenewulf King of Mercia, and Cuthred King of Kent, Anno 804. — 'and xiii Denberende on Andred,' So the Saxon, which

/1 Thorn, inter X. scriptores, p. 1776.

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accommodated with the liberty of Pannage. In the Grant of Mersham to Christchurch by King Ethelred — 'hæc sunt pascua porcorum quæ nostra lingua

*<r. 'Beusfield'>

<Twysden 1652:1776>

Saxonica Denbera nominamus, h. e. El= frethingden, Herbedingden, Paftringden, Wirheringden, Bleccingden, &c.' In the Grant of Bromley by King Ethelred to the Church of Rochester, – '& utilitatem sylvarum ad eandem terram pertinentem in Andred, &c.' In that of Trottesclyve to the same Church by King Offa – 'Ad hanc quoque terram pertinent in diversis locis porcorum pastus, i. e. Wealdbera, ubi dicitur Hobenspyc, &c.' In another of his of Deorwent, now called Darent, to the same Church – 'adjectis Denberis in communi saltu, &c.' In an old custom of Newington-Mannor by Sittingbourn, – 'septem Dennas in sylva quæ vocatur Wald.'

<?>

The Weald formerly unpeopled

From hence (I take it) there results much support to that opinion of the Weald's quondam desert-like unpeopled condition, quoted by Mr. Lambard: and hence I likewise gather that in those days it was not parcelled, carved, or canton'd out into Mannors; nor indeed was it so, as I believe, a long time after; Doomsday-book, I take it, giving

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Quit-rents pay'd out of the Weald.

no account of any one entire independent Mannor there. Yet can I not agree with /1 Mr. Lambard in his opinion, that the Weald of old yielded no quit-rents, customs, or services, as other places; in regard I find the contrary very often. And no marvel; for albeit there were of old no Mannors in the Weald, yet the lands lying there (when once cultivated and manured) being appendant to and depending on Mannors elsewhere, the Tenants in respect of and proportion to their holdings and tenancies, might be and were lyable to the Lord of the Mannor, whereof they held for services and customs, as other Tenants elsewhere. For besides fealty, suit of Court, reliefs, &c. these (among other local customs and services heretofore obtaining there do frequently occur.

<Lambard 1596:212>

/1 Mr. Lambard grounds his opinion very rationally upon this foundation, that among the accounts of the 'Reditus de Waldæ', he had never seen any sort of services express'd, for which they pay'd their rents; whereas in the accounts of all the Tenants without the Weald, there is express mention made for what special cause the same rent grew payable. From whence he infers that those payments (differing from others both in quantity and quality) could not be quit-rents for any service, as the rest were.

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1.

/1 Gavelswine; which was a custom so called when pay'd in kind, but if redeemed with money, then called

swine-money, swine-peny, and was for the Lord's leave and sufferance of his Tenant to keep and feed swine of his own, or to take in other men's to feed with in his land.

2. [/2 Scot-ale](#); which was a shot or contribution from the Tenants for a provision of Ale to entertain the Lord, or his Bayliff or Beadle, holding a Parrock or meeting on the place, to take an account of his Pannage, (what it yielded) at the proper season for it. In the extent of the Mannor of Terring in Sussex, Anno 5. Edw. the first, under the title of Lewes: 'Memor. quod prædicti tenentes debent de consuetudine inter eos, facere Scotarium de 16d. ob. ita quod de singulis 6d. detur 1d. ob. ad potandum cum Bedello Dni. Archiepiscopi, super prædictum feodum.'
3. Pannage; Pessona, (as they latin'd it) and it was the emolument arising from the Pannage of hoggs, there feeding
[/1 Of Gavel-swine see more in Somner's Gavelkind, p. 23.](#)
[/2 It was otherwise called Bere-gaefol and Drinc-elan. See Somner's Gavelkind, p. 29.](#)

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and fattening with the mast of the place, whereof tithe was in those days usually pay'd; many old accounts, as of Aldington, Charing, and other Mannors taking notice of so much money received by the Accomptant for 'Pannage in Waldis, deducta decima.' Particularly, one at Charing sans date, thus expresseth it: 'Et de LXXls. 1d. de pannagio de la Rye Hirst, & 7 Dennarum vendito, deducta decima. Et præterea Rector habet XI porcos in pessona 7 dennarum, quietas de pannagio.'

4. Gate-peny; it was a tribute for the liberty of one or more Gates for the Tenants ingress and egress to and from his own, by the Lord's land.
5. Sumer-hus-silver: whereof in the old Custumal of Newington by Sittingbourn, – 'homines quoque de Walda debent unam domum æstivalem quod Anglice dicitur Sumerhus, aut XX solidos dare.' It seems it was the custom of such as were Lords or Proprietors of these dens or parcels of the Weald, to repair thither in Summer-time to take care and dispose of their Pannage, (in such years at least as it had taken) and for their reception and accommodation some kind of house or habitation was to be provided for

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them by their Tenants, or a recompence made them in money for it.

6. Corredy: it was (like that of our Dean

and Chapter's entertainment at this day) a provision of dyet for the Lord's coming upon that occasion; whereof in the old Custumal of Ickham-Mannor thus, in reference to one or more of those dens. — 'Et in quolibet anno debet invenire Corredium & omnia necessaria Domino, cum venerit videre Pessonam, vel famulo ejus.'

7. Danger: An accompt-roll of Charing-Mannor, Anno 1230. thus explains it. — 'Et de XXVIs. VIIIId. de Waldis, ut pos= sint arare & seminare temporis pessonis sine dampno Archiepiscopi.' By this and the like passages it appears, that the Wealdish Tenant might not plough or sow his land in Pannage-time without the Lord's leave (whence it was otherwise termed /1 Lef-silver) for fear of endam= aging the Lord in his Pannage; or

/1 The custom is confirm'd and explain'd by an old Custumal of Tenham-Mannor (quoted by Mr. Somner, Gavelkynd pag. 27.) which calls it Lyef-yeld: 'Tenentes in Waldis non pos= sunt arare terras suas ab equinoctio autumpnali usque festum beati Martini sine licentia. Et ideo reddunt annuatim dimi= diam marcam ad festum S. Martini, sive fuerit Pessona, sive non & vocatur Lyef-yeld.'

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if he did, he was liable to recompence.

Add hereunto, that the Auditors of the Prior and Covent of Christ-church's Accompts of their Mannors in the Articles by which of old their Accompts were taken, were charged with the two last and the third of these services under these heads:

De Conrediis in Waldis.
De Dangeriis in Waldis.
De Pannagio in Drovedennis in Waldis.

The dens it seems, set out for the agistment and feeding of hoggs and other droves of cattel, being thence called 'Drove-dennis', as he that had the custody and driving of them to and fro (as there was occasion) the Hog-heard, or Neat-heard', 'Drof-mannus'.

The wood of the Weald made over to the Tenant.

The Weald then ('tis plain) like as other places yeilded customs and services, (as at present) from good antiquity, whereof if these particulars be not evidence enough, I shall in a way of supplement offer what I suppose will put it out of all dispute. In Edw. the third and Richard the second's time the then Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Prior and Covent of Christ-

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church respectively, amongst (I suppose) other like Lords and Owners of the Wealdish dens, finding themselves

agrieved by their Tenants there, and others in the wasting and making havoc of their woods, which in and by former feoffments they had expressly reserved from their Tenants to themselves, (over and besides fealty, suit of Court, and certain other services and customs) to quit and rid themselves of further care and trouble in that matter of the wood, entred into composition with their Tenants, and for a new annual rent of Assise (generally equal to what money was pay'd before) made the wood over to them by indenture of feoffment in perpetuity, either to be cut down or left standing at the Tenant's choice; reserving still their old or wonted rent, and all their former services, except (what upon parting with the wood was unreasonable to require) Pannage and Danger. Ever since which time (I conceive) the interest of the Lord so compounding hath been taken off, as to the wood it self, and nothing left remaining but so much rent of Assise, the new and the old, with the former services.

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Many of these compositions relating to the Arch-bishop and Monks aforesaid I have seen, and for satisfaction's sake of others, who would be willing to know more than vulgarly of the Weald, I shall for a close of all present them with a /1 copy of one of each sort.

[/1 There is not a copy of these Compositions in Mr. Somner's Manuscript; and where the Originals are, I know not.](#)

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FINIS.

<The manuscript which formed the basis for this publication appears to consist of drafts of two chapters which Somner was intending to include in his 'Antiquities of Kent' – the book which he had long been hoping to write, the book which was going to be his greatest achievement. They were written, it seems, in about 1660. (There are references to books published in 1659, including his Anglo-Saxon dictionary, but not to his book about gavelkind, published in 1660. The only later book to be cited is Dugdale's 'History of imbanking' (1662); and that citation occurs in the account of Appledore (pp. 64–71), which is certainly a digression and possibly a later addition.) In a kinder world, Somner would have been allowed to retire on a well-earned pension, soon after 1660, so that he could concentrate on finishing his book. That did not happen. Sadly for Somner, sadly for us, none of the rest of the book was ever written. Together with Somner's other papers, this manuscript was acquired by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; with their permission it was published at Oxford in 1693. That edition includes a 'Life of Mr Somner' by White Kennett, which I have put into a separate file; I have done the same with James Brome's contributions (the dedication and the list of lord wardens), which have nothing much to do with Somner's book. I have kept the annotation supplied by Edmund Gibson; but I have printed it in blue, to make sure that it is clearly distinguished from the original text. According to Battely (1703:xi), the discussion of the Goodwin sands (pp. 20–9) is a separate essay, inserted into this manuscript; so I have distinguished that too, by printing it in grey. From the style of it, I would doubt whether Somner intended it for publication. – C.F. June 2010.>