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

It is the manner (Right Worshipfull) of such as seeke profit by Minerall, first to set men on worke to digge and gather the Owre: Then by fire to trie out the Metall, and to cast it into certeine rude lumpes, which they call Sowze: And lastly to commit them to Artificers, that can thereof make things servicable and meete for use. Somewhat after which sort, I my selfe, being very desirous to attaine to some knowledge and understanding of the Antiquities of this Realme, which (as Metall conteined within the bowels of the earth) lie hidden in olde bookes hoorded vp in corners, did not onely my selfe digge and rake together whatsoeuer I coulde of that kinde, but procured diuers of my friends also to set to their hands and doe the like. And when the matter was by our diligent trauaile growne (as me thought) to a conuenient Masse, with such fire of discretion as I had, I seuered the metall and drosse in sunder, and cast it into certeine rude, and vnformed Sowze, not vnmeete for a workeman. But, wheras no small commendation groweth to the metall, by the skilfull hand of the craftesman that bringeth it to fashion, and therefore the wiser sort of men vse to deliuer it to suche as be their craftes maisters, and can thereof make sundrie utensiles both for pleasure and vtilitie: I contra=riwise, hauing neither good arte nor instrument to begin withall, nor yet approv’d patterne or Moald to imitate and follow, adventured neuerthelessse to fashion somewhat
out of my Sowze, and haue (as I now see) shaped such a peecce, as is more meete to be condemned to the kitchen, than woorthy to be admitted, or haue place in the parlour.

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

This when I had in a rude plot and rough sort perfour=med, and minded to communicate the same with some such of this Countrie, as for skill aboundantly could, and for good will indifferently would, weigh and peruse it, You (Right Worshipfull) came first to my minde, who, for the good vnderstanding and interest that you haue in this Shire, can (as well as any other) discerne of this dooing, And to whom (beyond other) I thought my selfe for sundry great courtesies most deepely bound and indebted.

I knowe right well, that the thing it selfe (being but a Bearewhelpe that lacketh licking: a rawe coloured por=tracture that wanteth †poilshing: and a gifte, In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor) is neither aunswerable to your woorthinesse, nor to mine owne wishe: Howbeit, hauing heertofore taken vn=doubted assay of your gentle acceptation, I am nothing afraide to offer it, Submitting to your fauourable Censure, both the worke, my selfe, and my writer, And commit=ting to the defence of the almightie, your selfe, your wife, your sonnes and familie. From Seintcleres, this last of Ianuarie, 1570. <31 Jan 1571>

Yours in the Lorde,

W. Lambard.

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

This Booke faire written (in gift) lately sent vn= to me, do I faire printed (by dedication) now send and commend vnto you. I knowe not (in respect of the place) vnto whom I may more filty thus send it then vnto you, that are either bred and well brought vp here, or by the goodnesse of God and your owne good proision, are well setled here: and here lawfully possesse, or are neere vnto sundrie of those things, that this booke specially speakekth of: and thus, as of your selfes, doe you see what they are now, and thus as of this booke, may you know why they were, and by whom they were, and what they were long agone.

I knowe not (in respect of the persons,) vnto whom I may more filty thus send it, than vnto you: with whom, I haue beene best and longest acquainted: from whom (by points of singular courtesie) I haue beeene many waies much pleased: Toward whom, for the generall coniunction and association of your minds, and your selfes in good amitie and familiaritie, one toward another: and all, in good zeale toward the aduancement of Christian religion: and for the
indifferent and discrete course ye keepe in handling and compounding such controversyes, as many times fall (and thereby in nourishing peace, a jewel most precious) between your honest and tractable neighbours, (things vnto almighty God, very acceptable; vnto her Maiestie, very grateful; vnto your countrey, very fruitful; vnto your selues, very commendable:) Toward whom, I say, for these causes which, as a member of this Countrey with others I see joyfully and generally: and for the first two causes which deriued from you, light vpon me selfe particularly, I have been, and am, and must be very lovingly affected.

I know not how I may more fitly and effectually commend it than to say, that it is in substance, an historie: treating of the parts (and actions of greatest weight a good time together, done by the most famous persons) of one special Countrey: fet from great antiquity, which many men are much delighted with: out of sundry booke with great study collected, painfully: by this author in the matter set out, truly: with goods words well placed, eloquently. In commen-
thered together great store of very good matter) himselfe (the Author of it) were worthy of good reward, and singular commendation for it: You (the motioners) in the reading, shall receive great pleasure by it: the rest of the Gentlemen of this Realme, that of themselves see what things in their owne countries are of greatest fame now, and by that book shall know, what those things and other things were long agone, must needs with great delight receive it: and surely, being as he is unto me, a very dear friend, for mine owne part, I mean also (God willing) upon some fit occasion, with my request to further it. The xvi. of Aprill. 1576. Your Countrey man and very loving friend.

I. W.

The Saxon Characters, and their values.

.......

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

To the end, that it may be understood, what is meant by the terms of East Saxons, West Saxons, Mercia, Northumberland, and such other, of which there is common mention in the Treatise following: I have thought good to prefix a Chart of the seven sundry Kingdoms into the which this Realme was sometime divided. But yet, for the better and more plain explication of the matter, it shall be good first to know, that all these Nations following have had to do within this our Country: The Britons, the Romans, the Scots and Picts, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans.

The Brittons (after the Samothes, and Albionees, which be of no great fame in our historie) were the most auncient Inhabitantes of this lande, and possessed it in peace, until Iulius Caesar (the Romane Emperour) invaded them: for so much may a man gather of Horace his words, where he said,

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

These therefore were by Iulius Caesar subdued to the Romane Empire, and their country made a tributarie Province: in which case it continued many yeeres together, untill at the length, being grieously vexed with the Picts and Scottes their neighbours on the North, and being utterly void of all hope of aide to be had from the Romanes their patrons (who also at the same time were sore afflicted with the invasion of the Hunnes, and Vandales, like barbarous nations) they were enforced to seekie for further helpe: And therefore sent into Germanie, from whence they receaued hired Soul diours, of the Nations called Saxons, Lutes, and Angles, under the conducte of Hengist and Horsa, two natural brethren, and bothe verie valiaunt Captaines.

The Brytaine...
The Scots, and Picts.

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

The Saxons, Iutes, and Angles. The Saxons, Iutes, and Angles, were the Germanes that came ouer (as we haue said) in aide of the Britons, of which the first sort inhabited Saxo=nie: the second were of Gotland, and therefore called Gutes, or Gottes: The third were of Angria, or Anglia, a countrie adioining to Saxonie, of which the Duke of Saxonie is Lord till this day, and beareth the name therof in his Stile, or title of honour: and of these last we all be called Angli, Englishe men.

These Germanes, for a season serued against the Scottes, and Pictes: But afterward (entised by the pleasure of this countrie, and the fraude of the enemies) they ioyned handes with them, and all at once set vp on the Britons that brought them in: and so, driuing them into France, Wales, and Corn= wall, possessed their dwelling places, and diuided the countrie amongst themselues. Howbeit, they also wanted not their plague: For after that they had long warred one vpon another, for the enlarging of their particular kingdomes, and had at the last so beaten each other, that the whole was by the Westsaxons reduced into one entier Monarchie, suddenly the Danes (a people of Norway, and Denmark) came vp on them, and after much mischiefe done, in the ende tooke the crowne and kingdome quite and cleane from them.

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

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

Westsex.

The first Kingdome therefore, was called the
Kingdome of the Westsaxons, because it was in
the West part of the realme, and it comprehended
the whole Shires of Southampton, Berk, Wilton,
Dorset, and Somerset, besides some parts of Surrey,
Gloucester, and Devonshire: As for the residue of
Devonshire, and whole Cornwall, the Britons re=
tained it, whose language is not there as yet for=
gotten.

Southsex.
The second, was the Southsaxon Kingdome, (so
termed because it lay South) and contained whole
Sussex, and the remaie of Surrey.

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

Essex.
The Kingdome of Estsex, (or of the Estsaxons)
was the fourth, which was named of the situation
also, and included the whole Shyres of Estsex,
and Midlesex, with some portion of Hartfordshire.

Eastangle.
The fift, was of the East Angles (or East Eng=
lishmen, consisting of the Ile of Elye, and the
Shyres of Norfolke, Suffolke, and Cambridge.

Mercia.
The Kingdome of Mercia (or Mearclande) had
the sixt place, which was so called of the Saxon
woord Mearc signifying a bound, limit, or marke,
as we yet speake: and that, because it lay in the
midst of this our Ilande, as upon the which all the
residue of the Kingdomes did bounde, and were
bordered. In this Kingdome were wholly these
Shyres, Lincolne, Northampton, Rutlande, Hun=
tingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Chester,
Derby, Notingham, Stafford: And partly Hereford,
Hartforde, Warwicke, Shropshire, and Gloucester=
shire.

Northumber=
berland.

Northumberland (so called, because it lay North
from the River Humber) was the seauenth King=
dome: and it enuironned Yorkshire, Durham, Nor=
thumberlande, Cumberlamente, and Westmerlande
wholy, and so much of Lancashire besides, as was
not in Mercia.

This Kingdome was for a season diuided into
twaine, that is to say, Deira, and Bernicia: but for
as much as neither that diuision endured long, nor
the actes of their Kings were greatly famous, I
will not stay vpon them: But to the ende it may
appeere by what lawes and customes these King=
domes were guided (for of them also we must
make mention in this historie, I will proceede to
set forth the rest of the use of this chard of the En=
glish Heptarchie.

As eche Countrie therefore, hath his proper

Three sorts of
Lawes, in old
time.

lawes, customs, and manners of life, so no man
ought to doubt but that these peoples, being ag=
gregated of so many sundrie Nations, had their
seueral rules, orders, and institutes. Howbeit,
amongst the rest these be most famous, which our
auncient writers call the Dane lawe, West-Saxon lawe, and Merchen lawe: The first of which was brought in by the Danes: The second was vsed amongst the west Saxons: and the last was exercis=ed in the kingdome of Mercia: and yet not so exercised amongst themselues alone, but that they spred ouer some partes of the rest of the land also, being either imbraced for their equitie aboue the rest, or commaunded by such the Kings as preuailed aboue others.

1 To the Westsaxons law therefore, all such were subject, as inhabited the Kingdomes of Kent, Sussex, or Westsex.

2 The Eastsaxons, Estangles, and they of the kingdome of Northumberlande (all which were much mingled with the Danes) liued vnder the Danes lawe.

3 They of Mercia, had their owne lawe, but not throughout: for after some mens opinions, the East and Northparts of it liued after the lawe of the Danes also. Al these laws, King William the Conquerour collected togither, and (after a discreete view had) by aduise of his counsell allowed some, altered others, and quite abrogated a great many, in place of which he established the lawes of Normandie his owne countrey.

7 The Lawes of our time.

The Lawes of our time.

The Lawes of our time.

The Lawes of our time.

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The Lawes of our time.
shall vouchsafe to visite this our Britaine, may at
their first entry finde such courtesie and entertain-
ment, as from henceforth they cease, either with
Horace to call vs, ‘Hospitibus feros,’ or with others,
‘Feroce in Aduenas,’ I wil be their Xenagogus, or guide,
and first shew them our countrie of Kent, the inha-
bitants whereof, Caesar himselfe in his Commen-
taries, confesseth to be of all others the most full
of humanitie and gentlenesse.

Scituation
of Kent.

Kent therefore, lying in the Southeast Region
of this Realme, hath on the North the Riuer of
Thamise, on the East the Sea, on the South the
Sea and Sussex, and on the West Sussex and Sur-
rey. It extendeth in length, from the West of the
landes in Beckenham, called (I will not say, pur-
posely heerof) Langley, where is the stile, as it were,
ouer into Surrey, to the Ramsgate in the Ile of Tha-
net, about fifty and three Myles: And reacheth in
breadth from the Riuer Rother on the South
of Newendene next Sussex, to the Riuer of Tha-
mise, at Nowrheade in the Ile of Greane, twentie
sixe Miles, and somwhat more: And hath in circuit
160. Miles, or thereabouts.

Kent, why
so named.

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

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

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

The Aire.

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

The Soile.

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

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wards the East, which coast is more champaigne
than the residue.

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

Neither wanteth Kent such sorts of pulce, as the
rest of the Realme yeeldeth, namely beans, peason,
and tares, which some (reitning the sounde of the
Latine woord Vicia) call vetches, and which Polydor
supposed not to be found in Ingland.

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

The woods and fruits.

In fertile and fruitfull woodes and trees, this
country is most florishing also, whether you re-
spect the mast of Oke, Beeche and Chesten for cat-
tail: or the fruit of Apples, Peares, Cherries,
and Plums for men: for besides great store of oke
and beeche, it hath whole woodes that beare Chest-
nut, a mast (if I may so call it, and not rather a
fruit, whereof euen delicate persons disdaine not
to feede) not commonly seene in other countries:
But as for Orchards of Apples, and Gardeins of
Cheries, and those of the most delicious and exqui-
site kindes that can be, no part of the Realme (that
I knowe) hath them, either in such quantitie and
number, or with such arte and industrie, set and
planted. So that the Kentish man, most truely
of all other, may say with him in Vergil,

Sunt nobis mitia poma,
Castaneae molles, &c.

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

Deere and Conies.

Parkes of fallow Deere, and games of graie
Conies, it maintaineth many, the one for plea-
sure, and the other for profit, as it may well appeere
by this, that within memorie almost the one halfe
of the first sort be disparked, and the number of war=
reins continueth, if it do not increase daily.

As for red Deere, and blacke Conies, it nou-
risheth them not, as hauing no forrests, or great
walks of waste ground for the one, and not tarying
the time to raise the gaine by the other: for, blacke
conyes are kept partly for their skins, which haue
their season in Winter: and Kent by the neerenesse
to London, hath so quicke market of yoong Rab-
bets, that it killeth this game chiefly in summer.

There is no Mineral, or other profit digged out
of the belly of the earth heere, saue onely that in
certeine places they haue Mines of Iron, quar-
ries of Pauing stone, and pits of fat Marle.
Besides diuerse pieres, ietties, and creekes, that bee upon the coastes of the Thamys and the Sea, Kent hath also sundrie fresh riuers and pleaasunt streams, especielly Derent, Medwey, and Stowre, of the which, Medwey is more nauigable then the rest, for which cause, and (for that it crosseth the Shyre almost in the midst) it is the most benefici all also.

The fishe. The Sea, and these Waters, yeld good and whole=some fishes competently, but yet neither so much in quantitie, nor such in varietie, as some other coastes of the Realme do afoorde. And heere let vs for a season leave the Sea and the Soile, and cast our eies vpon the men.

The people. The people of this countrie, consisteth chiefly (as in other countries also) of the Gentrie, and the Yeomanrie, of which the first be for the most part, gournourns, and the other altogether gournerned: whose possessions also were at the first distinguished, by the names of Knight fee, and Guelkinde: that former being proper to the Warriour, and this latter to the Husbandman. But as nothing is more inconstant, then the estate that we haue in lands and liuing (if at the least I may call that an estate which neuer standeth) Euen so, long since these tenures haue bin so indifferentely mixed and confounded, in the handes of ech sort, that there is not now any note of difference to be gathered by them.

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

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

The common people, or Yeomanrie, (for so they be called of the Saxon worde gemen, which signi
fieth common) is no where more free, and iolly, then in this shire: for besides that they themselues say in a claime (made by them in the time of King Edwarde the first) that the communaltie of Kent was never vanquished by the Conquerour, but yeelded it selfe by composition, And besides that Geruasius affirmeth, that the forward in al battels belongeth to them (by a certeine preeminence) in right of their manhood, It is agreed by all men, that there were never any Bondmen (or villaines, as the law calieth them) in Kent.

Neither bee they heere so much bounden to the Gentrie by Copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the inhabitants of the Westerne countries of the realme be, nor at al indangered by the feeble holde of Tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenancie at wil) as the common people in the Northren parts be: for Copyhold tenure is rare in Kent, and Tenant right not heard of at all: But in place of these, the custome of Gauelkind prevailing euerywhere, in manner euery man is a Freeholder, and hath some part of his owne to liue vpon. And in this their estate, they please themselues, and ioy exceedingly, in so much, as a man may finde sundry Yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparably with many of the gentle sort) that will not yet for all that chaunge their condition, nor desire to be apparailed with the titles of Gentrie.

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

As touching the Artificers of this shire, they bee either such as trauell at the Sea, or labour in the artes that be handmaidens to husbandrie, or else do worke in Stone, Iron, and Woodfuell, or be makers of coloured woollen clothes: in which last feat, they excell, as from whom is drawne both sufficient store to furnish the weare of the best sort of our nation at home, and great plentie also to be transported to other foreine countries abroade.

Thus much I had summarily to say, of the condition of the Countrie, and Countrie men, Nowe therfore (God assisting mine enterprise) I will go in hand with the Hystorie.
trie of Chaldee (or some place nigh vnto it) where
the Arke of Noah rested:

And therefore, I will not heere either doubt, or
debate to and fro, as Caesar, Cornel. tacit. Poly=
dore, and others do, whether the first inhabitants
of this Ilande were (Aliunde aduecti, and aduenæ)
that is, translated and brought out of some other
countrie to dwell heere, or no: Or yet affirme, as
the same Caesar doth, that some, or (as Diodorus
Siculus writeth) that all the Britaines were indi=
genæ, the naturall borne people of that countrie,
and that ab origine, even from the first beginning:
for to take the one way of these, or the other,
would but leade vs to distrust the infallible Scrip=
tures of God concerning the creation and propa=
gation of mankinde, and to trust the wretched va=
rity of opinion that the Gentiles had, and namely
the Atheniens, who, the better to advanc their an=
tiquitie, were wont to vaunt, That they onely
(forsooth) of all the Grecians were <autochthones>, that is
to say, Satui, & indigenæ terræ parentis, The verie
naturall seedes, stocks, and ympes, springing out
of their good mother the same earth where they
dwelt, and not brought from elsewhere.

We reade moreouer in the same booke of Mo=
ses, that the Iles of the Gentiles were diuided into
their Kingdomes and nations, by such as descen=
ded of the children of Iapheth: wherevpon, as the
Italians in their histories deriue themselues from
Gomer the first sonne of Iapheth: the Spaniardes
from Tubal his fift sonne: and the Germanes from
Thuysco (whom as they say, Moses calleth Asce=
nas) the eldest sonne of Gomer: Euen so, the late
learned (and yet best trauailed in the histories of
our countrey) reiecting the fonde dreames of do=
ting Monkes and fabling Friers, do collect out of
Herodotus, Berosus, and others the most graue
and auncient authors, that one Samothes, the sixth

sonne of lapheth, (whom Caesar in his commenta=
ries calleth Dis, and Moses nameth Mesech) did
about 250. yeeres after the generall inundation
of the world, take vpon him the first dominion of
these countries in Europe, which are now knowne
by the names of Fraunce and Britaine, and the in=
habitants thereof long time called Celtæ, or ra=
ther <kelētai>, of the Verbe <kelētizein>, for their speciall
skill in riding.

Of this mans name (saie they) the first inhabi=
ters of England were called Samoth,eï, by the space
of 300. yeeres, or more: About which time Albion
Mareoticus (the sonne of Neptune, or rather Nep=
thurim, as Moses writeth it, and descended of the
race of Cham,) invaded the Ile, conquered the inha=
bîtants, mixed them with his owne people, and cal=
led them all after his owne name Albionees, and
the countrie it selfe Albion.

Sixe hundredth and eight yeeres (or therabouts)
after this also, Brutus lulius (as all our common
historiens haue it) entred this Iland with 324. ships,
laden with the remaines of Troye, and hee likewise, both subdued all the former peoples that he found heere to his owne obedience, and also altered their name after his own calling: So that from thenceforth they were named Britaines, the termes of Samothees, and Albionees being quite and cleane abolished.

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

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

Howsoever that bee therefore, Cæsar himselfe witnesseth, that in the time of his arrriuall in this Iland, the people were by one common name called Britaines: And that Kent was then diuided into fower petite Kingdomes, which were governed by Caruillus, Taximagul, Cingetorix, and Segonax: who, having severally subject to their Dominions certaine Cities with the territories adjoyning vnto them (after the maner of the Dukedoms, or Estates of Italie, at this day) extended their bounds (as it may bee gathered) ouer the whole countries of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey at the least.

This kinde of Regalitie, Kent retained not many yeers after: bicause the Britaine Kings, succeeding Cæsars conquest, and yeielding tribute to the Ro- manes, reduced not onely these parte, but in maner the whole Realme also, into one entire Monarchie. So that in course of time (and vnder the reigne of King Vortiger) Kent was ruled by a Lieutenant, or Viceroy, called Guorongus, as William of Malmesbury witnesseth.

But it was not long, before these Britaines were so weakned, partly by intestine dissention amongst themselves, and partly by incursions of their neighbours the Scots, and Picts, that (the periode of this their estate also drawing on) Vortiger their King was compelled to inuite for aide the Saxons, lutes,
and Angles, three sorts of the German nation: who, in stead of doing that which they came for, and of delivering the Britains from their former oppression, joined with their enemies (Thessala fide, as the adage is) and brought upon them a more grievous calamity and conquest, subduing the people, suppressing religion, and departing (in manner) the whole land among themselves. So that nowe Kent recovered the title of a severall Kingdom againe, although not all one, and the verie same in limits with the former four, yet nothing inferior in power, estimation, or compass.

Of this newly reuiued regiment, Hengist the

chiefe leader of the Germanes became the first author and patron. For hee, finding himselfe placed by King Vortiger (for his owne habitation) at Thanet in this Shire, and seeing a great part of his power bestowed in garrison against the Scots vnnder Ohtha his brother, and Ebusa his sonne in the North Countrey: and perceiuing moreouer, that he was arrieved out of a most barren region into this plentifull Iland, (with the commodities wherof he was inestimablie delighted) hee abandoned all care of returne to his native soile, and determinded to make heere a seate for himselfe and his posterity.

For helps heereunto, although hee had on the one side, his owne prowesse, the manhood of his warlike nation, their number and necessitie: and on the other side, the effeminate cowardise and voluptuousnes of King Vortiger, the weakenes of the Britains themselfes, and the advantage of the Scots and Pictes their auncient enimies, so that hee might with plain force haue brought his purpose to passe: yet he chose rather to atchieue his desire by faire meanes and colour of amitie, a way, though not so hastie as the former, yet more speedie then that, or any other.

Espying therefore, that king Vortiger was much delighted in womens companie, and knowing wel, that ‘Sine Cerere & Libero, friget Venus,’ he bad him to a solemne banquet, and after that he had (according to the maner of Germanie yet continuing) well plied him with pots, hee let slip before him a

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

And therefore he answered (as he was taught) vnto hir againe, ‘drinc hæile,’ drinke merily. Which when shee had done, himselfe tooke the cup, and pledged hir so hartely, that from thenceforth hie could neuer be in rest, vntil he had obtained hir to
wife, little weighing, either how deeply he had endaungered his conscience in matching himselfe with a heathen woman, or how greatly he had hazarded his Crowne by ioyning handes with so mightie a forrein Nation.

At the time of this mariage, Hengist (labouring by all meanes to bring in his owne Countrie men) begged of the King the territories of Kent, Essex, Midlesex, and Suffolke, (then knowne by other names) pretending in worde, that he would, in consideration thereof, keepe out Aurel. Ambrose (a competitor of the crowne) whose arruall King Vortiger had much feared, but meaning in deede, to make thereby a key to let into the realme multitudes of Germanes, for furtherance of his amitious desire and purpose: which thing in processe of time he brought to passe, not onely creating himselfe and his posterity Kings of a large quarter, but also thereby shewing the way and entrie, howe others of his nation might follow, and doe the like.

And thus Kent, being once againe (as I said) reduced into a Kingdome, continued in that estate, by the space of three hundreth threescore and eight yeeres, or thereabouts, in the hands of fifteene successors, as the most credible authours do reporte: Some others addde, Edbert, and Alric, and so make seuenteeene in all, whose names do followe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Kings of Kent.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Hengist, the first Germane.</td>
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<td>2. Oesc.</td>
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<td>3. Occa.</td>
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<td>4. Hermenric: or Ermenric.</td>
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<td>5. Ethelbert, the first christened.</td>
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<td>7. Erconbert, the first that commaundned the observacion of Lent, in this shire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Egbert.</td>
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<td>9. Lothar.</td>
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<td>10. Eadric.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. Alric, added also, by some.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Eadbald Pren, or Edelbert Pren.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Baldred.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Now, although it might heere seeme conuenient, before I passed any further, to disclose such memorable things, as haue chanced during the reignes of all these forenamed Kings: yet for asmuch as my purpose specially is to write a Topographie, or description of places, and no Chro=
nographie, or storie of times, (although I must now and then use both, since the one can not fully bee performed without enterlacing the other) and for that also I shall haue just occasion hereafter in the particulars of this Shyre, to disclose many of the same, I will at this present, and that by way of digression onely, make report of one or two occurrents that happened vnder Ethelbert, and Eadric, two Kings of this countrey.

This Ethelbert, besides that he mightely enlarg'd the bounds of his owne Kingdome, extending the same even to the riuver of Humber, was also the first King (amongst the Saxons, inhabiting this land) that promoted the kingdome of Christ, as to whom it pleased allmighty God to break the bread of his holy word and gospel, through the ministerie and preaching of Augustine the Monck, that was sent from Rome by Pope Gregorie surnamed the great: amongst the Saxons I saide, lest any man should think, that either the faith of Christ, was not here at all, or not so purely preached, before the coming of that Augustine. For it is past all doubt, by the stories of all Countries, and by the testimonie of Beda himselfe (being a Saxon) that the Britons embraced the religion of Christ within this llaunde, many hundredth yeeres before Gregories time: whether in purer sort then hee sent it hither, or no, let them judge, that know, that he was called (worthely) 'Pater Caeremoniarum,' and that may yet see in Beda, and others, what trumperie crept into the church of God in his time and by his permission.

Eadric, the other King succeeded in Kent, after Lotharius, who, because he rather reigned by lust, then ruled by lawe, incurred the hatred of his peo- ple, and was invaded by Ceadwalla (King of Westsex) and Mull his brother: which entring the countrie, and finding no resistance, herried it from the one ende to the other: and not thus contented, Ceadwalla, in revenge of his brother Muls death, (whom the countrie people had cruelly slaine in a house, that hee had taken for his succour) entred this countrie the second time, and sleying the people, spoiled it without all pite. And yet not satisfied with all this, he suffered the quarrel to descend to Ina his successour, who ceased not to vnquiet the people of this Shyre, till they agreed to paie him 30000. Markes in golde, for his desired amendes.

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

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

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

The good king Alfred therefore, that had marvellously trauelled in repulsing the barbarous Danes, espying this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politique Prince, to roote out the noisome subject, then to holde out the forreine enemie, by aduice of his counsaile, and by the example of Moses (which followed the counsaile of Ietro, his father in law) diuided the whole Realme into certain parts, or Sections, (being two and thirtie in number, as I gesse) which of the Saxon word Scyran, signifying to cut, he termed shires, or (as wee yet speake) shares, and portions: and appointed over euery shire, an Earle, or Alderman (or both) to whom he committed the government and rule of the same.

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

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

By this deuice of his it came to passe, that good subjects (the trauailing Bees of the Realme) reorted safely to their labors againe, and the euill and idle Droanes were driuen cleane out of the hyue of the common wealth: so that in short time, the whole Realme tasted of the sweete hony of this blessed peace, and tranquillitie: Insomuch, that (as one writeth) if a man had let fall his purse in
the high way, he might at great leasure and with good assurance haue come backe and taken it vp againe.

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

Thus much therefore I thought good, now at the first to open, the more at large, because it may serue generally for all Shyres, and shall heereafter deliuer mee from often repetition of one thing.

Where, by the way, (least I might seeme to haue forgotten the Shire that I haue presently in hand) it is to be noted, that that which in the west countrey was at that time, (and yet is) called, a Ti-thing, is in Kent termed a Borow, of the Saxon worde borh, which signifieth a Pledge, or a suretie: and the chiefe of these pledges, which the Western men call a Tithingman, they of Kent name a Bosholder, of the Saxon words ealdor, that is to say, the most auncient, or elder of the Pledges: which thing being vnderstood, the matter will come all to one end, and I may go forward.

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

For proofe whereof, I will call to witnesse Thomas Spot, somtimes a Moncke and Chronicler of Saint Augustines at Canterbury, who, if hee shall seeme too weake to giue sufficient authoritie to the tale, bicause hee onely (of all the Storiers that I haue seene) reporteth it, Yet, forasmuch as I my selfe first published that note out of his history, and for that the matter it selfe also is neither incredi-ble, nor vnlikely, (the rather bicause this Shyre, euene vnto this day, enioyeth the custome of giue all kyn discent, dower of the moytie, freedome of birth, and sundrie other vsages much different from other countries) I neither well may, ne will at all, sticke, now eftsoones to rehearse it.

After such time (saith he) as Duke William the Conquerour had ouerthrowne King Harold in the field, at Battel in Sussex, and had receiued the Lon-doners to mercy, hee marched with his armie to-ward the Castle of Douer, thinking thereby to haue brought in subiection this countrie of Kent.
also. But Stigande, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelsine the Abbat of Saint Augustines, perceiving the danger, assembled the country men together, and laid before them the intolerable pride of the Normans that invaded them, and their own miserable condition, if they should yield unto them. By which means, they so enraged the common people, that they ran forthwith to weep, and meeting at Swanscombe, elected the Archbishop and the Abbot for their captains: This done, each man got him a green bough in his hand, and bare it over his head, in such sort, as when the Duke approached, he was much amazed therewith, thinking at the first, that it had been some miraculous wood, that moved towards him: But they, as soon as he came within hearing, cast away their boughs from them, and at the sound of a trumpet bewrayed their weapons, and withall dispatched towards him a messenger, which spake unto him in this manner. ‘The commons of Kent (most noble Duke) are ready to offer thee, either peace, or war, at thine own pleasure, and election: peace, with their faithful obedience, if thou wilt permit them to enjoy their ancient liberties: war, and that most deadly, if thou deny it them.’

Now when the Duke heard this, and considered that the danger of denial was great, and that the thing desired was but small, he forthwith, more wisely than willingly, yielded to their request: And by this means both he received Dover Castle, and the Country to obedience, and they only of all England, (as shall hereafter appeare) obtained for ever their accustomed privileges.

And thus then hath it appeared (so shortly, as I could) what hath been the state and government of this country, from the arrival of Julius Caesar, (the first Roman that conquered this realm) even to this present day. Now therefore, I will set before the Readers eye in Table, a plain particular of the whole shire, wherein, to the end that with little labour of search, double commoditie may be found, I will first divide the country into Lathes, Baylifwycks, Limits, and Hundreds, as it is used for execution of services by the Shyrtes, their Baylifes, and Justices of the peace:

Secondly, to these Lathes and Hundreds, I will add the Parishes, Townes, and Boroughes, setting downe against each of them such seuerall sums of money, as (by report of the Recorde of the xiii year of his Maiesties raigne) was levied in the name of a Tenthe, and Fifteenthe, upon every of the same. Thirdly, I will particularize the Franchyses, Parks, Rivers, Bridges, and other the more publicque and notorious parts of the Shyre in short Kalendar: And lastly, I will address me to the Topographie and larger description of such places, as either faithful information by word, or credible history in writing, hath hitherto ministered unto me.
The Distribution of the Shyre, for execution of Justice. <17 Feb 1597>

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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hundreds &amp; the number of parishes in them.</td>
<td>Names of the justices of peace and their dwelling parishes: 17. Februa. 1596.</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ringsloe par. 4.</td>
<td>Ringhards Cryspe, in Thanet Ins.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blengate par. 7. Whistable par. 3.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Heane  
par. 2.

Byrchott franchise  
par. 2.  Thomas Scott, in Smeeth.

Streate  
par. 3.  Raph Hayman, in Selyng.

Worth  
par. 3.

Ham  
par. 3.

Langporte  
par. 1.

Saint Mar= 
par. 3.

Shyp= Newchurch  
par. 6.

Wey.  
par. 2.

Shyp= Streate Raph Hayman, in Sellyng.par. 3.

Worth  
par. 2.

Worth  
par. 2.

Langporte  
par. 3.

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

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The Lathe of Saint Augustines, other wise called, the Lath of Hedelinth.

Borowe of Wingham.  lxvii.s’.i.d’.
Borowe of Rollinge.  lxvii.s’.i.d’.
Borowe of Nonington.  lxvii.s’.i.d’.
Borowe of Godestone.  lxvii.s’.i.d’.
Hundredth of Denne.  lxvii.s’.i.d’.
Borowe of Twyham.  xxxii.s’.ix.d’.
Borowe of Wimlingswold.  xxxii.s’.ix.d’.
Borowe of Kelington.  xxxii.s’.vii.d’.
Borowe of Gyorhorne.  xxv.s’.i.d’.
The parish of Ashe, with the Borow of  xxiii.l’.xii.s’.iii.d’.
Widerton.  
Sum. xlvi.l’.xii.s’.x.d’.

Hundredth of Preston.  
Sum. vii.l’.ix.s’.x.d’.

Borowe of Woode.  iiii.l’.xii.s’.xvii.d’.
Borowe of Mynster.  xvi.’.
Borowe of S. Laurence.  xvii.s’.iii.d’.
Borowe of S. Peter.  xvii.s’.vii.d’.
Borowe of S. John.  xxii.s’.i.d’.
Borowe of S. Gyles.  xv.s’.
Borowe of S. Nicholas.  x.s’.
Hundredth of Kings=  


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<26>

The Lath of S. Augustines.

Hundredth of Down=  
hamford.  

Borowe of Staple.  iiii.l’.vii.s’.
Borowe of Adesham.  iii.l’.ix.s’.
Borowe of Wykham.  vii.l’.xiii.s’.x.d’.
Borowe of Littleborne.  vii.l’.xiii.s’.
Towne of Chillenden.  xviii.s’.
| Towne of Berston. | vii.s.'ii.d.' |
| Towne of Nonington. | xx.s.' |
| Towne of Tyluestone. | vii.s.'iii.d.' |
| Towne of Wodnesborowe. | xv.s.'x.d.' |
| Towne of Estrye. | xiii.s.'x.d.' |
| Towne of Waldershare. | xii.s.' |
| Sum. | xxxix.s.'ii.d.' |
| Borowe of Dorme. | xxv.s.' |
| Borowe of Kingstone. | iii.s.'viii.d.' |
| Hundreth of Kinghamford. | |
| Borowe of Berham. | xlii.s.'iii.d.' |
| Borowe of Bereton. | xxiii.s.'iii.d.' |
| Borowe of Sheling. | xxviii.s.'vi.d.' |
| Borowe of Brethe. | xxiii.s.'iii.d.' |
| Sum. | xi.s.'v.s.'vi.d.' |
| Towne of Petham. | vii.s.'xii.s.'vii.d.' |
| Hundreth of Petham. | |
| Towne of Chartham. | viii.s.'x.d.'ob. |
| Towne of Waltham. | iii.s.'v.d.' |
| Sum. | xii.s.'iii.d.'ob. |

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| Towne of Colred. | xxxix.s.' |
| Towne of Shebertswold. | l.s.' |
| Towne of Popeshal. | i.s.' |
| Towne of S. Margaret. | iii.s.' |
| Towne of Oxney. | xxvi.s.'vii.d.'ob. |
| Towne of Westclif. | xxxi.s.' |
| Towne of Guston. | xxxiiii.s.' |
| Towne of Beawfield. | xxix.s.' |
| Towne of Charlton. | xlvi.s.' |
| Towne of Hougham. | iii.s.' |
| Towne of Bucland. | xxviii.s.' |
| Towne of Reuer. | xl.s.' |
| Towne of Ewell. | lvi.s.' |
| Towne of Leden. | xxvii.s.'q.' |
| Towne of Smalhead. | xiii.s.'iii.d.' |
| Towne of Westlangden. | xx.s.' |
| Sum. | xxxiiii.s.'v.s.'xi.d.'ob.q. |
| Borowe of Finglesham. | xxxix.s.' |
| Borowe of Sholdon. | xl.s.' |
| Borowe of Marten. | xxx.s.' |
| Borowe of Eastlangdon. | xii.s.' |
| Borowe of Asheley. | xl.s.' |
| Borowe of Sutton. | xxxiiii.s.'v.d.'ob. |
| Borowe of Mongeham Magna. | xl.s.' |
| Borowe of Rippley. | xvii.s.' |
| Borowe of Norborne. | xiii.s.' |
| Borowe of Deale. | xiii.s.'xix.s.' |
| Borowe of Walmer. | iii.s.'v.s.'viii.d.' |
| Borowe of Mongeham Parua. | xvii.s.' |
| Towne of Ringwalde. | vii.s.'x.d.' |
| Sum. | xl.i.'vi.s.'xi.d.'ob. |

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| Towne of Sturey. | xii.i.'xiii.s.' |
| Towne of Chistelet. | xii.i.'xiii.s.' |
| Towne of Reculuer. | xii.i.'xiii.s.' |
| Towne of Herne. | xii.i.'xv.s.' |
| Sum. | i.i.'xvii.s.' |
| Borowe of Westgate. | ix.i.'xix.s.'ii.d.'ob. |
| Borowe of Harbaldowne. | iii.i.' |
| Hundreth of Westgate | Borow of Hakington | iii.i'.vi.s'. |
| Borow of Cokering | iii.i'.xiii.s'. |
| Borow of Tunforde | xxv.s'. |
| Borow of Rushborne | xxviii.s'.x.d'. |
| Borow of Harwich | lvi.s'.i.d'. |
| Sum | xxviii.i'.i.d'.ob. |
| Hundreth of Whistaple | Towne of Bleane | vii.i'.ix.s'.ix.d'. |
| Towne of Whitstaple | vi.i'.xv.s'. |
| Towne of Natington | xi.s'.iii.d'.ob.q. |
| Sum | xiii.i'.xviii.s'.i.d'.ob.q. |
| Hundreth of Bregge | Towne of Patricksborne | i.i'.xv.s'. |
| Towne of Bekesborne | i.i'.xvii.s'. |
| Towne of Bregge | xv.s'. |
| Towne of Blackmanbury | xxviii.s'. |
| Towne of little Harden | xxvii.s'. |
| Towne of Natindon | xxviii.s'. |
| Towne of great Harden | xxix.s'. |
| Sum | xiii.i'.ii.s'. |
| Hundreth of Seasalter | Towne of Seat. | i.i'.vi.s'.vii.d'. |
| Sum of this whole Lathe of Saint Augustines | CCCxxxvi.i'.xv.s'. |

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The Lathe of Shepway.

| Hundreth of Saint Martine | The towne of Newchurch | xx.s'.iii.d'. |
| The towne of S. Maries | xlix.s'. |
| The towne of Hope | xii.i'.vii.s'.x.d'.ob. |
| The towne of S. Martine | xiiii.s'.i.d'. |
| The towne of S. Clement | l.s'.iii.d'.ob. |
| The towne of luechurch | lxvii.s'.i.d'. |
| The town of Medley | iii.i'.ii.d'. |
| Sum | xxii.i'.xv.s'.xi.d'. |
| Hundreth of Langport | The towne of S. Nicholas | xvi.s'. |
| The towne of Lyd | ix.i'.ii.s'.iii.d'. |
| The towne of Romney | xiiii.i'.iii.d'. |
| The towne of Hope | xxix.s'. |
| Sum | xii.i'.vii.d'. |
| Hundreth of Alowes bregge | The towne of Snargate | lvi.s'.x.d'. |
| The towne of Brenset | iii.i'.ii.d'. |
| The towne of Brokeland | lxxvii.s'. |
| The towne of Fairefeld | xliii.i'.ix.d'. |
| The towne of Snaue | xxxi.s'.vi.d'.ob. |
| The towne of luechurch | xxxi.s'.iii.d'. |
| The towne of Newchurch | vii.s'.i.d'.ob. |
| Sum | xvi.i'.x.s'.x.d'. |
| Hundreth of Bircholt Franchesse | The towne of Aldington | iii.i'.f.x.s'.ob. |
| The towne of Mersham | viii.s'.x.d'. |
| Sum | iii.i'.xviii.s'.x.d'.ob. |

41

The Lathe of Shepway.

| Hundreth of Newchurch | The towne of Bilsington | lii.s'.vii.d'. |
| The towne of Newchurch | xxxiiii.s'.ii.d'. |
| The towne of Roking | l.s'.vi.d'. |
| The towne of Snaue | vii.s'.iii.d'. |
| The towne of S. Marie | xxxiii.s'.iii.d'. |
| Sum | ix.i'. |
| The towne of Elmeasted | lxii.s'.ix.d'. |
| The towne of Scelling | xix.s'.i.d'. |
Hundreth
of Stow=
ing.
The towne of Waltham. xxi.s'.vii.d'.
The towne of Stowting. xxx.s'.xi.d'.
The towne of Horton. liii.s'.viii.d'.ob.
The towne of Stanford. xxvi.s'.x.d'.ob.

Sum. xi.f'.vi.s'.

The towne of Eleham. xvi.f'.ii.d'.
The towne of Acryse. vii.s'.viii.d'.
The towne of Hardresse. xxix.s'.iii.d'.
The towne of Stelling. xxx.s'.i.d'.ob.
The towne of Lyming. ix.f'.xv.s'.vii.d'.
The towne of xvii.s'.iii.d'.ob.
Paddlesworth.

Sum. xxx.f'.ii.s'.i.d'.

The towne of Eleham. xvi.f'.ii.d'.
The towne of Aldington. xxiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.
The towne of Selling. vii.f'.ix.s'.ix.d'.
The towne of Bonington. xii.s'.ix.d'.
The towne of Herste. xvii.s'.vi.d'.ob.
The towne of Westhanger. xvi.s'.xi.d'.ob.q.

Sum. xiii.f'.xvii.s'.viii.d'.ob.q.

Hundreth
of Louing=
borough
The towne of Limeane. lxxv.s'.i.d'.
The towne of Aldington. xxiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.
The towne of Paddlesworth. vii.s'.vii.d'.
The towne of viii.s'.iii.d'.ob.
The towne of xi.f'.xi.d'.

Sum. vii.f'.vi.s'.xi.d'.

The towne of Saltwood. vii.f'.iii.s'.viii.d'.
The towne of Limeane. v.s'.i.d'.
The towne of Postling. iii.f'.x.s'.xi.d'.

Sum. xi.f'.iii.s'.viii.d'.
The towne of Warehorne. iii.s'.v.d'.
The towne of Shaddockherst. v.s'.ii.d'.
The towne of Rokinge. xxix.s'.
The towne of Snaue. x.s'.ii.d'.
The towne of Orlaston. ix.s'.ii.d'.

Sum. Cv.s'.xi.d'.
The towne of Dymchurch. kxi.s'.x.d'.
The towne of Bormersh. iii.f'.viii.s'.iii.d'.
The towne of Newchurch. vi.v.s'.ob.
The towne of Estbridge. xi.s'.i.d'.
The towne of Blackmanstone. xii.s'.
The towne of Westheath. xxii.s'.ii.d'.q.
The towne of Lymen. xxix.s'.iii.d'.ob.
The towne of Aldingweke, and Organsweke.

Sum. xiii.f'.iii.s'.iii.d'.q,
The towne of Lyden. xxxii.s'.i.d'.ob.
The towne of Swyngfeld. Cvi.s'.ix.d'.
The towne of Akkam. xii.f'.xvii.s'.
The towne of Folkstone. ix.f'.v.s'.v.d'.ob.
The towne of Hawking. xxv.s'.vi.d'.
The towne of Acryse. xiv.s'.iii.d'.
The towne of viii.f'.xiii.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Newington.
The towne of Cheriton. iii.f'.ii.s'.iii.d'.

Sum. xvii.f'.ii.s'.ix.d'.ob.q.

Sum of this whole Lathe of Shepway. CClxii.f'.ix.d'.ob.q,
The Lath of Scray, or Sherwinhope.

Hundred of Charte.

- Ashtisforde: iii.i.x.s.
- Charte: iii.i.xvii.s.iii.d.
- Betrisden: iii.i.ii.s.iii.d.
- Hothefieldes: xi.s.viii.d.ob.
- Willesbrough: lii.s.vi.d.
- Kenington: iii.i.x.s.vi.d.
- Seuling: xviii.s.vii.d.q.
- Kingsnothe: xxxi.s.vi.d.
- Marsham: xii.s.x.d.ob.
- Hynxell: xiii.s.vi.d.ob.
- Ashetisforde: lii.s.q.
- Sum: xiii.i.x.s.ii.d.ob.
- Hundreth of Longbridge.
- Westbraborne: xxxi.s.v.d.
- Hastingley: xxi.s.vi.d.ob.
- Birchole: xx.s.iii.d.ob.
- Easbraborne: xix.s.vii.d.ob.
- Harnehill: xii.s.xi.d.
- Sellyng: ix.
- Sum: xiii.i.xii.s.

Hundred of Byrcholte.

- Graueney: v.i.viii.s.iii.d.
- Harnehill: iii.i.xiii.s.x.d.
- Sellyng: ix.
- Sum: xiii.i.xii.s.

Hundred of Bough ton vnder Bleane.

- Ashetisforde: lii.s.
- Boughten: ix.i.v.s.vi.d.ob.q
- Sum: xxvii.i.xv.s.

Hundred of Teneham.

- Teneham: ix.i.ii.s.ii.d.
- Linstede: ix.i.x.s.iii.d.
- Eastchurch and Stonepit: xxi.s.iii.d.
- Hedcorne: xii.s.
- Dodington: vi.i.x.s.ii.d.
- Iwade: xi.s.
- Sum: xxvii.i.xv.s.

Hundred of Calehil.

- Nashe: xx.s.ii.d.
- Felde: xxxii.s.viii.d.
- Hayslathe: xxxvi.s.x.d.
- Sandpit: xxvii.s.vi.d.
- Charte: xli.s.x.d.
- Welles: xviii.s.
- Charing: xli.v.s.vi.d.
- Sandhill: xxvi.s.vi.d.
- Acton: xvi.s.x.d.
- Eastlenham: xxxv.s.viii.d.
- Stanforde: xii.s.iii.d.
- Pluckley: iii.
- Edisley: xxxv.s.
- Halingarse: xlv.s.iii.d.
- Sednor: xlvii.i.s.ii.d.
- Halmeote: i.s.viii.d.
- Saint Johns: vii.s.vi.d.
- Grenehill: xiii.s.iii.d.
- Sum: xxix.i.xi.s.x.d.

Stone: xxxviii.s.
- Preston: vii.viii.s.xi.d.
- Stallisfield: xli.s.
- Luddenham: iii.i.vi.s.viii.d.
- Ore: x.s.
Hundredth of Feuer=sham.

Hartie. xxii.s'.xi.d'.
Dauington. iii.l'.ii.s'.viii.d'.
Ospringe. iii.s'.lii.s'.v.d'.
Feuersham. ix.l'.xxii.d'.ob.

Godneston. xxix.s'.viii.d'.
Selling. xxxvii.s'.i.d'.
Sheldwiche. iii.f'.vii.s'.v.d'.
Throwly. vi.l'.xvii.s'.viii.d'.
Badlesmere. xxxii.s'.ii.d'.

Leueland. vi.s'.x.d'.
Neuenham. xlii.s'.v.d'.
Norton. xxx.s'.

Boresfield. xiii.s'.iiii.d'.
Boughton Malherb. xi.s'.vii.d'.

Eseling. iii.l'.i'.i.d'.

Sum. lii.l'.iii.s'.ix.d'.ob.

Hundredth of Tenter=den.

Tenterden. xii.l'.vii.s'.i.d'.

Ebyne. xxxvii.s'.x.d'.

Sum. xiii.l'.iii.s'.xi.d'.

Hundredth of Roluin=den.

Roluiden. iii.l'.xi.s'.x.d'.

Benyndene. liii.s'.vii.d'.

Sum. vi.l'.x.s'.vii.d'.

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Hundredth of Barkley.

Smarden. xv.s'.ii.d'.ob.q.

Hedcorne. xii.s'.

Frytten. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Cranebrooke. iii.s'.

Sum. ix.l'.ii.s'.i.x.d'.ob.q.

Hundredth of Black=borne.

Appledore. xlv.s'.v.d'.q.

Kenardington. xi.s'.x.d'.

Woodchurch. vi.l'.xvi.s'.ob.

Warehorne. xvi.s'.ii.d'.

Shaddockesherst. viii.s'.

Haldene. ili.l'.vi.s'.x.d'.

Betrisdene. xvii.s'.

Sum. xv.l'.x.s'.iii.d'.ob.q.

Hundredth of Bran=field.

Hawkherst. iii.l'.xvii.s'.iii.d'.

Cranebrooke. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Sum. iii.l'.v.s'.

Biddenden. iii.s'.vi.d'.

Cranebrooke. vi.l'.xvi.s'.vii.d'.

Fritenden. xxxv.s'.v.d'.

Hundredth of Crane=brooke.

Stapleherst. xxviii.s'.

Hedcorne. x.s'.x.d'.

Benyndene. xxx.s'.x.d'.

Gowdherst. xxiii.s'.vi.d'.

Sum. xii.l'.vii.s'.ix.d'.

Newendene. viii.s'.

Sandherst. xxxv.s'.x.d'.

Hawkherst. v.s'.vii.d'.ob.

Benyndene. xxxii.s'.ii.i.d'.

Sum. iii.l'.x.s'.vii.d'.ob.

47

Hundredth of Mar= 

Gowdherst. xxxvii.s'.iii.d'.

Stapleherst. xi.s'.ix.d'.

46

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin=hope.

Bedyn. v.l'.

Benyndene. xxxix.s'.

Haldene. vii.s'.

Hundredth of Barkley.

Smarden. xv.s'.ii.d'.ob.q.

Hedcorne. xii.s'.

Frytten. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Cranebrooke. iii.s'.

Sum. ix.l'.ii.s'.i.x.d'.ob.q.

Appledore. xlv.s'.v.d'.q.

Kenardington. xi.s'.x.d'.

Woodchurch. vi.l'.xvi.s'.ob.

Warehorne. xvi.s'.ii.d'.

Shaddockesherst. viii.s'.

Haldene. ili.l'.vi.s'.x.d'.

Betrisdene. xvii.s'.

Sum. xv.l'.x.s'.iii.d'.ob.q.

Hundredth of Bran=field.

Hawkherst. iii.l'.xvii.s'.iii.d'.

Cranebrooke. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Sum. iii.l'.v.s'.

Biddenden. iii.s'.vi.d'.

Cranebrooke. vi.l'.xvi.s'.vii.d'.

Fritenden. xxxv.s'.v.d'.

Hundredth of Crane=brooke.

Stapleherst. xxviii.s'.

Hedcorne. x.s'.x.d'.

Benyndene. xxx.s'.x.d'.

Gowdherst. xxiii.s'.vi.d'.

Sum. xii.l'.vii.s'.ix.d'.

Newendene. viii.s'.

Sandherst. xxxv.s'.x.d'.

Hawkherst. v.s'.vii.d'.ob.

Benyndene. xxxii.s'.ii.i.d'.

Sum. iii.l'.x.s'.vii.d'.ob.

47

The Lathe of Mar= 

Gowdherst. xxxvii.s'.iii.d'.

Stapleherst. xi.s'.ix.d'.
of Scray, or Sherwin—hope.

Marden. xix.s'.viii.d'.

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

Newendene. xxi.i.i'.d'.

The Balywike of Kay, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Tong. xiii.s'.ix.d'.

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

Kingsdowne. vi.s'.vi.d'.

Borden. viii.s'.vi.d'.

Tunstall. iii.l'.xiii.s'.iii.d'.

Bredgar. ix.s'.

Morston. xxvi.s'.


The Balywike of Shepey, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Mynster. xii.i'.ix.d'.

Hundredth Eastchurch. xii.i'.xiii.s'.x.d'.ob.

Wardon. iii.l'.vi.s'.iii.d'.

Lesdon. iii.l'.xvi.s'.ix.d'.

Sum. xxx.i'.xviii.s'.viii.d'.ob.

The Balywike of West, in the Hundred of Mylton.


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

Hartlyp. iii.l'.xii.s'.

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

Halstowe. xvi.s'.

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

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

The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin—hope.

Sedingborne. vi.l'.vii.s'.ii.d'.

Bapchilde. iii.l'.ob.

Tong. xvii.s'.lii.d'.

Rodmersham. lv.s'.v.d'.ob.

Bredgar. ix.s'.vi.d'.

Tunstall. viii.s'.vi.d'.

Morston. vii.s'.viii.d'.

Elmesley. xxvii.s'.x.d'.

Milstede. xxxi.s'.viii.d'.

Kingsdowne. xxi.s'.ob.

Sum. xx.l'.xvi.s'.ob.

The Balywike of Kay, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Sedingborne Parua. xii.s'.vi.d'.ob.

Borden. iii.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.

Borden. iii.l'.xv.s'.xi.d'.

Sedingborne Parua. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Tunstall. xv.s'.vii.d'.

Newington. xii.i'.x.d'.

Bobbing. lii.s'.v.d'.

Halstowe. xiii.s'.iii.d'.

The Balywike of Borden, in the Hundred of Mylton.

Mylton. vii.i'.x.s'.vii.d'.ob.

Stokebury. xx.s'.

Bredgar. iii.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.

Bycnore. xiii.d'.

Borden. iii.l'.x.s'.xi.d'.

Sedingborne Parua. vii.s'.vii.d'.

Tunstall. xv.s'.vii.d'.

Newington. xii.i'.x.d'.

Bobbing. lii.s'.v.d'.

Halstowe. xiii.s'.iii.d'.
The Lathe of Scray, or Sherwin-hope.

Iwade. xxviii.s'.ix.d'.

Sum. xxvi.l'.viii.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Hundreth of Felbe=roughe.

Cartham. v.l'.xv.s'.iii.d'.

Godmersham. v.l'.ix.s'.

Chilham. x.l'.ii.s'.ix.d'.

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

Bewbredge. v.i'.vii.s'.iii.d'.

Tremworthe. li.s'.

Socombe. iii'.v'.vi.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Gotley. xiii'.s'.ix.d'.

Bempston. x.s'.vi.d'.

Wilmyngton. x.s'.vii.d'.

Hundreth of Wye.

Deane. x.s'.ii.d'.ob.

Shotenden. xix'.s'.iii.d'.

Hellyinge. v.s'.ob.

Eastwell. lv.s'.iii.d'.ob.

Towne. xxxvii'.s'.ix.d'.ob.

Cockliscombe. xlv.s'.iii.d'.

Brompforde. xiii'.s'.ix.d'.

Tokingham nothing, because it is in decay.

Sum. xxvi.l'.xii.d'.ob.

The towne of Osprenge. v.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'.

The hundreth of Marden. vii'.l'.vi.s'.x.d'.

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

The Lath of Aylesforde.

Halfe Hundreth of the towne of Chetham.

Chetham.

Halfe Hundreth of Gillingham and Greane.

Gillingham and Greane.

Berstede. xvii'.s'.iii.d'.

Vlcombe. lix'.s'.

Otham. xx.s'.vi.d'.

Wormesell. xix'.s'.vii.d'.

Thorneham. xl'.s'.iii.d'.

Hedcorne. xil'.s'.

Charte. xxxv'.s'.i.d'.

Boughton Maleherbe. xlvii.s'.

Boughton Mouchelsey. xlvii'.s'.iii.d'.

Hollingborne. iii'.l'.xii'.s'.iii.d'.

Hundreth of Ey=horne.

East Sutton. xxix'.s'.iii.d'.

Frenstede. x.s'.

Leneham. vi'.f'.vii.s'.

Harryetsham. lxxiii'.s'.

Otterinden. xii'.s'.ii.d'.

Sutton valance. xliv'.s'.x'.d'.ob.q.

Leedes. xlvi'.s'.vii.d'.

Bromefeld. iii'.s'.vi.d'.

Stokebery. xxxvi'.s'.

Langley. xv.s'.iii.d'.

Wychelynge. iii'.s'.xi.d'.

Aldington. xxv.s'.vii.d'.

Bycknore. x.s'.iii.d'.

Sum xxxix.l'.xviii'.s'.v.d'.ob.q.
<table>
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<th>Towns and Details</th>
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| Hundreth of Maydstone | Maydestone, xix.l'.ix.s'.ii.d'.
Lynton and Crookherst, l.s'.viii.d'.
Westre, xliii.s'.ii.d'.
Boxley, iii.i'.iii.s'.iii.d'.
Sum, xxxviii.i'.lxviiii.s'.iii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Loose | Loose, xxxiii.s'.iii.d'.
East Farleygh, xiv.s'.i.d'.ob.
Detling, liii.s'.iii.d'.
Boxley, iii.i'.iii.s'.iii.d'.
Sum, xxxviii.i'.lviii.s'.iii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Lynton | Chalke, lix.s'.
Hallinge, xii.s'.
Shorne, liii.i'.lvii.s'.iii.d'.
Cowlinge, xxxix.s'.vii.d'.
Higham, iii.i'.xxi.s'.iii.d'.
Sum, xliii.i'.lxviiii.s'.iii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Hundreth of Sha| Denton, xi.s'.vi.d'.
Merston, viii.s'.i.d'.ob.
Frensbury, liii.i'.xi.s'.i.d'.ob.
Cookistone, lii.s'.ii.d'.
Cobham, Cvi.s'.vii.d'.
Strode, iii.i'.iii.s'.vii.d'.
Clyffe, vi.i'.xiili.s'.x.d'.
Stoke, xvii.s'.x.d'.ob.
Sum, xi.i'.iii.s'.ii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Hundreth of Hundreth of Twyford | Huntington, xv.s'.
Yalding, lxvii.s'.iii.d'.
East Peckham, lxviiis.i'.i.d'.
Nettested, vii.s'.vi.d'.
†Watlinbury, vii.s'.ob.
West Farley, vii.s'.iii.d'.
Testan, vii.s'.vi.d'.
Marden, vii.s'.
Brenchesley, iii.s'.
Tudeley, xvii.s'. Sum, x.i'.lxviiis.vii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Hundreth of Littlefield | Mereworth, xviiis.s'.iii.d'.
East Peckham, xlii.s'.vii.d'.
West Peckham, xxviii.s'.iii.d'.
Of the Baro = xxviii.s'.vii.d'.
nie of Hadlow. Sum, v.l'.lviiii.s'.xii.d'.|
| Hundreth of Hun | Borden, liii.s'.ii.d'.
Spelherst, xxx.s'.ii.d'.
Hotbysbrough, xlviiis.s'.xii.d'.
Bayham, xxxiiii.s'.vi.d'.ob.
Lamberherst, xviiis.s'.iii.d'.
Beanecroche, ix.s'.ii.d'.
Taperegge, ix.s'.ii.d'.
Sum, xliii.i'.lxviiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Brenchesley | Brenchesley, lxxviiis.s'.iii.d'.
Horsmondene, Cvi.s'.iii.d'.
Bayham, xxxiiii.s'.vi.d'.ob.
Lamberherst, xviiis.s'.iii.d'.
Beanecroche, ix.s'.ii.d'.
Taperegge, ix.s'.ii.d'.
Sum, xliii.i'.lxviiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.|
| Hundreth of Stoningley in Pepingley | Borden, liii.s'.ii.d'.
Spelherst, xxx.s'.ii.d'.
Shelyborne Ruschall, xiiii.i'.ix.d'.q.
Tudeley, xxviii.s'.x.d'.ob.
Aherst, ii.s'.
Sum, ix.i'.xxxiiii.s'.vii.d'.ob.q.|
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Hundredth of Aile=</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Southe.</td>
<td>iii.i.xiii.s.ii.d'.</td>
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<td>Hilden.</td>
<td>iii.i.v.s'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hadlowe.</td>
<td>iii.i.x.x.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunbrigge.</td>
<td>xiii.xxx.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrotham.</td>
<td>x.i.xxx.i.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stansted.</td>
<td>liii.i.xxx.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itham.</td>
<td>lv.xxx.d'.ob.</td>
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<td>Shibborne.</td>
<td>xiii.xxx.d'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byrline.</td>
<td>lx.s'.vi.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedelsworth.</td>
<td>xxiii.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layborne.</td>
<td>xvi.xxx.i.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Leonard.</td>
<td>xvi.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryash.</td>
<td>xxvi.xxx.vii.d'.ob.q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addington.</td>
<td>xix.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offham.</td>
<td>xiii.xxx.i.x.d'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trottycscliffe.</td>
<td>xvii.xxx.vii.d'.q.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scotheld.</td>
<td>liii.xxx.i.x.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woldham with the Parish of</td>
<td>xxviii.xxx.x.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Margaret.</td>
<td>x.xxx.xxx.i.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allington.</td>
<td>x.xxx.xxx.i.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dytton.</td>
<td>v.xxx.xxx.i.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastmalling.</td>
<td>vii.xxx.xxx.i.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borham.</td>
<td>xlii.xxx.i.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylesford.</td>
<td>Cxxx.xxx.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugmerhill.</td>
<td>x.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horsmonden.</td>
<td>xxxx.xxx.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huntington.</td>
<td>vii.xxx.xxx.i.d'.ob.q.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sum.</td>
<td>xxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.ob.q.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Hundredth of Larke=</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hundreth of Sno=</td>
<td>liii.xxx.xxx.i.d'.ob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Larkefield.</td>
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55 <sig E>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hundredth of Tol=</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yelefield.</td>
<td>xiii.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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<td>Gore.</td>
<td>bxxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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<td>Grauesend.</td>
<td>l.xxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torne.</td>
<td>xliii.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mylon.</td>
<td>l.xxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sum.</td>
<td>xx.xxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Summe of this whole Lathe of Aylesford. CCC.xxx.xxx.xxx.xxx.d'.ob.
Orpington. iiii.l'.xiii.s'.x.d'.
Fotyscraye. xvii.s'.v.d'.
Chellesfeld. lviii.s'.viii.d'.
Farneburgh. xlv.s'.iii.d'.

Hundredth of Rokesley.
Codeham. lxii.s'.ii.d'.
Westwickham. xxvii.s'.iii.d'.
S. Marie Craye. l's'.i.d'.
Downe. lii.s'.iii.d'.
Hese. xxiii.s'.viii.d'.
Keston. xii.s'.iii.d'.
Heuer and Lingell. xviii.s'.iii.d'.
Nokeholte. xv.s'.
Pollescraye. xlviii.s'.viii.d'.
Chesilhurst. xlv.s'.iii.d'.

Sum xxxvii.l'.ix.s'.iii.d'.

Towne of Southfleete. iiii.l'.xi.s'.vi.d'.ob.
Fawkeham. xxix.s'.ii.d'.ob.
Longefeld. xxviii.s'.vi.d'.
Harteley. xxx.s'.vii.d'.
Ashe. lxxix.s'.ii.d'.ob.
Rydley. xvii.s'.

Hundredth of Axston.
Kingsdowne. xlii.s'.iii.d'.
Maplescombe. xvi.s'.viii.d'.
Farningeham. v.s'.v.d'.ob.
Stone. lxii.s'.ix.d'.ob.
Swanescombe. lxii.s'.ob.
Darrent. xxvii.s'.ii.d'.ob.
Horton. iii.l'.ix.s'.vi.d'.ob.
Eynesford. xxvii.s'.xi.d'.
Lullingstone. xliii.s'.ii.d'.ob.

Sum. xxxix.l'.ix.s'.viii.d'.

The towne of Shorham. lxviii.s'.
Halsted. xiii.s'.iii.d'.
Ottforde. xxii.s'.ii.d'.
Woodland. vii.s'.viii.d'.

Hundredth of Coddeneshethe.
Sundrishe. x.s'.viii.d'.
Seuenocke. lxxvi.s'.xv.s'.
Kemsynge. xxix.s'.x.d'.
Seale. lix.s'.
Cheueninge. xxxix.s'.viii.d'.
Leighe. xiii.s'.
Spelherst. v.s'.

Sum. xviii.l'.xiii.s'.iii.d'.

The towne of Chyddingstone. xvi.s'.iii.d'.
Spelherste. xxii.d'.
Couedene. ix.s'.iii.d'.
Leighe. vi.s'.
Penseherste. v.s'.vi.d'.
Heuer, with the Borow of Tunbridge. vi.s'.

Sum. xlv.s'.

Towne of Etonbridge. xxiii.s'.
Westram. xlii.s'.ii.d'.
Couedene. xii.s'.
Brasted vpland. xiii.s'.iii.d'.

Sum. iii.l'.x.s'.vi.d'.
The towne of Brasted. xxvii.s'.v.d'.

Of Benedict. vii.i'.xvi.s'.

The towne of Lewesham. x.l'.ii.s'.ii.d'.

Lee. li.s'.x.d'.

Ketbrooke. xxviii.s'.vii.d'.

Eltham. vii.f'.xvi.s'.

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

Of Lytle Craford. vi.l'.xvi.s'.

and Lesnes. Plumsted. vii.l'.xix.s'.

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

Charleton. xlvii.s'.vii.d'.

Wolwyche. xli.s'.x.d'.

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

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

It is to be obserued furthermore, that this paiement which we commonly at this day do call the Fifteene, is truely (and was aunciently) named, the Tenth and Fifteene. The tenth, for so much thereof standing in so many seuerall Hundreds: But if it bee but once set downe, then standeth it wholie in that onely Hundreth where you finde it.

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

To this Tenth, did the hundreth of Rochester pay (as it appeereth in the olde bookes) and to it the towne of Osprenge, part of the Hundreth of Marden, and all the Hundreth of Mylton (except the Baylywike of Kay first named) do contribute at this present day. And this is the very cause, why
the Hundreth of Marden, that Bailywike of Kay, and the towne of Osprenge, be twise named in the Lathe of Scraye, and seeme to be twice charged al so: whereas (indeede) the first naming of them is for their charge to the Fifteene, and the second for the charge of some partes of them to the payment of the Tenth.

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

These things I haue the rather noted, because our latter bookes do confound together the pay ment to the Tenth and Fifteene, whereas the an cient recorde doth in plaine wordes distinguish and seuer them.

60

Fraunchises.

Of the Duchie.
Of the Archbishop.
Of the Bishop of Ro chester.
Of the Deane of Can terburie.
Of Otforde.
Of Wye.
Of Asheford.
of Wrotham.
Of Eltham.
Of Osprenge.

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

Forrestes and Parks.

South Frythe, forest.
North Frythe, three parkes.
Otforde, two, whereof one disparked.

Knoll.
Gromebridge.
Pantherst, disparked.
Penshyrst.
Brasted dis.
Henden dis.
Heuer dis.
Broxam dis.
Wrotham di.
Ightam dis.
Cage dis.
Postern dis.
Sutton dis.
Langley dis.
Cooling.
Byrling.
Cobham.
Alington dis.
Mereworth dis.
Grenewiche.
Etham. 3.
Ashowre.
Southparke.
Lullingstone.
Calehyl.
Leedes.
S. Augustines.
Bedegbury.
Westenhanger. 2.

Halden dis.

61
Hamswell.
Hungershall.
Lye dis.
Folkston dis.
Shoreland dis.
Aldington dis.
Stonehyrst, dis.
Stowting.
Saltwood dis.
Posting.
At Ashford.
Sissingherst.
Glassenbury.
Oxenhoth 2 dis.

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

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

Bridges at
Depeford vpon Ra=
Lewsham uens.

Crayford 2. vpon Cray.
Eaton bridge
Tunbridge. 5.
Brantbridge

Twyford vpon
Yalding.
Teston Med=
Farley wey
Maydstone
Ailesford
Rochester

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Shorham
Ainsforde vpon Darent.
Farningham
Dartorde

Chaforde.
Lamberhirst.
Bewl.
Hetcorne.
Newendene.

Ashforde.
Canterburie. vpon Stowre.

Cities.
Canterburie.
Rochester.

Wrotham, not vsed.
Leneham.

Douor.
Sandwiche.
Canterbury.
Grauesend.
S. Mary Cray.
Westwell, in old time.

Thursday, at Maydstone.

63

Fryday, at
Sandwiche.
Canterburie.
Rochester.
Tunbridge.

Rumney.
Hythe.
Douer.
Sandwiche.
Feuersham.

Mylton.
Asheford.
Cranebrooke.
Lenham.
Mallyng.
Sennock.
Fayres at

Apuldore, S. Peters in Sommer, long since.
Ashford, 27. Iuly, being S. Ruffines day.

Bidenden, on Simon and Iudes day.
Bromley, 1. February, being S. Bridgets day:
and the 25. of Iuly, being S. Iames day.
Brastede, on Thursday in Rogation weeke.

Charte the great, 25. Marche, being the Anunciation of the blessed virgine Marie.
Charling, 23. April, being S. Georges day. 13. October, being S. Edwards day. 18. October

being S. Lukes day.
Canterburie, the tuesday in Whitson weeke.
27. Iuly, being the Seauen Sleepers day. 29. Sept. being S. Michaels day: and 29. Decem.
being S. Thom. Bec= kets day.

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

Chilham, 25. Iuly, being S. Iames day.
Charlton, 18. Octob. being S. Lukes day.
Clyffe, 17. Septemb. being S. Lamberts day.

being S. Mar= tines day.

Feuersham, 14. Febrar= ary being saint Valen= tines day: and 1. August, being Lammas day.

Folkstone, 27. Iune, being S. Crescents day.
Hertesham, 24. Iune, being Midsomer day.
Hedcorne, 28. Iune,
being S. Leos day.
  Hide, 17. November,
  being saint Hughes day.
  Lenham, 27. May, being
  S. Beedes day: and
  21. September, being
  Saint Mathews day.
  Lydde. 11. Iuly: being
  S. Benets day.
  Maidstone. 1. May, be=
  ing Philip and Iacobs
day: 9. Iune, being S.
  Edmunds day: 6. Octo=
  ber, being S. Faithes
day: and 2. February, be=
  ing the Purification, or
  Candlemas day.
  Mereworth, 10. August,
  beeing Saint Laurence
day.
  Malling, 21. September,
  being S. Mathews
day. 1. August, being
  Lammas day. 6. No=
  uember, being S. Len=
  nards day.
  S. Margarets, neare
  Dartford. 20 Iulie, be=
  ing S. Margarets day.
  Northfleete, the Tues=
day in Easter weeke.
  Otford. 24. August, be=
  ing Saint Bartilmews
day.
  Pluckley. 5. Decemb.
  being Saint Nycholas
euuen.
  Rochester. 19. May,
  being Saint Dunstanes
day: and 30. Nouember
  being S. Andrews day.
  Roking, on Mary Mag=
dalens day.
  Romney. 1. August, be=
  ing Lammas day.
  Reculuer. 7. Septemb.
  being the Natiuitie of
  the blessed virgine Ma=
  rie.
  Sittingborne. 21. Sep=
tember, being S. Ma=
  thews day.
  Strowde. 10. August,
  being S. Laurences day
  Sandwiche. 23. No=
  uember, being S. Cle=
  ments day.
  Sandhyrst. 7. Decem.
  being the euuen of the
  Conception.
  Smeethe, on ech of
the Ladie daies in Har=uest.

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

Tunbridge, Ashwednesday: 24. Iune, being Midsomer day: and 18. Octob. being S. Lukes day.

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

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

Wrotham. 23. April, being Saint Georges day.

Boroughes.

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Maydstone, and the porte townes.

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Castles at,

Canterburie.

Rochester.

Douer, and the Castell at the Key.

Leedes.

Tunbridge.

Mylton.

Grauesend. 2.

Quynborow.

Cooling.

Sandowne.

Dele.

Walmer.

Saltwood.

Alington.

Shorham.

Ainsford.

Tong.

Layborne.

Vpnone.

Sandegate.

Studfall, or Lym.

Sandwiche.

Sutton.

Billerica, or Court At=steeat.

Chilham.

Richeborowe.

Godworde, in Thorn=ham.

Honourable houses, belonging to the Prince, at

Grenewiche.

Etham.
Dartford.
Otford.
Knoll.
S. Augustines.
Douer castell.
Dele castell.
    To the Archbishop.
Canterburie.
Wingham.
Forde.
    To the Byshop of Ro=
    chester.
Broomley.
Rochester.
Halling.
    To men of honour,
Berling
Cobham.
Cooling.

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Houses for poore people,
with prouision of
liuing, at
Grenewiche.
Orpington.
Lullingstone.
Shorham.
Sennock.
Rochester.
Chetam.
Sutton valence.
Canterburie.
Hackington.
Sandwich.
Douer.
Saint Bartilmews, at
Hythe.
    Houses of poore people,
    without prouision.
Dartford.
Whitdiche.
Chesill hill, by Kayes
streate.
    Religious houses, that some=
time were, and their
yeerely values.
Wingham College,
84. l’. by yeere.
Minster.
Wye College, 93. l’.
Asheforde College.
Horton Priory, 95. l’.
Bilsington Priory, 81. l’.
Newendene.
Folkstone, 41. l’.
Douer Priory, 170. l’.
Meason dieu. 120. l'.
Hospitall there. 59. l'.
Bradsoll Abbay of S. Radigundes. 98. l'.
Westlangdon, of regu=
lar Canons. 56. l'.
Boxley. 204. l'.
Leedes Priory. 362. l'.
Combwell. 80. l'.
Feuersham. 200. l'.
Dauington, alias, Anin=
ton Priory there.
Maidstone col. 159. l'.
Shepey. 129. l'.
Motenden. 60. l'.
Christs Churche.
1421. l'. 17. s'. 3. d'.
S. Augustines.
s. Sepulchers. 29. l'.
S. Gregories. In Canterbury.
S. Tho. hos. 23. l'.
S. Iames hos. 32. l'.
S. Nicholas hosp. 109. l'.

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Saint Maries without
Cant.
Rochester Priory 486. l'.
Cobham col. 28. l'.
Strood. 52. l'.
Malling Abbay. 218. l'.
Higham priorie.
Tunbridge priorie.
Ailesford.
Dartford. 380.
Grenenich friers.
Meason dieu, at
Osprenge.
Lesnes Ab.

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

As in warre, celeritie auaileth no
lesse, than force it selfe: So the Right
honorable Sir William Brooke, Lord
Cobham, and Lorde Chamberlaine
of hir Maiesties houshold (who hath
been sole Lieutenant of this shire, since the first of
hir Maiesties Raigne) foreseeing how necessarie it
was to haue the forces of the countrie speedily
draw together, for the encounter of any hostilitie: and finding, that upon the fiering of the Beacons (which are erected for that service) not only the common sort, but euen men of place and honour, were ignorant which way to direct their course, and thereby (through amasednesse) as likely to run from the place affected, as to make to the succour of it: caused the true places of the Beacons to be plotted in Carde, with directorie lines, so many sundrie waies, as any of them did respect the other: By which, any man, with little labour may be assured, where the danger is, and thereof informe his neighbours. For example: suppose our first Beacon, standing on Shooters hill, to be light: he that will go thither may know by the watchmen from whence they receiued their light, which must be either from the west neare London, or Hamstede: or else from the East, by warrant of the fiered Beacon at Stone neare Dartford, or of that which is neare to Grauesende. The like of the rest: and so much for use.

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

And now, if any man shall thinke, that this laying open of the Beacons, is a point not meete to bee made publike: I pray him to giue me leave to desire in that opinion from him. For, as the profit to the Realme and subject is manifest, in that it speedeth the service, where speed is most profitable: So there is no secret hereby disclosed, whereof the enimie may take advantage, seeing that Beacons stand open to the eie, and all men know the end for which they be advanc’d, though few know the best use and aduantage of them. Yea rather, the enimie is preuented, when he seeth that we can and do make so good and readie use of our Beacons. If it be replied, that peraduenture the common people shall not be permitted to run to the shore, ‘Tumultuaria manu,’ as the old maner was: but shall stay till they be called vpon, and that the trained companies only shall resort to the places of their appointed Renounces: the answere is, that whatsoever course be directed, yet the speedie knowledge of the danger, is all alike profitable, which without this cannot be discerned. And otherwise it must follow, that there will be no use of the Beacons at all: which if it be, the countrie might be well deliuered of that continuall and great charge, which it sustaineth by the watching of them. But as (no doubt) the necessity of them is apparent: so were it good, that for the more speedie spreading of the knowledge
of the enemies coming, they were assisted with some horsemen (anciently called of their Hobies, or nags, Hobeliers) that besides the fire (which in a bright shining day is not so well descried) might also run from Beacon to Beacon, and supply that notice of the danger at hande.

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

The names of the Kentish writers, drawne (for the most part) out of the Centuries of Maister John Bale.

Androgeus, Comes,
Ethelbertus, Rex.
Lotharius, Rex.
Eadricus, Rex.
Wightrudus, Rex.
Heddius Stephanus.
Tobias Cantianus.
Neotus Aldulphius.
Serlo.
Fridegodus.
Haimo.
Folchardus.
Osbernus.
Eadmerus.
Ærnulphus.
Elmerus.
Odo Cantianus.
Alexander Cantuariensis.
Eadmundus Gryme.
Radulphus Roffensis.
Richardus Pluto.
Richardus Douerensis.
Sampson Durouernius.
Radulfus Maidston.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Solitarius Presbyter.
Nigellus Wireker.
Alexander, Theologus.
Simon Stokius.
Ioannes Cantianus.
Haimo de Feuersham.
Thomas Spottus.
Simon Mepham.
Petrus de Ikham.
Guilielmus Pagham.
Ioannes Tanetos.
Thomas Chillenden.
Guilielmus Starnfield.
Thomas Pontius.
Simon de Feuersham.
Martinus de Clyuo.
Thomas de Stureia.
Reginaldus Cantuariensis.
Radulphus Strodus.
Thinredus Douerius.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Richardus Maidston.
Guilielmus Gillingham.
Ioannes Wrotham.
Ioannes Oldcastle, Dominus.
Hitherto (almost altogether) out of Master Bale: to which, these may be added, that have written since.

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

Iohn Twyne.
Francis Thynne.

Hitherto of Kent in particularitie, and by way of Carde and Table: Whereof some part is drawn out of credible Records: part is spoken of mine owne knowledge: and part is fetched from other men by information. For the first sorte, I holde myselfe sufficiently warrented: but in the other twain, if either by want of memorie I haue not taken all, or by too much credulitie haue mistaken any, I pray pardon for it, and desire the Reader either to correct, or supplie it, by his owne discretion and judgement. Nowe a fewe wordes of the Welsh Hystorie, and then to the diuision of the Shyre and Countrie it selfe.

A short counsell, as touching the Bryttish historie.

Albeit that I am iustly occasioned (before I make mine entry) to speake largely, for confirmation of the credite of our Bryttish or Welsh hystorie, (the faith whereof is by William Petite, and Polydore Virgile called into question) for as much, as I shall be enforced to vse it in some points as a grounde worke of my frame and building: yet for that I minde not in any part of this my labour, to handle with ma=
nie wordes, matters in controuersie, (being otherwise sufficiently charged with things more incident to my purpose, and no lesse fit to be known) and because also that matter hath alreadie founde more learned and diligent patrones, I will with fewe words passe it over, contenting my selfe, if I shall haue added to other mens heapes, one small proofe or twaine, whiche by chaunce I gleaned after them, referring such as desire more abundant testimonies, to the reading of John Leland, and sir John ap Rese, two learned men, that have plentifully written therein.

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

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out of the Bryttish, as himselfe in his booke professeth. Whereof must needs ensue, That if the work be his owne, it hath no more credite, then hee himselfe (being the author) coulde bring vnto it: But if hee did onely translate that, which Walter the Archdeacon of Oxforde brought out of Normandie, and deliuered vnto him, Then doth not the estimation depende vpon Geffray, but vpon som other (whatsoever his name) that first wrate it. Now, that it may appeare vnto you, that hee was onely the interpreter of that which came out of Normandie, I will call to witnesse, Henrie the Archdeacon of Huntington, who liued in the time of king Henrie the first, and was somewhat before William Petites daies, who (as himself confesseth) was borne in the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, about which time Geffray of Monmouth was on liue also.

This Henrie (besides a learned hystorie of the realme) wrate three severall treatises which I haue seene: one intituled, ‘De miraculis Angliæ:’ An other, ‘De serie Regum potentissimorum:’ And the thirde, ‘De origine Regum Brytannorum.’ In this latter, he saith plainly. That at such time as hee travaulled towards Rome, he founde (in an auncient Librarie of the Abbay of Bec) an old booke, intituled likewise, ‘De origine Regum Bryttanorum,’ the which beginning at the arriuall of Brute, ended with the acts of Cadwalader, and agreed thoroughout (as by collation I collected) with this our Bryttish historie, which I doubt whether Henrie of Huntingdon had euer seene. Now therefore, if this were an old booke in his time, it could not be newe in the daies of William Petit, that succeeded him: And if the argument were written before in the Bryttish toong, it is very probable, that hee was not the first author, but onely the translator thereof into Latine. For further likelyhood whereof, I my selfe haue an auncient Brittish, or Welsh copie, which I reserve for shewe, and do reverence for the antiquity, little doubting, but that it was written before the daies of William Petite, who, as he was the first, So vpon the matter reckon I him the onely man, that euer im
Polydore, pugned the Bryttish historie. For as touching Polydore (though hee were a man singularly well learned) yet since he was of our owne time, and no longer since, his forces must of necessity bee thought to be bent, rather against the veritie, then against the antiquitie of that writing. Wherein if he shall seeke to discredit the whole worke, for that in some parts it conteineth matter, not only unlikely, but incredible also: then shall he both deprive this Nation of all maner of knowledge of their first beginning, and open the way for vs also to call into question the origine, and antiquities of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, yea and of Italie his owne countrie: in which, that which Liuie reporteth of Romulus and Remus, Numa and Aegeria, is as farre remoued from all suspicition of truth, as any thing whatsoever that Galfride writeth, either of Brute, Merlin, or King Arthur himselfe.

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

Thus much in my way, for assertion of the Bryttish hystorie I thought good to say, once for all, to the ende that from henceforth (whatsoever occasion of debate shall be offered, concerning either the veritie or antiquitie of the same) I neither trouble my selfe, nor tarrie my Reader, with any further defence, or Apologie.

The Bishops See, and Diocesse, of Canterbury.

He that shall aduisedly consider the plot of this Shyre, may finde three diverse (and those not vnfit) waies, to diuide it: One, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent: An other, by parting it, (as Watling streate leadeth,) into North, and South Kent: And a third, by seuering it into the two distinct Dioceses of Canterbury, and Rochester. Of these three, I haue determined to chuse the last, both because that kinde of diuision hath as certaine limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the most conuenient seuerance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of iurisdiction also. And because the See of Canterbury is not onely the more woorthie of the twaine, but also the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme: I haue thought
good, in the first place, to shewe the beginning and increase of that Bishopricke, and afterward to prosecute the description and hystorie of the principal parts belonging to the same.

It is to be seen, in the Brittish hystorie, and others, that at such time as King Lucius (the first christened Prince of this land) had renounced the damnable darknes of Paganisme, and embraced the glorious light of the Gospell of God, he changed the Archflamines of London, Yorke, and Caerleon, into so many Archbishopps: and the Flamines of other inferior places, into inferior Bishops, throughout his whole realm. Howbeit this matter is not so cleare, but that it is encountered by William Petit, which (in the Proeme of his hystorie) affirmeth boldly, that the Britons which professed Christian religion within this Iland before the comming of Augustine, were contented with Bishops onely, and that Augustine himselfe was the verie first that euer had the Archbishops Palle amongst vs. As touching Bishops, it is evident by Beda himselfe, that both before, and in Augustines time, Wales alone had seuen at the least: but as for Archbishopps although for mine owne opinion I thinke with William (the rather for that I suppose, that the simplicity of the Britain clergie, was not as then enamoured with the vaine titles of Romane arrogancie) yet to the end that the reader may be therby the more justly occasioned to make inquisition of the truth in that point, it shall not be greatly out of his way, to send him by Siluester Giraldus Cambrensis, a man (considering that age) excellently well learned, and which liued about the same time with William Petit (or William of Newborow) as some call him. This man, in a booke which he entituled, 'Itinerarium Walliæ,' setteth forth most plainly the Archbishopps, that in olde time were at Caerleon, their translation from thence to Saint Dauids, their transmigration from Saint Dauids over the Sea into Normandie, and the whole Catalogue of their succession in each of those places.

But here, some man, thinking me more mindful to direct others, than carefull to keepe mine owne way, will happily aske me, what pertaineth it (I pray you) to Canterbury, whether there haue bene Archbishopps at London, Yorke, and Carleon, or no? yes (no doubt) it maketh greatly to our treatise of Canterbury: for, not onely the forenamed Brittish historie, Mathew of Westminster, and William of Malmesbury doe shew manifestly, that Augustine

by great injurie spoiled London of this dignitie of the Archbishopps chaire, bestowing the same vpon Canterbury: but the Epistle of Pope Gregorie himselfe, also, (which is to be read in the Ecclesiasticall storie of Beda) conuinceth him of manifest presumption and arrogancy, in that he sticked not to prefer his owne fantasie and liking, before the Pope (his masters) institution, and commaundement. For Pope
Gregorie appointed two Archbishops, the one at London, the other at Yorke, whereof either should have vnder him twelue inferior Bishops, and whereof neither should be subiect to other: onely (for Augustines honour) he willed, that they all should be vnder him, during his life. But Augustine not so contented, both remained resident du ring all his life at Canterbury, and before he died consecrated Laurence Archbishop there, least, either by his owne death, or want of another fit man to fit the place, the chaire might happily be carried to London, as Gregorie the Pope had appointed.

Mathew of Westminster saith, that Merlin had prophesied, ‘Dignitas Londoniæ, adornabit Dorobrini= am.’ William Malmesbury writeth, that he did it, ‘Sedulitate Regis hospitis,’ (meaning King Ethelbert) ‘& charitate ciuium captus:’ But I thinke verily, that he ment thereby to leaue a glorious monument of his swelling pride and vanitie: wherunto I am the rather led, by the obseruation of his stately behau= uiour vsed towards the Brittish Bishops, and some other of his acts, that sauour greatly of vainglo= rie, ambition, and insolencie. Whatsoever the cause were that moued him thus to apparell Canterbury with the Archbishop of Londons Palle, at Canter= bury hath it continued euer sithence, sauing that at one time, Offa the King of Mercia (or middle Eng= land) partly of a disposition to honour his owne countrie, and partly of a iust displeasure conceiued against Lambright, (or lanbright, as some copies haue it, the thirteenth Archbishop) for matter of treason, translated the honour of the See, either wholly, or partly, to Lichfield: But there it remai= ned not long, for after the death of King Offa, Ke= nulfus his successour restored Ethelard to his place at Canterbury againe.

The whole Prouince of this Bishopricke of Canter= bury, was at the first diuided by Theodorus (the seventh Bishop) into fiue Dioceses only: howbeit in processe of time it grew to twentie and one, besides it selfe, leauing to Yorke (which by the first institu= tion, should haue had as many as it) but Durham, Carleil, and Chester only. And whereas by the same ordinance of Gregorie, neither of these Archbishops ought to be inferior to other, saue onely in respect of the prioritie of their consecration, Lanfranc (thinking it good reason that he should make a con= quest of the English Clergie, since his maister King William had vanquished the whole nation) conten= ded at Windsore with Thomas Norman (Archbishi= shop of Yorke) for the primacie, and there (by iudge= ment before Hugo the Popes Legate) recouered it from him: so that euer since, the one is called ‘Totius Angliæ primas,’ and the other, ‘Angliæ primas,’ without any further addition. Of which judgement, one (for= sooth) hath yeelded this great reason: that even as the Kentish people, by an auncient prerogatiue of manhood, do challenge the first front in each battel, from the inhabitants of other countries: So the
Archbishop of their shyre, ought by good congruence to be preferred before the rest of the Bishops of the whole Realme. Moreouer, whereas before time, the place of this Archbishop in the generall Council, was to sit next to the Bishop of Saint Ruffines, Anselmus the Successor of this Lanfranc, (for recompence of the good service that hee had done, in ruffling against Priestes wifes, and resisting the King for the investiture of clerks) was by Pope Urbane endowed with this accession of honour, that he and his successours, should from thenceforth have place in all generall Councils, at the Popes right toote, who then said withall, 'Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.' And thus the Archbishops of Canterburie, by the fraude of Augustine, by the power of Lanfranc, and by the industrie of Anselme, were much exalted: but how much that was to the greeuous displeasure, and pining enuie, of the Archbyshops of Yorke, you shall perceiue by that which followeth.

Wrestling for the Primacie.

King Henry the first, kept (vpon a time) a stately Christmas at Windsore, where (the manner of our kings then being at certeine solemne times to weare their Crownes) Thurstine of Yorke (hauing his crosse borne vp before him) offered to set the crowne vpon the Kings head: But William of Canterbury withstood it stoutly, and so preuayled by the fauour of the King, and the helpe of the standers by, that Thurstine was not onely disappointed of his purpose, but he (and his crosse also) thrust cleane out of the doores. William of Yorke (the next in succession after Thurstine, both in the See and Quarel) perceiuing that the force of his predecessor preuailed nothing, attempted by his owne humble meanes (first made to the King, and after to the Pope) to winne the coronation of King Henry the seconde, from Theobald the next Archbyshop of Canterbury: But when hee had receiued repulse in that sort of suite also, and found no way left to make auengement vpon his enimie, hee returned home, all wroth, and (mixing poison in the chalice, at his Masse) wreaked the anger vpon himselfe.

After this, another hurley burley happened in a Synode assembled at Westminster, in the time of King Henry the second, before Cardinall Hugo, (Pope Alexanders Legate) betweene Richard and Roger, then Archbishops of these two Sees, vpon occasion, that Roger of Yorke comming of purpose (as it should seeme) first to the assembly, had taken vp the place on the right hand of the Cardinall, which when Richard of Canterbury had espied, he refused to sit downe in the second roome, complaing greatly of this preiudice done to his See: whereupon, after sundry replies of speech, the weaker in disputation, (after the late maner of shrewde Schoole-boies in London streetes) descended from hote wordes, to hastie blowes, in
which encounter, the Archbyshop of Canterbury
(through the multitude of hisrne) obtained
the better: So that he not onely pluckd the other
out of his place, and (trampling upon his bodie
with his feete) all to rent and tare his Casule, Chi=
mer, and Rochet, but also disturbed the holy Synode
therewithall in such wise, that the Cardinall for
feare betooke him to his feete, the company depar=
ted their businesse vndone, and the Bishops them=
selues moued suite at Rome for the finishing of
their controuersie. By these, and such other succes=
 ses, on the one side the Byshops of Canterbury fol=
lowing, tooke such courage, that from thencefoorth
they would not permit the Byshops of Yorke to
beare vp the crosse, either in their presence, or pro=
vince: And on the other side, the Byshops of Yorke
conceiued such grieue of heart, misdaine, and offence,
that from time to time they spared no occasion to
attempt both the one and the other.

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

1272.
The like happened also, at two other seuerall
times, betweene friar Peckam (Archbishop of Can=
terburie) and William Winkewane, and Iohn de
Roma (Archbishops of Yorke) in the daies of King
Edward the first. And in the sixt yeere of the reigne
of king Edward the thirde, when the parlement was
summoned to Yorke, to treate of the Scottish af=
faires, Iohn Stratford the Archbishop of Canterbu=
rrie, fearing that he should not be permitted to haue
his crosse quietly caried vp in that prouince, would
either himselfe come, nor suffer any bishop of his
owne prouince to appeere, at that place: and so
most peevishly frustrated the assembly of the King,
his nobilitie, commons, and the rest of the cleargie.

At the length, the matter being yet once more set
on foote betweene Simon Islepe (the Archbishop of
this countrie) and his aduersarie the incumbent of
Yorke for that time) K. Edward the third (in whose
reigne also that variance was reuiued) resumed the
matter into his owne hands, and made a final com=
position betweene them, the which hee published vn=
der his broade seale to this effect: first, that ech of
them shoulde freely, and without empeachment of
the other, beare vp his crosse in the others Pro=
vince, but yet so, that hee of Yorke and his succes=
sours for euer, in signe of subiection, should within
two moneths after their inthronization, either
bring, or sende, to Canterburie, the Image of an
Archbishop bearing a crosse, or some other Iewell
wrought in fine golde, to the value of 40. pounds, and
offer it openly there vpon Saint Thomas Becket.
shryne: then, that in all Synodes of the clergie, and assemblies where the King should happen to be present, he of Canterbury should have the right hande, and the other the lefte: finally, that in broade streetes, and high waies, their crosse-bearers should go together, but yet in narrowe lanes, and in the entries of doores and gates, the crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other come behinde, for feare of lusting.

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

But heere by the way, I woulde faine, for my learning, knowe of these godly Fathers, or rather (since themselues can not now make answere) of some of their vngodly fauourers, whether this their Helena, this crosse (for the bearing whereof they contended so long, and so bitterly, that a man might doubt with the Poet, 'Peccat vter Cruce digni-us') whether (I say) it were exalted, as the signe of that Crosse whereon Christ triumphed ouer the diuel, or else but for a flagge and antsigne of their owne pride, whereby they sought to triumph and insult the one ouer the other? And againe, if it were Christes crosse, then why they did forbid it to be aduaunced, at any time, by any person, or in any place? Or if it were but their owne, then why they did, and yet do, commaunde vs simple soules, not onely with great humilitie, but with diuine honour

also, to prostrate our selues, and to adore it? I am sure they may be ashamed to affirme it to bee the one, and I thinke they will bee ashamed to confesse it to bee the other. I wil cease therefore to vrge it any further, and wil prosecute the Catalogue of the Archbishops of this See, since the arriuall of Augustine. In the which, the first seauen, bee of that number which Pope Gregorie sent hither out of Italie: The next twentie three, and Stigande, were Saxons: all the residue, Normanes and Englishmen. And because there is some variance as touching the times of their continuance and sitting, I purpose to shewe (vnder one view) the opinion of two sundrie authours, so farre forth as they haue spoken thereof, that is to sale, William of Malmesbury, and an ancient Chronicler of Couentrie (whose name I haue not hitherto learned) and in the residue to follow our owne late and receiued writers.

The beginnings of their gouernements, after the Annales of Canterbury.
An. Do.
599. Augustine, whom our Louanists call, the English Apostle.
612. Laurence.
617. Mellite. 5. 5.
624. Iustus. 3. 9.

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653. Deusdedit, or Deodat: the first Saxon archbishop: his owne name was Frithona, which for his singular deme rites towards his countrie was changed to Deus dedit, or a Deo datus.

Wighard, whiche died at Rome before his consecration.

668. Theodore a Græcian borne, and the last of those that came out of Italie.

692. Brightwald. 37. 38.
731. Tatwine. 3. 4.
737. Nothelinus, or locelin. 5. 7.
741. Cuthbert the first that was buried in Chists church, and that obtained churchyardes for England.

759. Bregwine. 3. 3.
774. Lanbright, or Ianbright in his time the See was translated to Lich field.

<71>

790. Aethelwardus, he reco=23.

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uered the See to Canterburie againe.

Wulfredus, or Wilfred 28. 28.

300. Fegeldus, or Swithre=300.

dus, or Feolagildus.

31. Celnothus, or Eilno=31.

thus.

890. Etheredus, or Ethel=890.

dredus.

Pleimundus, one of the learned men, that instructed king Alfred.

925. Athelmus, or Athel=925.

nus.

947. Wulffenius, or Wulf=947.

helmus.

956. Odo, or Odosegodus.

958. Elfsius, or Elfsinus, or Elsinus, which died before his consecration, in his iourny towards Rome, in reuenge (as they say) bicause hee
came in by Simonie, and sporned at the tumb of his predecessor. Brithelmus, was elected: but king Edgar rejected him.

970. Dunstanus, the famous lugler.

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<td>989. Ethelgarus, or Agelgarus.</td>
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<td>991. Siricius, by his advice King Etheldred gave to the Danes a great summe of money.</td>
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<td>996. Alfricus.</td>
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<td>1004. Aelfegus, he was slaine by the Danes.</td>
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<td>1050. Robertus Gemeticensis, the first Norman, advanced by King Edward the confessor.</td>
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<td>1053. Stigandus, deposed by the conquerour.</td>
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<td>1072. Lanfrancus, in his time the bishops Sees</td>
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<td>1093. Anselmus, in his time lawe was first made to diuorce Priestes from their wiues.</td>
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<td>1114. Radulphus Roffensis, surnamed Nugax.</td>
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<td>1122. Willimus de Corueil, he crowned Stephan, against his faith gien to Maude the Empresse. He builded the newe Church for Monks, in the South part of Douor.</td>
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<td>1138. Theobaldus, he was endowed first, with</td>
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the title of Legatus Natus, by Pope Innocent the second.

1162. Thomas Becket, the first Englishman after the Conquest.

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

1173. Richardus, the Pryor of Douer.

1183. Baldwinus, the bishop of Worcester: he died in the expedition, that king Richard the first made into Syria, and was before at great contention with the Monks. Reginaldus, hee died before consecration.

1193. Hubertus, who was at once Archbishop, Chauncelour, and chiefe Iustice of England.

1205. Stephanus de Langton, the cause of the trouble of King Iohn.

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

1229. Richardus Magnus.

1233. Ioannes, the Subprior of Christs Church, was elected after the Pope had refused one Ralph Neuel, but this Iohn resigned, in whose place Iohn Blund was chosen, but that election also was repealed.

1234. Edmundus de Abingdon, the one and twelth Bishop of Cant. that the Popes had canonized. He departed the Realme, and died for anger of a repulse.

1244. Bonifacius, uncle to Elenor, the wife of Henrie the thirde.

1270. Wilhelmus de Chil=
lenden, elected, but he resigned to the Pope, who chose Kilwardby.

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

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

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

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1292. Robertus de Winchelsey, a notable traitour to the King, and true seruant to the Pope. Thomas de Cobham, elected, but refused by the Pope, he was commonly called, Bonus Clericus.


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

1334. Iohannes de Stratford, borne in Stratford upon Auen: where he founded a college.

1350. Iohannes Offord, or Vfford.

1350. Symon Islepe, he founded Canterbury College in Oxford.

1367. Symon Langham. 2.

<76>

1369. Wilhelmus Witlesey. 5.

1375. Symon Sudbury. 6.

1381. Wilhelmus Courtenay. 15.

1396. Thomas Arundel, at tainted of treason, by Parleament, in the one and twentie yeere of Richard the second. he

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An. Dom.

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

Rogerus Walden, in the exisle of Arundell: but deposed: Then made bishop of London, and againe deposed, and died in the 7. yeere of
1414. Henricus Chicheley, built Alsoules, and S. Iohns College in Ox=ford, and the College of Higham ferries. 29.

1443. Iohannes Stafford. 8.

1452. Ioannes Kempe: builded Wye college. 3.

1455. Thomas Bourchier. 33.


Thomas Langton elected, but he died before consecration. 95

1500. Henr. Deane, or Deny. 2. 

<77>Willielmus Warham, builded the most part 28.

1575. Edmund. Gryndal. 96

1583. Ioann. Whiteguift.

Thus have you the succession of seuentie and two Archbishops, in the rectall whereof, I doe (of purpose) spare to dispute the variance arising amongst writers, as touching the continuance, and true times of their government: whiche discrepancy, growth partly, by the defaulte of the auctors themselues, not obseruing the due accompte of yeers, and partly by the vnskill of such as haue vntruly copied out their works: I willingly reserve also for other places, sundrie the histories of their liues and doings, both because I think it fruitlesse to reconcile such maner of disagreements, and also for that (as I said before of the Kings) I deeme it impertinent to my purpose, to speake further of any thing, than the very place in hand shall lustlie give me occasion.

It followeth therefore, that according to purpose and promise, I handle such particular places within this Diocese, as are mentioned in hystorie: in which treatie, I will obserue this order: First to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and South shores, till I come to the limits betweene this Shyre, and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visite such places, as lie along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medwey to Tanet againe, which is the whole circuit of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same.
Tanet, called in Brytish, 
Inis Rhuochym, of the Shore Rutupi: it is 
named of some writers, in Latine (or rather 
Greeke) Thanatos, of others Toliapis, and 
Teno: in Saxon, tenet, in 
stead of þænet.

Julius Solinus (in his descripti=
No Snakes in 
Tanet.
on of England) saith thus of 
Tanet: ‘Thanatos nullo serpitur 
angue, & asportata inde terra an=
gues necat.’ There be no Snakes 
in Tanet (saith he) and the earth 
that is brought from thence, 
will kill them. But whether hee wrote this of any 
sure vnderstanding that hee had of the qualitie of 
the soile, or onely by coniecture at the woord <thanatos>, 
which in Greeke signifieth death, or killing, I wote 
not, and much lesse dare I determine, bicause hi=
therto neither I my selfe haue heard of any Re=
gion heereabout (onely Ireland excepted) which 
beareth not both Snakes and other venemous 
wormes, neither am I yet perswaded, that this 
place borrowed the name out of the Greek, but that 
it rather tooke it of the propre language, of this 
our nation and natie countrie: For þænet, in the 
Saxon, or olde English tongue, soundeth as much 
as, moisted, or watered: which deriuation, how wel 
it standeth with the scituation of Tanet, being Pen=
insula and watered or Iled (in manner) rounde

about, I had rather without reasoning refere to 
every mans judgement, than by debate of manie 
wordes, either to trouble the Reader, or to inter=
rupt mine own order. Leauing the name therfore, 
I will resort to the thing, and shewe you out of Be=
da, and others, the content and storie of this Ile.

There lieth (saieth Beda, speaking of the place, 
where King Ethelbert entertained Augustine) in 
A hyde of 
land, or a 
ploughland, 
be all one. 
the East part of Kent, an Iland called Tanet, contei=
ing (after the manner of the English accompt) sixe 
hundred families, or Hides of lande (as the Saxon 
booke of Beda hath) whiche be in deede after the opi=
nion of auncient writers, ploughlandes: It is diui=
ded from the continent (or maine lande) by the ri=
uer called Wantsume, which is about three fur=
longs breado, and to bee passed over in two pla=
ces onely.

The water 
Wantsume.

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

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

The Saxons also themselues, after that in pro\-cesse of time they had gotten the dominion ouer the Britons, enjoyed not the possession of Tanet in much better quiet than the Britons had done before them. For (to omit that King Edgar committed the ile of Tanet to open spoile, for robbing Eng\-lish merchants in contemnt of his commande\-ment, bicause that was not an acte of a raging enimie, but of a iust reuenging Prince) I wil begin with King Athulf, (the father of Alfred) in whose daies the Danes fought in Tanet against Ealhere (the Duke, or captain of Kent) and Huda (the Duke of Surrey) and slaying them both, ouerthrew their powers, and possessed the Ile. After this, in the time of the same King, they soiourned with their armie a whole winter in Tanet: and lastly (in the reigne of King Etheldred) they herried, spoiled, and sacked it in such sort, that the religious persons were con\-strained to abandon the place: for I finde, that shortly after King Canutus gaue the bodie of Mil\-dred, and all the lands belonging to Mynster Abbay (that then was in this Ile) to the Monks of Saint Augustines at Canterbury.

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

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

The woman (instructed belike by some Mon= 
kish counsellour) begged of him so much grounde to build an Abbay vpon, as a tame deere (that shee nourished) would run ouer at a breath: Heereto the King had consented foorthwith, sauing that one Tymor (a counseller of his) standing by, blamed him of great inconsideration, for that he would vpon the vncertaine course of a Deare, departe to his certaine losse with any part of so good a soile: but the earth (saith William Thorne) immediately opened, and swallowed him alioe, in memorie whereof, the place till his time, was called Tymorsleape. Well, the King and this Gentlewoman proceeded in their bargaine, the Hynde was put foorth, and it ran the space of fourtie and eight ploughlandes, before it ceased.

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

Ouer this Abbay of Mynster Mildred (of whom we spake) the daughter of Meruaile (that was son to Penda, King of midle England) became the Lady and Abbasse: who, bicause shee was of noble liuage, and had gotten togither seuentie women (all which Theodorus the seauenth Bishop veiled for Nonnes) shee easily obtained to be registred in our English Kalendar, and to bee worshipped for a Saint, both at Tanet while her body lay there, and at S. Augustines, after that it was translated there. And no maruell at all, for if you will beleue the authour of the worke called (Noua Legenda Angliae) your selfe will easily vouchsafe her the honor.

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

And this (no doubt) was the cause, that the Religious persons of S. Augustines, and of S. Gregories at Canterburie, fell at great dissention for her, eche affirming, that after the spoile of Tanet, her bones were remooued to their Monasterie: the one claiming by King Canutus, as we saide before, and the other deriuing from Archbishop Lanfranc, who
(as they affirmed) at the dotation of their house, bestowed upon it (amongst other things of great price) the translated reliques of Mildred, and Ed- 102 stines perceiuing, that by the dissolution of the Mo- stines perceiuing, that by the dissolution of the Mo- nasterie, and the absence of the Saints, their towne of Minster in Tanet was faile to decacle, of verie conscience, and for pilies sake, by the meane of Hughe their Abbat, procured at the hands of King Henrie the first, the graunt of a Market to bee hol- 116 den there, which I wot not whether it inioyeth to this day, or no.

Thus much of the Isle and Mynster Abbay:

Ebsfleet.

Now a worde or two touching Ippedsflete, where= of I spake before, and of Stonor, within the Isle, and then I will leaue Tanet, and proceede in my iourney.

This Ippedsflete, now called Ebsfleet, is the place where Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon captaines) came first on lande, and it is of diuers Chroniclers diuersly termed, some calling it Ippinesflete, others Heoppinesflete, and others Wippedsflete: These of the last sorte write, that it tooke the name of one Wipped, (a noble man amongst the Saxons) who onely was slaine on that part, when Aurel. Ambrose (the leader of the Britons) lost twelve of his prin= cipall chiefeins in one conflict. In deede, the name soundeth, the place where Wipped, or Ipped swimmeth, which I could haue agreed to bee the same, that is at this day called, Wapflete in Essex, (the rather for that Ralph Higden writeth, that the Britons neuer inuaded Kent, after the battayle at Craforde, which was before this ouerthrowe that I last spake of.) Howbeit, since the writer of our holy Legend laieth it in Tanet, I am contented to subscribe.

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Stonor.

In this Isle ouer against Sandwiche lieth Stonor, sometime a hauen towne also, known by the name Lapis Tituli: for in the reigne of William Rufus, there arose a suite in lawe betweene the Londo- 1090. ners, and the Abbat of S. Augustines (then owner of the place) as touching the right of the hauen of Stonor, wherein by the fauourable aide of the Prince, the Monkes (as Thomas Spot, their owne Chronicler reporteth) did preuaile, and the Citi- 1104. zens had the ouerthrowe. Not long after which time, they obtenied of King Henrie the first, a faire to be holden yeerely at this towne, fiue daies togi- ther, before and after the feast of the translation of S. Augustine.

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

The Goodwine, or Goodwine Sands: Lomea after Twyne.
Earle Godwine, and his sonnes.

There liued in the time of King Edwarde (commonly called the Confessour) a noble man, named Godwine, whose daughter Edgithe, the same King, by great instance of his nobilitie, (being otherwise of himselfe disposed to haue liued sole) tooke vnto his wife. By reason whereof, not onely this Godwine himselfe (being at the first but a Cowards sonne, and afterward aduaunced to honour by King Canutus, whose sister by fraude he obtained to wife) became of great power and authoritie within this realme: but his sonnes also (being fiue in number) were by the kings gift aduaunced to large liuelyhoods and honourable offices. For Goodwine was Earle of Kent, Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwal: His eldest sonne Swane, had Oxfordshire, Barkshire Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somerset: Harold, held Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire: Tosti, had Northumberland: And Gurte, and Leofwine, possessed other places, &c. But as it is hard in great prosperitie to keepe due temperance (for, ‘Superbia est vitium rebus solenne secundis:’ pride is a fault that customably followeth prosperitie:) So this man and his sonnes, being puffed vp with the pride of the Kings favour, their owne power, policie, and possessions, contemned all other, and forgat themselves: abusing the simplicitie of the King by euill counsel, treading vnder foote the nobilitie by great disdaine, and oppressing the common people by in satiable raunie, extortion, and tyrannie. So that immediately, and at once, they pulled vpon their heads, the heauie displeasure of the Prince, the immortall hatred of the noble men, and the bitter execration and curse of the common sort. Whereupon the king for a season banished them, the nobles neuer after liked them, and the poore people not onely railed vpon them while they liued, but also by deuised tales (as the manner is) laboured to make them hatefull to all posteritie after their death. And amongst other things, touching Godwine himselfe, they feigned, that he was choked at Winchester (or Windsore, as others say, for liers cannot lightly agree) with a morsell of bread, and that this his land in Kent sunke suddenly into the Sea. Neither were these things continued in memorie, by the mouthes of the vnlearned people onely, but committed to writing also, by the hands and pens of Monkes, Frears, and others of the learned sort: So that in course of time, the matter was past all peraduenture, and the things beleued for undoubted veritie.

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

And first of all, touching this place it selfe, Silue=
The cause of Goodwyn Sandes.

Giraldus (in his Itinerarie of Wales) and many others, do write, that about the end of the reign of King William Rufus, (or the beginning of Henry the first) there was a sudden and mighty inundation of the Sea, by which a great part of Flanders, and of the lowe countries therabouts, was drenched, and lost, so that many of the inhabitants (being thereby expelled from their seats) came over into England, and made suit to the same King Henry, for some place of dwelling within his dominion. The King pitying their calamity, and seeing that they might be profitable to his Realm, by instructing his people in the art of clothing, wherein at that time they chiefly excelled) first placed them about Carlile in the North country, and afterward (upon cause) removed them to Rosse and Haverford in Wales. Now at the same time that this happened in Flanders, the like harm was done in sundry places, both of England, and Scotland also, as Hector Boethius, the Scottish historiographer most plainly writeth, affirming, that amongst other this place, being sometime maine land, and of the possession of the Earle Godwine, was then first violently overwhelmed with a light sand, wherewith it not only remaineth covered ever since, but is become withall (Nauium gurges, & vorago) a most dreadful gulf, and ship swallower, sometime passable by foot, and sometime laid under water, ‘in dubio pelagi, terræque;’ so as it may be said either sea, or land, or neither of both.

This thing, as I cannot but marvel how it hath escaped the pens of our own country writers, the rather for that some of them (living about that time) have mention of that harm in the Low country: so I stick not to accept it for assured truth, considering either the authority of the writer himself, being a diligent and learned man, or the circumstances of the thing that he hath left written, being in it selfe both reasonable, and likely.

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

Ealred, the Abbot of Ryuauxe, (who tooke paines to pen the history of the same King Edwards whole life, and of whom all others (as I thinke) learned this tale) saith: that while the King and Godwyne sate at the table, accompanied with others of the nobilitie, it chanced the Cupbearer (as he brought wine to the board) to slip with the one foot, and yet
by good strength of his other leg, to recover him-
selse without falling: which thing the earle ear-
nestly marking, said pleasantly, that ‘There one
brother, had well helped another:’ ‘Mary’ (quoth the
King) ‘so might me mine, ne haddest thou been earle
Godwine:’ casting in his dish the murder of his bro-
ther Alfred, which was done to death at Elie by the
counsell of Godwine, as hereafter (in fit place for
it) shall appeere. Hereat the earle was sore mo-
ued, and thinking it more than time to make his
purgation, tooke a morsell of bread into his hand,
and praying (with great and vehement obtesta-

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tion) that it might choke him, if he by any means
caus’d the slaughter, or consented thereto, he put
the bread into his mouth, and was immediately
strangled therewithall.

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

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

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

Thus, these men report another manner of his
death, the one vsing no mention at all of any ac-
cursed bread, and the other reciting it but as a
tale. And for the more plaine detection of the de-
ceipt of this Abbat, he that will reade the seconde
booke of William Malmes. De Regibus, shall finde,
that the occasion, and introduction of this matter
(I meane, the slipping of the Kings Cupbearer,
and the speech that proceeded thereof, namely, that
‘One brother had well helped another’) is woorde for
woord stolen from thence: for William (which liued
before Ealred) reporteth, that King Ethelstane, by
persuasion of one that was his Cupbearer, had
banished Eadwine his owne brother, for suspicion of treason, and had committed him to the seas and windes in an olde, shaken, and fraile vessell, without saile, oare, or companion, (saue one Esquier onely,) in which exile he perished, and that afterward, the King (vnderstanding his brothers innocencie, and sorowing his owne rashnes) tooke occasion by sight of his Cupbearsers foote slipping, to be avenge of the false accusation, even as it is here tolde of King Edward.

But Ealred, forsooth, was so fully disposed to magnifie King Edward (because he so muche magnified the Monkish and single life) that he sticked not at greater matters than this, affirming boldly, that the same King while he heard Masse at Westminister, sawe betweene the Priests hands, Christ blessing him with his fingers: That at another Masse he sawe the seuen sleepers at Ephesus, turne themselves on the one side, after they had slept seuentie yeeres together on the other: which, seeing it was within five yeeres of so many as Epimenides slept, Ealred (in my phansie) is woorthie to haue the second game at the whetstone: Furthermore, that S. Iohn Baptist sent to King Edwarde, a Ring of gold from Ierusalem, which he himselfe had some time before giuen to a poore man, that asked almes of him in the name of S. Iohn: And such other matters of like credit, which both for the vanitie of the things themselues (being meete to haue place in Philopseudes of Lucian) and for the desire that I haue to keepe order, I will pretermit, and returne to my purpose.

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

Mathew (the Monke of Westminster, and Authour of the worke called Flores Historiarum) taketh the place which Beda, Ptolome, and others call Rutupi, to bee Sandwich, and therefore hee appeareth to the one, whatsoeuer hee findeth of the other: but because John Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the Realme) affirmed in his worke which he intituled (Syllabus in Genethliacon Eaduerdi) Rutupi to haue beene, where Richborow now is (to which opinion I rather incline) I thinke good to giue them seuerall titles, and to speake of Richborow by it selfe, leaving unto which Beda, Ptolome, and others call Rutupi, to bee Sandwich, and therefore hee appeareth to the one, whatsoeuer hee findeth of the other: but because John Leland (a man generally acquainted with the antiquities of the Realme) affirmed in his worke which he intituled (Syllabus in Genethliacon Eaduerdi) Rutupi to haue beene, where Richborow now is (to which opinion I rather incline) I thinke good to giue them seuerall titles, and to speake of Richborow by it selfe, leaving unto

The whole shoare of Kent therefore, that lyeth ouer against Dunkircke, Calaice, and Boloigne, is of
Iuuenal, Lucan, Ptolome, Antoninus, and others, called Rutupiæ, or Rutupinum littus: and that place of England which Beda taketh to be nearest to the Morines (a people of Gallia Belgica, at this day comprehending Picardie, Boloigne, Artoys, and some part of the lowe countries) is of John Leland interpreted to bee Richborow, not past halfe a mile distant from Sandwich toward the North. The same man also, persuaded partly by the viewe of the place it selfe, and partly by the authority of one Gotcelinus, supposeth, that Richborow was of ancient time a city of some price, and that it had with it a Palace, where King Ethelbert receiued Augustine. As for the title of a City, I doubt not but that if the ruins of the ancient walls yet extant, the matter whereof is flint, long, white and red bricks of the Bryttaine fashion, and a cement of lime and sea sand, or the remnants of the Roman

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

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

For Richborow, being corruptly so sounded, for Reptsborow, hath remaining in it the very rootes (as I may speake it) of Reptachester: And Reptachester (saieth Beda) and Rutupi Portus, are all one: So then (Chester) being turned to (Borow) (which be in deede two wordes, but yet in manner of one signification and effect) Rept, and Riche, haue some affinitie the one with the other, but nether Riche, Repta, nor Rutupi, can haue with Sandwiche any manner of similitude. In which opinion, I am the more willing to dwell, because since the first publishing of this Perambulation, I finde my selfe seconded by master Camden: And I cannot subscribe to John Twyne, who striueth to perswade, that Rutupie is Douer, with like success as he laboureth to prooue that Gessoriacum is Calais, and not Boloigne. Thus much therefore of the name and antiquitie of this poore place, which was in time of the olde Romanes and Brytons, of great price, and the common Port of arrivall out of Fraunce: whereof we finde no other note in later
hystorie, either because the same was long since (be-
fore the coming of the Saxons) neglected, when
as the Romanes had lost their interest within this
Realm: Or else, for that soone after their arriuall
it either fell by their force, or else decaid by reason
that the water chaunged his course and left it dry:
So that now most aptly that may be said of this
towne neare to the Isle Thanet, which Virgil som-
time wrote of Tened it selfe, saying,

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

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

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

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The Cinque Portes.

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

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

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gift) then of King Edwardes first graunt, and en=
dowment.

And to the ende that I may procede in some
manner of array, I will first shew, which Townes
were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Portes,
and what others be now reputed in the same num=
ber: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in
times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they
haue therfore, and by what persons they haue been
gouerned.

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

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney,
and Winchelsey, (for that is, ‘Frigmare ventus’) bee
the Fiue Portes: Againe, if I should be ruled by the
Rolle which reciteth the Portes that sende Barons
to the Parleament, I must then adde to these, Ha=
stings, and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as
well as the other: and so shoulde I not onely, not
shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by additi=
on of two others) increase both the number, and
doubtfulnes. Leauing the verse therefore, for ig=
norance of the authour and suspition of his autho=
ritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the
antiquitie) I wil flie to Henrie Bracton, a man both
auncient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder
King Henrie the third, and wrote (aboue three hun=
dreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this
Realme.

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

the articles inquirable before the lustices in Eire,
(or itinerant, as wee called them, bicause they vsed
to ride from place to place throughout the realm,
for administration of iustice) setteth foorth a speci=
all fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the
Baylifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and
Sandwich, commaunding them, that they shoulde
cause twenty and foure of their Barons (for so their
Citizens were

called Barons
in olde time.

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Contention
betweene
Yarmouth,
and the fiue
Portes.

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Burgesses, or Townesmen, and the Citizens
of London likewise, were woont to bee termed) to ap=
peere before the Kings lustices at Shipwey in Kent
(as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such
points, as should bee giuen in charge. Which
done, he addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there
was oftentimes contention betweene them of the
Fiue Portes, and the inhabitants of Yarmouth in
Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there shoulde
bee seuerall writtes directed to them also, returna=
ble before the same lustices at the same daie and
place, reciting, that where the King had by his for=
mer writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Portes
to be holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes
had cause to complaine of any (beeing within the
liberties of the saide Portes) he should be at Ship=
wey to propound against him, and there to receaue
according to lawe and iustice.

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

Portes, and those other townes: But purposely,
and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Do=
er, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time
accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Portes,
which were endowed with privilege, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soon after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. For I finde in an olde recorde, that King Henrie the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gave therefor in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucester shire, and divers other landes in Lincolnshire. This he did, partly to conceal from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affairs of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience and excess, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winchelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to think, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and government of the Fiue Portes, yet I stand doubtful whether he made them partners of their privileges, or no, for that had been a preferment, and no punishment unto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne King Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward aban- doned, and the now Towne builded) was the first, that apparelled them with that preeminence.

By this therefore let it appeere, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of privilege: which (because they were Fiue in number) both at the first gave, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Portes, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but divers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shall be said, as touching the services that these Portes of duty owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I mean with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to waite on the King at the Sea, upon their owne charges) shall partly appeere by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall follow in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall be made manifest by examples, drawn out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of King Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twenty vessels at the Sea, whereof each to be furnished with one and twenty men for fiftene daies togethier: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like service. But now whether this (like) ought to be understood of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and service, or of the (like) in respect of service, according to the proportion of their abilities.
tie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to de-
termine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sand-
wich, and the residue, shoulde likewise find twentie
vessels a peece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue
Portes were subiect to a greater charge at that
time, then King Edward the first laide vpon them:
And on the other side, if they were only chargeable
after their proportion, then know I not how far to
burthen them, seeing the Recorde of Domesday it
selle, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore
leauing this as I finde it, I must elsewhere make in=
quision for more lightsome proofe. And first I will
haue recourse to King Edward the firste his Chartre,
in which I read, that 'At ech time that the King pas=
seth ouer the sea, the Portes ought to rig vp fiftie and
seauen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie ar=
med souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne
costes, by the space of fifteene daies together.'
And thus it stoode with the Portes for their ge=
neral charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then
was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the
particular burthen of eche one, I haue seene two
diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in
French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and
is intituled, to haue beene renued in the two and
twentie yeere of the Reignge of the same King, by
Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Ca=
stle, in which the particular charge is set downe in
this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.

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The lowie of Peuensey, one.
Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.
Bekisborne in Kent, seauen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and ar=
mour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rye, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King
Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey annexed, in the time of King
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seauen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seauen.
The towne of Feuersham, seauen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich,
Dale, &c. fiue.
These Ships they ought to finde vpon fourtie
daies summons, armed and arraied at their owne
charge, and in eche of them twentie men, besides
the Maister of the Mariners: all which they shall
likewise maintaine fiue daies togither at their own
costes, gluing to the Maister sixe pence by the day,
to the Constable sixe pence, and to eche other Ma=
riner three pence. And after those fiue daies ended,
the King shall defray the wages.
The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne
of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great
antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import
as much, or more likelihoode and credite: It stan=
These bee the Fiue Portes of our soueraigne Lorde the King hauing liberties, which other Portes have not: Hasting, Romenal, Hethe, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The seruices due by the same.

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

Romenal. 5. ships, In euery ship. 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

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

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

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

Summe of the Ships. 57.

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

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports do acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yeerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. daies togi122

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

Thus much out of these auncient notes, whereby your selfe may easely discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must refer it to them that bee priuie, and of counsell with the Portes: and so lea=uing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

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

And amongst other feates not vnworthy petuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entered the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbi=shop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into Fraunce for newe supply of soul=
diers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captain of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the Oracle of the wooden walls, by the aide of the Port townes, armed four tie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most courageous encounter, in which hee tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

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

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

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

The priuiledges of these Portes, being first gran ted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

For they sende Burgesses to the Parleament, which by an honourable name be called Barons: They beare the foure staues of the Canapie ouer the Kings head at the time of his coronation, and they dine at the vppermost table in the great hall, on his right hand: They themselues be exempted from all paiments of subsidie: And their Heires freed from wardship of body, notwithstanding any tenure. They be impleadable in their owne townes also, and not elsewhere: They haue amongst them selues in each Port, their particular place of iustice: They haue power (if iustice be not done them) to take the inhabitants of other Townes and Cities in Withernam: to gouerne Yarmouth by their Bailife for one season of the yeere: to do iustice vp on crimannall offendours: To hold Plea in actions real, and personal: to take Counsance by Fine: to infranchise Villaines: and to doe sundrie other things, not lying fittly in the way of my purpose, and therefore not to be recounted at large. But I may not pretermit the Court at Shipway, for the gene rall assemblie of them all, and where both the Lord
Wardein of the Ports taketh oth, at his first entry into that office, and they haue fiue principal points whereof to enquire there onely, and not elsewhere, as you shall heare when we light vpon that place. In the meane time, let vs see, by what chiefe officer the Portes haue been governed. Master Camden hath well noted, that our Wardeine of the Portes, was an imitation of the same officer which the Romains established for defence of our coasts, and called, 'Littoris Saxonici,' or 'tractus maritimi, Comitem,' who had the charge of nine Portes, as our Wardein had of Fiue. And although there be no doubt, but that the Portes were vnder some speciall government, in the time of the Saxons also, who best knew the necessitie thereof: yet bicause king William the first, was the first (so far as I haue observed by reading) that imposed the name of Wardeine (out of his owne language, halfe French, halfe Dutch) it shall stand with the best certeintie to begin at his time, and set downe the succession of the Wardeins, in order of time, as I haue collected them. But, for as much as the office of the Wardein of the fiue Portes, and the Constableship of Douer castell, haue long since commonly beene conioined in one person, and of later daies haue been vnited inseparably, I wil not lose the labour in going about to single them againe, but will followe that which (in mine opinion) seemeth most likely to point out the Wardeine.

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

John Fynes, created by William the Conquerour, Wardein of the Portes, and Constable of Douer, by gift of inheritance. James Fynes, his sonne, which died at Folkston. John Fynes, his sonne. Walkelm, who deliuered it to King Stephan, and immediately after his death, abandoned the charge, and fled into Normandie. Allen Fynes, restored by King Henrie the second. James Fynes, his eldest sonne. Mathew Clere (as it should seeme by Math. Par. and William Petite) who imprisoned Godfrey, the Archbishop of Yorke in Douer castle, as vnder that title shall appeere. William of Wrotham. Hubert of Burgh, the Earle of Kent, who being deposed, Bartram of Cryol succeeded. Richard Gray, appointed by the Barons, that warred against King Henrie the third: he was depriued of his office by Hugh Bigot, bicause he let in the Popes legate by the Kings licence, and against the minde of the Nobles. Henrie Braybrooke. Edward the first, in the life of his father, who made Henrie Cobham his deputie, whose sonne and heire (called John) founded Cobham College, Ann. 36. E. 3. Henrie Mountforde. Roger Leyborne, in the time of Henrie the 3. Stephan Penchester, in the time of Henrie the third.
Sir Robert Asheton, buried there 1384.
Simon of Crey, in the time of Edward the first.
Hugh Spenser, the younger, in the time of Edward the second.
Edmund of Woodstock, the Earl of Kent.
Reginald Cobham, in the time of Edward the third.
Bartholomew Burwhasse, or Burgehersh, one of the first companions of the order of the Garter.
John Beauchampe, of Warwike.

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Sir Ralfe Spigurnel, 44. Edw. 3.
Sir Robert Herle, in the latter end of king Edward the third.
Edmund the Earl of Cambridge.
Sir Simon Burley, whome Thomas of Woodstocke beheaded.
Lord Henrie Cobham, the sonne of Reginald Cobham.
Sir Iohn Enros.
Sir Thomas Beaumont.
Edward, the Duke of Aumarle and Yorke, whome King Henrie the fourth remoued, and substitu=ted in place
Sir Thomas Erpingham, for a season, but afterward he gaue the office to
Prince Henrie his sonne, who when he was King in possession, bestowed it upon
Humfrey, the Duke of Gloucester.
Iames Fines, Lord Saie, whom Iack Cade beheaded.
Edmond, the Duke of Somerset.
Humfrey, the Duke of Buckingham.
Simon Mountford, under king Henrie the sixt.
Richard Neuel, the Earl of Warwike.
William, the Earl of Arundel.
Richard, the Duke of Gloucester, called afterward King Richard the third.
Sir William Scot.
Henrie, the Duke of Yorke.
Iames Fines, the Lord Saye.
Henrie in his fathers life, afterward the eight king of that name.

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Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth.
Sir Edward Poyninges.
Henrie, the yoong Earle of Richmond.
Sir Edward Guideford.
George Boleyn, Vicount Rocheford.
Sir Thomas Cheynie, Treasurer of the houshold.

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

Sandwich is called in Latine, Sabulouicum, in Saxon Sondwic, that is to saie, the Sandie Towne, because the coast thereabout aboundeth with Sande.
This Towne (as it appeereth by the report of Leland, and as it may seeme also by the name it selfe, being meere Saxon) began by the Saxons, after the fall of poore Richborowe, which was in price while the honour of the Britons stoode vpright, and was either abated by the furie of the Saxons, when they wonne that coast from them: or else came to ruine by the alteration and vicissitude of the Sea, which peraduenture choked the hauen thereof with light sand, as it hath since that time done this at Sandwich also.

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

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

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

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

after which it grew up, and was somewhat amen= ded againe by the Staple, which King Edward the first for a season remoued thither. After all which, king Edward the third in the 37. yeere of his reigne, giuing to Chrystes church the Manor of Borley in Essex for it in exchaunge, reunitied it to the crowne. But in the daies of King Henrie the sixt, Peter Brice (the Steward of Normandie) landed at Sand= wich, and he with fire and sworde, wasted the towne in maner to ashes, and slew the inhabitants almost to the last man. Since which time, partly by the smart of that wound, and partly by the losses that it susteined within two yeeres after, by the main= teinors of the ciuill wars in that Kings reigne, but cheefely by the abundance of the light sand (where= with the Sea hath of latter yeeres glutted the ha= uen) it is declined to great decay, and were like to fall to extreme ruine, were it not presently some=
what releued by the repaire of such, as haue aban-
doned their countrie for the freedome of their con-
sciences: whose aboade howe long it will bee, the
Lord onely knoweth, for whose cause they suffer
banishment.

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

of a Serieant, then of a justice at the Lawe, and
lastly to a Knight, and place of the chiefe Baron
of the Escheaquer, hath for the increase of godly=
ness and good letters, erected and endowed a faire
Free Schoole there, from whence there is hope that
the common wealth shall reape more profite after
a fewe yeeres: then it receaued commoditie by the
Carmelites since the time of their first foundation.

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

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

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

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

These had no sooner set some of their men on
lande, but the Reeue, or officer of Beorhtricke, or
Brictricke (then King of the West Saxons) had
knowledge thereof: who came vnto them, and (de=
maunding the cause of their arriuall) would haue
carried them to the Kings presence: but they in their resistance slewe him: whereupon the people of the Countrie adjoyning, addressed themselves to re-venge, and assembling in great numbers, beate them backe to their ships, not without the losse of some of their companie.

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

For not long after this enterprise, a fewe ships

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

Now by this experiment, they had gained sufficient knowledge of that, for which they first came: and therefore thinking it fit time to assay further, they rigged up a great number of ships, armed more store of chosen souldiers, entred the Riuer of Thamise with fiue and thirtie saile, landed in despight of the people, fired, spoiled, herried, and prevaild so farre, that Egbert (who then had the Monarchie ouer all England) was faine to come with all his power to the reliefe and rescue.

But such was the will of God (for the punish-ment of Idolatrie and superstition, which then ouerwhelmed this Realme) that the Danes in stead of being discomfited by the Kings repaire, were maruellouslie encouraged by his misfortune. For, after that they had once gotten the better in the field against him, they were so embouldened there-by, that notwithstanding he afterward, and some other valiant Princes following, by great pro-wesse abated their furie in parte, yet, adjoyning themselves to the Britons (that then were in great enmitie with the Saxons) and swarming hither out of their owne Countrie in such flightes that the number of the slaine was continually supplied with great advantage, they neuer ceassed to in-feste the Realme, by the space of three hundreth yeeres and more, during the reignes of fifteene seuerall Kings, till at the last they had made Etheldred flie ouer into Normandie and leaue them his Kingdome. During all which time, howe mightily their forces increased vnder Hinguar, Hubba, Halfden, Guthrum, Aulaf and Hasten, (their Nauie being risen from three ships, to three hundreth and fiftie at the least) howe pitiously the East, West, South, and North parts of the Realme were wa-sted (the townes, Cities, religious houses, and Monasteries of each quarter being consumed with flames) howe miserablie the common people were
afflicted (men, women, and children on all sides going to wracke, by their tempestuous furie) howe maruellouslie the Kings were amased (the arrivals of these their enemies being no lesse sudden, than violent) howe barbarously the monuments of good learning were defaced (the same suffering more by the immanitie of this one brutish Nation, than by all the warres and conquestes of the Pictes and Scots, Romanes, and Saxons) and finally, how furiously fire and sword, famine and pestilence raged in euery place, God and men, Heauen and the elements conspiring (as it were) the fatall destruction of the Realme, I may not heere stand to prosecute particularly, but (leauing each thing to fit place) I will proceede with King Etheldred, and so returne to my purpose.

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

Hereupon King Etheldred, hauing now exhausted the whole treasure of his Realme, and therefore more vnable than euer he was, either by power or prayer to helpe himselfe, or to releue his subjects, determined by a fine policie (as he thought) to deliuer both the one and the other from them. For which purpose, by the advise of one Huna (the generall of his army) he wrote letters to each part of the realme, commaunding, that vpon S. Brices day (which is the morrow after S. Martins night) the English men should all at once set vpon the Danes, before they had disgested the surfait of that drunken solemnitie, and so vtterly kill and destroy them. This his commaundement was receaued with such liking, entertained with such secrecy, and executed with such speede and celeritie, that the Danes were suddenly, and in a manner wholly, both men, women, and children (like the sonnes in Lawe of Danaus) oppressed at once in one night: onely a few escaped by Sea into Denmarke, and there made complaint of King Etheldreds butcherie.

For reuenge whereof, Sweyne their King, both armed his owne people, and waged forreine aide, and so (preparing a houge armie) tooke shipping, and arriued, first here at Sandwich, and after in the
North Countrie: the terrore of whose comming was such, that it caused the Countrie people on all sides to submit themselues vnto him, in so much that King Etheldred seeing the cause desperate, and himselfe destitute, fled ouer into Normandie with his wife, and children, friends, and familie. Af-ter which his departure, although both himselfe returned, and put Canutus (the next King of the Danes) to flight, and Edmund his sonne also fought sundrie great battailes with him: yet the Danes pre-ualied so mightily vpon them, that three of them in succession (that is to say, Canutus, Haroldus, and Hardicanutus) reigned kings here in England almost by the space of thirty yeres togethier: so much to the infamous oppression, slauerie, and thraldome of the English Nation, that every Dane was (for feare) called Lord Dane, and had at his commaun-dement, wheresoeuer he became, both man and wife, and whatsoever else he found in the house.

At the length, God, taking pitie vpon the peo-ple, toke suddenly away King Hardicanute: after whose death, the Nobilitie and Commons of the Realme, ioined so firmely and faithfully, both harts and handes, with their naturall and Liege Lorde King Edwarde, that the Danes were once againe (and for euer) expulsed this Countrie: in so much that soone after, the name (Lord Dane) being before time a woord of great awe and honour, grew to a terme and bywoorde of foule despight and reproch, turned (as it yet continueth) to Lordane: besides, that euer after, the common people in ioy of that deliuerance, haue celebrated the an-nual day of Hardicanutus death (as the Romanes did their feast of Fugalia, or chasing out of the Kings) with open pastime in the streettes, calling it, even til this our time, Hoctyde, in stead (as I think) of hucxtyde, that is to say, the time of scorning, or mocking.

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

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

Against another Fleete of the Danes which Ian-

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

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

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

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

Eastrie.

Having somewhat to say of Eastrie, I trust it shall bee no great offence, to turne our eie a little from the shoare, and deal with it, in our way to Deale. It is the name of a Towne and Hundreth within the Lath of Saint Augustines, and hath the addition of East, for difference sake, from Westrie (commonly called Rye) neere to Winchelsea in Sussex.

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

After the death of Ercombert, the seuenth King of Kent, Egbert his Sonne succeeded in the kingly dome, who caused to bee vertuously brought vp in his Palaise (which was then at this Towne) two young Noble men of his kinred (as some say) or rather his owne brethren (as William of Malmesbury writeth) the one being called Ethelbert, and
the other Etheldred: these Gentlemen so prospered in good learning, courtlike manners, and feates of actiuitie meete for men of their yeeres and parentage, that on the one side, they gaue to all well disposed persons and louers of vertue great expection that they woulde become at the length woorthie of much estimation and honour: and on the other side they drew vpon them, the feare, misliking, and utter hatred, of the naughtie, wicked, and malicious sort. Of the which number there was one of the kings owne housholde, called Thunner, who (as vertue neuer wanteth hir enniers) of a certaine diuelish malice, repyning at their laudable increase, neuer ceassed to blowe into the kings eare most vntrue accusations against them: And to the end that hee might the rather prouoke the king to displeasure, hee persuaded him of great daunger towarde his estate and person by them. And for as much as the common people (who more commonly worship the Sunne rising, then going downe) had them in great admiration and reuence, hee desired the king, that either hee woulde sende them out of the Realme, or bee contented to winke at the matter if any of his friends, for the loue of him, and suretie of his estate, shoulde procure to dispatch them.

The King, somewhat prouoked by feare of his owne perill (though nothing desirous of their destruction) euens as a little water thrown into the fire increaseth the flame, so by a colde deniall, gaue courage to the attempt: and therefore, Thunner espying fit time, slewe the children, and buried their bodies in the kings hal vnder the cloth of his estate. But it was not long, before there appeared in the house a bright shining piller, replenishing eche corner with suche terrible and fearefull light, that the seruaunts shriked at the sight therof, and by their noise awaked the king: who, assoone as hee sawe it, was touched with the conscience of the murther wherunto hee had a little before in hart consented, and calling in great haste for Thunner, examined him straightly what was become of the children, and when hee had learned the truth, hee became most sorrowfull and penitent therefore, charging himselfe with the whole crime of their deathes, for that it laie wholly in him to haue saued their liues. Then sent hee for Deodat the Archbishop, and desirde to vnderstand by him, what was best to be done for expiation of the fault. This good father (thinking to haue procured some gaine to his Church, by veneration of the dead bodies, if hapely hee might haue gotten them thither) persuaded the king to incoffen them, and to commit them to honorable buriall in Christeschurche at Canterburie: but (saith mine Author) when the hearse was ready, it would not be moued by any force toward that Church: as truely (I thynke) as the crosse of Waltham with twelue Oxen and so many Kyne, could not be stirred any other way, but toward the place ap
pointed: or as the Image of Berecinthia, which the Romans had brought out of Asia, could not be removed till the Vestal virgin Claudia had set to her hande."

Heereupon the companie assaied to conuey it to Saint Augustines, but that all in vaine also: at the last, they agreed to leade it to the Monasterie of Watrine, and then (forsooth) it passed as lightly (saith hee) as if nothing at all had beene within it. The obsequies there honourably performed, the King gave the place where this vision appeared to his sister Ermenburga, who (of a longing desire to become a veiled Nonne) had a little before abandoned her husbandes bed, and chusing out seuentie other women for her companie, erected there a Monasterie to the name and honour of these two murdered brethren. William of Malmesbury addeth moreouer, that the King gave the whole Isle of Thanet also to his Mother, to appease the wrath that shee had conceaued for the losse of these her deere Children.

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

The Chronicles of Douer (as Leland reporteth, for I neuer saw but onely some fragments of them) haue mention, that Iulius Caesar being repulsed from Douer, arriued at this place: which thing and his trenches vpon this coast (called Romesworke) how well they may stand with Caesars owne report in his Commentaries, I had rather leaue to others to decide, than take vpon me to dispute: being very well contenied, to allow of conjectures not altogether vehement.

Onely of this I hold me well assured, that King Henrie the eights fortieth his Realme.

Henrie the eight, hauing shaken off the intolerable yoke of the Popish tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended for the diuorce of Queene Katherine his wife, and that the French King had coupled the Dolphin his sonne to the Popes niece, and maried his daughter to the King of Scots, so that he might more iustly suspect them all, than safely trust any one, determined (by the aide of God) to stand vpon his owne gardes and defence:

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and therefore with all speede, and without sparing any cost, he builded Castles, platfourmes, and blockhouses, in all needefull places of the Realme. And amongst other, fearing least the ease and aduaun"
giue occasion and hardinesse to the enemies to inuade him, he erected (near together) three fortifications, which might at all times keepe and beat the landing place, that is to say, Sandowne, Dele, and Walmere. All which (together with some others newly built upon the coast of Sussex) and their captains he recommended to the survey, control, and correction of the Wardein of the Cinque Ports: as you may read in the statute purposely therefore made 32. H. 8. cap. 48. This speciall matter of Dele, John Leland in Cygnea cantione, comprehendeth feately in these two verses.

\[ lactat Dela nouas celebris arces, \\
Notus Cæsareis locus Trophaeis. \\
Renowned Dele doth vaunt it selfe, \\
with Turrets newly rais'd: \\
For monuments of Cæsars hoste, \\
A place in storie prais'd. \]

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

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Douver, called diversely in Latine, 
Doris, Durus, Doueria, and Dubris: in Saxon, Dofra: all which seeme to be drawn from the Bryttish woordes, Dufir, Water, or Dufirha, high or steepe: the scituation being upon a high rocke ouer the water, which serueth to either. Some fetch the name from Doo a fore, meaning stopped at the mouth before, which they say Aruiragus did. One calleth it Dorobrina, differencing it from Canterbury (which he termeth Dorobornia) as if the one were Bourne, and the other Bryne, because the one staneth vpon the Fresh water, and the other vpon the Salt.

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

The Towne was long since some what estimable, howbeit that which it had (as I thinke) was both at the first deriued from the other two, and euer since also continually conserued by them. But whether I hit or misse in that conjecture, certaine it is by the testimonie of the Recorde in the Exchequer commonly called Domesday booke, that the Towne of Douer was of abilitie in the time of King Edward the Confessour, to arme yeerely twentie vessels to the Sea by the space of fifteene daies together, eche vessell hauing therein one and twentie able men. For in consideration therof, the same King graunted to the inhabitants of Douer, not onely freedome from payment of Tholl, and other privileges throughout the realme, but also pardoned them all manner of suite and service to any his Courts whatsoeuer. The
place it selfe was neuerthelesse (at those daies) vn=
der the protection and gouernaunce of Godwine,
the Earle of Kent: for I read, that it chaunced Eu=
land, of a desire that hee had to visite the King his
Brother, and that whilsts his herbenger demeaned
himselfe vnwisely in taking vp his lodgings at
Douer, hee fell at variaunce with the Townesmen,
and slewe one of them: But 'Nocuit temeraria vir=
tus,' force vnaduisde, did harme. For that thing so
offended the rest of the inhabitants, that immedi=
ately they ranne to weapon, and killing eighteene
of the Earles seruaunts, they compelled him and al
his meiney to take their feete, and to seeke redresse
at the Kings hands.

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

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of the Lawe: and in the ende, Godwine was bani=
shed the Realme by the sentence of the King and
Nobilitie, wherevpon hee and his sonnes flied ouer
the Sea, and neuer ceassed to vnquiet the king and
spole his subjectis, till they were reconciled to his
faoure, and restored to their auncient estate and
dignitie.

This towne, was so sore wasted with fire, soone
after the comming in of king William the Con=
quorour, that it was wholly (saue onely nine and
twentie dwelling houses) consumed, and brought
to ashes. And in the time of king Edward the first
also, whilsts two of the Popes Cardinales were
heere in the treatie of an attonement, to bee made
betweene England and Fraunce, the Frenchmen
landed at Douer in a night, and burned a great
part of the Towne, and some of the religious buil=
dings. So that in those times, it was much empai=
red by those misfortunes. But now in our memo=
rie, what by decay of the hauen (which king Henrie
the eight with the cost of 63000. pounds vpon
a piere, but all in vaine, sought to restore) and
what by the ouerthrowe of the religious houses,
and losse of Calaice, it was brought in manner to
miserable nakednesse and decay.

Which thing were the lesse to be pitied, had it
not been accompanied with the ruine of the Castell
it selfe, the fall whereof would be so much the more
grieuous, as the fame thereof is with our auncient
Storiers (aboue all other) most blasing and glori=
ous. This therefore mooued the Maiestie of our
Souereigne Queene that now is, to giue gratious eare to the complaint heerof presented vnto hir: so as shee not onely bestowed great fauours of hir owne gift, but also tooke order by Parliament in the 23. yeere of hir Reigne, for a generall helpe vp= on the Tonneage, towards the reliefe of this de= caied Harborow.

By which meanes, and by the industrious atten= dance of sundrie gentlemen of the Countrie and others (put in trust to further the woork) a Pent and Sluye hath been made, which both open the mouth, and scowre the bottome of the hauen, deli= uering it from that Beach (or bowlder stone) that before choked it, and is now (as it is said of a Scor= pion) convertect to the medicine of that maladie, which it had brought vpon the place, in such sort, as where before was not foure foote of water, a ship of some hundreds may now safely go in and out.

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

The Castle of Douer (say Lydgate and Rosse) was first builded by Iulius Cæsar the Romane Em= perour, in memorie of whome, they of the Castell keepe till this day, certeine vessels of olde wine and salte, which they affirme to be the remaine of such prouision as he brought into it. As touching the which (if they be naturall, and not sophisticate) I suppose them more likeelye to haue beene of that store, which Hubert de Burgh laid in there, of whom I shall haue cause to say more heereafter: But as concerning the building, because I finde not in Cæ= sars owne Commentaries, mention of any fortifi= cation that hee made within the Realme, I thinke that the more credible reporte of the twaine, which ascribeth the foundation to Aruiragus (a King of the Britons) of whome Iuuenal the Poet hath men= tion, saying to the Emperour Nero, in this wise,

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

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

and of whom others write, that he founde such fauour in the eye of Claudius the Emperour, that he obteined his daughter to wife. But whosoe= uer were the author of this Castell, Mathew Parise writeth, that it was accounted in his time (which was vnder the reigne of King Henrie the third) ‘Clauis, & Repagulum totius Regni,’ the verie locke and key of the whole Realme of England.

And truly it seemeth to me, by that which I haue read of King William the Conquerour, that he also thought no lesse of it. For at such time as Ha=
rold, being in Normandie with him (whether of purpose, or against his will, I leave as I finde it, at large) made a corporall othe to put him in possession of the Crowne after the death of King Edward.

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

Not long after which time also, when he had (in his owne opinion) peaceably established the government of this Realme, and was departed over into Normandie of purpose to commit the order of that countrie to Robert his sonne, divers of the shyre of Kent, knowing right well how much it might annoy him to lose Douer, conspired with Eustace the Earl of Bolloine, for the recouerie and surprise of the same. And for the better achieving of their desire, it was agreed, that the Earl should crosse the seas in a night by them appointed, at which time they would not faile with all their force to meet him, and so (joining hands) suddenly assaile and enter it. They met accordingly, and marched by darke night toward the castell, well furnished with scaling ladders, but by reason that the watch had discied them, they not onely failed of that which they intended, but also fell into that which they never feared: for the Souldiours within the Castell, to whom Odo the Bishop of Baieux, and Hughe Mountfort (which then were with the King in Normandie) had committed the charge thereof, kept themselves close, and suffered the assailants to approch the wall, and then, whiles they disorderly attempted to scale it, they set wide open their gates, and made a sudden saile out of the pееce, and set upon them with such force and furie, that they compelled Eustace with a few others to returne to his Ship, the rest of his company being either slaine by the sward, or destroyed by fall from the Cliffe, or devoured by the Sea.

The same king also, being worthily offended with the disobedience, avarice, and ambition of Odo (his bastard brother, whom he had promoted to the Bishopricke of Baieux, and to the Earldome of Kent,) for that he had not onely by raune and extortion, raked together great masses of gold and treasure, which he caused to be grounde into fine powder, and (filling therewith divers pots and crocks) had sunk them in the bottoms of Riuers, intending therewithall to have purchased the Peace of Rome: But also because he refused to render unto him the Countie of Kent, and was suspected for aspiring to the Crowne of this Realme: consulted with Lanfranc (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a professed enimie to Odo) howe he might safely, and without offence to the ECClesi...
asticall estate (for that he was a Bishop) both con-
teine that treasure within the Realme, and also
deteine his person from going into Italie, whether
warde he both addressed himselfe with all speede,
and gathered for his traine great troupes of vali-
aunt and seruiceable men out of euerie quarter.

Lanfranc counsell'd the King to commit him to

safe custodie, and for his defence armed him with
this pretie shift: ‘If it be laide to your charge’ (quoth
he) ‘that you haue laide violent handes vpon a sacred
Bishop, Say, that you imprisoned, not the Bishop of
Baieux, but the Earle of Kent.’ The King liked
well the conceit, and causing Odo to be apprehen-
ded, cast him into prison, whence he was not deliue-
dred during all the time of his reigne. That done,
he made diligent inquisition for the hourdes of
golde, and by feare of torture, caused the Bishops
servants to bewray the whole treasure.

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

And to the ende that he shoulde be of sufficient
abilitie to beare the charge of the defence thereof,
he gaue him to the number of sise and fiftie Knights
fees of land and possession, willing him, to commu-
nicate some parts of that gift to such other vali-
ant and trustie persons, as he shoulde best like, for
the more sure conserruation of that his most noble,
and precious peece.

He accordingly called vnto him eight other
woorthie Knights, and imparting liberally vnto
them of that which he had freely receiued of the
King, bounde them by tenure of their lande recei-
ued, to maintaine one hundreth and twelue soulde-
ours amongst them: which number he so diuided
by moneths of the yeere, that fiue and twentie
were continually to watche and warde within the
Castell for their seuerall stintes of time, and all the
rest ready at commaundement vpon whatsoeuer
necessitie.

The names of these eight were, William of Al-
brance, Fulbert of Douer, William Arsicke, Galfride
Peuerell, William Maynemouth, Robert Porthe,
Hugh Creuequer (called in the Latine Records,
‘De crepito corde,’ that is, Crackt hart) and Adam Fitz
Williams. Each of all which, had their seuerall
charges, in sundry towres, turrets, and bulworks
of the castell, and were contented of their owne dis-
pence, to mainteine and repaire the same: in token
wherof, diuers of them beare the names and titles
of these new chosen Captaines, euen till this our
And thus Douer, being dispatched of a busie Bishop, fenced by the Kings appointment, furnished, fraught, and planted with a most faithfull Constable, vigilant Captaines, and diligent warders, gained and reteined the opinion of a most important, commodious, and necessarie piece, not onely with the native Princes and Nobility of our owne Realme, but also with such foreigne Potentates, as had warre and contention with vs: in so much as in sundry troubles ensuing, at sundry times afterward within this realme, it did plainly appeere, that this Castell was the chiefe marke, whereat each man directed his shot.

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

Lewes also (whom I may call the French Dolphine, because the sonne and heire to the Crowne of Fraunce, is now so named) which by the instigation of the Pope, and inuitation of the Nobilitie, inuaded King Iohn (vpon such cause as shall hereafter appeere) hauing gained, partly by terrour, and partly by surrender of the Barons that were of his faction, almost all the Castels and Holdes lying on the South part of the Realme, could not yet thinke himselfe assured, vnesse he had Douer also. For his Father Philip, hearing that he had the possession of sundry other strong places, and that hee wanted Douer, Sware by Sainct Iames arme, (which was his accustomed othe) that he had not gained one foot in Englande. And therefore, hee made thither with all his power, and besieged it streightly: but that noble Captaine, Hubert of Brough, (of whom I lately spake) which was in his time, Constable of the Castell, Wardein of the Portes, Earle of Kent, and chiefe Iustice of all England, defended it with such couragious constancie, that it was both a comfort to the English subject, and a wonder to the Frenche enimie to behold it: in so much, as I cannot woorthily impute the deliuerie of this Realme, from the perill of forreine seruitude (wherein it then stoode) to any one thing so much, as to the magnanimitie of this one man. Of whom also (by the way) I thinke good to tell you this, that in his time of Constableship at Douer, and by his meanes, the seruice of Castlegarde there, which had continued (as I shewed before) from the time of William the Conquerour, was with the assent of King Henrie the third converted into a paiment of money, the lande beeing charged with tenne shillings (called Castlewards) for every Warder, that it was bound to finde, and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice and attendance for euer: At which time also, he
caused the same King to release by his free Char-
tre, the custome of Forrage due to this Castel, and
that done, himselfe instituted newe lawes amongst
the watchmen, and increased the number of the
Warders. Thus stooide it with Douer Castell,
untill that king Henrie the eight by Parleament
(in the thirte two yeere of his reigne) altered both
the place and penaltie, of these Castelwardes (or
rents for Castleguard) ordaining that whereas
before time they were paiable at the Castle, vpon
the paine to double them one vpon an other infi-
nitely for every default, from thence forth they
should be paiied in the Escheaquer at Westminster,

vpon forfaiture of the double rent once only, with=
out any further forfeitures, or Sursises, as they
were woont to be called. And he moreouer besto=
ved the yeerely fee of 160. l'. vpon the Constable of
the Castle and Wardeine of the fiue Portes, and
maintained a great number of Souldiours with=
in the Castle and other his newly aduanced fortres=

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

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

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

Not without good cause therefore, hath Douer

by great preeminence beeone reported the chiefe of
the Fiue Portes, assigned by lawes of Parleament
as a speciall place for passage and eschaunge, and
by auncient tenure acknowledged for Ladie and
Maistresse of many Manors: To it alwaies some
man of great apparaunce is appointed as Cap=
taine and gouernour: To, in or for it sundrie Gen=
tlemen of the Shire paiye yet their money for the
auncient duety of their attendaunce and seruice:
And to it finally, the countrey men in all times of
trouble haue an especiall eie and regarde.

As concerning the maintenaunce of this Castel
in fortification and building, I finde not much
more in storie than I haue alreadie opened, which
happeneth the rather (as I thinke) for that manie
private persons within the Shyre of Kent were of
long time, not onely bounde by their tenures of
Castlegarde to bee ready in person for the defence,
but also stooede charged in purse with the reparati=
on of the same. Onely I reade in Iohn Rosse, that
King Edwarde the fourth, to his great expence,
(which others reckon to haue beeene ten thousande
poundes) amended it throughout. The last reci=
ted statute telleth vs, that King Henrie the 8. was
at great charge with it: and it is yet fresh in the
memorie of vs all, that our gratious Queene Elia-
zabeth, hath beeene at great charge in repairing the
defects heereof. These bee the memorable mat=
ters, that I had to recount touching this Towne
and Castle. There standeth yet, vppon the high
ciffe, betweene the Towne and the Peere (as it
were) not farre from that which was the house of
the Templars, some remaine of a Tower, now called
Bredenstone, which had beeene, both a Pharos for
comfort of Saylors, and also a prophylakè, or (watch
house) for defence of the inhabitants. And now, lea=
uing these, let vs passe on to the late Religious
buildings.

S. Martines
in Douer.

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

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Christes Churche would not agree vnto: And on the
other side, the Pryor of Christes Churche preten=
ded to haue such a souerainty ouer S. Martines, that
he would not only visite the house, but also admit
Monkes and Nouices, at his pleasure, which the
other could not beare: So that they fell to suing,
prouoking, and brawling (the ordinarie and onely
meanes, by which Monkes vset to trie their con=
trouersies) and ceased not appealing and plea=
ding at Rome, till they had both wearied them=
selues, and wasted their money. Howbeit, as it
commonly falleth out, that where respect of mo=
ney and reward guideth the judgement and sentence, there the mightie preuaile, and the poore go to wracke: So the Monkes of Canterbury hauing to giue more, and the Pope and his ministers being ready to take all, poore Douer was oppressed, and their Pryor in the ende constrained to submission.

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

King Richard the first, beeing persuaded by the Pope and his clergie to make an expedition for the recouerie of the holy lande, partly for the perfor maunce of that which the king his father had purposed to do in person, and partly for satisfaction of his owne vowe (which hee made when hee tooke the crosse, as they called it, vpon him) set to Portsale his kingly rights, iurisdictions, and prerogatiues, his crowne-landes, fermes, customes, and offices, and whatsoever he had beside, to raise money with all: and so, committing the whole gouernement of his Realme to William the Bishop of Ely his Chancellour, hee committed himselfe and his company to the winde and Seas.

This Prelate, hauing nowe by the Kings commission the power of a Viceroy, and besides by the Popes gift the authoritie of a Legate and Vicar, and consequently the exercise of both the swordes, so ruled and reigned ouer the Clergie and Latite in the kings absence, that the one sort founde him more then a Pope, the other felt him more then a king, and they both endured him an intollerable tyrant. For hee not onely ouerruled the Nobility, and outfaced the Clergie, spoiling both the one and the other of their liuings and promotions, for maintenaunce of his owne ryot, pompe, and excesses: But also oppressed the common people, devouring and consuming wheresoever hee became, the victuall of the countrey, with the troupes and trains of men and horses (being in number a thou sand or fiftene hundreth) that continually folowed him. Amongst other his practises, hauing got into his hands the reuenues of the Archbishopricke of Yorke (whereof Godfrey, the kings brother was then elected Bishop, and busie at Rome for to obtaine his consecration) and fearing that by his returne hee might bee defrauded of so sweete a morsell, hee first laboured earnestly to hinder him in his suite at Rome, and when hee sawe no successe of that attempt, hee determined to make him sure whensoever hee should returne home. And for that purpose, hee tooke order with one Clerke (then Shee of Kent, and Constable of the castell of Douer, to whom hee had giuen his sister in mariage) that hee shoulede haue a vigilant eie to his arraiuall, and
that so soon as the Archbishop did set foot on lande, hee shoulde strip him of all his ornaments, and commit him to safe custodie within the castell. Which thing was done accordingly: for the Archbishops was no sooner arriued, and entered the Church to offer to Saint Martine sacrifice for his safe passage (as the Gentiles that escaped shipwacke, were wont to do vnto Neptune) But Clere and his companie came in vpon him, and dooing the Chancellours commandement, violently haled him and his Chaplaines to the prison.

Hereat Iohn (then the kings brother, but afterward king) taking iust offence, and adjoyning to him for reuenge the uttermost aide of the Bishops and Barons, his friends and allies, raised a great power, and in short time so straightened the Chancellor, that hee not onely agreed to release Godfrey, but was faine himselfe also (abandoning his late pompe, and glorie) to get him to Douer, and to lie with his brother Clere, as a poore, private, and despoiled person.

Howbeit, not thus able to endure long the note of infamie and confusion whereinto he was falne, he determined within himselfe to make an escape, and by shift of the place, to shroud his shame in some corner beyond the Seas: And therfore, shauing his face, and attyring himselfe like a woman, hee tooke a peece of linnen vnder his arme, and a yard in his hand, minding (by that disguising) to haue taken vessell amongst other passingers vnknownen, and so to haue gotten ouer: But he was not at the first in all his authoritie more vnlike a good man, than hee was now in this poore apparel vnlike an honest man: and therefore being at the very first discouered, he was by certaine rude fellowes openly vncaused, well boxed about the eares, and sent to the next Iustice, who conueied him to Iohn his greatest enemie. And thus was all the gay glorie of this gallant brought to shame, his Pecocks feathers pulled, his blacke feete bewraied, his fraude vnfolded, his might abated, and himselfe in the end suffered to saile ouer with sorrowe and ignominie.

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

The foundation of the first which hospital I haue not hitherto found out, and therefore cannot deliuer thereof any certaintie at all: as touching the Temple, I may safely affirme, that it was erected after the time of the Conquest, for as much as I am sure, that the order it selfe was inuented
after that Godfrey of Bolein had wonne Ierusalem, which was after the comming in of the Conqueror. To these also may be added for neighbourhoode sake (if you will) the Monasterie of white Chanons of S. Radegundes on the hill, little more than two miles off, valued at fourescore and eighteene pounds by yeere, and founded by one Hugh first Abbat there.

And now hauing perused the Towne, Castle, and religious buildings, I would make an ende of Douer, saue that Mathewe Parise putteth mee in minde of one thing (not vnwoorthie rehearsall) that was done in this Temple: I meane, the sealing of that submission, which King Iohn sometime made to Pandulphe (the Popes Legate) wherein he yeelded his Realme tributarie, and himselfe an obedient vassall to the Bishop of Rome. And because this was almost the last acte of the whole Tragedie, and can not well be vnderstood without some recourse to the former parts and beginning: and for that some men (of late time) haue taken great holde of this matter to aduance the Popes authoritie withall, I will shortly (after my maner) recount the thing as it was done, and leaue the judgement to the indifferencie of the Reader.

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

The Pope (vpon the hearing of the cause) at the first ratifieth the election of Iohn Gray: howbeit afterward he refuseth both the elects, and preferreth Stephan Langton, whom the Monkes (bicauses the matter was not before litigious enough) elected also. Now King Iohn, hearing, that not only the election of Gray (contrarie to the Popes owne former determination) was made frustrate, but that there was also thrust into his place a man fa=\mbox{}\textless 133\textgreater~iliarly entertained by the French King (his great enimie) disliked much of the choice, and forbad Stephan the elect to enter the Realme: The Pope againe, who (as Mathew Parise writeth) sought chiefly in this his choice, ‘Virum strenuum,’ a stoute man, that is (in plaine speech) one that could exact of the Clergie, keepe in awe the Laitie, and encoun=\mbox{}\textless 134\textgreater~
ter the King and Nobilitie) seeing his champion thus rejected, beginneth to startle and stampe for anger.

First therefore, he moveth the King by minacing letters to admit Stephan, and (not so preuailing) he then enterdicteth him and his whole Realme: And finally, both prouoketh all Potentates to make open warre vpon him, and also promiseth to the King of Fraunce, full and free remission of all his sinnes, and the kingdome of England it selfe, to inuade him.

This done, he solliciteth to rebellion the Bishopshops, nobilitie, and commons of the Realme, loosing them (by the plenitude of his Apostolike power) from al duty of allegiance toward their Prince. By this meanes divine seruice ceassed, the King of Fraunce armed, the Bishops conspired, the nobilitie made defection, and the common people waued, vn certaine to what part to incline: To bee short, King Iohn was so pressed with suspition and feare of domesticall and forreine enimies on all sides, that (nothwithstanding he was of great and noble courage, and seemed to haue forces sufficiant for resistance also, if he might haue trusted his soldiers) yet he was in the ende compelled to set his seale to a Chartre of submission, whereby hee acknowledged himselfe to holde the Crowne of England of the Popes Mitre, and promised to pay yeerely for the same and for Ireland, 1000. Marks, the golden Bull.

Thus, omitting the residue of this storie, no lesse tragicall and troublesome than that which I haue already recited, I report me to all indifferent men, what cause Paulus Iouius, or any other popish parasite hath (by colour of this Bull) to claime for the Pope, superioritie and dominion ouer the King of this Realme, since Iohn without the assent of the estates, (I meane his nobilitie and commons) could not (in such a gift) either bind his succesours, or charge the kingdome.

And for plaine declaration, that his submission proceeded not with their consent, I reade in a treatise of one Simon de Boraston (a Frier Preacher, in the time of King Edward the third) the which hee wrote concerning the Kings right to the Crowne of Ireland, that in the reigne of Henrie the thirde (which next of all succeeded King Iohn) there were sent from the King, the nobilitie and the commons of England, these Noble men: Hughe Bigod, Iohn Fitz Geffray, William Cantlowe, Phillip Basset, and a Lawyer named William Powicke, to the general Counsell then assembled at Lions in Fraunce, of purpose, and with commission, to require that the saide Bull sealed by King Iohn might be cancelled, for as much as it passed not by the assent of the Counsell of the Realme: and the same Author writeth, that the Pope for that time did put them to the holy father and his successours for euer.

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

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

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

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

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

And no maruaile at all, for it was usuall in Papistrie, not onely to magnifie their Benefactors of all sortes, but to defie also so many of them at the least as were of noble parentage, knowing that thereby triple commoditie ensued: the first, for as much as by that meane they assured many great personages vnto them: secondly, they drewe (by the awe of their example) infinite numbers of the common people after them: And lastly, they adventured the more boldly (vnder those honou=
rable, and glorious names and titles) to publish

their peevish and pelting miracles. And this surely was the cause that Sexburge in Shepie, Mildred in Tanet, Etheldred at Elye, Edith at Wiltton, and sundrie other simple women of Royall bloud in eche quarter, were canonized Saints. for generally the Religious of those times were as thankfull to their benefactors, as euer were the heathen nations to their first Kings and founders: The one sort Sanctifying such, as did either builde them houses, or deuise them orders: And the other Deifying such, as had made them Cities, or prescribed them Lawes and government.

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

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

Folkstone, in the time of King Edward (next before the Norman conquest) conteined 120. Sulleries, Hydes, Carowes, or ploughlands: for by all these names is the quantity of a Ploughland teemed in the booke of Domesday: there were in it fiue parish churches: it was rated at the yeerely value of 110. poundes, and then belonged to the Earle Godwyne, who, and his sons sore spoiled it, what time they harried that whole coast for reuenge of their banishment, as wee haue often before remembred; and the greater part therof was eftsoones burnt and spoiled, by the Scots and Frenche, ioyning handes against vs, soone after the departure of King Edward the third. But the continuall warre, which the Sea maintaineth against it, hath done more detriment than all the rest. For that violently washeth, and by peace meale wasteth it so, that not onely the Nunnerie which stood 28. pearches from the high water marke is nowe almost swallowed vp, but the castle, which Eadbalde (or, as some thinke, William Albranc, or Auorenche, to whom Folkestone was giuen) did builde, and foure of those fiue parish churches, be departed out of sight also. Onely some broken walles, in which are seen great Brickes (the markes of Bryttish building) do remaine, and the names of the parishes of our Ladie and Saint Paule, are not cleane forgotten.

Iohn Twyne commendeth (aboue all others) the Oistres that come from Folkstone, aswell for the taste, as for the greatnes, contending that the
same were they, that for Dainties were aunciently transported to Rome: and that the coast there, all along was known to the Romane Poetes, Ausonianus, Juvenal, and Lucane, by the name of Rhutupiæ, Rhutupinus ager, or Rhutupinum Littus, to which ende also Master Camden doth cite them.

Sandgate Castle.

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

Castle Hyll.

Vpon this steepe downe, or hill (which is also in the parish of Folkstone, somewhat neerer to Hythe than Sand= gate is) there are yet extant to the eie, the ruined walles of an auncient fortification: which for the height thereof might serue for a watch towre to espie the enimie, and for the compasse it might bee a sufficient receptacle for the inhabitants of this castle. This, (as I con= iecture) began to be neglected, after that meeter places for that purpose were builded at Saltwood and Folkstone, on eche side of it. The countrie people call it, Castle-hill, and many of them haue heard the foundation thereof ascribed to King Ethelbert, the first godly king of this Shyre.

Saint Nicholas chappell.

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

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

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

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

Seruati ex vndis vbi figere dona solebant,

Where such as had escapte the Sea,
were woont to leaue their guifts:

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

And bicause our Portes men traded the Sea
and liued by quicke returne, they were not vnpro=
uided of an Eolus also that might direct the winde
for their desire. For, within memorie, there were
standing in Winchelsey, three parish churches, S.
Lennard, S. Giles, and S. Thomas (though now S.
Thomas alone serueth the Towne) and in that of
S. Lennard there was erected the picture of S. Lennard the patron of the place, holding a Fane (or Eolus scepter) in his hand, which was movuable at the pleasure of any that would turne it to such point of the Compass as best fitted the returne of the husband, or other friend, whom they expected: and so, after that done, and offering made (for without offering these Idoles would be idle) they promised to themselves the desired winde, both speedie, and prosperous. I doubt not, but our Portes men had made these Saintes free of the Cinque Portes, even as the Thurians (a people of Italie) sometime did, who, when as Dionysius had armed thirtie ships to the Sea against them, and that suddenly a North winde arose and knocked them together one against another till they fell in pieces, they (by and by) offered sacrifice to the North winde, and made it free of their City. A thing truly, more to be sorrowed than scorned, that men, disabling God’s power, or doubting his good will, or discrediting his promise, should thus either leave him wholly, or cleave to these Idoles and make them partly coadiutors with him. But I thinke that you bee desirous to heare of Hythe it selfe, which you haue already in eie, and therefore let vs make vnto it.

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

The name of this place, imponing (as it should seeme) by the generalitie thereof, some note of woorthinesse, and the long continued privileges thereunto belonging (it selfe being long since one of the five principall Portes) at the first led me (and happily may heer after moue others also) to thinke, that it had beene of more estimation in time past, than by any other thing nowe apparant may well be conjectured. Howbeit, after that I had somewhat diligently searched the Saxon antiquities, from whence (if from any at all) the beginning of the same is to be derived, and had perused the booke of Domesday, wherein almoste nothing (especially that might bee profitable) was pretermitted, and yet found little, or (in maner) nothing, concerning this Towne committed to memorie: I became of this minde, that either the place was at the first of little price, and for the increase thereof indowed with Privileges, or (if it had bee at any time estimable) that it continued not long in that plight.

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

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

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

The towne of Hythe (saith Leland) although it be now but one parish, and the same a chappell to Saltwood, did once extend itselfe two miles along the shore, and had the parishes of our Lady, Saint Nicholas, S. Michael, and of our Lady at Westhythe, which be now destroyed. And he supposeth, that this Hythe began to increase, after such time as Westhythe and Lymne decayed, by the departure of the Sea from them. And heereof also it came to passe (as I haue heard) that whereas Westhythe was long since cleane without the jurisdiction of Saltwood, because it stood without that honour, this Hythe was subject into it, as lying within the precinct thereof, vntill that our Souereigne Ladie Elizabeth endowed them with a corporation of Maior and Jurates.

From this Towne (saith Henrie Huntingdon) Earle Godwine, and his sonnes in the time of their exile, fetched away divers vessels lying at roade, even as they did at Rumney also, whereof we shall haue place to speake more hereafter. Before this Towne (in the reigne of King Edwarde the first) a great fleete of French men shewed themselves upon the Sea, of which, one (being furnishd with two hundreth Soulidiours) set her men on land in the Hauen, where they had no sooner pitched their foote, but the Townesmen came upon them, and slew them to the last man, wherewith the residue were so afraide, that foorthwith they hosed vp saile, and made no further attempt. This Hyde, miserably scourged. Towne also was grievously afflicted in the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the fourth, in so much as (besides the furie of the pestilence, which raged al ouer) there were, in one day, two hundreth of the houses consumed by flame, and five of their ships with one hundreth men, drowned at the Sea: By which hurt the inhabitants were so wounded, that they began to devise how they might abandon the place, and build them a Towne else where: Whereupon they had resolved also, had not the
King by his liberall Chartre (which I haue seene vnder his seale) released vnto them, for fiue turnes next following (vnesse the greater necessity should in the meane time compell him to require it) their seruice of fiue ships, of one hundreth men, and of fiue garsons, which they ought of dutie, and at their owne charge without the helpe of any other member, to finde him by the space of fifteene daies together. They haue at this Hythe, Saint Bar=tilmewes hospitall (as they call it) which was erected by Hamon of Hythe (sometime Bishop of Rochester, and named of Hythe because it was his native towe) for the continuall reliefe of ten poore persons, and endowed with twenty marks of yearly profite, or thereabouts.

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

Saltwood.

That Saltwood was long sitence an Honour, it may appeere by an auncient writ, directed by King Henrie the seconde, from beyond the Seas, to King Henrie his Sonne, for the restitution of Thomas Becket the Archbishop, to all such goodes, lands, and fees, as were taken from him during the displeasure betwene them: which writ, both for shew of the auncient forme, and bicause it conteineth matter of hystorie, I will not stick to exemplifie, word for word, as Mathew Parise hath recorded it. ‘Sciatis, quod Thomas Cant. Episcopus pacem mecum fecit ad voluntatem meam, & ideo præcipio tibi, ut ipse, & omnes sui, pacem habeant, & faciat eis habere, & suis, omnes res suas, bene, in pace, & honorifice, sicut habuerunt tri=
bus mensibus, antequam exirent Anglia: faciatisque
venire coram vobis, de melioribus & antiquioribus
militibus, de honore de Saltwood, & eorum iuramento
faciatis inquiri, quid ibi habetur de feodo Archiepiscopatis
Cant. & quod recognitum fuerit esse de feodo ipsius,
ipsi faciatis habere. valete.’ But if this Recorde of the
Kings, suffice not to prooue the honor of this place,
then heare (I pray you) a word or twaine of the
honourable (or rather the Pontificall) dealing of
William Courtney the Archbishop and amplifier of
this Castle: who, taking offence that certaine poore
men (his Tenants of the Manor of Wingham) had
brought him rent hay and littar to Canterbury,
not openly in cartes for his glorie as they were
accustomed, but closely in sackes vpon their horses
as their abilitie would suffer, cited them to this his
castle of Saltwood, and there, after that he had she=
wed himselfe (Adria iracundiorem) as hote as a
taste with the matter, he first bound them by othe
to obey his owne ordinance, and then inioyned
them for penance, that they should each one march
leisurely after the procession, bareheaded, and
barefooted, with a sacke of hey (or strawe) on his
shoulder, open at the mouth, so as the stuffe might
appeere hanging out of the bag to all the behol=
ders. Now I beseech you, what was it else for
this proud Prelate, thus to insult ouer simple men,
for so small a fault, (or rather for no fault at all)
but ‘Laureolam in Mustaceis quærere,’ and no better.

Before such time as this Castle came to the hands
of these Archbishops, it was of the possession of
Henrie of Essex, who helde it of the Sea of Can=
terburie, and being accused of Treason by Robert of
Mountforde, for throwing away the Kings Stan=
darde and cowardly flight at a fight in Wales to
the great hazard of King Henry the seconde being
then in person thereat, hee offered to defende it by
his bodie against Mountfort, and was by him van=
quished in the Combate, and left for dead: But
the Monks of Reading tooke him vp and both re=
couered him to life, and receiued him into their Or=
der, exchanging the Natural death, for that time in=
to a Ciuile. For this forfeiture Henrie the 2. seysed
Saltwood, and helde it during his life: So did king
Richard the first after him: But King Iohn in the
first of his reigne restored it to the Church againe.
Thus farre onely, of the place: Touching Becket,
we shall haue cause to speake further in Canterbu=
rie, and other places following. And therefore, lea=
ing on our right hand the stately partes of Sir
Edward Poynings vnperfect building at Ostenhan=
gar, which some, by what warrant I wote not, call
Oescinghangar, ascribing the first building thereof
to Oesc the second King of Kent, and the restaura=
tion to Bartram Cryol, a wardein of the fiue Ports,
Let vs heare what is to be said of Shipwey.

Shipwey, or Shipweyham, in the
Recordes: commonly, Ship= 
wey Crosse.

Betweene Hyde and Westenhanger (though not in right line) lieth Shipwey, the place that was of auncient time honested with the Plees and assemblies of the Fiue Ports; although at this day neither by good building extant it bee much glorious, nor by any common meeting greately frequented.

I remember, that I haue read in a booke of the Priuileges of the Fiue Portes, that certaine princall points concerning the Port townes, be determinable at Shipwey onely: that is to say, of these five: Treason against the King; Falsifying of money; Seruices withdrawen; False iudgement: and Treasure found. And likely it is, that the withdraweing of the triall of causes from thence to Douer Castle, hath brought decay and obscuritie vpon the place.

Of this place, the whole Last of Shipwey (con=teining twelue Hundrethes) at the first tooke, and yet continueth, the name: At this place, Prince Edward, the Sonne to King Henrie the third, exacted of the Barons of the Fiue Portes their oth of fidelity to his Father, against the mainteiners of the Barons warre: And at this place onely our Limenarcha (or Lord Wardein of the Portes) receaueth his oathe, at his first entrie into the office.

Whether this were at any time a Harborow for ships, (as the Etymologie of the name giueth likelihoode of coniecture) or no, I dare neither affirme nor denie, hauing neither read, nor seene, that may lead mee to the one, or the other: onely I remember, that Robert Talbot (a man of our time, and which made a Commentarie vpon the Itineraire of Antoninus Augustus) is of the opinion, that it was called Shipwey, bicause it lay in the way to the Hauen where the ships were woont to ride. And that Hauen taketh hee to bee the same, which of Pтолomie is caled <kainos limên>, Nouus Portus: of Antoninus Limanis, of our Chroniclers Limene Mouth, and interpreted by Leland to betoken, the mouth of the riuer of Rother, which now in our daies openeth into the Sea at Rye, but before time at Winchelsey.

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

In deede, the name, both in Greeke, and olde Englishe (which followeth the Greeke) that is to say, Limen, and Limene Mouth, doth signifie a Haue, whereof the Towne of Lymne adioyning, and the whole Deanie, or limit of the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, in which it standeth (for that also is cal=
led Lymne) by likelyhoode tooke the name. This Hauen (saith hee) stoode at the first, vnder a high Rocke in the Parish of Lymne, vnder the which there was situate a strong castle for the defence of the Porte, the ruines of which building (called Stutfalle) bee yet apparant to the eie and do enui=rone almost ten acres of grounde. There is extant also, a faire paued cawsey, called Stony-streate being foure or fiue myles of length, and leading towards Canterbury from the same porte: and they of the Towne enjoy the Privileges of the Fiue Portes, and do reserve a brasen Horne, and a Mace, as ensignes of Castle Garde, and administration of Iustice, in olde time exercised there.

There bee moreouer Brytaine bricks, in the walles of the Church and of the Archdeacones house, as Master Stow, mine olde friend obseruing the same did enforme me. Finally they affirme, that (the water forsaking them by little and little) decay and solitude came at the length vpon the place.

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

These coniectures, and reports be resonable, but yet, as I am sure that they be utterly at variaunce with that opinion which Leland would plant of the present course of the Riuer of Rother (as we will shew in Newendene, when we shall come to the place) so am I in doubt also, what meanes may be found to reconcile them with the relations of Asserus Meneuensis, and our old Saxon Chronicles, which seeme to affirme, that Apledore stoode vpon the water Lymen: which if it be so, then I see not (the places considered) how this towne of Lymne could euer be situated vpon the same Riuer. The words in effect, be these. ‘In the yeere, after Christ, 893. the great armie of the Danes, lefte the East part of Fraunce, and came to Boloigne, and from thence with 250. vessels sailed into the mouth of the Riuer Lymen, in Kent, which floweth from the great woode that is called Andred: Thence they towed vp their boates foure miles into that woode from the mouth of the Riuer, where they found a Castle halfe built, and a fewe Countrie men in it, all which together with the vil lage, they destroied, and fortified at a place called Apultree.’ By this it may indeed at the first face seeme, that the Riuer Lymen led from Apledore to the Sea, and came not by Lymne: but yet (that I may say somewhat for Talbot) these words do not
necessarily enforce so much, for that they bee not, that they towed their ships vp to Apledore, but four miles into the woode, and builded at Apledore; which they might well do, although they had come in at Hithe. To the which sense also the wordes of Asserus Meneuensis (which liued in that very time) do giue somewhat the more place and berte, when hee saith: 'They towed vp their ships, four miles into the wood, where they threwe downe a certaine Castle halfe built, in which a fewe Churches of the countrie were placed, and the Towne also, and they raised an other stronger in a place called Apledore.' For these words (an other stronger in a place called Apledore) seeme to import, that Apledore was not the Towne foure miles within the Rivers mouth which they pulled down, but some other: Which, as for the distaunce it might happily be Lymne that we haue in hande, so because there is no apparant memorial of any such course of the River, I will not affirme it to haue been the same, but referre the decision of the whole controersie to the learned and inquisitue Reader, that will bestowe his labour to trie, and trace out the very truth.

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

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

The enimie of mankinde, and Prince of darkness, Sathan the Diuell, perceiuing that the glibious and bright shining beames of Gods holy truth and gladsome Gospell had pearced the mistie thickes of ignorance, and shewed (not onely to the people of Germanie, but to the inhabitants of this Island also) the true way of their deliverance from damnable error, idolatrie, and Popish superstition: And fearing, that if he did not now bestirre him busily, he was in perill to lose infinite numbers of his sujects, and consequently no small part of that his spiritual kingdom: he practized most care fully in all places, with Monkes, Friars, Priestes, Nonnes, and the whole rablement of his religiouns armie, for the holding of simple soules in wonted obedience, and the vpholding of his usurped Empire in the accustomed glory, opinion, and reuerence.

And for this purpose (amongst sundry sleights,
set to shew in sundry places, about the latter ende and declination of that his reigne) one was wrought by the Holy maide of Kent, in a Chappell at this towne, in deusie as malicious, in deede as mischeuous, and in discouerie as notorious, as any whatsoeuer. But because the midst, and end of this Pageant, is yet fresh in the knowledge of many on lyue, and manifested to al men in bookes abroad:

And for that the beginning thereof is knowne to very few, and likely in time to be hid from all, if it be not by some way or other continued in minde: I will labour, onely to bewray the same, and that in such sort, as the mainteiners thereof themselues have committed it to the worlde in writing.

For not long since, it chaunced mee to see a little Pamphlet, conteining foure and twenty leaues, penned by Edward Thwaytes, or I wote not by what dolthish dreamer, printed by Robert Redman, Intituled ‘A maruellous worke of late done at Court of Strete in Kent,’ and published (as it pretendeth) ‘to the deuout people of that time for their spirituall consolation:’ in which I founde the very first beginning, to haue beene as followeth.

1525. About the time of Easter, in the seuenteenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the eight, it hapned a certaine maiden named Elizabeth Barton (then seruaunt to one Thomas Kob, of the Parish of Alington, twelue myles distant from Canterbury) to bee touched with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascende at diuers times vp into her throte, and swelled greatly: during the time whereof, shee seemed to bee in grieuous paine, in so much as a man woulde haue thought that shee had suffred the pangs of death it selfe, vntill the disease descended, and fell downe into the bodie agayne.

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

This her diuination and foretelling, was the first matter that moued her hearers to admiration: But after this, in sundry of her fits following, al though she seemed to the beholders to lie as stil as a dead body (not movinge any part at all) as well in the traunces themselues, as after the pangs passed also, she told plainly of diuers things done at the Church and other places where she was not present, which neuerthelesse she seemed (by signes proceeding from hir) most liuely to beholde (as it were) with hir eie. She spake also, of heauen, hell, and purgatory, and of the idies and sorrowes, that
sundry departed soules had and suffered there: Shee 
preached frankly against the corruption of maners 
and euil life: She exhorted repaire to the Church, 
hearing of Masse, confession to Priestes, praire to 
our Lady and Saincts, and (to be short) made in al 
points, confession and confirmation of the Popish 
Creede and Cathechisme, and that so deuoutly and 
discretely (in the opinion of mine authour) that hee 
thought it not possible for hir to speake in that 
manner.

But, amongst other things, this one was euer 
much in hir mouthe, that ‘She would goe home,’ and 
that she had beene at home, whereas (to the vnder= 
standing of the standers by) she had neuer beene 
from home, nor from the place where she lay: wher= 
vpon, being (in a time of another traunce) deman= 
ded where That home was, she aunswered, Where 
she sawe and heard the ioyes of heauen, where S. 
Michael wayed soules, where S. Peter carried the 
keies, and where she hir selfe had the company of 
our Lady at Court of Strete, and had hartily be= 
maunded hir, to offer vnto hir a Taper in hir chap= 
pell there, and to declare boldly to all Christian 
people, that our Lady of Court of Strete, had reui= 
ued hir from the very point of death: and that hir 
pleasure was, that it should be rong for a miracle. 
Which words when her master heard, he said, that 
there were no Belles at that Chappell, whereunto 
the Maiden answered nothing, but the voice that 
spake in her proceeded, saying, ‘Our blessed Lady will 
shew mo miracles there shortly, for if any depart this 
life sodainly, or by mischaunce, in deadly sin, if he be 
vowed to our Lady hartely, hee shall be restored to 
life againe, to receiue shrift, and housell, and after to 
depart this worlde with Gods blessing.’ Besides this, 
she tolde them what meate the Heremite of that 
Chappell of our Lady at Court of Strete had to his 
supper, and many other things concerning him, 
whereat they maruailed greatly.

And from that time forwarde, she resolued with 
hir selfe to go to Court of Strete, and there to pray 
and offer to our Lady, which also she did according= 
ly: And was there delaide of hir cure for a certaine 
season, but yet (in the meane time) put in assured 
hope of recouerie. During which meane while, 
the fame of this marueylous Maiden was so spred 
abroade, that it came to the eares of Warham the 
Archbishop of Canterbury, who directed thither 
Doctour Bocking, Master Hadleighe and Barnes, 
(three Monkes of Christes Church in Canterbury) 
father Lewes and his fellowe (two observants) his 
Officiall of Canterbury, and the Parson of Alding= 
ton: with commission, to examine the matter, and 
to informe him of the truth.

These men opposed her of the chiefe pointes of 
the Popish beliefe, and finding her sounde therein, 
not onely waded no further in the discoverie of the 
 fraude, but gaue faavourable countenaunce, and
ioyned with her in setting foorth of the same: So
that at her next voyage to our Lady of Court of
Strete, she entred the Chappell with 'Aue Regina
Cælorum' in pricksong, accompanied with these
Commissioners, many Ladies, Gentlemen, and
Gentlewomen of the best degree, and three thou=
sand persons besides, of the common sort of peo=
ple in the Countrie.

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

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

Thus was Elizabeth Barton aduaunced, from
the condition of a base seruaunt, to the estate of a
glorious Nonne: The Heremite of Court of Strete
was enriched by daily offring; S. Sepulchres got
the possession of a Holy Mayden; God was blas=
phemed, the holy Virgine his mother mishonoured;
the silly people were miserably mocked; The Bi=
shops, Priestes, and Monkes, in the meane time
with closed eies winking, and the Deuill and his
lymmes, with open mouth laughing at it. And
thus the matter stode sundrie yeares togethier, vn=
till at length, the question was mooued about king
Henries marriage, at which time this holy Maiden
(not containing her selfe within her former bounds
of hypocrisie) stepped into this matter also, and fei=
ned that she vnderstood by revelacion, that if the
King proceeded to the diuorce of Queene Cathe=
rine, he shoude not bee King of this Realme one
moneth after. Whereupon, her dooings were
once againe examined (not by men giuen ouer to
beleeue illusions, but by such as had the prudent
power of prouing spirits) and in the ende her dis=
simulation was deciphered, her Popish comfor=
ters were bewraied, the deceiued people were well
satisfied, these daungerous deceiuers were worthye=
ly executed, and the Deuill their Maister was
quite and cleane confounded.

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

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

But, ‘An nescis longas Re= gibus esse manus?’

Bylsington.

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

Whereupon, foorthwith one Edmund Staplega= te, exhibited another petition, and likewise made his claime to this effect. That whereas the said Edmund, held of the King (in chiefe) the Manor of Bylsington in Kent, by the seruice to be his Butler at the Coronation, as plainly appeered in the booke of Fees and Serieancies in the Exchequer: And whereas also by reason of that tenure, the late King Edwarde the thirde had both seised the landes of that petitioner (for so much as he was in his mi= noritie at the time of the death of Edmund Staple= gate his father) and had also committed the custo= die of his body to one Iefferay Chawsier (to whom
he paide 104. l. for the same) he nowe proffered to
doe that seruice, and praied to be admitted to the
office thereof, with allowance of the fees that be=longed thereunto. These claimes, and the replies
also, bothe of the Earle, and of Staplegate, being
heard and considered, it was then ordered (partly
for the shortnesse of the time, which would not per=
mit a full examination of the matter, and partly
because that on the Earles side it was proved, that
his auncestors had been in possession of that office,
after the alienation of the Manor of Bylsington,
whereas on the other part it appeered not that the
auncestors of Staplegate had euer executed the
same) that for the present Coronation the Earle
should be receiued, and the right of Staplegate, and all
others, should be nevertheless to them saued.

Thus much of the Manor of Bylsington, (which
Priorie, at
Bylsington.
lieth here on the right hande) I thought meete to
impart with you, to occupy vs withall in our way
to Rumney: for as touching the Priorie of blacke
Chanons that there was, I finde of Recorde, that
it was first aduancessed by Iohn Maunsell (Chaunce=lor of Englande) in the 31. yeere of King Henry the
thirde: at which time, he gaue vnto them the Ma=
nor of Ouerbilsington, with a Marsh of 120. acres
at Lydde, for the inclosing whereof the Prior had
licence of King Edward the thirde, in the first of his
Reigne. The yeerely value you may finde in
the particular of the Shyre, amongst the rest of
the suppressed houses.

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Rumney, called in Saxon, Rumen ea, that is to
say, The large watry place, or Marish: It is
written in the Records, corruptly, Rumenal,
and Romual. Twyne doth latine it Romanorum mare, as
if it had beene Sea, in
their time.
The participation of like Privilege,
might well haue moued me to haue
placed the Portes togethier, but the
purpose of mine order taken
calleth me another way, and bindeth
me to prosecute them as they lye in the order of
my ijourney.

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

This towne (saith the Recorde of Domesday)
was of the possession of one Robert Rumney, and
holden of Odo (then Bishop of Baieux, Earle of
Kent, and brother to King William the Conqueror) in the which the same Robert had thirteene
Burgesses, who for their seruice at the Sea were
acquitted of all actions and customes of charge, except fellonie, breach of the peace, and forstalling. It was sometime a good, sure, and commodious Hauen, where many vessels vsed to lie at Roade.

For Henrie (the Archedeacon of Huntingdon) made report, that at such time as Godwine (Earle of Kent) and his Sonnes were exiled the Realme (upon such cause of displeasure, as hath already appeered in Douer) they armed vessels to the Sea, and sought by disturbing the quiet of the people, to compel the King to their reuocation. And therefore (among sundrie other harmes that they did on the coast of this Shyre) they entred the hauen at Rumney, and led away all such ships as they found in the Harborow there.

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

Thomas Becket (the Archbishop) hauing by from ward disobedience and stubborn pertinacitie, provoked King Henrie the seconde to indignation against him, and fearing to abide the triall of ordinarie justice at home, determined to appeale to the Popes fauour at Rome, for which purpose hee secretly tooke boate at Rumney, minding to have escaped ouer: but he was driuen backe by a contrary winde, and so compelled to land against his will. The vnderstanding of which matter, so exasperated the King against him, that forthwith he seased his goods, and gaue commaundement by his writ to the Sheriffes of all coastes, to make arrest of all such as for any cause prouoked to the Pope. Hee caused also his subjectes (from twenty yeeres of age vpward) throughout the whole Realme, to renounce by oth all woonted obedience to the See of Rome, and sollicited earnestly the Emperour Frede ric, and Lewes the Frenche King, to haue joined with him in depositing Pope Alexander, for that hee so commonly receaued runnagates, and such as rebelled against their lawfull Princes.

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

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

It conteineth (as by due computation it may appeere) 24000. Acres. For the taxation of Rum
ney Marsh only (not accounting Walland Marsh, Guilford Marshe, &c.) amounteth to fiftie pounds, after the rate of one halfepeny the Acre) and it is

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at this day gouerned by certaine lawes of Sewers, that were made by one Henrie Bathe (a lustice and Commissioner for that purpose) in the time of King Henrie the thirde. Of which his statutes, experience in time hath begotten such allowance and liking, that it was afterward not only ordered that all the lowe groundes betweene Tanet in Kent and Pemsey in Sussex should be guided by the same: But they are also now become a patern and exemplar to all the like places of the whole Realme whereby to be gouerned. The place hath in it sundry villages, although not thicke set, nor much inhabited because it is ‘Hyeme malus, 6estate molestus, Nunquam bonus,’ Euill in Winter, grieuous in Sommer, and neuer good, As Hesiodus (the olde Poet) sometime saide of the Countrie where his Father dwelt. And therefore very reasonable is their conceite, which doe imagine that Kent hath three steps, or degrees, of which the first (say they) offereth Wealth without health: the second, giueth both Wealth and health: and the thirde affoordeth Health onely, and little or no Wealth. For, if a man, minding to passe through Kent toward London, should arriue and make his first step on land in Rumney Marshe, he shall rather finde good grasse vnder foote, than wholesome Aire aboue the head: againe, if he step ouer the Hilles and come into the Weald, hee shall haue at once the commodities, both ‘Cæli, & Soli,’ of the Aire, and of the Earth: But if he passe that, and climbe the next step of hilles that are betweene him and London, hee shall haue

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

And heerof it came to passe, that King Edward the fourth (in the beginning of his reigne) graunted, and each Prince sitthence haue confirmed, that the Inhabitants of all the towns within the limits of Rumney Marsh, should be incorporated by the name of Baylife, 24. Iurates, and communaltie of Rumney Marshe in the countie of Kent: hauing a court from three weekes to three weekes, in which they hold plea of all causes and actions, reall and personall, ciuill and criminall: hauing power to choose foure lustices of the peace yeerely amongst themselues, besides the Baylife, who is armed with the like auctoritie: hauing moreouer, returne of all the Princes writs, the benefit of all fines, for faites and amerclaments, the prilileges of leete, lawday and tourne, and exemption from tolle and taxe, Scot and lot, fifteene and subsidie, and from
so many other charges, as I suppose no one place within the Realme hath. All which was done (as it appeareth in the Charter it selfe) to allure men to inhabite the Marshe, which they had before abando=ned, partly for the vnholsonsnesse of the soile, and partly for feare of the enimie, which had often

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

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

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

And now, hauing thus viewed such places along the Sea shoare, as auncient Hystories haue put me in remembrance of, I might readily take occa=sion, both to recommend vnto you the vigilant studie of our Auncestours in prouiding for the de=fence of the Sea Coastes, and withall shew you a President or two of theirs, conteining the assesse of such particular Watch and Warde as they vsed there in the Reigne of King Edward the third: in whose time also, it was first ordered, that Beacons in this Countrie (as I haue told you) should haue their pitch pots, and that they should be no longer made of woodstackes or piles, as they be yet in Wilshyre and elsewhere. But because some of those assesses were not permanent and alwaies alike (as not growing by reason of any tenure) but arbitrable from time to time at the discretion of such as it liked the Prince to set over the Countrie in time of warres, And for that also we at this day (God be thanked therefore) haue besides the like watchfull indeuour of our present gouernours, sun= dry standing platforms (as you haue seene) erected to the very same end, and mainteined at the con}=
nuall charge of the Prince, I will not heere stande
upon that matter, but forsaking the shore, betake
me Northward to passe along the Riuere Rother
which diuideth this Shyre from Sussex: where, af-
ter that I shall haue shewed you Apledore, Stone,
and Newenden, I will pearce through the Wealde
to Medwey, and so labour to perforrne the rest of
this purpose.

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

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

This Hasten with his companie, landed in Pon=
teu, ranged ouer all Picardie, Normandie, Angeou,
Poietou and passed ouer Loire, euen to Orleance,
killing, burning, and spoiling whatsoeuer was in
his way, in so much that besides the pitifull but-
cherie committed vpon the people, and the inestim=
able bootie of their goods taken away, he consu=
med to ashes aboue nine hundreth religious hou=
ses and Monasteries.

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

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

Shortly after, commeth Hasten himselfe also,
with eightie saile more, and sailing vp the Riuere of
Thamise, he fortifieth at Middleton now Mylton,
ouer against the Ile of Shepey: Which thing when
King Alfred vnderstoode, he gathered his power
with all haste, and marching into Kent, encamped
betweene the two hostes of his enimies, and did so
beare himselfe, that in the ende he constrained Ha=
sten to desire peace, and to giue his owne othe, and
two of his Sonnes in hostage, for obseruation of
the same.

But how soone after, Hasten forgot his distresse,
and how litle he esteemed either his owne troth
plighted, or the liues of his children so pledged, it
shall appeere when we come to fit place for it: In
the meane while I let you know, that the booke of
Domesday (speaking of Apuldore) laieth it in the
hundreth of Blackburne, and descripteth it to con=
Stone, in the Ile of Oxney, called in Saxon (Stana) that is, a stone, or (nearer, and as the Nothern men yet speake) a Steane.

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

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

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

It is a Frontier, and Marchier Towne of this Shyre, by reason that it lieth upon the Riuere that diuideth Kent and Sussex in sunder there, which wa- ter Leland affirmeth to be the same that our aun-ci ent Chronicles call Lymene, though now of the common sort it is known by the name of Rother onely. It riseth (saith he) at Argas hill in Sussex, neare to Waterdowne Forrest, and falleth to Ro- therfield, thence to Hichingham, and so to Roberts bridge (corruptly so termed, for Rotbersbridge) from whence it descendeth to Bodyam Castle, to Newendene, Oxney, and Apultree, and soone after slippoth into the Sea. The place is not notable for any other thing, then that it harboured the first Carmelite Fryars that euer were in this Realme. For about the midst of the reigne of king Henrie the thirde, that order came ouer the Sea, arriued in this lande, and made their nest at Newendene, which was before a wooddie and soli- tarie place, and therefore (in common opinion) so much the more fit for Religious persons to inha- bite.

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

I read, that in the reigne of king Richard the second, one William Starnefeld was Pryor of this house, and that he committed to writing the origi- nall and beginning of the same, But hitherto (though to no great losse) it hath not chaunced me to see it.

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

The Weald, so named of the Saxon word weald, which signifieth A wooddie countrie. The Britons called it Andred, of which worde the Saxons called it by a second name also Andredesleag, in Latine, Saltus Andred the chase of Andred. This latter name was imposed for the exceeding greatnes of it:
for Anrhød in Britisht, is
as much as great, or
woonderfull.

Now are wee come to the Weald of
Kent, which (after the common opi-
nion of men of our time) is conteined
within very streight and narrowe li-
mits, notwithstanding that in times
past it was reputed of such exceeding bignesse,
that it was thought to extend into Sussex, Surrey,
and Hamshire, and of suche notable fame withall,
that it left the name to that part of the Realme,
through which it passed. For it is manifest,
by the auncient Saxon Chronicles, by Asserus Me=
neuensis, Henrie of Huntingdon, and almost all
others of latter time, that beginning at Winchel=
sey in Sussex, it reached in length a hundreth and
twenty miles toward the West, and stretched thir-
ty miles in breadth toward the North: And it is (in
mine opinion) very likely, that in respect of this
wood, that large portion of our Islande (which in
Caesars time contented foure seuerall Kings) was
called of the Bryttish word (Cainc) Cancia in La=
tine, and now commonly Kent: Of which deriuation,
one other infallible monument remaineth euen till
this day in Staffordshyre, where they yet call their
great woodie Forrest, by the name of (Kanc) also.

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

About the yeere after the Incarnation of Christ
seuen hundreth fiftie fiue, this Sigbert succeeded
Cuthred his cousine in the kingdom of the West=
saxons, and was so puffed vp with the pride of his
dominion (mightily enlarged by the prosperous
successes of his predecessor) that he gouerned with=
out feare of God, or care of man, making lust his
lawe, and mischiefe his minister: Whereupon one
Cumbra (an Earle and Counsellor) at the lamen=
table suite of the Commons, moued him to consi=
deration. But Sigbert, disdaining to be directed,
commaunded him most dispitefully to be slaine.
Heereat the Nobilitie and Commons were so much
offended, that assembling for the purpose, they
with one assent deprevied him of his crowne and
dignitie, and he (fearing woorse) fled into the wood,
where after a season a poore Hogheard (sometime
seruant to Cumbra) found him (in a place, which the
Saxon histories call Priefetsflode) and knowing him
to be the same that had slaine his Master, slue him
also without all manner of mercy.

The Historie of this Hogheard, presenteth to my
The Weald, was sometime a wildernesse.

minde an opinion, that some men mainteine tou= ching this Weald: which is, that it was a great while togethier in manner nothing els but a desart, and waste Wildernesse, not planted with Townes, or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shyre were, but stored and stuffed with heards of Deare, and droues of Hogs only. Which conceit, though happily it may seeme to many but a Paradoxe, yet in mine owne fantasies, it wanteth not the feete of sound reason to stand vpon. For, besides that a man shall read in the Hystories of Canterburie and Rochester, sundrie donations, in which there is mention onely of Pannage for Hoggges in Andred, and of none other thing: I thinke verily that it cannot be shewed out of auncient Chronicles, that there is remaining in the Weald of Kent, or Sussex, any one monument of great antiquitie. And truly, this thing I my selfe haue obserued, in 212

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

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

But when they come to the Tenauntes inhabi= ting within the Wealdy coutrie, then the stile and Intituling, is first,

Redditus de Walda,

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

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

Whereupon I gather, that although the pro= pertie of the Weald, was at the first belonging to certaine known owners, as well as the rest of the countrie: yet was it not then allotted into Tenan= cies, nor Manured like vnto the residue. But that euen as men were contented to inhabite it, and by peecemeale to rid it of the wood, and to breake it vp with the ploughe: So this latter rent (differing from the former, both in quantitie and qualitie, (as being greater than the other, and 213

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

The bounds of the Weald.

And heereout also springeth the diuersitie of opinions, touching the true limits of this Weald: Some men affirming it to begin at one place, and some at another, whereas (in my fantasie) there can be assigned none other certaine boundes there= of, than such as we haue before recited out of the
auncient Hystories. For, euen as in the old time (being then a meere solitude, and on no part inhabited) it might easily be circumscribed: So since (being continually from time to time made lesse by industrie) it could not long haue any standing or permanent termes. And therefore, whatsoeuer difference in common report there be as touching the same, for as much as it is nowe (thanked bee God) in manner wholly replenished with people, a man may more reasonably mainteine, that there is no Weald at all, than certainly pronounce, either where it beginneth, or maketh an end.

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

But, bicause I wote not, howe the naturall and auncient inhabitants of this countrie will beare it, that a yoong Nouesse, and lately adopted Denizen, should thus boldly determine at their disputations, I will heere (for a while) leaue the Weald, and go foorth to the residue.

Farley, in Saxon, farrlega, and may be interpeted, the place of the Boares, or Bulles. Farley, both the East and West, bordering vpon Medwey, belonged somtime to the Monks of Christes church in Canterburie, to whom it yeelded in the daies of King Edward the Confessor, twelue hundreth Eeles for a yeerely rent. This I exemplifie to the end that it may appeere, that their reseruations (in auncient time) were as well in victuall, as in money, and that thereof the lands so leased, were called Fermes, of the Saxon word, feormian, which is, to feed, or yeeld victual. Which Etymologie of the word, although it might suffice to the proofe of that matter: yet to the end, that my coniecture may haue the more force, I will adde vnto it the authoritie of Geruasius Tilberienisis, a learned man, that flourished in the daies of King Henrie the seconde, who in his Dialogue of the obseruations of the Exchequer, hath in effect as followeth.

'Vntill the time (saith he) of King Henry the first, the Kings vsed not to receiue mony of their lands, but victuals, for the necessarie prouision of their house. And, towards the paiment of the soulidiors wages, and such like charges, money was raised out of the Cities and Castles, in the which husbandrie and tillage was not exercised. But at the length, when as the king, being in the partes be yond the Seas, needed ready money toward the furniture of his warres, and his subiects and far
mers complained that they were grievously trou-
bled by carriage of victuals into sundry partes of
the Realme, farre distant from their dwelling hou-
ses; then the King directed commission to certaine
discrete persons, which (having regard of the va-
lue of those victuals) should reduce them into rea-
sonable summes of money: The leuying of which
summes, they appointed to the Sherife, taking or-
der withall, that he should pay them at the Scale,
or Beame, that is to say, that he should pay sixe
pence ouer and aboue euery pound waight of mo-
ney, because they thought, that the money in time,
would wax so much the worser for the wearing, &c.'

Thus farre Geruasius.

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

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

The name of this Towne (being fra=
med, as the most part doe thinke, out
of the name of the water) might easi=
ly moue a man to iudge, that it had
beene long since the principall towne
vpon the Riwuer whereon it is situate: The rather,
for that the Saxons (in imposing the names of their
chiefe places) vsed to borow (for the most part) the
names of the waters adioining, as Colchester was
so by them called, of the water Colne: Ciceter (or
rather Cyrenchester) of the water Cyren, in Latine
Corinius; Donchaster of the riuier of Done: Lyn=
colne of Lindis: and (to come to our owne Shyre)
Eilesford of Elie, Dartford of Darent, Crayford of
Cray, and such other.

Howbeit, for as much as I finde not this place,
aboue once named in any auncient historie, and but
seldomne mentioned in any Records that I have
seen, I dare not pronounce any great antiquitie
of it, but speake chiefly of that which it hath gotten
within the compasse of later memorie.

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In the Parlement, holden the xi. yeere of King
Henry the seuenth, the custodie of the weights and
measures (then renewed according to the King's standard) was committed to this town, as to a place most commodiously situate to serve the turne of the whole shire in that behalf: And in the time of King Edward the sixth, the town, which before times had been governed by a Portreue, was newly incorporated and endowed with sundrie liberties, all which soone after it forfeited by ioyning in a rebellion moved within this shire, vnder the reigne of Queen Marie. Neuerthelesse, of late time the Queenes Maiestie (that nowe is) of her great clemencie, hath not onely restored the place to a new incorporation, but endowed it also with greater Priuilege, apperealing the Maior with the authoritye of a justice of the Peace, exempting the Townesmen from forreine Sessions, and creating the Towne it selfe a Boroughe, enabled to have voice in Parleament.

In it were foure principall ornamentes of building, the College, the Bishops Palace, the house of the Brothers of Corpus Christi, and the Bridge:

The College. of which the first, was built by Boniface (the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and Vncle to Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the third) to the honour of Peter, Paule, and Saint Thomas (the Martyr, as they would haue it) and endowed with great possessi- ons, by the name of an Hospitall. This had not stoode fully one hundred and fortie yeeres, but that William Courtney (a successour in that See, and a noble man, as the other was) pulled it downe, and erecting a new after his owne pleasure, gained thereby the name of a founder, and called it, a College of Secular Priestes.

The Palace. The Palace, that yet standeth, was begunne by Iohn Vfford the Archbishop, but for as much as hee died before he had brought the worke to the midst, Simon Islepe (the next in succession sauing one) took this matter in hand, and not onely pulled downe a house of the Bishops which had long before stoode at Wrotham, but also charged his whole Prouince with a tenth to accomplish it.

The Schoole. I finde in a Recorde, that Thomas Arundell (an other Bishop of the same See) founded a Chaun- terie at Maidstone, which whether it be the same, that was sometime called the house of the Bro-thers, and but lately convuerted by the Townes- men into a Free schoole, or no, I will not boldly af- firme, but I think it rather so, than otherwise. Of the Bridge I finde no beginning, but I sus- pect that it rose by the Archbishops, which were not onely owners of the Palace (hard by, as you see) but Lords and Patrones of the whole Towne and Church also. Neither is it unlikely that it receiued helpe of Archbishop Courtney, of whom it is recorded that he builded at Maidstone somewhat besides the College.

And thus muche onely of the Towne: As tou- ching the River of Medwey, it seemeth to have been so named, either because it stood in the middle of the Kentish kingdome, or else for that it ranne midde
betweene the two Bishopricks: For the woorde
(Midweg) signifieth nothing else, but the Midway
as (Middeg) doth noone, or Midday: vnlesse happliy
some man would rather haue it called (Medwœg)
because of the fruitfull medowe that it maketh all
along the course of the same.

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

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

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

And at this towne, the name of Medway deser-
uedly beginneth, as well bicause the towne is na-
med of it, as also for that it hath there receuued
all the helpe of the other streames, and is very
neare to the midst of the Shyre (which it diuersly
diuideth) in regard, either of the length, or breadth
thereof.

Divers other smal pipes of water there be, that
doe minister secondarie helpe to this Nauigable
Riuere, some out of Sussex, and others out of our own
Shyre, all which I may the better passe over with
silence, bicause they may with more pleasure bee
seen in the Charde, than read heere.

For my good friend, Master Philip Simonson of
Rochester, hath lately published some parte of his
labour in describing our shyre of Kent, whereby
not onely the Townes and Hundreths, with the hilles
and houses of men of worthe, are more truely sea-
ted: but also the Seacoastes, Riveres, Creeches, Water-
rings, and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and tra-
ced, than heerefore, in this, or any other of our
land (that I know) hath beeone performed. Besides
the which he hath observed sundry other things
very serviceable, though not meete to be made
commune. Onely I will lay downe, two, or

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

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

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

Robert, the Duke of Normandie, had
issue by a Concubine (whose name,
as the Annales of Saint Augustines
reporte, was Harlothe, and after
whom, as I coniecture, suche inconti-
nent women haue euer since beene called Harlots)
three Sonnes, that is to say, William that after-
ward subdued this Realm, Robert, that was crea-
ted Earle of Moretone; and Odo that was first
consecrated Bishop of Baieux, then Earle of Kent,
and lastly Lieutenaunt (or Vicegerent) of this whole
Reame, vnder William his brother.

Robert, was reputed a man of small courage,
wisedome, or learning, and therefore passed his
time ingloriously: But Odo, was founde to be of
nature so busie, greodie, and ambitious, that hee
moued many Tragedies within this Realme, and
was in the end thrown from the Stage, and dri-
uen into Normandie, as heereafter in fit place shall
be more amply declared.

In the meane while, for this present place, and
purpose, I finde, that during his aboade in Kent,
he had so incroched vpon the lands and Priuiled=
ges of the Archbishopricke of Canterburie, and
Bishoprick of Rochester, that Lanfranc (being pro-
moted to that See of dignitie, and finding the want)
complained to the King, and obteined, that with
his good pleasure they might make triall of their
right with him. To the which end also, the same
king gaue commission to Goisfrid (then Bishop of
Constance in Normandie) to represent his owne person, for hearing of the controersie: caused Egelric the Bishop of Chichester (an aged man, singularly commended for skill in the Lawes, and Customes of the Realme) to be brought thether in a Wagon, for his assistaunce in Counsell: com-
maund ed Haymo (the Sheriffe of Kent) to summons the whole Countie to giue in evidence: and charged Odo his brother to be present, at such time and place, as should be notified vnto him.

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

And likewise when he did committe bloudshead, manslaughtter, or any other criminall offence in such wise that hee were deprehended dooing the fault, that the amends thereof belonged to the King also: but in this latter case, if hee were not taken with the manner, but departed without pledge taken of him, that then the triall and the amends perteined to the Archbishop himselfe, and that the King had not to meddle therewith.

On the other side also they agreed, that the Archbishop had many Privileges throughout all the lands of the King, and of the Earle: as name ly, the amerciament of bloudshead from such time as they ceasse to say Alleluia in the Church seruice, till the Octaues of Easter, the which how long it is, let them see that can turne the Pie and the Portuse: and at the least the one halfe of euerie amercia=ment, due for the unlawfull begetting of children, commonly called Cyldwite, which last thing, I doe the rather note, to the ende that it may appeere, that in those daies the Bishops had not wholly got=ten into their handes, the correction of adulterie and fornication, which of latter times they haue challenged from the Laitie, with such pertinacie and stifnesse, and haue punished (both in the Laitie, and clergie) with such lenitie, that not onely the Princes commoditie is thereby greatly decreased,
but also incontinence in his subjects intolerably augmented.

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

But to returne to Pinnendene: the commoditie

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

Boxley, may take the name either of the Saxon (Boxeleage) for the store of Boktrees that peradventure somtime grew there: or of (Bucesleag) which is as much to say, as a place lying in Vmbilico, in the midst, or Nauell of the Shyre, as indee dooeth this Boxley somewhat neerely.

As touching the foundation of Boxley Abbay, I finde an obscure note in ancient Chronicles of S. Wereburges in Chester, where it is thus reported: ‘Anno, 1146. fundata est Boxleia in Cancia, filia Clareuallis propria.’ In the yeere, 1146. was founded Boxley in Kent, the verie daughter of Clareuale. Which I call obscure, because it appeareth not to me by the word (filia) whether it be meant, that Boxley were erected by the liberalitie of the Monasterie of Clareuale, or else instituted one ly after the profession, rule, and order of the same. For the like notes I finde in the same Chronicle of diuers other houses within England, to which the same Monasterie of Clareuale (and others also) were like good mothers: and (amongst the rest) that not many yeeres after, this Monasterie of

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

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

‘Comes Cornubiæ fundauit Hayles, filiam Belliloci in Anglia.’ The Earle of Cornwall founded Hayles, the daughter of Beaulieu in England, which his words, distinguisheth plainely betweene the founder that bare the charge of the building, and the Abbay, after the order and patterne whereof it was instituted.

But leauing to comment any longer vpon that doubtfull texte, I will take to witnesse the Chrono=
nicles of Rochester, which (putting the matter out of doubt) saie plainly, that one William de Ipre (a noble man, and Lieutenant to king Stephan in his wars against Maude the Empresse) founded the Abbay of Boxley, and planted it with a Couent of white Monkes. And so haue you at once, the name of the Author, the time of the foundation, and the rule of the profession, at Boxley: whereunto if you shal adde the yeerely value (which I reade in the Recorde to haue beene two hundreth and foure poundes) you haue all that I finde written concerning the same.

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

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

It chaunced (as the tale is) that vpon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken pr= soner in the warres betweene vs and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and haung good leysure to deuise for his deliue= raunce) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting togither fit matter for his pur= pose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellencie, that it not onely matched in comelynesse, and due pro= portion of the partes the beste of the common sort: but in straunge motion, varietie of gesture, and nimblenes of joints, passed al other that before had been seen: the same being able to bow down and lifte vp it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a liuely, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: by= ting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amyable, and smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased.

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

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

This lade was no sooner out of sight, but hee missed the streight westerne way that his Maister intended to haue gone, and turning Southe, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driuen (as it were) by some diuine furie, neuer ceassed iogging till he came at the Abbay church doore, where he so beat and bounced with his heeles, that diuers of the Monkes heard the noise, came to the place to knowe the cause, and (maruelling at the straunge=ness of the thing) called the Abbat and his Co=vent to beholde it.

These good men seeing the horse so earnest, and discerning what he had on his backe, for doubt of deadly impietie opened the doore: which they had no sooner done, but the horse rushed in, and ranne in great haste to a piller (which was the verie place where this Image was afterwarde aduanced) and there stopped himselfe, and stooed still.

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

The Carpenter then taketh the horse by the head, and first assayeth to leade him out of the Church, but he would not stirre for him: Then beateth hee and striketh him, but the lade was so restie and fast nailed, that he would not once remoue his foote from the piller: at the last he taketh off the Image, thinking to haue carried it out by it selfe, and then to haue led the horse after: but that also cleaued so fast to the place, that notwithstanding all that euer he (and the Monks also, which at the length were contented for pities sake to helpe him) coulde doe, it would not be mooued one inche from it: So that in the ende, partly of wearinesse in wrestling, and partely by persuasion of the Monkes, which were in loue with the Picture, and made him be=leeue that it was by God himselfe destinate to their house, the Carpenter was contented for a ppeece of money to go his way, and leaue the Roode behinde him. Thus you see the generation of this the great God of Boxley, comparable (I warrant you) to the creation of that beastly Idol Priapus, of whiche the Poet saith.
Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus SCAMNV, FACERETNE PRIAPVM,
MALVIT ESSE DEV: Deus inde ego furum, &c.

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

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

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Troian Palladium, which was a picture of wood that
could shake a speare, and rolle the eies as liuely as
this Roode did: and which falling from heauen,
chose it selfe a place in the Temple, as wisely as
this Carpenters horse did: and had otherwise so
great conuenience and agreement with this our
Image, that a man would easily beleue the deuice
had beene taken from thence: But I will onely
note, for my purpose, and the places sake, that
euen as they fancies that Troy was vpholden by
that Image, and that the taking of it awaye by
Diomedes and Vlysses, brought destruction (by sen-
tence of the Oracle) vpon their City: So the town
of Boxley (which stoode chiefly by the Abbay) was
through the discouerie and defacing of this Idoll,
and another (wrought by Cranmer and Cromwel)
according to the iust iudgement of God, hastened to
vtter decay and beggerie.

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

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

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proofe whether you were in cleane life (as they ca-
led it) or no: and if you so found your selfe, then
was your way prepared, and your offering accep-
table before the Roode: if not, then it behoued you
to be confessed of newe, for it was to be thought
that you had concealed somewhat from your ghostly
Dad, and therefore not yet woorthie to be admit-
ted ‘Ad Sacra Eleusina.’
Now, that you may knowe, howe this examina-
tion was to be made, you must vnderstande, that
this Sainct Rumwald was the picture of a pretie
Boy Sainct of stone, standing in the same churche, of
it selue short, and not seeming to be heauie: but for
as much as it was wrought out of a great and
weightie stone (being the Base therof) it was hard=
ly to be lifted by the handes of the strongest man.
Neuerthelesse (such was the conueighance) by the
helpe of an engine fixed to the backe therof, it was
easily prised vp with the foote of him that was the
keeper; and therefore, of no moment at all in the
handes of such as had offered frankly: and contra=
riwise, by the meane of a pinne, running into a post
(which that religious impostor standing out of
sight, could put in, and pull out, at his pleasure) it
was, to such as offered faintly, so fast and unmove=
able, that no force of hande might once stirre it. In
so much, as many times it mooued more laughter
than deuotion, to beholde a great lubber to lift at
that in vaine, which a yoong boy (or wench) had ea=
sily taken vp before him.

I omit, that chaste Virgins, and honest married
matrones, went oftentimes away with blushing
faces, leaving (without cause) in the mindes of the
lookers on, great suspicion of vncleane life, and
wanton behauiour: for feare of whiche note and
villanie, women (of all other) stretched their purse
strings, and sought by liberall offering, to make S.
Rumwalsd man their good friend and fauourer.

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

I my self can not coniecture, what reason should
moue them, to make this S. Rumwald the Touch=
stone of cleane life and innocencie, vnlesse it be vp=
on occasion of a myracle that he did, in making
two holy Priests to lift a great stone easily, which
before diuers Lay persons could not stirre with all
their strength and abilitie: Which thing (as also
his whole life and death) to the ende that the tale
shall want no part of due credite, I will shortly re=
cite, as in the woorke called Noua Legenda Angliæ,
John Capgrae hath reported.

A Pagan (or vnchristened) King of Northum=
berland, had married a Christian woman, daugh=
ter to Penda, the King of Middle Englande, who
would not (by any meanes) be knowne carnally of
her husband, till such time as he had condescended
to forsake Idolatrie, and to become a Christian
with hir. The husband (with much to doe) con=

sented to the condition, and she not long after
waxed great with childe, and as (vpon a time) they
were riding toward their Father King Penda, shee
fell into the travaile of childe birthe, and was deli=

uered by the way (in a faire medowe at Sutton) of a
man childe, which so soone as he was come out of
his mothers belly, cried with a lowd voice, three
seueral times, ‘Christianus sum, Christianus sum,
Christianus sum.’ I am a Christian, I am a Christian,
I am a Christian. And not ceasing thus, made
foorthwith plaine profession of his faith, desired to
be baptised, chose his Godfathers, named himselfe
Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers
by to fetch him a great hollow stone that hee

would haue to be vsed for the Fonte.

Heerevpon sundry of the Kings seruants assaied
to haue brought the stone, but it was so far aboue
all their strengthes that they could not once moue
it: when the Childe perceaued that, he commaun=
ed the two Priestes (his appointed Godfathers)
to goe and bring it, which they did foorthwith most
easily. This done he was baptised, and within
three daies after (hauing in the meane while dis=
coursed cunningly sundry mysteries of Popish re=
ligion, and bequeathing his bodie to remai=

ne at Sutton one yeere, at Brackley two, and at Bucking=
ham for euer after) his Spirit departed out of his
bodie, and was by the hands of the Aungels con=
ueied into heauen.

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

‘Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, Hugo Canda=
uena, Comes Sancti Pauli, Salutem: Vniuersitati vestræ
notum facio, quod Balliui mei (quos habeo in Anglia) ha=
bentes Warrantizam breuis mei cum sigillo meo depen=
dente, vt quicquid de tenementis meis facerent, ita sta=
bile foret ac si ego ipse fecisset, fecerunt quandam ratio=

nabilem venditionem (sicut eis mandaul litteris nostris)
de quodam Essario meo iuxta Terentforde, Canoniciis de

In English, thus.

‘To all the children of holy Mother Church, Hugh Canden, Earle of Saint Paule, Greeting: I make it knowne to you all, that my Bailifes (which I haue in Englande) hauing warrant by my Writte vnnder my Seale, that whatsoeuer they should doe concerning my landes, should be as availeable as if I my selfe had done it, did make a certeine reasonable sale (as I had commaunded them by my letters) of a certeine Assart of mine neare Dartforde, to the chanons of Lyesnes, and receaued C. shillings in earnest, gyuing securitie and promise on my behalfe, that the bargaine should be of force. But after this agreement so made, there came to me priuily to the partes beyonde the Sea the Monkes of Boxley, before that I knewe what my Bai= lifes had done, and they communed with mee about the buying of the same Assart, suppressing from mee the trueth of the thing done and of the bargaine assu= red to the Chanons of Lyesnes. They also corrupted with rewardes and flattering wordes a certeine Mes=senger, whome my Bailifes had sent to tell mee the trueth. I therfore, being ignorant of their craft, passed a bargaine vnto them of the same thing formerly sold: But afterward knowing the trueth, and meeting with their fraude, I withheld my Writings thereof, which they guilefully would haue caried away, before that I had either seene or heard them. Therefore (hauing frustrated their deceitful endeavouer) by the advise of my Court, and of many Wise men, I haue confirmed by my Chartre that first agreement made to the cha= nons of Lyesnes by the warrant of my Writte. Wher=fore I will, that the same bargaine remaine in force and vnshaken, being strengthened by the confirma= tion of my Lorde the King of England (who gaue me that lande) that the Monkes of Boxeley may not bee able in any thing concerning this to vnquiet them.
For, they are in no sorte to be hearde, seeing that by no means they may iustly claime any manner of right in that lande. Fare yee well.'

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

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

This Towne continued of good estimation untill the reigne of King Edwarde the Confessour, in whose daies, and during the displeasure betweene him and Earle Godwine, such as were of the deuo tion of the Earle at home, burned the Kings house at Midleton, while he and his sonnes abroade ran= sacked, herried, and spoiled, the skirts, and out= sides of the whole shyre besides: after which time, I haue not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any estimation, or price at all, more than for the market only.

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

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

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

For want of pertinent matter, tou= ching either the beginning, increase, or present estate of this place, I am druen to furnishe the roome with an impertinent Sermon, that a Mytred Father of Rochester long since bestowed vpon his
auditorie there. In the time of King Henrie the

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

Now, when this man should go to Rome (as the
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betweene the olde and the new Romanes, touching this article of religion, I will shew it you in a fewe of Virgils owne verses.

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

Which Thomas Phaer translated
after this manner.

Moreouer, when their end of life,
and light doth them forsake,
Yet can they not their sinnes, nor so=
rowes all (poore soules) of shake,
Nor all contagions fleshly from
them voides, but must of neede
Much things conggredred long, by won=
derous meanes at last out spread:
Therefore they plagued beene, and for
their former faultes and sinnes,
Their sundrie paines they bide: some high
in aire do hang on pinnes,
Some fleeting beene in floodes, and deepe
in gulfes themselues they tyer,
Till sinnes away be washt, or clen=
sed cleane with purging fyer.

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Eche one of vs our pænance heere
abide, that sent we bee
To Paradise at last: we few
these fields of ioy do see.
Till compasse long of time, by per=
fect course hath purged quite,
Our former cloffred spots, and pure
hath left our Ghostly Sprite,
And senses pure of soule, and sim=
ple sparks of heauenly light.

Nowe therefore, if this Bishops Poetrie may
be allowed for diuinitie, me thinketh that with
great reason I may intreate, that not onely this
worke of Virgils Aeneides, But Homers liades,
Ouides Fastes, and Lucians Dialogues also, may be
made Canonick: for these all excell in such kinde
of fiction. Since my first acquaintance
with Sittingborne, it hath pleased hir Maiestie to
bestow a Maior and Corporation vpon the place.

Tong Castle, or rather Thong Castle, in
Saxon þwanceastre, in Brytish Kaerkerry,
of (Thwang and Karry) both which
wordes doe signifie, a Thong
of Leather.

The British Chronicle, discoursing the inuitation, arriuall, and interteiment of Hengist and Horsa (the Saxon cap=taines) mentioneth, that among other deuises (practised for their own establishment

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and securitie) they begged of King Vortiger so muche land to fortifie vpon, as the hyde of a beast (cut into thongs) might incompsasse, and that therof the place should be called Thongcaster, or Thwangcaster: after such a like maner, as Dido (long since beguiling Hiarbas, the King of Lybia) builded the Castle Byrsa, conteining twenty and two furlongs in circuit, of which Virgil spake, saying:

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

They bought the soile, and Byrsa it cald, when first they did begin, As much as with a Bull hide cut, they could inclose within.

But Saxo Grammaticus applieth this Act to the time of the Danes, affirming that one Iuarus (a Dane) obteined by this kind of policie, at the hands of Etheldred the Brother of Alfred, to builde a fort.

And as these men agree not vpon the builder, so is there variance between written storie, and com=mond speech, touching the true place of that builde: for it should seeme by Galfrid, Hector Boetius, and Ric. Cirencester, that it was at Doncaster in the North Countrie, bicause they lay it in Lindsey, which nowe is extended no further then to the North part of Lincolneshire. But common opin= rion (conceiued vpon report, receiued of the elders by tradition) chalengeth it to Tong Castle in this Shyre: Whereunto if a man doe adde, that both 245

the first planting, and the chiefe abiding, of Hen=gist and Horsa was in Kent, and adioyne thereto al=so the authoritie of Mathew of Westminster, which writeth plainly, that Aurelius Ambrose the cap= taine of the Britons prouoked Hengist to bataille at Tong in Kent, he shall haue cause, neither to falsifie the one opinion lightly, nor to faith the other vnaduisedly.

And as for mine owne opinion of Doncaster (which is now taken to be the same that Ptolome called Camulodunum) I thinke verily, that it was named of the water Done whereon it standethe, and not of Thong, as some faine it. Which deriuation, whether it be not lesse violent, (and yet no lesse reaso=nable,) then the other, I dare referre to any reaso=nable and indifferent Reader. To this place therefore, of right belongeth the storie of King Vortigers Wassailing, which I have already exemplified in the generall discourse of the a uncil=ent estate of this Countrie, and for that cause doe thinke it more meete to referre you thither, then
heere to repeate it. For an end therefore I tel you, that the ditch and ruines of this olde Castle do yet appeere at Tong Mill, within one quarter of a mile of the parish Church there, and about so much Northward from the high way between London and Canterbury: where you may see the water drayned from the Castle ditch, to serue the corn-Mill.

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Tenham, in Saxon tynham, that is, the towne of ten houses: as Eightam was called of the Eight dwellings there.

I woulde begin with the Antiquities of this place, as commonly I doe in others, were it not that the latter and present estate thereof far passeth any that hath beeene tofore it. For heere haue wee, not onely the most dainty piece of all our Shyre, but such a Singularitie as the whole British liland is not able to patterne. The Ile of Thanet, and those Easterne parts, are the Grayner: the Weald was the Wood: Rumney Marsh, is the Medow plot: the Northdownes towards the Tha=myse, be the Cony garthe, or Warreine: and this Tenham with thirty other parishes (lying on each side this porte way, and extending from Ray=ham to Blean Wood) bee the Cherrie gardein, and Apple orcharde of Kent.

But, as this at Tenham is the parent of all the rest, and from whome they haue drawen the good iuice of all their pleasant fruite: So is it also the most large, delightsome, and beautifull of them. In which respect you may phantasie that you now see ‘Hesperidum Hortos,’ if not where Hercules founde the golden apples, (which is reckoned for one of his Heroical labours) yet where our honest patriote Richard Harrys (Fruiterer to King Henrie the 8.) planted by his great coste and rare industrie, the sweete Cherry, the temperate Pipyn, and the gol=den Renate. For this man, seeing that this Realme (which wanted neither the fauour of the Sunne, nor the fat of the Soile, meete for the ma=king of good apples) was neuerthelesse serued chie=fly with that Fruit from forrein Regions abroad, by reason that (as Vergil saide)
Pomaque degenerant, succos oblita priores:
and those plantes which our ancestors had brought hither out of Normandie had lost their natuie ver=dour, whether you did eate their substance, or drink their iuice, which we call Cyder, he (I say) about the yeere of our Lord Christ 1533. obtained 105, acres of good ground in Tenham, then called the Brennet, which he diuided into ten parcels, and with great care, good choise, and no small labour and cost, brought plantes from beyonde the Seas, and furnished this ground with them, so beautifully,
as they not onely stand in most right line, but seeme to be of one sorte, shape, and fashion, as if they had beene drawen thorow one Mould, or wrought by one and the same patterne.

Within Tenham was long since some Mansion perteining to the See of Canterburie: For, in the time of King Henrie the seconde, there was a great dispute (before the Archbishop, then soiuourning at Tenham) betweene the Prior of Canterburie, and the Prior of Rochester, not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester, then lately dead, which (as they of Canterbury claymed) ought to lye vpon the Altar with them, to be deliuered to the next Bishop, but was contradicted by them of Rochester. This pointe of Prioritie was to and fro mainteined with such pertinacitie, that neither would yeelde to other, but in the end they of Rochester put the Crosier into the hands of Baldwyne the Archbishop, who foorthwith deliuered it to the Prior of Canterburie, of whom Gilbert Glanuile the next successor tooke it. And at this house in the time of King Iohn, Hubert the Archbishop depart ted this life, as Mathew Parise reporteth: who ad deth also, that when the King had intelligence of his death, he brast foorth into great ioy, and said, that he was neuer King (in deede) before that houre. It seemeth, that he thought himselfe deliuered of a shrewe, but litle forsawe he that a shrewder should succeede in the roome: for if he had, he would rather have prayed for the continuaunce of his life, than loyed in the vnderstanding of his death. For after this Hubert, followed Stephan Langton, who brought vpon King Iohn such a tempestuous Sea of sorrowfull trouble, that it caused him to make shipwrack, both of his honour, crowne, and life also: The storie hath appeared at large in Dower, and therefore needeth not now esstoones to bee repeated. Touching the sickly situation of this towne, and the region thereabout, you may be admonished by the common Rythme of the countrie, singing thus,

He that will not liue long,  
Let him dwell at Muston, Tenham, or Tong.

Shepey, called sometimes Counos, and Covent, in Latine, Insula ouium, and Ovinia, a Balantum nomine (as one writeth) in Saxon, Scapage, the Ile of Sheepe.

Sexburga (the wife of Ercombert, a King of Kent) folowing the ensample of Eanswide, the daughter of King Ethelbald, erected a Monasterie of wo men in the Ile of Shepey, called Minster, which (in the late iust, and generall suppression) was found to be of the yeerly value of an hundreth and twenty pounds.

This house, and the whole Ile was scourged
thrice within the space of twenty yeeres and a little
more by the Danes, whome I may well call (as Atilla, the leader of the like people, called himselfe)
Flagellum Dei, the whip, or flaile of God. First, by thirtie and fiue saile of them, that arriued there and
spoiled it: Secondly, and thirdly, by the armies of them, that wintered their ships within it: Besides all which harmes, the followers of the Earle Godwine and his sonnes (in the time of their proscription) landed at Shepey, and harried it.

It should seeme by the dedication of the name, that this Ilande was long since greatly esteemed, either for the number of the sheepe, or for the finenesse of the fleese, although auncient foreigne writers ascribe not much to any part of all Englande (and much lesse to this place) either for the one respect, or for the other: But whether the sheepe of this Realme were in price before the comming of the Saxons, or no, they be now (God be thanked therefore) woorthy of great estimation, both for the exceeding finenesse of the fleese (whiche passeth all other in Europe at this day, and is to be compared with the auncient delicate wooll of Tarentum, or the Golden Fleese of Colchos, it selfe) and for the abundant store of flocks, so increaing euery where, that not only this little Isle whiche we haue now in hand, but the whole realme also, might rightly bee called Shepey.

This Ilande is also abundantly blessed with corne: But it feeleth some want of wood, which it now adaises buyeth dearerly in the continent of the Shyre. It hath in compass about 21. myles, and is a Bailiwyke or part of the Hundred of Miltton, as you may see in the particular of the Shyre that is already set downe.

In it there are at this day, two places, the one called Kingsborough, and the other Queenborough, maried (if I may so speake) in name, as the chiefe things of Note within the Ile.

The first, was aunciently called Cyningburh, (all one with the present name Kingsbourghe) and (being situate in the very midst of the Ile, and thereby most commodiously for the assembly of the inhabitantes) hath euermore beene frequented for the holding of their generall court, whereunto all the llanders do resort, as well for the choice of their Constable, that hath the office of the peace, as also for the election of the Bailies (or Wardeins) that take the charge of the Kings ferrie (or passage) by wa-ter betweene the Ile and the maine lande of the Shyre.

The other, was by King Edward the third at the very first named ‘Reginæ Burgus,’ in Latine, that is, Queeneborough, as we now speake, in English; and not ‘Cuningburgh,’ as Leland (mistaking it) did for a time misseleade me to thinke. This standeth at the West end of Shepey, together with the Ca-
stle, and was by the same King (as himselfe saileth in his Letters patents, dated the tenth day of May
in the forty two yeere of his reigne) builded for the strength of his Realme, and for the refuge of the inhabitants of this Iland.

During this building, William of Wickam (surnamed Perot) a man not so plentifully endowed with good learning, as abundantly stored with eclesiasticall living, (for he had nine hundred pounds of yeerely reuenue, fourteene yeeres together, and was afterwarde by degrees aduaunced to the keeping, firste of the priuie, and then of the broad seale) was Surueiour of the Kings workes, which is the very cause (as I conjecture) that some haue ascribed to him the thanke of the building it selfe. This Castle or platforme was somewhat repaired by King Henrie the eight, at such time as hee raised Blockhouses along the Sea coasts, for the causes already rehearsed in Dele.

Of this Castle at Quinborow, Leland saith thus,

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

A Castle high, and thundring shot,
At Quinbroughe is now plaste:
Which keepeth safe the llanders,
From euery spoile and waste.

Being at this Castle (in the yeere 1579) I found there, one Mathias Falconar (a Brabander) who did in a furnesse that he had erected) trie and drawe very good Brimstone and Copperas, out of a certein stone that is gathered in great plenty vpon the Shoare neare vnto Minster in this Ile.

Neare vnto this Castle, the same King Edward, did at the same time also, erect (as I saide) the Towne of Quinborow, which he created a free Borough, and made the Townsmen Burgesses, giuing them power to choose yeerely a Maior and two Bailifes, that should make their oath of allegiance before the Constable of that Castle, endowing them with 1Counsance of pleas, with the libertie of two markets weekly, and two Faires yeerely, and benefiting them with freedome of Tholle, and sundrie other bountifull priviliges, that might allure men to inhabite the place.

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Feuersham, in Saxon fafresham, and fafresfeld.

As it is verie likely, that the Towne of Feuersham receiued the chiefe nourishment of hir increase from the Religious house: So there is no doubt, but that the place was through the benefite of the water somewhat of price long time before the building of that Abbay there. For it is to be seene, that King Ethelstan helde a Parleament and enacted certeine lawes at Feuersham, about sixe hundreth and forty yeeres agoe: at which time (I think) it was some
Manor house belonging to the Prince, the rather, for that afterwarde King William the Conqueror (to whose handes at length it came) amongst other things gaue the aduowson of the Church to the Abbay of S. Augustines, and the Manor it selfe to a Normane in recompence of seruice.

But what time King Stephan had in purpose to build the Abbay, he recouered the Manor againe, by exchaunge made with one William de Ipre (the founder of Boxley) for Lillychurch: and so raising heare a stately Monasterie (the temporallities whereof did amount to a hundreth fiftie and fiue poundes) he stored it with Cluniake Monkes.

This house, was first honoured with the buriall of Mawde the Queene, his wife: Then with the seupiter of Eustachius his onely sonne: and shortly after himselfe also was there interred by them.

I reade none other thing worthy remembraunce touching this place, Saue that in the reigne of King Iohn, there brake out a great controversie betweene him and the Monkes of S. Augustines, touching the right of the Patronage of the church of Feuersham. For, notwithstanding that King William the Conquerour, had giuen it to the Abbay (as appeereth before) yet, there wanted not some (of which number Hubert the Archbishop was one) that whispered King Iohn in the eare, that the right of the Aduowson was deuoluted vnto him: which thing he beleewing, presented a Clarke to the Churche, and besides commaunded by his writ, that his presentee should be admitted. The Abbat on the other side withstooed him, and for the more sure enioying of his possession, not only ejected the Kings Clarke, but also sent thither diuers of his Monkes to keepe the Church by strong hand.

When the King vnderstood of that, he comman=ded the Sheriffe of the Shyre to leuie the power of his countie, and to restore his presentee: Which commaundement the officer endeououred to put in execution accordingly: But such was the courage of these holy hoorsons, that before the Sheriffe could bring it to passe, he was driuen to winne the Church by assault, in which he hurt and wounded diuers of them, and drewe and haled the rest out of the doores, by the haire and heeles.

Now it chaunced that (at the same time) Iohn the Cardinall of Saint Stephans (the Popes Le=gate into Scotland) passed through this Realme, to whom (as hee soiourned at Canterburie) the Monks made their mone: and he againe, both in=couraged them to sende their Pryor to Rome for remedie, and furnished them with his own Letters in commendation of their cause: In which, a= mongst other things, he tolde the holy father Inno=centius plainly, that if he would suffer Monkes to be thus intreated, the Apostolique authority would soone after be set at nought, not onely in England, but in all other countries also.

Heereupon the Pope sent out his commission,
for the understanding of the matter: but the Monkes (being now better advised) tooke a shorter way, and sending to the King two hundred marks in a purse, and a faire Palfrey for his owne saddle, they both obtained at his handes restitution of their right, and also wan him to become from thenceforth their good Lord and Patron.

But heere (I pray you) consider with me, whether these men be more likely to haue been brought vp in the Schoole of Christ, and Paule his Apostle (who teach, ‘Ne resistatis malo: & vincatis bono malum.’ ‘Resist not euill, but overcome euill with good’) Or rather to haue drawne their divinitie out of Terence Comedie, where the counsell is, ‘Malumus nos prospicere, quam hunc vlisci accepta iniuria;’ ‘We had rather looke to our selues before hand, than tarrie to be reuenged of him when we haue taken wrong.’ Yea, and out of the worst point of all Tullies Philosopie, where he permitteth, ‘Lacessitis iniuria, inferre vim & iniuriam;’ ‘Those that be prouoked by iniurie, to doe wrong and iniurie againe:’ seeing they bee so ready, not of euen ground only, but before hande, not to aunswere, but to offer, force and violence, euen to Kings and Princes themselves. I wis they might haue taken a better lesson out of Terence himselfe, who aduiseth wise men, ‘Consilio omnia prius experiri quam armis:’ ‘To proove al things by way of counsel, before they take weapon in hand.’ And therefore I pitie their beating so much the lesse. But by this and such other Monkish partes of theirs, you may see, ‘Quid otium & cibus faciat alienus:’ ‘What idleness, and cheere at other mens charge, is able to doe.’

This towne is well peopled, and flourisht in wealth at this day, notwithstanding the fall of the Abbay; which thing happeneth by a singular eminence of the situation: for it hath, not onely the neighborhood of one of the most fruitfull partes of this shyre (or rather of the very garden of Kent) adjoyning by lande, but also a commodious creeke, that serueth to bring in and carrie out by the water, whatsoeuer wanteth or aboundeth to the countrie, about it.

Vpon the hill at Little Dauington neare to this Town, King Henry the 2. about the 2. yeere of his reigne, raised a Priorie of Blacke Nonnes to the honour of Mary Magdalene: in emulation (as it may seeme) of that which his immediate predecessor king Stephan had erecte at Feuersham it selfe. The name, or value, is not read in the Register of the generall suppression of the Religious houses, bicause (as I haue heard) it escheated to the King before that time, or forfeited for not main	aining the due number of Nonnes appointed by the foundation.

Beda hath mention of a water in Kent, running by Reculuer, which he cal
leth Genlade: This name was afterward sounded Ylenlade, by the same misrule, that geard is now Yard, geoc Yoke, gyld Yeeld, gemen Yeomen, and such other.

Henrie of Huntingdon also reporteth, that King Edward (the Sonne of Alfred) builded at Gladmouth: This place I coniecture to haue stoode at the mouth of such a water, and thereof to haue been called, first Genlademouthe, and afterward (by contraction, and corruption of speech) Glademouthe.

For, to compound the name of a Towne, out of the mouth of a Riuuer adjoining, was most familiar with our auncestors: as Exmouthe was framed out of the Riuuer Ex: Dartmouthe of the water Dert: Stourmouth in this Shyre of Stowre, and such other like: And no lesse common also with vs of later time is it, to corrupt (by contraction) the true names almost of al places, but especially of so many of the same, as consisted at the first of three syllables, or aboue.

For, of Medweys Towne, we make Maidstone: of Eglesford, Ailsford: of Ottanford, Otford: of Sennocke, Sennocke: and so forth infinitely, both throughout this Shyre, and the whole Realme: and that so rudely (in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same: For, Maildulphesbyrig we call Malmesburie: Eouesham Esham: and Hagustaldham we cut of by the waste, and nickname it, Hexam.

Neither hath this our manner of abbreuiation, corrupted the names of townes and places onely, but infected (as it were with a certaine contagion) almost our whole speech and language: calling that which in olde time was heofod, nowe Head, Kynning King, Hlaford Lord, Sunu Sonne, and innumerable such other, so that our speech at this day (for the most part) consisteth of wordes of one syllable. Which thing Erasmus obseruing, merily in his Ecclesiast. compareth the English toong to a Dogs barking, that soundeth nothing els, but Baw, waw, waw in Monosyllable.

But if this rouing arrow of mine owne coniecture, haue missed the marke of Glademouth whereat I directed my shot, yet will I pricke at Ylenlade with another out of the same quiuer, and happily go neerer to it. Beda speaketh there of the Northeast mouthe of the flood Genlade: which speech of his were idle, if that water had none other mouthe but that one. And therefore, when I reade in 1Bedaes first booke (Chap. 25.) that Wantsume diuideth the Ile of Thanet from the Continent, on bothe sides: and in his fifte booke (Chap. 9.) that Reculuer stan...
of, and besides the maine course, of the Sea, or of a Ruier. For that water, which now sundereth the Ile of Greane from the Hundred of Hoo, hath two such mouthes (or Inlettes) the one of which openeth into the Thamyse, is called the North Yenlet, (notable for the greatest Oisters, and Flounders:) and the other (receiving the fall of Medway) is called Colemouth: and neither of them standeth in the full sweep, or right course, of those Riuers, but in a diuerticle, or by way.

Such another there is also, lying southwarde within the same Medway, into which it openeth two mouthes, and thereof called likewise South Yenlet, notorious also for great Oisters, that be dredged thereabouts. And euen such an one is the Yenlet at Reculuer, where it openeth that way into the Sea towadres the Northe, and hath the other mouthe into Wantsume (or Stowre, as it is now called) towards the Southe, not in the straights course of that Riuer, (which maketh to the Sea betweene Stonar, and Sandwiche) but diuerted, and led aside.

As touching the water that runneth beeth the Continent and the Ile of Shepey, the same is called the Welle, and is not neare to any of these Genlades, or Yenlettes. And where the Statute (4. H. 7. ca. 15.) maketh the Maior of London to bee conservatour of the Thamyse, from the bridge at Stanes to the Water of Yendal and Medway, that must be vnderstood, to extende to Colemouth, where Medway and Yenlett doe occurre and meete: and the woord ‘Yendal’ is misprinted, for Yenlade or Yenlett, in that place of the Statute.

Reculueris, in Latine, Regulbium, or (as Twyne sayeth) Reculum; in Saxon Raculf Mynster, deriued (as I gesse) of the Bryttish woord Racor, that signifieth forward, for so it standeth, toward the Sea.

The present estate of Reculuer as you may see deserueth not many wordes: As touching the antiquitie therefore and begining of the place, I reade, first that Ethelbert, the first King of Kent, hauing placed Augustine at Canterbury, withdrew himselfe to Reculuer, and there erected a Palace for himselfe and his successors: the compasse whereof may be traced out by the ruines of an olde Wall there that are yet to bee seene. Furthermore, that Ecgbrighte (the seuenth King of Kent, in succession after Hengist) gaue to one Bassa, the land at Reculuer to build him a Mynster vpon, which stoode at the one side of the water Wantsume, that ran two sundrie waies into the Sea, and made Tanet an Iland: And finally, that not long after the same time, one Brightwald (being Abbat there) was aduanced to the Archbיסhopricke of Canterbury, and was not the first, as
Polydore saith, but the seconde man of all the Saxon nation that aspired to that dignitie.

In which behalfe, Reculuers (how poore and simple soeuer otherwise) hath (as you see) somewhat whereof to vaunte it selfe: As it may also, of the body of Ethelbert the second (a king of Kent) which (as the Annales of Saint Augustines report) remaineth likewise interred there: whose monument is shewed at the vpper ende of the Southie Ile of the Church that yet vaunteth it selue with two steeples. The Oisters that be dredged at Reculuer, are reputed as farre to passe those at Whitstaple, as those of Whitstaple doe surmount the rest of this shyre, in sauviorie saltinesse.

Thus haue I walked about this whole Diocœse: now therefore let me cutte ouer to Watlingstreete, which I will vse for my way to Rochester, and tell you of the places that lye on each side. But first, heare (I pray you) of Stouremouthe, and Wyng=ham, which be in my way to Watlingstreete.

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

King Alfred, hauing many times (and that with much losse, and more danger) encountered his enemies the Danes, and finding that by reason of the sundry swarmes of them arriuing in diuers parts of his Realme at once, he was not able to repulse them being landed, he rigged vp a royall Nauie, and determined to keepe the highe Seas, hoping thereby either to beate them vpon the water, or to burne their vessels if they should fortune to arriue.

Soone after this, it fortuned his Nauie to meet with the Danish fleete at the mouthe of the Riuere Stoure, where at the first encounter the Danes lost sixteene saile of their ships: But, (as many times it falleth out, that securitie followeth victorie) so the Kings armie kept no watch, by reason wherof the Danes hauing repaired their forces, came fresh ly vpon the English mariners at vnwares, and finding them fast a sleepe, gaue them a great and bloudie ouerthrowe.

The likenesse, or rather, the agreement of the names, would leade a man to thinke, that the true place of this conflict shoulde be Stouremouthe in this Shyre, the rather for that it is deriued of the mouth of the riuer Stoure and that by the circumstance of the storie it appeereth, that King Alfred was in Kent when he made determination of this iourney. Howbeit, he that shal aduisedly read the story as it is set downe by Asserus, shal confesse it to haue beene in Eastangle, which conteined Norfolke and Suffolke, &c. And for the more certeinty, I take it to haue chaunced at the same place which we now call Harwich Hauen. For that Riuere diuideth Essex from Suffolke, and not farre from the head thereof in Essex, there standeth a Towne yet called

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Sturmere, whiche (in my fantasie) sufficiently main=teineth the knowledge of this matter.

Thus much I thought fit to say of the name Stowremouth, least otherwise the Reader (whome I would keepe within the limits of Kent) might be shipped in the boate of this errour, and be suddenly conueied from me. Againe, it shall not be amisse (for the better vnderstanding of this selfe same Hystorie, penned by Henrie Huntingdon) to note that in this place, hee calleth the Danes, not ‘Paganos,’ as in the rest of his booke he vseth, but by a strange name ‘Wicingas,’ as the Saxon Chronicles in report of the same matter doe terme them.

Which worde (I thinke) he tooke out of some Saxon Chronicle that he followed, and happily vn=derstood not what it signified: For if he had, why should he not rather (since he wrote Latine) haue called them ‘Piratas,’ as the woord ‘Wicingas’ in deed meaneth, and as Asserus in the rehearsal of the same fight had done before him.

It may be, that he was a Norman borne: And truly I suppose that the Saxon speech was well nigh worne out of vre, in the reigne of King Ste=phan, (vnder whome he liued) seeing that euen immediately after the comming in of the Conquerour, it began to decline.

For it is plaine, that the Normans at their very first entrie, laboured by all means to supplant the English, and to plant their owne language amongst vs: and for that purpose, they bothe gaue vs the lawes, and all manner of pastimes, in the Frenche tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conquerour, and consider the termes of Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes, shal easily perceaue: they reiected also the Saxons Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing, as writeth Ingulphus, the Abbat of Croy=land (whiche came ouer with them) and as a man may yet see in the booke of Domesday it selfe, which notwithstanding that it was written within a few yeeres after the arriuall of the Conquerour) yet being penned by Norman writers, it reteineth very few letters of the Saxon Alphabet.

Thus farre, by occasion of Stoure in Suffolke:

But now the head and course of our Kentish Stoure, standeth thus: It hath two Originals, the one at Streatwell in Leneham, not fully one mile distant from that which riseth at Bygon (as I saide) and helpeth Medway: the other at Postlyng church: and these both do ioine neare to Ayshford, where it first craueth the name of Stoure, and from whence assisted with other streames that conspire with it, they all passe in one bottome to Wie, and to Canterbury, and did in times past run to Stourmouth, now somewhat removed: not far from which, it receaueth the wa=ter that springeth at S. Edburghes well, adioining to the churchyarde at Lyming, and of which diuers townes that border vpon it haue Borne for the last syllable of their names. After this, it beginneth to diuide it selfe two waies, and to describe the Ile of Thanet, ceasing to be called any longer Stoure, but
Yenlade, or Wantsume, as euen now I tolde you.

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Wingham.

Besides the stately, and Princelike
Palaces at Canterburie, Maidstone,
Otford, Knoll, Croyden, and Lamb=
hythe, which the Archbishops of this
Shyre kept in their handes, bothe to
perfoure their set solemnities of housekeeping,
and to soiourne at with their whole traines, when
they trauelled towards the Court and Parleament,
or remained for busines about the same: they had
also of auncient time diuers other Manor houses
of lesse cost and capacitie, planted in diuers partes
of this country, in which they vsed to breathe them=
 selues, after their great feastes and affaires finish=
ed, and to lodge at, when they trauelled the Coun=
trie to make their visitations.

Of this number (amongst other) were Foorde,
Charte, Charing, Charteham, Tenham, and this our
Wingham: at the which, Baldwyne (the Archbishop
in the reigne of King Henry the second) lay, at such
time, as hee had contention with his Couent of
Christes Church, for making a Chappell at Ha=
kington, as in fit place you shall finde more largely
disclosed.

In the meane season, I will tel you, that (as the
Annales of Saint Augustines reporte) when two of
his Monkes came to this house on horsebacke, in
great haste to serue the processe of that suite vpon
him, he receaued the Processe dutifully, but he cau=
sed them to dismount, and to walke home on foote
faire and softly.

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At this house also, King Edwarde the first rested
for a season, with Robert of Winchelsey (then new=
ly made Archbishop) whilst he tooke order for the
defence of the Sea coasts, charging bothe the spi=
ritualtie and commons with horse and armour, ac=
cording to the quantities of their liuelyhoodes and
possessions.

And here was he aduertised, that one of his fa=
milie (called Sir Thomas Turbeuille, whom he had
sent into Gascoine with commission) was fallen in=
to the hands of the Frenche King his enimie, and
imprisoned in Paris, and that for his deliuerance he
had conspired with the Frenche King, and promi=
sed to betray the King his maister: whereupon
King Edward caused such diligent watch to be laid
for him, that he was taken, and such speedie and
seuere iustice to be executed vpon him, that hee
was forthwith condemned, drawn thorowe Lon=
don, and hanged on liue. Of this man a Poet of
that age, alluding to his name, made this verse
following, and some other.

Turbat tranquilla clam, Thomas Turbida villa, &c.

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

1225. And heere againe king Edwarde the second lay
with Walter Reignold the Archbishop, conferring with him and others concerning his passage into Fraunce for the doing of his Homage: but in the end resolved to send ouer his sonne Edward (afterward called the third King of that name) to whom he had given the Duchie of Aquitane: with him went the mother also, where betwenee her and her complices was contrived that, which cost her husband both his Crowne, and life also, as all our History stories can enforme you.

It is no small token of the auncient estimation of this place, that it giveth the name to the whole hundreth in which it is situate: for that is moste usuall, both in this Shyre, and elsewhere, that the whole territorie (be it Lathe, Wapentake, or Hundred) most commonly beareth the name of some one place, most notable, and excelling other within the same at the time of the name imposed, although happily at this day some other place doe much exceede it.

To make an end, here was somtime a religious College of sixe Prebendaries and som Churchmen, the gouernour wherof was called a Prouost, which some doe suppose to haue beene founded by John Peckam the Archbishop, and I finde to haue beene valued at fourescore and foure pounds of yeerely reueneue.

Watlingstrete, in Saxon, weatlingastrete, of one Weatle, whom the printed booke of Math. West. calleth vntruly, Wading.

King Molmutius, the Brittish Solon and first Law maker, decreed amongst other things, that such as were found praying in the Temple, labouring at the plough, or travelling in the high waies, should not be impeached by any officer, but that they should enjoy peaceable freedom and libertie, both for their goods and persons. But, forasmuch as he had not (in his life time) described those waies that he woulde haue thus privileged, great contention arose after his death, which waies should be taken for high and royall, and which not: and therefore, Belinus (his Sonne and successour) to cease all controversie, limited in certaine, foure especiall highe waies: whereof the first was called, Ermingstrete, and lead (after the opinion of some) from Southampton to Saint Dauids in Wales, or (as others write) to Carlile in the North: The seconde was named Fossway, and extended from Cathnes in the North of Scotland, to Totnes, a cape of Cornwall: The third Ikeneled (or as others write it) Rekeneld, and reached from East to West (as Huntingdon affirmeth) but as others will, from Tinmouth to Saint Dauids, which is from Northeast to Southwest. Watlingstreet, where we now are, was the fourth, and it began at Douer (after the opinion of Ralfe
Higden) passed through the midst of Kent, crossed
the Thamise at the West end of London, (howbeit
others, to whom I rather incline, thinke that it ran
through London, and left the name to Watling-
streete there) from thence to Saint Albons, Dun-
stable, Stretford, Towcester, Lilburne, and Wrecken,
thence ouer the riuer of Severne to Stretton, and so
through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, and to
the banke of the Irise Sea.

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And this is the common and receiued opinion
(although in deede there be diuers) touching the
first beginning and description of this way. But
Simon the Chaunter of Durham, and he that made
the continuation to the Hystorie of Asserus Mene-
ensis (bothe very good authours) ascribe bothe the
beginning and the name also of this way, to the
sonnes of a Saxon King, whom they call Weatle:
which their opinion, as I doe not greedily receiue,
becausse I finde not that name (Weatle) in any Ca-
talogue of the Kings that I haue seene: So will
I not rashly reiect it, for the estimation that I
otherwise reteine of the writers themselues, But
doe leaue the Reader to his free choice, to take or
leaue the one, or the other.

And, as there is difference concerning the first
beginning and name of this way: So all agree not
in the trace and true course of the same. For Henry
(the Archdeacon of Huntingdon) affirmeth, that it
stretched from Douer to Chester. And this Simon
reporteth, that it extended it selfe from the East
Sea, to the West. Which third and last opinion,
may well ynough stand, either with the first, or the
seconde.

But now, as touching this privilege graunted
by Molmutius, although it continue not altogither
in the same plight, yet some shadowe thereof re=
maineth euen to this day, as by the lawes of King
Edward the Confessour which confirmed the pro-
tection of the foure waies by name, and by the
Statute of Marlbridge, which forbiddeth distresses

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to be taken in any the Kings high waies or com-
non streeties; and by the Statute (called Articuli
Cleri) which commaundeth that such as abiured
shoulde not be molested while they be in the highe
waies, may evidently appeere.

Furthermore, I finde in Hystorie, that this Wat-
ingstreete, hath heretofore not onely serued for the
free passage of the people, but that it hath beene (at
times also) a marke and bounder betweene some
Kings for the limits of their iurisdictions and au-
thoritie: for so it was betweene Edmund and An-
laf, Alfred and Guthrum, and others.

But, bicause those matters reach further then
this Shyre extendeth, I will reserve them to fit
place, and shewe you in the meane while, what I
count note woorthy on bothe sides of this way, till
I come to the Diocesse of Rochester.
On the South side of Watlingstreete, and under the Downes, Lyminge is the first that offereth itselfe: concerning which, I haue found a note or twaine, that make more for the antiquitie, then for the estimation of the place.

For I reade in the Annales of Saint Augustines of Canterbury, that Eadbald (the sonne of King Ethelbert, the first Christened King of Kent) gaue it to Edburge his sister, who forthwith cloked togetherto a sort of simple women, which vnder her wing there tooke vpon them the Popish veile of widowhood.

But that order in time waxed colde: and therefore Lanfranc the Archbishop, at suche time as hee builded Saint Gregories in Canterburie (as we haue touched in Tanet before) reckoning it no smal ornament of his dotation to bestowe some renownéd Relique that might procure estimation to his worke, translated the olde bones of Edburge from Lyminge to Saint Gregories, and verified in Pateric the olde Maxime of Philosophie, 'Corruptio unius, generatio alterius:' 'The corruption of one, is the generation of another.'

Baramdowne, in the Saxon, Barhamdune, That is to say, the hill where the Bores doe abide.

As this place is of it selfe very fit (by reason of the flatte leuell and plaine[ness] thereof) to array an host of men vpon: So haue we testimonie of three great armies that haue mustered at it. The one vnder the conduict of Iulius Cæsar, who landing at Dele (as we haue before shewed) surueied his host at Baramdowne, and marching from thence against the Britons, so daunted their forces, that he compelled them to become tributary.

No lesse infortunate, but much more infamous to this countrey, was the time of the second muster here, which happened in the reign of King Iohn: who hearing that Philip (the king of Fraunce) had by incitation of the Pope (as hath already appeare[d] in Douer) prepared a great armie to invade him, and that he was ready at Calaise to take shipping, determined to encounter him vpon the Sea, and (if that assay succeeded not) then to giue him battaile on the lande also. For which service, hee rigged vp his ships of warre, and sent to the Sea the Earle of Salisburie, (whom he ordeined Admirall) and calling together fit men from all the partes of the Realme, he found (by view taken at this place) an army of sixtie thousand to encounter his enemies, besides a sufficient number of able and armed souldiours to defend the land withall.

But now, whilest he thus awaited at Baramdowne to heare further of his adversaries coming, Pandulph (the Popes Legate) sent vnto him two Knights of the order of the Temple, by whose
mouth he earnestly desired the King to graunt him audience. The King assented, and the Legate came vnto him, and saide in summe as followeth.

Behold (O Prince) the King of France is in armes against thee, not as against a priuate enimie to him alone, but as an open and common aduersarie both to the Catholike Church, to the Popes holynesse, to whole Christendome, and to God him selfe: Neither commeth hee vpon opinion of his owne power and strength, but is armed with great confidence of Gods fauourable aide, accomaried with the consent of many great Princes, furnished with the presence of such as thou hast banished out of thy Realme, and assured by the faithfull promises of sundry of thine owne Nobilitie which nowe are present in person with thee. Consider therefore in what danger thou standest, and spare not to submit thee, while space is: least if thou persist, there be no place left of further fauour.

The King hearing this, and being (vpon causes knowne to himselfe) more distrustful of Traitours at home, than fearfull of enimies abroade, agreed to serue the time, and taking the Legate to Douer with him, sealed the Golden Bull of submission, whereby Englande was once againe made a tributarie Prouince to the Citie of Rome, and that in so much the more vile condition, than it was before: as an usurped Hierarchie, is inferiour to a nooble, lawfull, and renownned Monarchie. For it is truly said, 'Dignitate domini, minus turpis est conditio servii:' 'It is the lesse shame, to be seruant, to a woorthy maister.' Now when the Frenche King on the other side of the Seas, had woord heerof, he retired with his armie in a great choler, partly for that he was thus deluded, but chiefly because he had lost his naue, which the Earle of Salisburie had set on fire in the hauen at Calaise.

Simon Mountfort (the Earle of Leicester,) that was elected by the Barons of this Realme Generall of that armie which they raised against king Henrie the third, arraied thirdly a very great host of men heere, at such time as he feared the arruall of Eleonar the Queene, who being daughter to the Earle of Prouence, and then left in France behinde the King and the Earle, (which also had beene both there a little before, to receiue the Frenche kings a warde touching their controuersie) ceassed not by all possible means to sollicite the king of France, and to incite other her friends and allies, to ayde king Henrie against the Nobilitie. But whether it were that presently they could not for their owne affaires, or that at all they durst not, knowing that their comming was awaited, they serued not her desire: by means wherof, the Lords waxed strong, and soone after gau the King a bataille in Sussex, wherein they both tooke him, his brother Richarde, and his eldest sonne, prisoners. But as touching the originall, proceeding, and euent of these wars, I willingly spare to speake muche in this place,
knowing that I shall haue opportunitie offered heereafter to discourse them. In the parish of Barham, a little from the side of the wood, and about six miles from Douer, appeereth yet an entrenched ground with three ditches: which whether it were the place where Cæsar, or (after him) some Saxon, or Danish Capitaine, encamped, I cannot informe you. Nowe therefore let vs consider a few other places, and then haste vs to Canterburie.

Charteham.

After such time as King Iohn had made himselfe the Popes Tenaunt of the Crowne and Realme of Englande, (as euen now I tolde you) the Clergie of this countrie was so oppressed with Romish exactions, that they were become, not only vnable, but thereby vnwilling also, to releeue the necessitie of the Prince with any prest of money, as in times past they had accustomed to do. Whereat the king on the one side taking offence, pressed them many times very harde, not ceasing till he had wroong somewhat from them: and they on the other side, appealing to their holy fathers aide, procured (by their great coaste) many sharpe prohibitions, and proud menacies against him. So that sundry times in the reigne of king Henrie the third this Ball was busily tossed betweene the King and the Pope, the Clergie (in the meane while) looking vpon, but no=thing laughing at the game.

The Popes revenue, in England. 1246.

Amongst other things done for the manifestati=on of the Popes rauine, the same King at one time commaunded a generall suruiew to be made of the Popes yeerely reuenue within this realme, and found it to surmount the yeerely receipt of his owne Es= cheque, in very rent, besides innumerable secrete gifts and rewards wherof no account could be made. Heerevpon the Prince, by aduise of his Realme, sent speciall messengers to the generall Councell that was then holden at Lyons in Fraunce, with commission to sue for redresse. The like complaint also, was at the same time, and for the same cause, exhibited by the king of Fraunce: Neither was the state of the Empire then free from the heauie yoke of that Popish oppression: for M. Parise reporteth, that euen then the Emperorou himselfe wrote an

earnest letter to the King and Nobilitie of this Realme, soliciting them to joine with him in with= standing the tyranny of the Romish See. Howbeit, all this coulde not helpe, but that the Popes (la= bouring daily more and more with this incurable disease of Philargyrie) continually pilled the Eng= lish Clergie, and so encountred king Henrie, that in the ende he was driuen to vse the meane of the Popes authoritie, whensoeuer he needed the aide of his owne spiritualtie.

After Henrie followed his sonne Edwarde the first, who being more occupied in martiaal affaires than his Father was, and thereby the more often
inforced to use the help of his subiectes, for the raising of some necessarie masses of money, nowe and then borrowed of his Clergie: til at the length, Pope Boniface the eight (treading the path of his predecessours pride) tooke upon him to make a constitution, ‘That if any Clerke gae to a lay man, or if any lay person should take of a Clerke, any spiritual goodes, he should forthwith stand excommunicate.’ By colour of which decree, the Clergie of England, at such time as the King next desired their contribution towards his wares, made answer with one assent, ‘That they would gladly, but they might not safely without the Popes licence, agree to his desire.’

Heereat the King waxed wrothe, and calling a Parliament, without the Clergie. Parlement of his Nobilitie and commons (from which he excluded the Bishops and Clergie) enacted, that their persons should be out of his protection, and their goods subject to confiscation, unless they would by submitting themselves redeem his favour.

It was then a world to see, how the wealthy Bishops, fat Abbats, and rich Priors in each quarter bestirred them, each man contending with liberall offer to make his ransom: in so much as the house of Sainct Augustines in Canterbury (as the Annales of their owne Abbey doe report) gae to the King two hundred and fiftie pounds in money for their peace, hauing lost before (notwithstanding) two hundred and fiftie quarters of their wheate, which the Kings Officers had seised to his use and shipped to be sent into Gascoine for the victualing of his men of warre.

Onely Robert of Winchelsey (then Archbishop of Canterbury) refused to aide the King, or to reconcile himselfe, in so much that of very stomacke he discharged his familie, abandoned the Citie, and withdrew himselfe to this Towne, the whiche was first giuen to his priorie of Christes church by one Alfred, a Noble man, about the yeere after Christ, 970: and from thence (as mine Author saith) he roade each Sunday and Holiday to the churches adjoining, and preached the woorde of God.

Polidore, in his owne opinion, giueth him an apte Theme, writing that he preached vpon this text, ‘Melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus:’ ‘It is better to obey God, than men:’ which if he will have to serve the turne, he must construe it thus, ‘It is better to obey the Pope, than the King,’ and so make the Pope a God, and the King no more then a common man.

But Peter the Apostle of God, from whome the Pope woulde seeme to deriue, and Polidore the Apostle of the Pope (for he first sent him hither to gather his Peter pence) were not of one minde in this point: For Peter inioineth vs plainly, ‘Subdit estote omni humanæ ordinatiōni propter Dominum, siue Regi, tanquam praecellenti, &c.’ ‘Be ye subject to all humano ordinance, for the Lordes sake, whether it bee to the King as to the most excellent, &c.’ making the
king the most excellent under God, who (no doubt) if he command not against God, is to be obeyed before the Pope, concerning whom we have no commandment at all in the Scriptures of God.

Howbeit, since Polidore and the Bishop served one common Master, namely the man of Rome, it is the lesse maruaile if he commend his endeavours in this part, and that also is of the lesse credit which he writeth of him in another place, where he bestoweth this honorable Elogium upon him, ‘Quantum in eo fuit, de Religione iuxta et de Repub. promereri sustituit, a qua nunquam discessit, nunquam oculos deiecit: ita officio suo atque omnium commodis sibi seruiendum censuit.’

‘As much as in him was (saith he) he studied to serve well, both of religion, and of the common wealth, from the which he never departed, ne turned away his eyes; so thought he it meete to serve his owne duty, and the profit of all men.’ As concerning his desert in religion I will say nothing, because it may be thought the fault of that age, and not of the person onely: but as touching his behaviour to ward his Prince and Country (wherein also con sisteth no small part of religion and feare of God) since our Law alloweth of the trial ‘De vicineto,’ I will bring you one of his next neighbours to de pose for him, a man that lived in the same time with him, I mean the writer of the Annales of S. Augustines, who upon the yeere 1305. hath this note following.

Eodem an. 7. Kal. Maii, cum saepe dictus Archiepiscopus Robertus, super multis Articulis enormibus (et prae cipue super pruditone, quam cum quibusdam comitibus, & proceribus multis, pactus erat in dolo, vt Regem a Re gni solo deicerent, & filium eius Eduardum, ipsius in throno subrogarent, & patrem perpetuo carceri manci parent) a Rege calumniaretur, & inficiari non posset ob iecta: utra quam credi potest timore percussus, ad Regis pedes pronus cadens in terram, ut eius meretrum assequi clementiam, sese per singula flens & eulans, Regis subditi voluntati: Sic igitur humiliatus est ille Deo odibilis & superbus, qui per totum Anglorum orbem, oris sui flatus, more meretricio, Sacerdotium deturpauit, & Clerum, & in populo tyrannidem exercuit inauditam: Et qui Re gem, Dominum suum, litteratorie ei scribens, nominare renuit superiendo, nunc humiliatus, & Regem, & Domini num suum facit, & nominat, obediens factus, sed inuitus ei devotius seruendo.

‘The same yeere, the 25. of April, when as the often named Robert the Archbishop, was chalenged by the King for many points of great enormity, and especially for the treason which he had imagined with certainty, Earles and Noble men, to the ende that they should displace the King from the seate of his Kings dome, and place his sonne Edward in his throne, and cast the father into perpetuall prison: and when he could not deny the things obiected against him, being stoned with an incredible feasre, and falling down prostrate upon the earth at the Kings feete that hee
might be worthy to obtain his favour, with weeping
and wailing he submitted himself wholly to the Kings
pleasure. And thus was that proud, and most hatefull
man to God, brought lowe and humbled, the which
defiled throughout all England with the breath of his
mouth (like an harlot) the state of the Priesthood
and Clergie, and exercised intolerable tyranny over
the people: and he, which before writing vnto the King,
refused in his letters for pride to call him his Lord,
now being humbled, both acknowledgeth and calleth
him his Lord and King, being made obedient, and to
serue him with great devotion, but yet against his
will:

Againe, when as in the same yeere he was cited
to appeere at Rome (vpon complaint that he had
wastfully spoiled the goods of his Church) and
came to the Court to sue for licence to passe over
the Seas, the King (as soone as hee came to his
presence, and had moued his sute) caused the pre=
sence chamber doore to be set wide open, willed the
standers by to giue eare, and spake aloude to the
Bishop in this manner, as the same author repor=
teth.

Licentiam transfretandi, quam a nobis postulare ve=
nisti, libenter tibi concedimus, reuertendi autem licen=
tiam nullam damus, memores doli, ac proditionis quas in
Parlemento Lincolniæ cum Baronibus nostris in Regiam
machinatus es Maiestatem, cuius rei litera signo tuo si=
gillata testis est, & testimonium perhibet contra te euiden=
ter. Sed propter amorem beati Thomæ Martyris, & Ec=
clesiæ cui præes reuarentiam, vindictam hucusque distu=
limus, reseruantes eam Papæ, qui nostras iniurias vlcis=
cetur, utpote speramus. A protectione vero nostra, te
prorsus excludimus, omnem gratiam negantes & miseri=
cordiam, quia re vera semper immisericors fuisti: Cumque
Wintoniensis Episcopus pro eo intercederet, & Archiepis=
copum Dominum suum esse diceret, Rex affirmauit, se om=
nium Praelatorum regni, & Regem, & Dominum esse
principalem.

'Ve willingly graunt you licence to passe over the
Seas, according as you are come to desire, but to re=
turne again we giue you no licence at all, being mind=
full of the deceit and treason, whiche you did practise
with our Barons, against our Kingly Maiestie in the
Parleament at Lincolne: of the which thing your let=
ter signed with your owne seale is a witnes, and euil=
dently giueth testimoniue against you: Howbeit,
for the loue of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and for the reue=
rence of the Church ouer the which you are set, wee
have hitherto deferred the reuenge, reserving it to
the Pope, which (as wee hope) will make reuenge of
our injuries. But we utterly exclude you from our pro=
tection, denying you all grace and mercie, because in
deeede you have alwaies beene an vnmercifull man.
And when as the Bishop of Winchester made inter=

cession for him, and said, that the Archbishop was his
Lord, the King affirmed, that he himselfe was the king
and chiefe Lord of all the Prelates of the Realme.’

This matter I haue exemplified the more at large, both to the end that you may see how great a traitour to his Prince, how vnmercifull a tyrant to the common people, and how foule a blemish to the Ecclesiasticall order, this Bishop was, quite contrarie to that which M. Polydore affirmeth of him: and also that you may vnderstand, what au= thoritie king Edward the first in plaine termes cha= lenged ouer his Cleargie: not such as Anselme offered king William Rufus, when he tooke Canter= burie of his gift, saying, ‘Summo pontifici debeo obe= dientiam, tibi consilium.’ ‘I owe my obedience to the high Bishop, and my counsell to you,’ But such as a true subiect oweth to his Liege king and lawfull souereigne, and such as differeth no more from that which we at this day attribute to our Prince, than ‘Principalis Dominus,’ and ‘Supremus Gubernator’ do varie in sunder.

And yet (beholde the madnes of the time) after the death of this Bishop, the common people for= sooth resorted to his tumbe, and would needes haue made a Saint of him, had not the Sepulchre been defaced and their follie staied by authoritie and publique ordi= nance.

Chilham, in Saxon Cyleham, which soundeth, The colde place: Leland saith, that some called it the Castle of Iosua: and Maister Camden writeth, that some call it Iul= ham, of Iulius.

That Chylham Castle had aunciently the reputation of an Honour, appeereth by a Note, taken out of the Patentes (15. Re= gis Ioannis) where it is said, that Thomas Peuerel had committed to his charge, the Castle of Chylham with the Honour. For, it was a mem= ber of the Castle of Douer, and in the allotement of lands for the defence of Douer, it fell to the share of Fulbert of Douer, who (in consideration thereof) undertooke to finde at his owne charge fifteen able soulidours, whereof three should warde at Douer euery moneth, and so mainteine it by the continu= ance of twenty weekes in the yeere.

I might suspect, that it came afterwarde to the possession of the Archbishop: for I haue read, that vpon a time, king Iohn came thither, to treate with Stephan Langton the Archbishop, for reconciliati= on to be had betweene them. But I finde that the Scottish Earle of Ashele enjoyed it by marriage with Isabel of Douer, and that hee engaged it for money to king Edwarde the † third: and that in the time of his sonne (Edwarde the seconde) the Lorde Bartholomew of Badlesmer (that was Steward of that Kings house, and woulde faine haue beene Earle of Kent) possessed the place, and magnificent="
litie, whom he presented with most liberall guiftes and rewardes.

The building (saith Leland) was not onely com-
modious for use, and beautifull for pleasure, but
strong also for defence and resistance: and so con-
tinued vntill that Sir Thomas Cheynie translated
the best materials thereof, to his house at Shore=
land in the Ile of Shepey.

Master Camden, learnedly (as in other things)
hath collected out of Caesars owne woordes, that
this was the very place, where he (in his seconde
attempt against this liand) encamped twelve miles
from the Sea shoare, along a Riuers side: and
coniectureth, that (not without reason) some haue
thereof called it Iulham, the place of Iulius: even
as others call the Greene hillocke at Chilham, Iul=
laber, of Laberius Durus, one of Caesars Colonels,
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that his Campe.

What time King William the Conque=
our endowed his Abbay of Battell in
Sussex, he gaue thereunto (amongst
other) his Manor of Wye, conteining
at that time seuen hydes or ploughe
landes, and being (before that time) of the De=
measnes of the Crowne.

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The Chronicles of Battell Abbay affirme, that
there were sometimes two and twenty Hundrethes
subject to the iurisdiction of this Manor: which if
it be true, then (as farre as I can reache by coniec
ture) the territorie of Wye was the very same in
compassse, that now the Last of Screy, or Sherwin=
hope describeth, that is to say, the fift part of this
whole Shyre, consisting of two and twenty Hun
drethes in number.

The same King graunted to his Monkes of
Battel, wrecke of the Sea, falling vpon Dengema=
rishe, a portion of Wye, and willed further by his
Charter of donation, that if any fish (called a Cras
peis, that is, Crasse pisse, a great or roiall fishe, as
whales, or suche other, which by the Lawe of Pre=
rogatiue perteined to the King himselfe) shoulde
happen to be taken there, that then the Monkes
should haue it wholly: And if it fortuned to arriue
in any other mans land (lying betweene Horsmede,
and Withburne) that yet the Monkes should enioy
the whole tongue, and two third partes of the rest
of the body.

Now, in the reigne of king Henrie his Sonne it
fortuned, that a ship laden with the kings owne
goods was wrecked within the precinct of this li=
bertie, which his Officers woulde haue seised and
saued to his vse: but Geffray (then Abbat of Bat
tell) withstoode them, and that so stoutly that the
matter by complainte came to the Kings owne
hearing: who (to make known how muche he va=
lued his fathers graunt) yeelded the matter wholly
into the Abbats owne courties.

The same Storie observeth a thing touching Wrecke, (or rather Varech, as the custome of Nor= mandle from whence it came, calleth it) not vn= worthie the recitall, that is, that of auncient time, if a ship were cast on shoare, torne with tempest, and not repaired by such as escaped on liue within a certain time, that then this was taken for Wreck, and so vseed along the coast. But Henrie the first (saith the booke) disliking the injustice of that cu= stome, ordeneed, that if from thencefoorth any one thing (being within the vessell) arrived on liue, then the ship and goods should not be seised for Wrecke.

This decree had force during all his reigne, and ought of congruence to haue endured for euer: Howbeit, after his death, the owners of lande on the Sea shoare, shewing themselves more carefull of their owne gaine, than pitifull of other mens ca= lomities, returned to the old manner. Which their vnmercifull couetise (as I suppose) prouoked king Edward the first, by the statute (that we call West= minister the first) to make restitution of king Hen= ries law: which euens to this day remaineth in force, nothing so heavy against poore men (afflicted by misfortune of the Sea) as that former euill vsage was, but yet (as the matter is commonly vset) neither so easy as Christian charitie would, nor so indiffernt as the lawes of other countries doe af= foord. And therefore I will leave it, as a thing wor= thy (amongst other) of reformation when God shal giue time.

But to Wye agayne: king Edwarde the seconde (after the burial of his father, and before his owne Coronation) held the solemnitie of a whole Christ= masse, in the house of this Manor: And as for the towne of Wye, it is yet a well hauntted market. The College.

There was also at this towne, a College, valu= ed in the Recordes at 93. pounds of yeerly reuenue: the which (as I finde in certeine notes of Kent ta= ken by John Lelande, and giuen with others to mee by my friend John Stowe of London, that diligent searcher of Antiquities) was founded by John Kempe, the Archbishop of Canterburie: who being at the first the childe of a poore husbande man in Wye, became afterward a Doctor in bothe lawes and diuinitie, then attained successiuely to the my= ters of Rochester, Chichester, and London, after that aspired to the Crosses and Palles of Yorke and Canterburie, and withall obteined the Cardi= nall hattes of Saint Babines and Saint Ruffines: as by this verse, made concerning him, it may ap= peere, ‘Bis primas, ter praesul eras, bis Cardine functus.’ ‘Twice Primate, Bishop thrice, and Cardnall twice thou wast.’ This man, in the 1450. yeere after his translation to Yorke, and not three yeeres before his translation from this life, conuerted the parish church of Wye to the title of a College, the head whereof was called a Prebe= darie, and the residue were Ministers for Churche
service. The speare or steeple of which Churche was fired by lightening, and consumed euen to the stoneworke thereof.

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Asheforde, which name is written in some olde Recordes, Esshetisford, and may be interpreted, the forde or passage ouer the water Eshe, or Eshet.

Euen as the body, or bulke, of a tree, is compact of many rootes, the which at the first (and where they drawe from euery side the iuice of the earth) be very small, and then doe waxe bigger by little and little, vntill at the last they bee united into one trunke or body, able to receiue all their sappe and moisture: So also, the greater ryuers (which fall not out of standing lakes) haue their increase from many smal Wels (or springs) the which creepe at the first out of the earth, and bee conueied in slender quilles, then afterwarde (meeting together in course) doe growe by little and little into bigger pipes, and at the last doe emptie themselues into some one bottome, and so make vp a great streame, or chanell.

One example whereof you haue seene at Maidstone before, and another is nowe offered to your eie heere at Asheford: a good market towne, seated vpon a water which hath before receaued the confluence and help of sundry smal brookes, or boornes, whereof some do lie on the Southeast side of his course, and the other on the Northeast.

Of the first sorte those two be the chiefe, which come out the one from the towne of Brooke (so cal= led of that water) and the other from the partes about Postlyng. Of the second sort bee, first those two, which beginne at the townes of Estwell and Westwell (which likewise take their names of those very welles or springs) and then those other two also, whereof the one breaketh out of the ground about Stallesfield, and the other neare Lene= ham. And these last couple I take to be the same which the Chronicler of Christeschurche did meane, when he saide, that Kenulp the King gaue to Wal= fred the Archbishop and to Christeschurche, a piece of lande called Bynne, lying (inter duos genitales ri= us fluminis Stowre) betwene two of those brookes which doe ingendre the riuer Stowre. Neuerthe= lesse I am of the opinion, that this ryuer is not rightly to be called Stowre (but Eshe, or Eshet) vn= till that it haue passed this towne, as bothe in the title heereof, and in Stouremouthe before, I haue already conjectured.

There was at this towne a faire College, consisting of a Prebendarie, as head, and of certeine Priestes and Choristes, as members: the which was founded by Sir †Fogge a knight of this shyre, and controller of the housholde to King Edwarde the fourth.

The Manor of Asheford perteined to the Dean
and Chanons of the free Chappell of S. Stephans at Westminster that was founded by Edw. 3. for to them did king Ed. 4. in the 5. yeere of his reigne giue a faire to be holden at Asheford four yeere ly, beginning on the eeuen of S. Iohn Port Latine, by the suite (as it seemeth) of the same his controler for the amendment of the Towne, to which his house at Ripton was neighbour.

Canterbury, is called in Saxon Cantwarabyrig, That is to say, The citie (or court) of the men of Kent: which also agreeith with the Britishe woorde, Caer Kent, signifying the Cittie of Kent. It is termed in Late diversely, of some Doruernum, and Daruernum, of others, Duroquernum: of some Durobernia, and of some corruptly Dorobrinia. All which names, Leland conjectureth to proceede, either of the Riuere called Stoure (as wee haue shewed) or else of the Britishe worde Dour, which signifieth water, because the countrey thereaboutes, is plentiously stored therewith. One other late writer taketh it to be called Daruernum, as if it were, Dour ar guerne, that is, the water neare the Fen or Marish.

To the ende that (confusion auoided) eche thing may appeere in his proper place, it shall not be amisse to parte the treatise of this Cittie into twain, whereof the first shall containe the beginning, increase, and declination of the Cittie it selfe: The second shall set foorth the erection and overthrow of the Religious houses and buildings within the same.

The author of the Brittish storie affirmeth, that one Rudhurdibras, or (as some copies write it) Lud Rudibras (a King of the Britons, almost nine hundred yeeres before the Incarnation of Christ) buil ded a Cittie, which he called Carlem, or (as Henrie of Huntingdon in his recitall of the auncient Britishe Cities nameth it) Caer Kent, that is to say, the Cittie (or rather) the chiefe Cittie, of Kent.

For, in the processe of the same Hystory it appeareth in deede, that at such time as Vortiger King of the Britons intertained the Saxon Captaines Hen gist and Horsa, he sojourned at Canterburie, the head Cittie of all that countrey: and that prerogative it reteined in the time of the Saxons them selves also. For by the testimonie of Beda and Mathew of Westminster, when Augustine arri ved in Kent, Canterbury was 'Caput Imperii, Regis Ethelberti,' the chiefe place in all the dominion of King Ethelbert.

To this Augustine, the saide King gaue (after a maner, as I conjecture) the Lordship, or royaltie of the same citie: For I read (as I haue before shewed) that he gaue him his owne Palace, and builded another for himselfe at Reculuer: and it is to be seen in the auncient Saxon lawes, that of olde time the Archbishops had their Coynage
within the Citie.
I finde it also in the booke of Domesday, that
king Edward the Confessour had onely one and fif=
tie Burgesses which yeelded him rent within this
Citie, and two hundreth and twelue other persons
owing him suite, and that the Castle of Canterbu=
ry and the residue of the inhabitaunts were subject
to the Bishop and to the Religious houses. How=
beit, the Bishops were neuer absolute owners
hereof, till the time of King William Rufus, who

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(as the Annales of Sainct Augustine say) 'Dedit ci=
itatem Cantuariæ Anselmo ex solido, quam Lanfran=
cus tenuerat ex beneficio:' 'Gaue the citie of Canter=
burie to Anselme wholly, which Lanfranc before held
but of courtesie.'

King Henrie the thirde at his comming to full
age, graunted vnto the citizens sundrie liber=
ties, ordeined their gouernment vnder two Bailifs,
and made them his fee fcrmers thereof, vnder the
reservation of threescore pound by yeere.

This Citie (since the vnion of the Kentishe king=
dome to the West Saxon) hath beene chiefly
maintained by two things: First, by the residence
and hospitalitie of the Archbishop and Religious
persons, and then by the liberalitie and expence of
such, as either gadded to Sainct Thomas for helpe
and deuotion, or travailed towardes the Sea side
for their priuate affaires and businesse.

Amongst the Bishops, Theodore, a Grecian
borne, and the seventh and last of those that came
out of Italy: Lanfranc the first Norman, aduaunced
by the Conquerour: and Simon Sudburie, that li=
ued vnder King Edward the third, haue beene the
most beneficall vnto it.

Of the which, Theodore, by licence of Vitelianus
(then Pope) founded within the Citie, a Schoole
(or College) wherein he placed Professours of all
the liberall Sciences, which also was the verie
paterne to that Schoole which Sigbert the King of
Eastangle afterward builded: but whether that
were at Cambridge, or at some other place besides

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within his kingdome, I leaue to Doctour Caius
of Cambridg, and Maister Key of Oxford, to be dis=
puted, and to indifferent Readers to be adiuudged.

The late Reuerend father Mathew, Archbishop
of Canterburie (whose care for conseruation of
learned Monuments can neuer be sufficiently
commended) shewed me, the Psalter of Dauid, and
sundrie Homelies in Greeke, Homer also, and some
other Greeke authours, beautifully written in
thicke paper, with the name of this Theodore pre=
fixed, to whose Librarie, he reasonably thought
(being thereto led by shew of great antiquitie) that
they sometime belonged.

The other two, Lanfranc, and Simon of Sudbury
did cost vpon the gates and walles, bringing there=
by bothe strength and beautie to the Citie. And of
these, Simon raised the wall (and tower) from the
West gate to the Northe. Howbeit the citie was
not wholly walled by their time: For king Richarde the seconde gaue 250. markes (saieth Thorne) to-wards the ditching and inclosing thereof: and for want of Walles, Simon Burley (Wardein of the fiue portes) aduised, that the jwelvs of Christes church and S. Augustines, should for more safetie be remooued to Douer castle.

Such was then the first beginning, and increase of Canterbury: Let vs now see also, what harmes it hath susteined, and to what decay it is falne. Be- sides sundry particular harmes, done to diuers of the Religious places, the towne it selfe hath often receuied detriment by casualtie of fire. For the

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author of the additions to the Chronicle of Asserus

Meneuensis affirmeth, that about the yeere after Christ seuen hundreth fiftie and foure, it was sore wasted with fire. Againe, in the yeere nine hundreth and eighteen, Aelfleda (the mighty La= dy of Mercia) besieging and burning the citie it selfe, spoiled, killed, and expulsed the Danes that then possessed it: In reuenge whereof, they after- ward, about the end of the reigne of king Ethelred, did not onely besiege, take, and burne this citie, but also put to moste barbarous and cruell death, Alphe= gus the Archbishop, for that he refused to charge his farmours and the citizens towards his raun= some aboue their abilitie: and they slue of the Monkes, Townesmen, and other common people, the whole nine the multitudes, reser= uing on liue the tenthe man onely: So that they left of all the Monkes but foure, and of the Lay people foure thousande and eight hundred. Where (by the way) it is to be noted, that this citie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people wherof belike fled thither for succour) was at that time very po= pulous, hauing to loose (vpon this accompt) fortie three thousand and two hundreth persons: in which behalfe, there want not some (I wote well) which do affirme, that it had then more store of buildings than London it selfe. And truely it is well knowne, that they were very riche at Canterbury also: for not long before (by the aduise of Siricius, their Archbishop) they bought their peace at the handes of the Danes, with thirty thousand pounds

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of ready money. But let me procede: fourthly, in the daies of king Henrie the seconde, euem the same yeere in which Thomas Becket was elected the Archbishop, this citie of Canterbury was wholy consumed with fire: And now lately and lastly, in the reigne of King Henrie the eight, it was in some partes blasted with flame, wherein (amongst other things) diuers good bookes, whiche a Monke of S. Augustines had brought from beyonde the Seas, were brought to ashes.

I had almost forgotten a storie in Beda, where he maketh Mellitum mendacium (mention of Mellitus, I should haue saide) and reporteth, that when as (vpon a time) a great parte of this citie was tou= ched with fire, and that the flame hasted towarde
the house of this Mellitus (then Archbishop there) he commanded, that they should bear him against it even into the greatest fury thereof: And that whereas before it could not be quenched by any water (though never so plentifully poured upon it) forthwith at his presence the wind turned about, and at the vehemence of his prayer the fire not only ceased to go any further, but also immediately went out, and was extinguished.

I wrote well, this writer is called Venerabilis: but when I read this, and a number of such, which make the one half of his work, I say with myself as sometime did the Poet,

Quodquoc ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi:
What euer thing thou shewest me so,
I hate it as a lie.

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To proceed therefore in my former course, and to tell the truth: little had all these casualties of fire and flame been to the decay of this town, had not the dissolution and final overthrow of the religious houses also come upon it. For, where wealth is at commandment, how easily are buildings repaired? and where opinion of great holiness is, how soon are cities and towns advanced to great estimation and riches?

And therefore, no marvel, if wealth withdrawn, and opinion of holiness removed, the places tumble headlong to ruin and decay.

In which part, as I cannot on the one side, but in respect of the places themselves pity and lament this general decay, not only in this Shyre, but in all other places of the Realm also: So on the other side, considering the main seas of sin and iniquity, wherein the world (at those days) was almost wholly drenched, I must needs take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our age delivered us, disclosed Satan, unmasked these Idols, dissolved their Synagogues, and raced to the ground all monuments of building erected to superstition and ungodliness.

And therefore, let every godly man cease with me from henceforth to marvel, why Canterbury, Walsingham, and sundry such like, are now in these our days become in manner waste, since God in times past was in them blasphemed most: And let the soulards of Satan and superstitious Mawmtrie, howle, and cry out with the heathen Poet,

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Excessere omnes, aditis, arisque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.

The Gods each one, by whose good ayde this Empire stood upright.
Are flowne: their entries, and their altars eke, abandond quight.

For, seeing God in all ages hath not spared to extend his vengeance, not only upon the persons, but upon the places also where his name was dishonoured, striking the same with solitude
and extermination, as we read of Sodome, Jerusalem, and others: How then should he forbear these harborows of the Deuil and the Pope? which in horrible crimes contended with Sodome, in vnbeliefe matched Jerusalem, and in folly of superstition exceeded all Gentilitie. By the iust judgement of God therefore, Canterbury came suddenly from great welth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings, to extreme povertie, nakednes, and decay: hauing at this day Parishes, more in number, then well filled, and yet in all not above twelue or fourteene: in which plight, for pitie I will leaue it, and referring you to the statutes 32. and 33. of Henrie the eight, prouided for the reedifying of decayed houses, as well in this Citie, as also in Roche=ster, Feuersham, and the fiue ports) I will turne mee to the Historie of the Religious buildings.

There was in Canterbury, within the time of late memorie (besides others) two houses of great estimation and lyuelyhoode: the one being called Christes church, and the other Saint Augustines:

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the Monkes of the which places, were as farre remoued from all mutuall loue and societie, as the houses themselves were neare linked together, either in regarde of the time of their foundation, the order of their profession, or the place of their situation: And therfore in this part it might wel be verifie of them, which was wont to be commonly said, Vnicum Arbustum, non alit duos Erithacos.

One Cherry tree sufficeth not two layes.

For in deed, one whole Citie, nay rather one whole Shyre and countrie, could hardly suffice the pride and ambitious auarice of such two irreligious Synagogues: The which, as in all places they agreed to enriche themselues by the spoile of the Laitie: So in no place agreed they one with another: But (each seeking every where, and by all waies, to aduaunce themselues) they moued continuall (and that most fierce and deadly) warre, for landes, priuileges, reliques, and such like vaine worldly preeminences: insomuch as he that will obserue it, shall finde that vniuersally the Chronicles of their owne houses, conteine (for the moste part) nothing else, but suing for exemptions, procuring of reliques, strugling for offices, wrangling for consecrations and pleading for lands and possesions. For proofe whereof, I might lustly allledge innumerable brawles, stirred betweene the Religious houses of this Citie, wrastling somtime with the Kings, somtime with the Archbishops, and oftentimes the one with the other, all which bee at large set foorth by Thomas Spot the Chronicler of Saint Augustines. But for as much as I my selfe delight little in that kinde of rehersall, and doe thinke that other men (for the more part of the wiser sort) be sufficiently persuaded of these their follies, I will lightly passe them ouer, and labour more largely in some other thing. And bicause that
the Monasterie or Priorie of Christes churche was of the more fame, I will first begin with it.

After that Augustine (the Monke which was sent from Rome) had found such fauour in the sight of King Ethelbert, that he might freely preach the Gospell in his countrey, he chose for assemble and praire, an olde Church in the East part of this citie, which was long time before builded by the Ro\= manes, and he made therof (by licence of the King) a Church for himselfe and his successors, dedicating the same to the name of our Sauliour Christ, wherof it was called afterward, Christes church.

After his death, Laurence his successor, brought Monks into the house, the head wherof was called a Prior, which worde (howssoever it soundeth) was in deede but the name of a seconde officer, because the Bishop himselfe was accompted the very Abbat. For in olde time, the Bishops were for the moste parte chosen out of such Monasteries, and therefore most commonly had their Palaces adjoining, and governed as Abbats there: by means whereof it came to passe, that such Abbies were not onely much amplified in wealth and possessi\= ons, but also by fauour of the Bishops, their good Abbats, ouerloked all their neare neighbours, as hereafter in further course shall better appeere.

I finde not, that from that time any great cost was done vpon this Churche, till Lan\= francs daies, who not onely builded it almost wholy of new, and placed Benedict Monkes therein, the number of which he aduaunced from thirty, to one hundreth and forty, but also he restored 25. Manors which had beene withholden from this house, he erected certaine Hospitals which he endowed with one hundreth and forty pounds by yeere, and he repaired the walles of the Citie it selfe.

And heere by the way, it is to be noted out of Mathew Westminster, that there were Monkes in this house, ever since the time of Laurence the seconde Archbishop, against the opinion of some, which report that Elfricus was the first that expul\= sed the Secular Priestes, and brought the Monkes into their place.

Not long after Lanfrancs time succeeded Wil\= liam Corboile, during whose gouernment this lately aduaunced building was blasted with flame, but he soone after reedified it of his owne purse, and dedicated it with great pompe and solemnnitie, in the presence of the King and his Nobles. After him followed Theobaldus, whome Pope Innocent the second honoured with the title of Legatus natus: and then commeth Thomas Becket, the fift in order after Lanfranc, by whose life, death, and buriall, the estimation of this Church was aduaunced beyond all reason, measure and wonder.

For, notwithstanding that it had beeene before that time honoured with the arme of Saint Bar\= tholmew, a Relique that King Canutus gaue: with the presence of Augustine that brought in Religi=
725. on: with the buriall of 8. Kentish Kings, that succeeded Wightred, and of a great number of Archbishops after the time of Cuthbert: Likewise afterwarde with the famous assembly at the homage done by the Scottish King William, to King Henrie the second, and at the Coronation of King Iohn: with the severall Marriages also of King Henrie the third, and King Edwarde the first: and finally with the interrements of that Noble Edward (called commonly the Black Prince) and of King Henrie the fourth: yet the death of this one man not martyrded (as they feigne, for the cause onely, and not the death, maketh a Martyr) but murdered in his Church, brought thereunto more accessee of estimation and reuerence, than all that euer was done before, or since.

1376. For, after his death, by reason that the Pope had canonized his soule in Heauen, and that Stephan Langton had made a Golden shrine for his body on earth, and commaunded the Annuall day of his departure to be kept solemne, not onely the Lay and common sort of people, but Bishops, Noble men, and Princes, as well of this Realme as of foreigne partes resorted on Pilgrimage to his tumbe, and flocked to his Jubile for remission: In so much, that euery man offering according to his abilitie, and thronging to see, handle, and kisse, euen the vilest partes of his Reliques, the Church became so riche in Iewels and ornaments, that it might compare with Midas, or Crœsus, and so famous and renownmed (euery piller resounding S. Thomas, his miracles, praier, and pardons) that now the name of Christ was cleane forgotten, and the place was commonly called, Saint Thomas Church of Canterbury.

I passe ouer the stately buildings, and monuments (I meane, Churches, Chapels, and Oratories) raised to his name: the lewd bookes of his life, and iestes, written by foure sundry persons to his praise: The blasphemous Hymnes, and Collects, devise by Churchmen for his seruice: and sundrie such other things, which as they were at the first inuented to strike into the heads of all hearers and beholders, more than wonderfull opinion of devotion and holiness: So now the trueth being tried out, and the matter well and indifferently weighed) they ought to worke with all men, an utter de= testation, both of his, and all their, hypocrisie and wickednesse.

For, as touching himselfe (to omitt that which truely might be spoken in dispraise of the former part of his life, and to begin with the very matter it selfe whereupon his death ensued) it is evident, both by the testimonie of Mathew Paris (a very good Chronicler, that liued vnder king Henry the third) and by the foure Pseudo Euangelists themselues that wrote his iestes, that the chiefe cause of the kings displeasure towards him grew vpon occasion, that he opposed himselfe against his Prince, (Gods law= 302
full and Supreme minister on earth) in maintenance of a most vile and wicked murder. The matter stood thus.

Within a few of the first yeares of King Henrie the seconds Reigne, the Clergie of the Realm had committed above a hundreth severall murders upon his subiects, as it was inforrned him: for remedie of which outrage, the King (by assent of his Nobilitie and Bishops, of which number Tho= mas Becket himself was one) tooke order at Claren= downe, that if any Clerke from thenceforth com= mitted felony, or treason, he should first be degra= ded, and afterwarde delivered to the Lay power, there to receive as to his offence belonged.

Not long after, it chaunced one Philip Broic (a Chanon of Bedforde) to be apprehended for mur= ther, and to be brought before the temporal Iu= stice, where he not onely shewed no remorse of the wicked fact, but also (in hope of Ecclesiasticall ex= emption, for the Popes Churchmen would bee <asyloi>, that is, privilieged for their ho= lynesse. <242> for all manner of mischieves) gave very euill language to the Iudge: the Iudge complained thereof to the King, and the Chanon (belike) had made meanes to the Archebishop also: For the King no sooner endeuoured to put his Lawe in exe= cution, but the Archbishop (both forgetfull of his dutie to God and Prince, and vnmindefull of his owne oth) set himselfe against it, affirming plainly, that he neither could, ne would, suffer it so to be.

Hereupon the Prince waxed wroth, and by little and little his indignation was so kineded (by mat= ter that the obstinacie of the Bishop daily mini= stred) that in the ende it was too hote for Becket to abide it. Then speedeth he himselfe to Rome, and poureth into the Holy Fathers bosome complaint of most grieuous oppression, extended against the Clergie: The Popes Holinesse, sory to discourage so good a soldiour as the Bishop was, and withall loth to loose so mighty a friend as king Henry was: by letters and Legates praieth, commaundeth, perswadeth, and threatneth reconciliation and at= tonement, which (after great adoe) by the meanes of the Frenche King, and other his instruments, was in a sort brought to passe betweene them.

Then Thomas Becket returneth with the Kings fauour into the Realme, from whence he had sixe yeeres before departed without licence, and there= fore without (or rather against) Law, and immed= itely seeketh to reuenge himselfe vpon suche the Bishops, as had in his absence assisted the King in his enterprise. Which when the King (being then in Normandie) vnderstood, it chaunced him (in great grievfe of minde) to cast out some words, that gau= e occasion and hardinesse, to Reginald Beere, William Tracy, Hugh Moruill, and Richard Bryton (foure of his Gentlemen) to addresse themselves for his re= uenge. These foure therefore, passed the Seas, came to Canterbury, founde out the Bishop, fol= lowed him into his Church, and vpon the Staieres of the same, did him very cruelly and despitefully to death.
This shortly is the chiefe substance, and circum-
stance of all this Tragedie, drawne out of our own Countrie men, and Thomas his fauourers, howso-
ever Erasmus (led by some sinister information) hath otherwise reported it, as shall heereafter ap=
peere in Otford, when we come to the place.

Wherein, as I cannot on the one side allow this murther (executed, not by any publique Minister of lustice, but by a priuate and injurious arme:) So on the other side, I report me to all indifferent and Godly Readers, whether such a life deserued not such a death, and whether these Popish Parasites that haue painted forth this mans praises, make not themselues thereby parteners of all his pride and wilfull rebellion.

I might heere rest long, vpon diuers other things concerning the King and this Archbishop: name=
ly, how that he suffered the King to hold his stirup twice in one day in Normandie, but in ‘Prato prodito=
rum,’ as Mathew Parise very pretily twiteth it: How the King came with bare and bleeding feete to Canterburie, to purge himselfe of the murther: How he bared his body to the Monkes of this house, and receaued of euery Religious Person there, foure, or fiue stripes: in which selfe yeere (by the way) their whole church was consumed with fire: and some other matters besides, which make manifestly for the proofe of great presumption in the Clergie, and of vile abiection of the Prin=
ces of those daies: But, bicause that I am feare=
ful that I grow too long, I will leaue Saint Tho=
mas himselfe, and after (a few woordes more of his

Church) step ouer to Saint Augustines.

After Thomas, this Church and Sea founde three or foure especiall mainteiners of the build-
ing: Stephan Langton, which made vp the great Hall in the Bishops palace, and the faire Horologe in the South crossed Ile of the Church: William Courtney, which by his Testament bequeathed one thousand Markes towards the amendment of the bodie of the Church, the walles, and the Cloi=
ster: Thomas Arundel, which erected one of the Bell Towers, gaue fiue Belles, and Christened them after the Popish manner: And Henrie Chi=
cheley, who both repaired the library with bookes and building, and did great cost vpon one of the Bell Towers also.

Now then to Saint Augustines. Augustine, ha=
ing thus established a See for himselfe and his successours, obteined further of King Ethelbert (for the better furtherance of the seruice, that hee had in hand) a Church, that then stood betweene the walles of the citie and Saint Martines, wherin the king himselfe vsed before to make his praiers, and to offer sacrifice to his Idoles: This Church, he purged from Prophane abuse and name (as they say) and dedicated it to the seruice of God, and to the honour of Saint Pancrace. Neither ceased he thus, but shortly after intreated the same
King to build a Monasterie in the soile adioining, which he also appointed to the honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and placed Monkes there in: This Monasterie, in memorie of his benefite, lost the first name, and was ever after called Saint Augustines.

Now whereas the true meaning, bothe of the King and Augustine was, that this Church (for so much as both then, and long after, it was not the manner to bury their dead within the wallles of any cite, a thing forbidden of olde by the law of the twelve tables) should be from thencefoorth a common Sepulchre to all their successours, as wel in the Kingdome, as in the Archbishopsricke: yet such was the fauour of the Bishops following Augustine towards their owne Church, that in the processe of time Saint Augustines was defrauded of the Sepultures, both of the one and the other. For in Brightwaldes daies, the buriall of the Kings was taken from it: and Cuthbert the Arch= bishop in his life begged of King Eadbert, that for the aduauncement of Saint Iohns (a new church, that he had erected for that purpose and for the execution of iudgements by the Ordale, and which was afterward fired with the flame of Christes church whereunto it was neere adioining) the Bi= shops also might from thencefoorth bee buried there. And for the more suretie to attaine that his desire, hee tooke order in his life (by othe of all his Couent) that they should suffer his corpes to lye three daies in the grounde after his death, before any Bell should be roong or other open solemnitie vsed, that might notifie his departure to the Monkes of Saint Augustines. Onely leanbright the fourteenth Bishop (whome other copies call 308 Lambright) was conueied to the ground at Saint Augustines, by this occasion. After the death of Bregwine (the Archbishop) this leanbright (then being Abbat of Saint Augu= stines, and fearing that he should be deceuied of the body of Bregwine, as Aldhun his predecessour had beene beguilled of Cuthberts before) hee came ap= pointed with armed men, determining to take it away by force, if hee might not by faire meanes obtaine it. But the craftie Monkes of Christs church had buried the body before he came, so that he was driuen to depart home frustrate of his de= sire, and to seeke his amendes by action in the law. Notwithstanding, because they percieued heere= by, that he was a man of good courage, and there= fore very meete in their opinion to be made their Captaine, they shortly after chose him Archbishop, in hope that he would haue mainteined their quar= rel: but he neuerthelessse tooke such order, that hee was buried in Saint Augustines with the rest of his predecessours. Thus you see, how soone after the foundation, these houses were at dissention, and for how small trifles, they were ready to put on armes, and to
moue great and troublesome tragedies: Neither
doe I finde, that euer they agreed after, but were
euermore at continual brawling within them=
selues, either suing before the King, or appealing
to the Pope, and that for matters of more sto=
macke, than importance: As for example, whether
the Abbat of Saint Augustines should bee conse=
crate or blessed in his owne church, or in the others:
whether he ought to ring his belles to service, be=
fore the other had roong theirs: whether he and
his tennaunts ought suite to the Bishops Court:
and such like, wherein it cannot be doubted, but
that they consumed inestimable treasure, for main=
tenance of their most Popish pride and wilfulnesse.
If any man delight to knowe the particulars, let
him reade the writings of Thorne and Spot, their
own Chroniclers: as for my selfe, I thinke it too
long to haue saide thus much in generall, and ther=
fore will haste me to the rest.

618. After the death of king Ethelbert, Eadbaldus (his
sonne) at the instance of Laurence the Archbishop,
builded a faire Churche in this Monasterie, which
he called Saint Maries. In which place many
yeeres after (if at the least you will beleue Thomas
Spot) Saint Dunstane sensibly heard and sawe, our
Lady, Saint Adryan, and a sort of Angels, singing
and dauncing together.

1017. After Eadbaldus, King Canute (the great Mo=
narch of this realme) Egilsine (the Abbat that fled
for feare of the Conqueror) Scotlandus (whom the
same King put in Egilsines place) Hugo de Floriac
(that was of kinred to king William Rufus, and by
him made Abbat) were the persons that chiefly in=
creased the building: some bestowing Churches
and Chapels: some Dorters and dyning places,
and others other sortes of edifices. The
Saints, whose dead bodies and reliques brought
to this church great veneration and gaine, were
these specially, Adryan, Albin, John &c. religious
persons: Eadbald, Lothar, Mull, and Wightred, some=
time Kings: S. Sexburge, and Saint Myldred of
Thanet, (whose bodie was giuen them by King Ca=
nute) And Saint Augustine their first friende and
founder.

Of this last man (to let slip a many of others) this
one myracle they report: that at such time as the
Danes entred Kent, and (spoyling this Citie) ran=
sacked alsmoste euerie corner thereof, this house of
Saint Augustines (onely of all other) was neuer
touched, By reason (say they) that when a Dane
had taken holde of S. Augustines Pall (or cloke)
wherewith his tombe was couered, it stacke so fast
to his fingers, that by no meanes possible he could
loose it, till he came and yeelded himselfe to the
Monkes, and made sorrowfull confession of his
faulse.

Much like to this, it is written, that at the ouer=
throwe of Carthage, the hand of one that woulde
haue spoiled the God Apollo of his Mantell, was
found amongst the fragments. This our good fellow was not so cunning (belike) as Dionysius was: for he tooke a golden cloke from Jupiter, and had no hurt at all thereby. But either this our Pall was weaued, 'Ex auro Tholosano,' or else (which I ra= ther beleuee) this Canterbury tale was forged 'A rabula Romano.'

Besides all these, the Monkes seeing howe little their reliques were esteemed, in comparison of Tho= mas Becket, and beleeeuing (as the Romanes some= times did of Dea Pessenuntia) that their house should be highly aduaunced, if they might get thither so glorious a God as he was, they made a foule shift for a peece of him also.

There was a Monk of Christs Church, called Roger, who had in charge to keepe the Altar where Becket was slaine. This man they chose to their Abbat, in hope (saith mine authour) that he woulde bring somewhat with him: in which dooing they were not altogether deceiued, For he conueyed to them a great part of Thomas his bloude that was shed, and a peece of his Crown that was pared off.

But here by the way, marke (I beseech you) the grosse iugling that these slow bellyed Syres vsed to delude the world withall. Erasmus (in his Collo= quies) writeth, that the whole face of Saint Tho= mas, being sumptuously set in golde, was religi= ously kept within a Chapell beyonde the high al= tar, and that they tolde him the rest of the body lay in a shrine, of golde and of great Maiestie, which they shewed besides.

But the truth is, that at such time as the late godly and moste Christian Archbishop Cranmer, and the wise and noble counseller Cromwell, were at Canterbury, in commission for defacing of this Shryne, they found an entier body, and complete in all his partes within the same, as some lately on liue, and then present, did testifie: so that either this their great God, was a bishop Biceps, and lacked but one head more to make him Cerberus, or Chi= mæra: or else (which is most certaine) these Monks were marueylous and monstruous magnifiers, of such deceiuable trumperie, and wanted nothing at all to make them, Cretenses, or Cecropes.

But to my purpose againe: as touching the priuileges, possessions, estimation, and maiestie of this house, it were too much to recite the one halfe, and therefore I will onely let you know, that of auncient time the Abbat had allowance of a Coynage (or Mynte) within himselfe, by graunt of King Ethelstane: That he had place in the general coun= cell, by gift of the Pope Leo: That the house had fiue Couents, containing in all, sixtie fiue Monks: And finally, that (besides iurisdiction ouer a whole Last of thirteen Hundreds) it had possession of liue= lyhoode to the value of eight hundreth and eight pounds by yeere.

Now, besides these two great houses, there were in Canterbury some other also of lesse note: As S.
S. Gregories in Canterbury.

Gregories (a Church of Chanons, belonging to the Hospitall that Lanfranc built) whiche was fired in the time of King Stephan, and was valued in the Records, at thirty pounds by the yeere: The Hospitall of Saint Laurence, edified by Hugh (the Abbat of Saint Augustines) for his sick Monkes, and rated at twenty pounds yeerely: S. Iames Hospitall, erected by Eleonor, the wife of King Henrie the thirde: Saint Sepulchres, a house of Nonnes, prepared (belike) to serue the necessitie of the hoat Monks, esteemed at twelve pounds by yeere: The White Friers, translated by one John Digge, to the Isle of Bynwhite, lately the house of one Rolph: And S. Mildreds in the South side of the Citie, long since (but not lately) an Abbay.

There is extant in Canterbury also, the auncient and stately Palaice of the Archbishops, not that which King Ethelbert first gaue to Augustine at Staplegate, for it was but a meane dwelling, answerable to his small company and first beginnings, but the very same which he secondly bestowed on him (when he left Canterbury, and went to Reculer) which was his owne, and his predecessours, the Kings stately Court and Palaice.

This house, by that time Hubert the Archbishop had aspired to the See, was decaied, either by age, or flame, or bothe: Who therefore pulled downe the most part of it, and in place thereof laide the foundation of that great Hall, and other the offi= ces, that are now to be seene: But by reason that himself wanted time (preuented by death) and some of his followers lacked money (hauing otherwise bestowed it lauishly) to performe the worke, it rested vnperfect till the daies of Boniface, who both substantially, and beautifully finished the whole: and yet (as some thinke) Stephan Langton had accomplished the great Hall thereof before him.

Lastly, a little without the East wall of the citie stood S. Martines, where was somtime an auncient Church erected by the Romanes, in which (before the coming of Augustine) Bertha, the wife of king Ethelbert, hauing receiued the Religion of Christ before him, was accustomed to pray. In this small Oratorie, Augustine (by the kings permission) celebrat=ed divine service, and administrst the Sacra= ments, vntill that by further taste of the kings fa= uour, he obtained larger roome to build his Mona= sterie vpon. And this Church was long time after, euen vntill the comming in of the Normans, the See of a Bishop, who (alwaies remaining in the countrie) supplied the absence of the Metropo= lite, that for the most part followed the Court: and that, as well in governning the Monkes, as in perfourming the solemnities of the Church, and in exercising the authoritie of an Archdeacon.

Godwine was the last which sate in that chaire, after whose death, Lanfranc (being as ielouse of a partner in his spiritual Hierarchie, as euer was Alexander in his temporall Empire) refused to
consecrate any other, affirming plainly, that "Two Bishops were too many for one City." Nevertheless, because he needed the help of a substitute, he created in place thereof, one of his own Chaplains, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Hakington, alias Saint Stephens, in Saxon hagaingtun, that is, the Lowe towne, where Hawes (or Whitethornes) doe growe.

Baldwine (an Archbishop of Canterbury vnder the reigne of King Henrie the second) minding to auance the estimation of Thomas Becket his lately murthered predecessor, and withal to make himselfe memorable to posterity, thought this one way the best for obtaining his double desire: namely, to build some stately Church Monument, and to match in the patronage thereof, Thomas that Prototraitour and rebell to his Prince, with Stephan the Protonambyr and true seruaunt of Almighty God.

For which purpose, and to the ende that his acte might haue the more countenaunce and credite, he obtained a licence from Pope Vrban, in this forme as Mathewe Parise reporteth it. "Præsentium tibi authore mandamus, ut liceat tibi Ecclesiam in honorem beatorum Stephani, & Thomæ, martyrum, constituere, & idoneis eam ordinare personis, quibus beneficia quæ ad eorum sustentationem constitueris, canonice debas assigare. Item mandamus, ut quarta parte oblationum, reliquis Sancti Thomæ monachorum vsibus concessa, quarta fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pauperibus deputata, quartam portionem reliquam liceat tibi in alios vsus, pro tuae voluntatis arbitrio, erogare, &c."

This done, he pulled downe an old timber Chappell that stood at Hakington, and began to raise in place thereof, a faire church of hewed stone. But, for as much as not only the charge to furnish that present building was fetched from Saint Thomas offering at Canterbury (much to the decay of the Monkes gaine) but also the yeerely maintenance thereof was to be drawne from the same Hanaper, and to be bestowed vpon certain Secular Chanons (a sort of religious that Monkes euer maliced) who yet might happily in time to come be made equall with the Monkes themselues in the election of the Archbishoppe, to the generall discrede of their holy order, and vter violation of their former Priuileges: threfore the Couent of Christs churche, thinking it fit to withstande such beginnings, complained hereof to Pope Innocents holyness (for Vrban was then dead) and were so well heard in their suite, that the Archbishops building was countermaunded, and hee (with forced patience) constrained to cease the worke.

Nevertheless, hauing hope, that if the thing were by great distance of place remoued out of the Monkes ele, he might with better quiet bring...
his desire to the wished effect, hee attempted the like platforme at Lambhithe, his owne house neare London: But before he had finished that worke, he went into the holy Lande with King Richarde the first, and died without returne, in whiche meane while, the Chapell of Hakington, being destitute of her Patrone, was quite and cleane demolished.

Hubert succeeded Baldwine in the See, and put his hande to performe the building at Lambhithe that his predecessour had begonne, but the Monks (fearing still the former inconuenience) intercepted the whole profits of Saint Thomas offering, re=newed their suite at Rome, and (feeding the Pope with that which shoulde haue maintaine the building) made his holy eares so attentiue, that he became wholly of the Monkes deuotion, and compel=led Hubert at his owne dispence, and to his great despight, (Mauger his Myter) to race that Chapell also, and to make it equall with the ground.

And thus you may see, how the enuious Monks hindered the felicity of Hakington, which otherwise (by this kinde of spirituall robberie) might in time haue prooued as famous as Boxley, Walsingham, or any other Denne of Idolatrie, whereas then it was with much ado, and great difficultie obtei=ned, that a poore Chapell (serued with a single Sir lohn, and destitute, both of Font, and Churchyard) might remaine standing in the place. Howebeit since that time, (by what grace I wot not) it is become the Parish church for the inhabitants there, and in memorie of that, which it would faine haue beeene, is yet commonly called Saint Stephens. The par=sonage house there hath met with three good bene= factors, Warham the Archbishop, and Warham the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Sir Roger Man=wood the late learned Arche or Chief Baron of the Escheaquer, which last man procured some amende=ment to the Ministers liuing, and left maintenance for certaine poore persons there.

I finde in a Note (giuen vnto mee by my good Friend Master Francis Thyn) that King Edwarde the thirde at his returne from dooing his Ho=mage to the Frenche King, held an exercise at the Tilt, in this Hackington.

Harbaldowne by Canterbury, in Saxon herebelæwldune, that is, the Hill where the armie was betraied.

Such hath beeene the nature of man, euen from that time (in which not contenting himselfe to abide man, but aspiring by knowledge of good and euill to become God, he defaced the Image of his Creator, to the similitude of whom he was created) that he hath continually euer since, and that in matters concerning God, more trusted his own wit, then the wisedome of God himselfe, better liked his own inuention, then Gods
holy institution, and preferred will worship, devised of his own braine, before reverent religion inioined by the mouth of the Almighty. And such also hath beene the continuall craft of Sathan, his sworn enemy, that (seeing him thus addicted to vanity and rebellion) he hath laboured from time to time to feede his euill humour, suggesting innumerable (and those most subtile) sleights to withdraw him from God and drawe him to Idolatrie and superstition: So that in time by policie of the one, and prudence in the other, it was by degrees brought to passe, that not onely the excellent and glorious creatures of God, the Angels and men (I meane) the Sunne and Moone, the Stars and Elements, were worshipped as Gods. But also, divine honour and reverence was transferred from the highest God, to the most inferiour and basest parts of all his workmanship, the world at the length becomming so mad, that it would crouche and kneele, kisse and knocke, bowe, bend, and make all signes of honour and reverence, not onely to stockes and stones (that represented the bodies of mortal men) but to whatsoever trifie, trumperie, or bagage besides, that the Diuell or his ministers would haue preferred as a monument or relique of them.

And therefore, no maruaile was it, if God (seeing the world to abuse it selfe after a most froward and peruerse kinde of superstition) did by his iust vengeance bereaue vnbelievers of all understanding, so that (without any further doubt, or inquisition) they sticked not to embrace devoutly, whatsoever was commended, were it neuer so lewdly.

For example heereof, beholde heere at Harbaldowne (an Hospital builded by Lanfranc the Archbishopp, for reliefe of the poore and diseased) the shamefull Idolatrie of this latter age, committed by abusing the lips (which God hath giuen for the sounding foorth of his praise) in smacking and kissing the upper leather of an olde shoe, reserved for a Relique, and vnreuerently offered to as many as passed by.

Erasmus, setting foorth (in his Dialogue intituled Peregrinatio religionis ergo) vnder the name of one Ogygius, his owne trauaile to visite our Ladie of Walsingham and S. Thomas Becket, sheweth that in his returne from Canterburie towards London,

he found (on the high way side) an Hospitall of certaine poore folkes, of which, one came out against him and his companie, holding a holy water sprinkler in the one hand, and bearing the upper leather of an olde shoe (faire set in Copper and Christall) in the other hand.

This doting father, first cast holy water vpon them, and then offered them (by one and one) the holy shoe to kisse: Whereat as the most part of the company (knowing the manner) made no refusal: So amongst the rest one Gratianus (as he faineth)
offended with the folly, asked (halfe in anger) what it was: Saint Thomas Shoe, quoth the olde man:

with that Gratianus turned him to the company,

and said: ‘Quid sibi volunt hæ pecudes, vt osculemur ceos omnium bonorum Virorum? Quin eadem opera porri= gunt osculandum sputum, aliique corporis excrementa?’

‘What meane these beasts, that we should kiss the shoes of all good men? why doe they not, by the same reason offer vs their Spittle, and other excrements of the body to be kissed?’ This to the wiser sorte, and such as haue any light, may suffice for the understanding of Erasmus opinion and judgment tou= ching such vnreuerent Reliques: but yet least some blinde and wilfull worshipper should thinke it but merily spoken of him, and in another mans person (as in deede Erasmus had many times ‘Dextrum pe= dem in calceo, sinistrum in pelui,’ according to the olde Prouerb) I will likewise adde a few wordes, vsed in the ende of his booke, for explication of his owne full minde in that matter. ‘Notantur, qui reliquias in=

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certas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, and qui quæstum ex his sordide faciunt.’ ‘In this Dialogue all such are taxed, which shewe vnto the people vncertaine reliques, for true and certaine: or which doe ascribe vnto them more than of right is due: or which doe raise filthie gaine and lucre by them.’

But peraduenture the authoritie of D. Erasmus is now (since the late Tridentine Councell) of no weight with them, since by the sentence of the same his workes without choice be condemned as Here= tical. Truly, that Counsell shewed it selfe more hastie to supprese all the good workes of Godly men, than readie to correct or abolish any of their owne fabulous bookes or superstitious follies. And therefore let indiffernt men iudge, whether the opinion of any one true speaking man, be not wor= thily to be preferred before the determination of suche a whole vnaduised Synode. And as for suche as in this light of the truth, will shewe themselfes maintainers of such Mawmetrie, I deeme them like the Sabees, whose senses (as Strabo writeth) are offended with sweete smelling sauours, and delighted with the filthy smoke of bur= ned goates haire, and therefore I say vnto them, ‘Sordes= cant adhuc,’ and so will leaue them.

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Norwood, that is to say, the North wood.

In the daies of King Edward the con= fessor, one hundreth Burgesses of the City of Canterbury ought their suite to the Manor of Norwood, as in that part of the booke of Domesday which concerneth Kent may yet most evidentely appeere. The building is now lately demolished, but the
Manor was long time in the possession of certaine Gentlemen of the same name, of which race, one lieth buried in the body of the church at Adington, in the yeere a thousand foure hundred and sixteene. And of another you shall finde mention hereafter, in the latter ende of the Texte of the Kentish customes.

And heereby it is probably (as me thinketh) to be conjectured, that in auncient time, men were usually named of the places of their dwelling. For, whereas before the comming in of the Conquerour, places (for the most part) had their appellations, either of their situation, or of some notable accident, or noble man: as Northwood in regarde of Southwood, Anglesford by reason of the flight of the Englishmen, and Rochester because of Rof: And wheras persons also, had their callings (most commonly) either of some note of the body, as Swanshalse, for the whitenesse of her necke: or for some propertie of the minde, as Godred, for his good counsell: and that by one single Surname 323

only and no more: now, immediately after the arriuall of the Normans (which obtained those lands, and which first brought into this Realme, the names of Thomas, Iohn, Nicholas, Fraunces, Stephan, Henrie, and such like, that now be most vsuall) men began to be knownen and surnamed, not of their conditions and properties, but of their dwellings and possessions:

So the Norman that was before Thomas, and had gotten the Township of Norton, Sutton, Inglefielde, or Combe, was thenceforth called, Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, of Inglefielde, of Combe, or such like, all which be (vndoubtedly) the names of places, and not of persons. Neither did the matter stay here, but in further processe of time, this Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, or of Combe, was called Thomas Norton, Thomas Sutton, or Thomas Combe, leauing out the particle (of) which before denoted his dwelling place.

And thus (the Norman manner preuailing) the auncient custome of the Saxons and Englishe men vanished quite out of vre. This whole thing is best discerned by auncient evidences, and by the names of our Chesshyre men yet remaining. For, olde writings haue commonly Ioannes de Norton, Wilhelmus de Sutton, For such as we call now, Iohn Norton, and William Sutton: and amongst the Gentlemen of Chesshyre (even to this day) one is called (after their manner) Thomas a Bruerton, another Iohn a Holcroft, and such like, for Thomas Bruerton, Iohn Holcroft, &c. as we heere 324

vse it. Thus much shortly of mine owne fantasie I thought not vnmeete to impart, by occasion of the name of Norwood, and nowe forwarde againe.

Lenham: in Latine, Durolenum, that is, the Water at
Lenam.

Master Camden (remouing the corruption of writing Durole= uum, for Durolenum) hath (as in manye other) brought muche light to the vnderstanding of this place: most strongly proo= uing, both by the remaines of the olde name, by the situation at the water, and true distance from other places, that it is the same, which Antoninus in his Itinera= rie, termeth Durolenum.

Kenule the king of Mercia, and Cudred the king of Kent, by their joint guift bestowed it vpon the Abbay, of Saint Augustines (more truly of Peter and Paule) in Canterbury: which Ethelwulfe king of Kent and of Westsexe afterwarde confirmed: and thirdly Edgiue the wife of king Edgar ratified the same in the time of Dunstane the Archbishop. I finde noted, by William Byholte, a Monke of that house, that long since it had market vpon the Tues= day, which euen to this day it enioieth.

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Leedes, in Latine of some Lodanum, of others Ledanum Castrum.

Robert Creuequer, was one of the eight that Iohn Fynes elected for his assistance in the defence of Douer Ca= stle (as we have already shewed) who, taking for that cause the Manor of Leedes, and vndertaking to finde fiue Warders therfore, builded this Castle, or at the least, another that stode in the place. For I haue read, that Edward (then Prince of Wales, and afterward the first King of that name) being Wardeine of the Fiue Portes and Constable of Douer in the life of Henrie the third his Father, caused Henrie Cob= ham (whose ministerie he used, as a substitute in bothe those offices) to race the Castle that Robert Creuequer had erected, because Creuequer (that was then owner of it, and Heire to Robert) was of the number of the Nobles that moued and maintained warre against him. Which, whether it be true, or no, I will not affirme, but yet I thinke it very likely, bothe because Badlesmere (a man of another name) became Lord of Leedes shortly af= ter (as you shall anone see) and also for that the present woorke at Leedes pretendeth not the antiquitie of so many yeeres, as are passed since the age of the conquest. But let vs leave the Building, and goe in hand with the storie.

King Henrie the first, hauing none other issue of his bodie than Maude (first married to Henrie the Empreor, whereof she was called the Empresse, and after coupled to Geffray Plantaginet the Earle of Angeow) and fearing (as it happened in deede) that after his death trouble might arise in the Realme, about the inheritance of the Crowne, bi= cause she was by habitation a straunger and farre
off, so that she might want both force and friendes to atchieue her right: And for that also Stephan (the Earle of Boloine, his sisters sonne) was then of great estimation amongst the noble men, and abiding within the Realme, so that with great advantage, he might offer her wrong: he procured (in full Parleament) the assent of his Lords and Commons, that Maude and her heires should succeed in the kingdom after him. And to the ende, that this limitation of his might be the more surely established, he tooke the fidelitie and promise by othe, bothe of his Clergie and Laytie, and of the Earle of Boloine himselfe.

Howbeit, immediately after his decease, Stephan (being of the opinion, that "Si ius violandum est, certe regnandi causa violandum est;"

> If breache of lawes, a man shall undertake, He may them boldly breake, for kingdoms sake)

Inuaded the Crowne, and by the advice of William the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had first of all giuen his faith to Maude) by the fauour of the common people (which adheared vnto him) and by the consent of the holy father of Rome (whose will never wanteth to the furtherance of mischiefe) hee obtained it: which neuerthelesse (as William of Newborow well noteth) being gotten by periurie, he held not past two yeeres in peace, but spent the residue of his whole reigne in dissention, warre, and bloudshed: to the great offence of God, the manifest iniurie of his owne cousine, and the grieuous vexation of this countrie and people.

For soone after the beginning of his reigne, sundry of the Noble men, partly vpon remorse of their former promise made, and partly for displeasure (conceiued because he kept not the othe taken at his Coronation) made defection to Maude, so soone as euer she made her chalenge to the Crowne: So that in the ende (after many calamities) what by her owne power, and their assistaunce, she compelld him to fall to composition with her, as in the storie at large it may be seene.

Now during those his troubles, amongst other things that much annoied him, and furthered the part of Maude his adversarie, it was vpon a time sounded (by his euill willers) in the eares of the common sort, that he was dead: And therewithall suddenly diuers great men of hir deuotion, betooke them to their strong holdes, and some others seised some of the Kings owne Castles to the behalfe of the Empresse: Of which number was Robert (the Earle of Gloucester, and bastarde brother to Maude) who entred this Castle of Leedes, minding to have kept it. But King Stephan vsed against him suche force and celeritie, that he soone wrested it out of his fingers.

King Edwarde the seconde, that for the loue of the two Spensers, incurred the hatred of his wife and Nobilitie, gaue this Castle (in exchaunge for
other lands) to Bartilmew Badelesmere (then Lord Steward of his householde) and to his heires for euer: who shortly after (entering into that troublesome action, in which Thomas, the Duke of Lancaster with his complices, maugre the King, exiled the Spensers) bothe lost the Kings favour, this Castle, and his life also: For, whilste he was abroade in aide of the Barons, and had committed the custody thereof to Thomas Colpeper, and left not only his chiefe treasure in money, but also his wife and children within it for their securitie: It chanced, that Isabell the Kings wife, minding a Pilgrimage towards Canterbury, and being ouertaken with night, sent her Marshall to prepare for her lodging there. But her officer was proudly denied by the Captaine, who sticked not to tell him, that neither the Queene, ne any other, should be lodged there, without the commaundement of his Lorde the owner.

The Queene not thus answered, came to the gate in person, and required to be let in, But the Captaine most malepertly repulsed her also: in so much that shee complained greeuously to the King of the misdemeanour, and he forthwith leuied a power, and personally summoned and besieged the peice so straitly, that in the end, through want of rescue and victuall, it was deliuered vnto him. Then took he Captaine Colpeper, and hoong him vp: The wife and children of the Lord Badelesmere, he sent to the Towre of London: The treasure and munition, he seised to his owne vse: and the Castle he committed to such as liked him.

But, as the last acte of a Tragedie is alwaies more heauie and sorrowfull than the rest: so (calamity and woe increasing vpon him) Badelesmere himselfe was the yeere following, in the companie of the Duke of Lancaster and others, discomfited at Borowbrig by the Kings armie, and shortly after sent to Canterbury and beheaded.

I might heere iustly take occasion, to rip vp the causes of those great and tragicall troubles, that grew betweene this King and his Nobilitie, for Peter Gaueston, and these two Spensers: the rather, for that the common sorte of our English storiers doe lay the whole burthen of that fault vpon the King, and those fewe persons: But because the matter is not so plaine as they make it, and with all requireth more wordes for the manifestation thereof than I may now afoorde, and for that also there is hope, that a speciall hystorie of that reigne (penned by S. Thomas Delamore, which liued in the very time it selfe) may be heereafter imprinted and made common, I will onely exhort the Reader (for his owne information in the trueth, and for some excuse of such as be ouercharged) to peruse that worke, wherein (I assure him) hee shall finde matter, both very rare and credible.

As touching the Priorie at Leedes (whiche was a conuentuall house of Regular Chanons dedicated to the name of the blessed virgin and S. Nicholas,
and valued in the Records of the late suppression at three hundred three score and two pound of yeerly revenue) I finde, that one Robert Creuer (the author of the Castle peraduenture, for this was done in the reigne of Henrie, sonne to the Conquerour) and Adam his sonne and heire, first founded it. Which thing might probably haue beene coniectured, although it had neuer beene committed to Hystorie.

For in auncient time, euen the greatest personages, helde Monkes, Friars, and Nonnes, in suche veneration and liking, that they thought no citie in case to flourish, no house likely to haue long continuance, no Castles sufficiently defensed, where was not an Abbay, Priorie, or Nonnerie, either placed within the walles, or planted at hande and neare adjoyning.

And surely (omitting the residue of the Realme) heereof onely it came to passe, that Douer had S. Martines, Canterbury Christes Church, Rochester S. Andrewes, Tunbridge the Friars, Maidstone the Chanons, Grenewiche the obseruants, and this our Leedes her owne Priorie.

Howbeit, I finde in a Heralds note (who belike made his coniecture, by some coate of Armes, lately apparant) that one Leybourne, an Earle of Salisbury, was the founder of it. Indeede, it is to bee seen in the Annales of Saint Augustines of Canterbury, that a noble man (called Roger Leybourne) was sometime of great authoritie within this shyre, notwithstanding that in his time hee had tasted of both fortunes: for in the dais of King Henrie the thirde, he was first one of that coniuration which was called the Barons warre, from which faction, Edwarde the Kings sonne, wonne him by faire means to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse.

Afterward they agreed not vpon the reckoning, so that the Prince (charging him with great arrearage of account) seised his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion, Roger once more became of the Barons deuotion: But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones receiued to fauour, and was made Warden of the Fiue Portes, and Lieuetenant of this whole Shyre. Now, though it cannot bee true, that this man was the builder of this Priorie (for the same Annales say, that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, hee might truly be termed the Patrone or founder thereof: for by that name, not onely the builders themselfes, but their posteritie also (to whom the glorie of their deeds did descend) were wont to be called, as well as they.

Motindene, or rather Modindene, in Hedcorn:
it may be derived, of Mod and dene, that is, the proud valley: a name given (as I guess) for the fertility thereof.

I have read, that the order of the Crossed (or crouched) Friars did first cross over the Seas, and came into England, about the middle part of the reign of King Henry the third.

These had their name of the Cross, which they bare in their uppermost garment, in token that they were ready to fight for the holy Cross, as they called it. For in deed all the sorts of these Crossed companions, took themselves to be the knights (or Champions) of Christendom against the Infidels: and they all professed, either openly to make, or by means to maintain, the warre vpon them.

Now I conjecture, that this suppressed house of crouched Friars at Motindene, was some slippe of that tree, which one James (that conquered the Iles, named Baleares) did first plant in Spaine, about the yeere after Christ 1212.

For they were called, ‘Fratres Sanctæ Mariae, de redemptione captiuarum’: the brothers of S. Marie, of the redemption of captives, or prisoners: their attire, was a white garment, with a blacke crosse upon it: and their office was, to procure money for the ransom of such Christians as were taken in the warres by the Turkes.

Ours here also, had either the same apparel, or another not much different: neither varied they greatly in the name and profession it selfe.

For confirmation wherof, I will make you par take of a Popish Indulgence (or pardon, as they termed it) made vnder the seale of the brotherhead of this house, in the yeere of our Lorde God 1475. which it chanced me to see, and which began after this manner: ‘Frater Richardus, minister domus de Motinden, provincialis, & vicarius generalis Ordinis sanctæ Trinitatis in Anglia, & redemptionis captiuarum qui sunt incarcerati pro fide Ihesu Christi a Pagans, &c.’ Friar Richard, minister of the house of Motinden, provincial and vicar general of the Order of the holy Trinitie in England, and of the redemption of the captiues which be imprisoned by the Pagans for the faith of Iesus Christ, &c. You see, that in substance their titles were all one, sauing that those beyonde the Seas were our Ladies knightes, and ours here were soldiery to the whole Trinitie: and that was the cause, as you shall hear anon, that Trinitie Sunday was no smal feast with them.

For some lately alive in this shyre, haue bee eye witnesses, and did right well remember, that yeerely (vpon Trinitie Sunday) the religious persons of this house did se to muster themselves in a most solemn marche, and pompous procession: wherein, albeit there wanted neither Coape nor Canapie, crosse nor candlestick, flagge nor banner, light nor incense, piping nor chaunting, neither yet
any other delightfull glittering that might with
the glorie thereof amaze the seeley beholder, and ra=
ush him (as it were) into a certeine Popishe hea=
uen: yet to the ende that this Pageant of theirs
might be the more plausible (in that it had some
thing peculiar to it self) their fashion was, to make
the Diuel himselfe to beare a part in this play with
them.

For, as they passed along in this array, the ma=
er was, that some one (berayed like a Diuell)
should offer to inuade the company, as though hee
would take the holy Crosse by force from them:
Then on the other side, outstepped some other
bolde man (appointed for the nonce) with a holy
water sprinkle in his hande, and hee with all his
might flang holy water at him: heerewith, this
counterfait Diuell must fearfully start backward,
for doubt of scalding, and, notwithstanding that he
would many times after fare in shew as though
he would haue flowne in their faces, yet might hee
neuer be so bolde in deede as to approach or come
within the fall of any one drop of this water: For,
you remember by the olde Prouerbe, how well the
Diuell loueth holy water.

And thus (forsoothe) the vertue of holy water (in
putting the Diuell to flight) was confirmed at
Motindene by a demonstrative argument. Which
if it be so, then greatly was Saint Paule deceaued
in the 6. of his epistle to the Ephesians, where he go=
eth about to arme vs from toppe to toe against
the assaultes of the Diuell: For what needed he

good man to recite Sallet, Shield, Sword, and so
many other partes of defensiue and inuasiue fur=
niture, when the Holywatersticke alone would haue
serued the turne? Or, at the least, what ment hee to
omitte that, being a thing so serviseable, and ea=
sily prouided? But wee must glue these good fel=
lowes leaue (after their woonted manner) to set
the Holy Ghost to schoole: And yet, by the way, I
let them weete, that they cannot, 'Leonem larua ter=
rere,' make a Lion afearde with a visor: It is not
their 'aqua lustralis,' their holy water (which they haue
fetched from Apollos pot, and not from the foun=
taine of Gods woord) that can make this ramping
Lion to turne his backe in earnest. Nay rather, let
them beware of this his stratageme, and let them
consider, that euen in worldly warrefare men bee
neuer in more daunger of the enimie, than when hee
feigneth to flie before them.

But I doe not well to keepe you so long from
the Diocesse of Rochester, since I shall haue cause
to holde you long when I shall haue brought you
thither.

To conclude therefore, these procurators were
not so carefull for the captiues, as that in the
meane while they kept no care of themselues: for
this small company had raked together three score
pounds land of auncient revenue, and I finde
it noted, that Robert Rokesley fou=
ded this house, in the yeere 1224.

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The description, and hystorie, of the See, and Diocesse of Rochester.

The learned in Astronomie, bee of the opinion, that if Jupiter, Mercurie, or any other Planet, approch within certain degrees of the sunne, and be burned (as they terme it) vnder his beams, That then it hath in manner no influence at all, But yeeldeth wholy to the Sunne that ouershyneth it: And some men beholding the neeresesse of these two Bishopricks, Canterbury and Rochester, and comparing the bright glorie, pompe, and primacie of the one, with the contrarie altogether in the other, haue fansied Rochester so ouershadowed and obscured thereby, that they reckon it no See or Bishoprick of it selfe, but only the place of a meere Suffragan, and Chaplain to Canterbury.

But he that shall either aduisedly weigh the first institution of them bothe, or but indifferently consider the state of either, shall easily finde, that Rochester hath not onely a lawful, and canonical Cathedrall See of it selfe, But the same also more honestly won and obtained, then euery Canterbury had.

For, as touching Rochester, Augustine (whome the Monkes may not deny to be the English Apostle) ordained Iustus Bishop there, Ethelbert (the lawfull King of Kent) bothe assenting thereto by his presence, and confirming it by his liberall beneficence.

But, how Canterbury came to haue an Archbishops Chaire, if you thinke that it hath not in that title already so sufficiently appeered, as that it therefore needeth not now esstoones to be rehearsed, then reade (I pray you) Geruasius Tilberiensis, and he (in his booke 'De otiis Imperialibus') will tell you, that in 'Sanguine sanctorum Dorobernensis ecclesia primatiam obtinuit,' The Churche of Canterbury obtained the primacie, by the sheading of the bloud of Saints: meaning, the ouerthrowe of the religious Brytons of Bangor College, wherof you may reade in Beda at large.

Rochester moreover, hath had also a continuall succession of Bishops, euen from the beginning, which haue governed in a distinct Diocesse containing foure Deanries, and therefore wanteth nothing (that I knowe) to make it a compleate and absolute Bishopricke.

In deede, the yeerely value is but small, the slenderness whereof (joined with some ceremoniall duties to the Archbishop) happily haue been the cause of abasing the estimation thereof.

But for all that, let vs not sticke with auncient Beda, and others, to say, that the Bishops See at
Rochester was at the first instituted by Augustine, that a Cathedrall Church was builded there by King Ethelbert, to the name of S. Andrewe, and that he endowed it with certain land for liuelyhood,

which he called Priestfield, in token (as I thinke) that Priests should be susteined therewithall.

This Bishopricke may be saide to be seuered from Canterbury Diocesse (for the moste part) by the water of Medway, and it consisteth (as I saide) of foure Deanries, namely, Rochester, Malling, Dartford, and Shorham: Howbeit, with this latter (containing about thirty benefices) the Bishop medleth not, the same being a peculiar (as they terme it) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who holdeth his prerogatiue wheresoeuer his lands do lye, as in this Deanrie he hath not onely had of olde time certaine mansion houses with Parkes and Demeanes, but diuers other large territories, rents, and revenues also. In it therefore are these Churches following,

The Deanrie of Shorham.
Shorham, with the Chapell of Otford.
Eynesford, with the Vicarage there.
Dernth, and the Vicarage there.
Fermingham, and the Vicarage.
Bexley, and the Vicarage.
Eareth, alias Eard.
Eard, alias Crayforde.
Northfleete, and the Vicarage.
Mepham, and the Vicarage.
Clyue.
Grean, with the Vicarage.
Farleigh, with the Vicarage.
Huntington, alias, Hunton.
Peckam, with the Vicarage.
Wrotham, with the Chapell of Stansted and Vicarage.

Eightam.
Seuenocke, with the Vicarage.
Penshyrst.
Chydingstone.
Heuer.
Gillingham, with the Vicarage.
Brasted.
Sundriche.
Cheuening.
Orpington, with the Chapell of Farnborowe, and Vicarage.
Hese.
Kestan.
Halstede.
Woodland, united to the vicarage of Wrotham 1572.
Eastmalling, with the Vicarage.
Ifeild.

As touching the Bishops of this See, Iustus (one of the same that Pope Gregorie sent hither from Rome) was the first that sate in the chaire, who was afterward translated to Canterbury, and of whom they report this for a singular miracle: That when
his body (many yeeres after the interrement) was to be remoued, it yeelded a most pleasaunt sauour in the senses of all that were present: Which thing, how maruellous it was, when they had (after the common manner then used) before his burial en= baulmed his body with most precious, delectable, and odoriferous spices, I dare make any man judge, if he be not more then a pore blind Papist, giuen ouer to beleue all manner (being neuer so grosse, and beastly) illusions.

In the whole race of the Bishops succeeding Iustus in this See, three amongst others be read of most notable, Paulinus, Gundulphus, and Gilbertus: of which, the first after his death was there honourred for a Saint: The seconde, was in his life the best benefactor that euer their Church founde: The thirde, was so hatefull and injurious to the Monkes, that they neither esteemed him while hee was on liue, nor wailed him at all after that he was dead. But of all these, we shall haue place to speake more largely, when we shall come to the Church and Monasterie. In the meane time therefore, it shall be fitte to shew, with what courage this Church vphelde her rights and priuileges, not only against the Monks of Canterbury (which laboured much to bring it vnder) but also against the See of the Archbishops it selve, which was (for the most part) the chiefe pa= trone and promoter of it.

In the reigne of King Henry the third, and after the death of Benedict (the Bishop of Rochester) the Monkes made choise of one Henrie Sanford (that great clerke, which afterward preached at Seding= burne) whereof when the Monks of Christes church had gotten vnderstanding, they resisted the electi= on, challenginge that the pastoral staffe (or crosier) of Rochester ought of very right to be brought to their house after the decease of the Bishop, and that the election ought to be made in their chapiter.

The Monkes of Rochester mainteining their owne choise, and so (the matter waxing warmer be= twene them) it was at the length referred to the determination of the Archbishop: he againe posted it ouer to certaine delegates, who hearing the par= ties, and weighing the proofes, gaue sentence with the Monkes of Rochester, and yet left (as they thought) good loue and amitie among them: But (as the Poet saith) ‘Male sarta gratia, nequicquam coit, & rescinditur:’ ‘Friendship, that is but euill pee= ced, will not ioine close, but falleth asunder againe.’ And therefore this their opinion failed, them, and their cure was but patched: for soone after the sore brake out of new, and the Canterbury Monkes re= uied their displeasure with such a heate, that Hu= bert of Borrow (the chiefe justice of the Realme) was driuen to come into the Chapter house to coole it, and to woorke a second reconciliation be= twene them. Neither yet for all that (as it may seeme) was
that flame cleane extinguished: For not long after, the Monks of Christes church, seeing that they themselves could not preuaile, intituled their Archbishop Edmunde, with whome also the Rochester Monkes waged lawe at Rome before the holy Fa ther, (as touching the election of one Richard Wendene, or Wendeouer, whom they would haue had to Bishop) by the space of three whole yeeres together, and at the length, either throw the equa lity of their cause, or the weight of their purse, oue rent, threw him vpon Saint Cuthberts day: in joy whereof they returned home with all haste, and enacted in their Chapter house, that from thencefoorth for ever, Saint Cuthbertes feast (as a Tropheum of their victorie) shoulde be holden double, both in their Church and Kitchin.

And not thus onely, but otherwise also, hath the See at Rochester well holden her owne: for during the whole succession of threescore and three Bishops, which in right line haue followed Iustus, she hath continually mainteined her Chaire at this one place, whereas in most partes of the Realme besides, the Sees of the Bishops haue suffred sundrie translations, by reason that in the Conquerors time order was taken, that such Bishops as before had their Churches in Countrie towns and Villages, shoulde forthwith remoue, and from thence foorth remaine in walled Townes and Ci ties: which ordinaunce coulde not by any meanes touch Rochester, that was a walled Citie long time before King Williams gouernment.

But now, to the ende that I may pursue the order that I haue prescribed, I will set foorth a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rochester by name, referring the recital of their actes and dooings to their peculiar and proper places, as I haue done in Canterbury before.

Lustus.
Romanus.
Paulinus.
Ithamarus.
Damianus.
Putta.
Cuichelmus.
Gibmundus.
Tobias.
Aldulphus.
Duime, or Duno.
Eardulphus.
Diota.

Permundus, alias, Wermundus.
Beornmodus. After him, these be inserted in a Catalogue that standeth before the Chronicle of Rochester. Tathnodus, Batenodus, Cuthwulfus, Swithulfus, Buricus, Chuelmundus, and Kyneferdus.

Burhricus.
Aelfstanus.
Godwinus.
Godwinus, the second.
Siwardus. Before, and at, the time of the Conquest.
Arnostus.

1077. Gundulphus.
1108. Radulphus.
114. Aernulphus.

Ioannes. After whom, in the former Catalog, one other Ioannes followeth.
Ascelimus, or Anselimus: and hitherto they were all Monkes.
Guelterus.
Gualerannus.
Gilebertus Glanuille.
Benedictus.
Henricus.
Richardus Wendene, or Wendeouer.

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1250. Laurentius de Sancto Martino.
Ioannes de Bradfield.
Thomas de Inglethorpe.

1291. Thomas de Wulham.
Hamo de Heth, or at Hethe: Confessor to King Edward the second.

1352. Ioannes de Shepey, or Shepey.
Wilhelmus Witlesey.

1363. Thomas Trelege, or Trilleke.

1372. Thomas Brynton, or Brenton.
Richardus Barnet, elected, and not consecrated.
Wilhelmus de Botelesham.
Ioannes de Botelesham, elected only.
Chelyndon, elected only.
Richardus Young: hee made the windowes at Frendsbury, and there is to bee seene in picture.

1418. Ioannes Kempe.
Ioannes Langdon.
Thomas Broune.
Williamus Welles.
Ioannes Lowe.
Richardus Peckam. Elected only.
Thomas Rotheram.
Ioannes Alcocke.
Ioannes Russel.
Eadmundus Audeley.
Thomas Sauage.

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Richardus Fitz Iames.

1504. Ioannes Fisher.
Ioannes Hylsey.

1539. Nicholaus Hethe.
1544. Henricus Holbeache.

1549. Ioannes Ponet.
1550. Ioannes Skorey.
Mauritus Griffin.
1559. Eadmundus Allen. Elected only.
1559. Eadmundus Gest.
1571. Eadmundus Freake.
1576. Ioannes Piers.
1578. Ioannes Young.

And thus much shortly being said touching the See and Bishops of Rochester in generalitie, it followeth that I enter into the particular description of the Diocesse, wherein I mean to followe the order that I have taken in Canterbury before: Namely, to begin at the Northeast corner, and from thence (first descending along the bankes of Medway, and then passing by the Frontiers of Sussex and Surrey, and lastly returning by the Thames shore to the same point) to enuiron the whole Bishopricke: which done, I will peruse what it containeth in the inner parts also, and then betake me to rest.

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Gillingham.

Even at our first entrie into the Diocesse of Rochester, on the Northeast part thereof, the Station, or Harbour, of the Nauie Royall at Gillingham and Chetam presenteth it selfe, a thing of all other most woorthie the first place, whether you respect the richesse, beautie, or benefite of the same. No Towne, nor Citie, is there (I dare say) in this whole Shire, comparable in right value with this one Fleet: Nor shipping any where els in the whole world to be founde, either more artifically moulded under the water, or more gorgeously decked above: And as for the benefite that our Realme may reappe by these most stately and valiant vessels, it is even the same that Apollo by the mouth of Aristonice promised to Greece, when his Oracle was consulted against the invasion of Xerxes and that his wonderfull armie (or rather world of men in armes) saying,

\[ \text{Jupiter e ligno dat mœnia facta Mineruæ,} \]
\[ \text{Quæ tibi sola tuisque ferant inuicta salutem.} \]

High Ioue doth give thee walls of wood,
Appointed to Minerue,
The which alone invincible,
May thee, and thine, preserve.

And therefore, of these such excellent ornaments of peace, and trustie aides in warre, I might truly affirm, that they be for wealth, almost so many riche treasuries, as they be single ships: for beautie, so many princely Palaces, as they be seuerall pieces: and for strength, so many mouing Castles, as they be sundrie sayling vessels.

They be not many (I must confess, and you may see) and therefore in that behalfe nothing answeree, either to that Nauie which fought
against Xerxes at Salamis, or to many other auncient Fleetes of forreigne Kingdomes, or of this our owne Iland: howbeit, if their swiftnesse in saying, their furie in offending, or force in defending, be duly weighed, they shall be founde as farre to passe all other in power, as they be inferior to any in number. For looke what the armed Hauke is in the aire amongst the fearefull Birdes, or what the courageous Lyon is on the lande amongst the cowardly cattell of the field, the same is one of these at the Sea in a Nauie of common vessels, being able to make hauocke, to plume, and to pray upon the best of them at her owne pleasure. Whiche speech of mine, if any man shall suspect as Hyperbolical, let him call to minde, how often, and how confidently (of late yeeres) some few of these ships (incertaine of their interteinment) haue boorded mightie Princes Nauies of a greate number of Saile, and then I doubt not but he will change his opinion.

But what do I labour to commend them, which not onely in shewe, and all reason, doe commend theyselues, but also are like in deedes and effecte to perfourme more, than I, in woord or writing can promise for them.

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Yea rather, I am prouoked at the contemplation of this triumphant spectacle, first to thanke God our mercifull Father, and then to thynke dutifully of our good Queene Elizabeth, by whose vigilant ministerie, care, and prouidence (drawing as it were, the net for us, whilest we sleepe) not onely the drosse of superstition and base moneies were first abolished, the feare of outward warre removed, rustie armour rejected, and rotten Shipping dispatched out of the way: But also, in place thereof of, religion and coyne restored to puritie, the domestical and forreigne affaires of the Realme managed quietly, the land furnished with new armour, shot, and munition, abundantly, and this Riuier fraught with these strong and serviceable Ships sufficiently. Which so apparant and inestimable benefits, the like whereof this Realme neuer at any one time (and much lesse so long time together) hath enjoyed, if any man perceaueth not, hee is more than blockish: if hee consider not, hee is exceeding carelesse: and if he acknowledge not, he is too too vnkinde, bothe to God, to her Maiestie, and to his owne countrie.

But here againe, for as much as it neither standeth with my present purpose, to depaint her Majesties praises, neither it lieth at all in my power to set them forth in their true colours (for it requireth an Apelles, to haue Alexander well counterfaied) I will conteine my selfe within these narrowe termes, and tell you the names of these Ships, that at one time or other doe ryde here.

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Estate of the Nauie Royall.

December 1596.
Amongst all these (as you see) there is but one that beareth her Maiesties name, and yet all these hath she since the beginning of her happy reigne ouer vs, either wholy built vpon the stockes, or newly reedified vpon the olde moaldes. Her Highnesse also knowing right well, that, Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri: Like vertue it is, to saue that is got: As to get the thing, that earst she had not, did in the thirde yeere of her most happy Reigne, erect a castle (called Vpnour, of a street in Friends= bury thereto adjoyning) for the better defence of
this Nauie, as the Inscription it selfe doth testifie, in these wordes, amongst other:

Who gaue me this shew, to none other ende,
But strongly to stande, her Nauie to defende.

Thus muche of the Nauie: As touching the har= borrow it selfe, I haue heard some wish, that for the better expedition in time of seruice, Some part of this Nauie might ride in some other hauen, the ra= ther because it is many times very long before a ship can be gotten out of this Riuier into the Sea.

I remember that I haue read in Vegetius, that the Romanes diuided their Nauie, and harboured the one part at Miseno (neare Naples) vpon the Tyrrhene Sea, and the other part at Rauenna, vpon the Sea Adriatique, to the ende, that when oc= casion required, they might readily saile to any part of the worlde without delay, or windlassing: ‘Bicause’ (saith he) ‘in affaires of warre, celeritie doeth as good seruice, as force it selfe.’

But for all that, whether the same order be ne= cessarie for vs, or no, who though we haue the vse of sundry Seas, as they had, yet we enjoy not so large and distant dominions as they helde, it is not our parts to dispute, but their office to determine, who for their great wisedome and good zeale, both can and will prouide things conuenient, as well for the safetie of the Nauey, as for the seruice of the Realme. And therefore leauing all this matter to the consideration of them that are well occupied at the helme, let vs apply our oares, that wee may nowe at length leaue the water, and come to the lande at Gillingham.

After the sudden departure of king Hardicanu= tus the Dane (which died of a surfeite of drinke, ta= ken at a Noble mans marriage in Lambhith) the English Nobilitie thought good to take holde of the opportunitie then offered, to restore to the roy= all dignitie the issue of King Ethelred, which he in his life had (for feare of the Danes) conueyed into Normandie. For which purpose, they addressed messengers to Richarde then Duke of Normandie, requiring him to send ouer Edward the onely sonne (then left) of King Ethelred, and promising to doe their indueour to set him in his fathers seate, So that he would agree to come accompanied with a small number of strangers: The which condition was deuised, bothe for their owne excuse, and for the yong Princes safetie.

For before this time, and after the death of king Canutus, they had likewise sent for the same Ed= warde, and Alfred (his elder brother that then was on liue) putting them in like hope of restitution: to which request the duke their grandfather assented, and for the more honourable furniture of their iourney, gaue them to company, diuers yong Gen= tiemen of his owne courtrie, whome he ment to make from thenceforth partners of theyr prospe= ritie, as they had before time beene companions of
their misfortune. But when they were come into the Realme, the Earle Godwine (who sought more the aduance=ment of his owne house to honour, than the restitu=tion of the English bloud to the crowne) percieuing that by no meanes he could make a marriage betweene Alfred (the elder of the two) and Edgith his daughter, and yet hauing hope, that Edward the younger would accept the offer, if he might bring to passe to set the garland vpon his head, he quarelled at the company which came ouer with them, insinuating to the peeres of the Realme, that Alfreden ment (so soone as hee shoulde obtaine the crowne) to place in all roome of honour, his Nor=mane Nobilitie, and to displace the English, his owne countrie men. 

This suspicion, he bet so deepely into the heads of many of the Noble men, and especially of his neerest friends and allies, that forwth (at his persuasion) they fell vpon the strangers at Gilling=ham, and first killed nine throughout the whole number of the companie, reseruing on liue eche tenth man onely: And afterward (thinking the re=mainder too great) tythed that number also, sleaing in the whole, about sixe hundred persons: As for Alfred (the elder of the yong Princes) they appre=353hended, and conueied him to the Isle of Ely, where first they put out his eies, and afterward most cru=elly did him to death. But this Edward, fearing their furie, escaped their hands and fled into Normandie: Howbeit, being nowe eftsoones (as I said) earnestly sollicited by Godwine, and more faithfully assured by the Noble men, he once againe aduentured to enter the Realme, and taking Godwines daughter to wife, obtained the Crowne and enioyed it all his life long.

I am not ignorant, that Simeon of Durham, and diuers other good writers, affirme this slaugh=ter to haue beene committed at Guylford in Surrey, and some other (of late time, and of lesse note) at Guild downe, a place neere Lamberhirst in the edge of this Shyre: but bicause I finde it expressly re=ported by Thomas Rudborne, and also the authour of the Chronicle of Couentrie, to haue beene done at Gillingham, 'lucta Thamesim;' I sticke not (being now come to that place) to exemplifie it, giuing neuerthelesse free libertie to euerie man, to lay it, at the one, or the other, at his owne free will and pleasure. Onely my desire is to haue obserued, that in this one Storie, there doe lye fol=ded vp, bothe the meanes of the deliuerie of this Realme of Englande from the thraldome of the Danes, and the causes also of the oppression and conquest of the same by the Normanes.

For, as touching the first, it pleased the Almigh=tie (now at length) by this manner of King Har=354

canutus death, (which I haue shewed) to breake in sunder the Danish whip wherewith hee had many
yeeres together scourged the English nation, and by the meane of drink (the Danish delight) to worke the deliuerie of the one people, and the extermination of the other, euen in the midst of all their securitie and pleasance.

In which behalfe, I can not but note the iust judgement of God, extended against those deepe drinkers, and in their example to admonish all such as doe in like sort most beastly abuse Gods good creatures, to his great offence, the hurte of their owne soules and bodies, and to the euill example of other men. For, whereas before the arriual of these Danes, the English men (or Saxons) vsed some temperaunce in drinking, not taking thereof largely but onley at certaine great feastes and cheerings, and that in one onely wassailing cup (or Bolle) which walked rounde about the boorde at the midst of the meale, much after that manner of intertainment which Dido sometime gaue to Aeneas, and which is expressed by Virgil in these verses,

Hic Regina grauem, auro gemmisque poposicit
Impleuitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti: Tum facta silentia tectis,
Iupiter (hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur)
Et vos O coetum Tyrii celebrate fauentes,
Dixit: Et in mensam laticum libauit honorem,
Primaque libato summo tenus attigit ore, &c.

The Queene commaunds a mightie Bolle,
Of golde and precious stone
To fill with wine: whom Belus King
And all King Belus line
Was wont to holde: then through them all
Was silence made by signe.
O loue (quoth she) for thou of hostes
And gestes both great and small
(Men say) the lawes hast put: giue grace
I pray, and let vs all
O you my Moores nowe do our best,
These Troians for to cheere:
Thus said she, and when grace was done,
The Bolle in hande she clipt,
And in the liquor sweete of wine
Her lips she scantly dipt.

But nowe, after the comming in of the Danes, and after such time as King Edgar had permitted them to inhabite here, and to haue conuersation with his owne people: Quassing and Carowsing so increased, that Didoes sipping was cleane forsaken, and Bitias bowsing came in place, of whom the same Poet writeth,

Ille impiger hausit
Spumantem pateram, & pleno se proluit auro.

And he anon,
The fomie bolle of golde vpturnde,
And drew till all was gon.

So that King Edgar himselfe, seeing (in his own reigne) the great outrage whereunto it was
growne, was compelled to make lawe therefore,

and to ordaine drinking measures by publique
Proclamation, driuing certaine nayles into the
sides of their cups, as limits and bounds which no
man (vpon great paine) should be so hardie as to
transgresse.

But this vice in that short time had taken such
fast roote, as neither the restraint of law, nor the ex=
pulsion of the first bringers in thereof, could wholly
supplant it.

For William of Malmesburie (comparing the
manners of the English men and Normanes toge=
ther) complained, that in his time the English fa=
shion was, to sit bibbing whole houres after din=
er, as the Normane guise was, to walke and let vp
and downe the streetes, with great traines of idle
Seruing men following them.

And I would to God, that in our time also wee
had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious
plant of vnmeasurable Boalling: which whether
it be sproong vp out of the olde roote, or be newly
transported by some Danish enimie to all godly
temeraunce and sobrietie, let them consider that
with pleasure vse it, and learn in time (by the death
of Hardicanute, and the expulsion of his people) to
forsake it: which if they wil not, God in time either
graunt vs the lawe of the Heluetians (which proui=
ded that no man should prouoke other in drinking)
or else, if that may for courtesie be permitted, bi=
cause (as the prouerbe is, 'Sacra hæc non aliter con=
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He put the Duke in remembrance therefore, of his near kinred with Edwarde the King of England, and fed him with great hope and expectation, that Edward should dye without issue of his body, by reason that he had no conversaion with his wife: So that, if the matter were well and in season seen to, there was no doubt (as he persuaded) but that the Duke through his owne power, and the ayde of some of the Englishe Nobilitie, might easily after the Kings death obtaine the Crowne: For the achieving whereof, he both vowed the utmost of his owne helpe, and under tooke that his brethren, his friends, and allies also, should do the best of their endeauour.

The wise Duke, knowing well, ‘Quam malus sit custos diuturnitatis metus,’ ‘How euill a keeper of continuance, feare is,’ And therefor (reposing much more suretie in a friendly knot of alliance, than in a fearfull offer proceeding but onely of a countenaunce) accepted Haroldes othe for some assurance of his promise, but yet withall, for more safetie, affied him to his daughter, to be taken in marriage: And so, after many princely gifts, and much honorable entertainment, bestowed upon him, hee gaue him licence to depart.

But Harold, being now returned into Engeland, forgettest cleane that euer he was in Normandie, and therefore so soone as King Edward was dead, he (violating both the one promise and the other) reiecteth Duke Williams daughter, and setteth the Crowne vpon his owne head.

Hereof followed the battaile at Battel in Sussex, and consequently the conquest of this whole realm and Countrie. In contemplation whereof, we haue likewise to accuse the olde misoxenian) the inueterate fiercenesse, and cancred crueltie of this our English nation, toward strangers. Busyris, was a tyrant that sacrificed strangers: & was therefore slaine by Hercules. The vncurtesie of the EnGLISH nation, toward strangers: which, loyning in this butcherly sacrifice with bloudie Busyris, desuerved worthy the reuenging club of heauenly Hercules: which, fearing (without cause) great harme that these fewe might bring vnto them, did by their barbarous immanitie giue iust cause to a great armie to ouerrunne them: And which, dredging that by the arrival of this small troupe of Norman Nobilitie, some of them might lose their honorable roomes and offices, prouoked the wrath of God, to sende in amongst them the whole rable of the Norman slauerie, to possesse their goods and inheritances.

It were worthy the consideration, to call to memorie, what great Tragedies haue beene stirred in this Realme by this our natural inhospitalitie and disdaine of strangers, both in the time of king Iohn, Henrie his sonne, King Edward the seconde, Henrie the sixt, and in the daies of later memorie: But, since that matter is parergon, and therefore the discourse would prove tedious and wearisome, and I also haue beene too long already at Gillingham: I will rather abruptly ende it, onely wishing,
that whatsoever note of infamie we have heretofore contracted amongst foreigne writers by this our ferocitie against Aliens, that now at the least (having the light of Gods Gospell before our eies, and the persecuted partes of his afflicted Church, as guestes and strangers in our countrey) wee so behauie our selues towards them, as we may both utterly rubbe out the old blemish, and from henceforth stay the heauy hand of the iust Iupiter Hostalis, which otherwise must needes light vpon such stubburne and vncharitable churlishnesse.

Chetham.
Although I haue not hitherto at any time, read any memorable thing recorded in historie touching Chetham it selfe, yet, for so much as I haue of ten heard (and that constantly) reported, a Popish illusion done at the place, and for that also it is as profitable to the keeping vnder of fained and superstitious religion, to renew to mind the Priestly practises of olde time (which are now declining to oblivion) as it is pleasant to retaine in memorie the Monuments and Antiquities of whatsoever other kinde, I thinke it not amisse to commit faithfully to writing, what I haue receiued credibly by hearing, concerning the Idols, sometime knowen by the names, of our Lady and the Roode, of Chetham, and Gillingham.

It happened (say they) that the dead Corps of a man (lost through shipwracke belike) was cast on land in the Parish of Chetham, and being there taken vp, was by some charitable persons committed to honest buriall within their Churchyarde: which thing was no sooner done, but our Lady of Chetham, finding her selfe offended therewith, arose by night, and went in person to the house of the parsihe Cleark, (which then was in the Streete a good distance from the church) and making a noise at his windowe, awaked him: This man at the first (as commonly it fareth with men disturbed in their rest) demaunded somewhat roughly, who was there? But when he understooode by her owne aunswere, that it was the Lady of Chetham, hee chaunged his note, and moste mildly asked the cause of her good Ladiships comming: She tolde him, that there was lately buried (neare to the place where she was honoured) a sinfull person, which so offended her eie with his gastyly grinning, that vnlesse he were remoued, she could not but (to the great griefe of good people) withdraw her selfe from that place, and cease her wonted miraculous working amongst them. And therefore she willed him to go with her, to the end that (by his helpe) she might take him vp and cast him againe into the Riuier.

The Clerke obeied, arose, and waited on her to ward the Church: but the good Ladie (not wonted to walke) waxed wearie of the labour, and there
fore was inforced for very want of breath to sit
downe in a bush by the way, and there to rest her:
And this place (forsooth) as also the whole tracke
of their journey (remaining euer after a greene
path) the Towne dwellers were wont to shew.

Now after a while, they go forward againe, and
comming to the Churchyard, digged vp the body,
and conueied it to the water side, where it was first
found. This done, our Lady shranke againe

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into her shrine, and the Clerke peaked home to
patch vp his broken sleepe, but the corps now eft=
soones floted vp and downe the Riuere, as it did be=
fore. Which thing being at length espied by
them of Gillingham, it was once more taken vp and
buried in their Churchyard. But see what followed
vpon it, not onely the Roode of Gillingham (say
they) that a while before was busie in bestowing
Miracles, was now depried of all that his former
vertue: but also the very earth and place where
this carcasse was laide, did continually for euer af=
ter, settle and sinke downeward.

This tale, receaued by tradition from the El=
ders, was (long since) both commonly reported
and faithfully credited of the vulgar sort: which
although happily you shall not at this day learne
at every mans mouth (the Image being now ma=
ty yeeres sitthence defaced) yet many of the aged
number did lately remember it wel, and in the time
darknesse, ‘Hæc erat in toto notissima fabula mundo.’

But here (if I might be so bould as to addde to this
Fable, his <epimythion> (or ‘Fabula significat’) I woulde
tell you, that I thought the Morall and minde of
the tale to bee none other, but that this Clerke
<mythoplastês>, this ‘Talewright’ (I say) and Fableforger,
being either the Fermer, or Owner of the offrings
giuen to our Lady of Chetham, and enuying the
common haunt and Pilgrimage to the Roode of
Gillingham (latelly erected ‘Ad nocumentum’ of his
gaine) deuised this apparition, for the aduaunce=
ment of the one, and defacing of the other.

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For (no doubt) if that age had beene as prudent
in examining spirits, as it was prone to beleue illus=
sions, it should have found, that our Ladys path
was some such greene trace of grasse, as we daily
behold in the fields (proceeding in deede of a natu=
rall cause, though by olde wiues and superstitious
people, reckoned to be the dauncing places of
night spirits, which they call Fayries) And that
this sinking graue, was nothing else, but a false fil=
led pitte of Maister Clearks owne digging.

The man was too blame, thus to make debate
betweene our Lady and her Sonne, but since the
whole religion of Papistrie it selfe, is Theomachia,
and nothing else, let him be forgien, and I will go
forward.

Alfred of Beuerley, and Richard of Ciceter, bothe
following Beda, haue mention of a place in East
Kent, where Horsa (the brother of Hengist) was bu=
ried, and which euen till their daies did continue
the memorie of his name. And we haue in this shire a Towne called Horsmundene, which name (resolved into Saxon Orthographie) is horsgemyndene, and soundeth as much as, the Valley of the monument (or memorial) of Horsa.

But for as much as that place lieth in the south part of this Countrie toward Sussex: and I reade that Horsa was slaine at Ailesford (as you shall see anon) in that encounter wherein he joined with his brother Hengist again the Brytons which at that time inhabited Kent, It is more prooueable to affirme, that he was buried at Horsted here, which word properly signifieth, the Place of Horsa: after the which name also certeine landes (lying in this parish on the part towards Ailesforde) be yet called, namely, new Horsted, and the old in the confines of the territorie made subject to Rochester.

This Horsa, and his brother Hengist (both whose names be Synonuma, and doe signifie a horse) were the Chieftains of those first Saxons that came into this land to the aide of Vortiger and the Brytons, as we haue before shewed: and after the killing of this Horsa, his brother Hengist neuer ceassed to follow the warre vpon the Brytons, vntill such time as he had driuen them out of Kent, and created him selfe King thereof, as hereafter in fitter place wee shall further declare.

In this parish standeth yet a poore shew of that decayed Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew, the foundation whereof as you shall finde in Rochester, was layde by Gundulphus the Bishop.

King Henrie the thirde calleth it the Priorie of brothers and sisters of the Hospitall of Saint Bartimew of Chetham, in a certaine confirmation which he made vnto them of 40. shillings by yeere, the which Roger Fitz-Stephen of Northwood had giuen vnto them before. Besides the which, King Edward the third and Henrie the sixt made general confirmations vnto them, and Henrie the sixt exempted them from all Taxes and tallages. Their Reuennew consisted of the Tythes of Kyngsdoune, Henhyrst, and Rode, chiefly: the rest being patched vp out of the offerings of the Altars of Sainct James and Sainct Giles.

In the confines of this parish, towards Rochester, was now lately builded a receptacle for ten or moe aged, or maimed Mariners and Shipwrights, which (after the founders name) her Maiestie our souereigne in her letters Patents of the incorporation, dated 27. August. 36. of her Reigne, would to be called, The Hospitall of Iohn Hawkins knight, in Chatham.

Frendsbury, in some Saxon copies freondesbyrig, that is, the Friends Court: in others, frinondesbyrig.

It befell in the reigne of king Edward the first (by occasion of a great and long drought of the aire) that the Monks
of Rochester agreed among them:

selues to make a solemne procession
from their owne house thorowe the citie, and so to
Frendsbury on the other side of the water, of a spe=
ciall intent and purpose to pray to God for raine.

And bicause the day of this their appointed iour=
ney happened to bee vehemently boisterous with
the winde, the which would not onely haue blowne
out their lightes, and tossed their banners, but
also haue stopped the mouthes of their Synging
men, and haue toiled themselues in that their hea=
ie and masking attire, they desired lycence of the
Maister of Stroud Hospitall, to passe through the
Orchyarde of his house, whereby they might both

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ease their companie, and saue the glorie of their
shewe, which otherwise through the injurie of the
weather must needes haue beene greatly blemi=
shed.

The Maister assented easily to their desire, and
(taking it to be a matter of no great consequence)
neuer made his brethren of the house priuie there=
unto. But they, so soone as they vnderstoode of
this determination, called to minde that their
Hospitall was of the foundation of Gilbert Glan=
uelle, (sometime a Bishop of Rochester) betweene
whom and the predecessors of these Monks there
had been great heats for the erection of the same:
and therefore, fearing that the Monkes (preten=
ing a procession) intended to attempt somewhat
injuriously against their priuileges (as in deede all
orders in Papistrie, were exceeding ielous of their
prerogatiues) they resolued with all might and
maine to resist them.

And for that purpose (not calling their Maister
to counsell) they both furnished themselues, and
procured certaine companions also (whom the Hi=
storie calleth Ribaldes) with clubbes and battes to
assist them, and so (making their ambushe in the
Orchyard) they awaited the Monkes comming.

It was not long, but the Monks (hauing made
all things readie) approched in their battell array
and with banner displaied, and so (minding no harm
at all) entred boldly into the house, and through
the house passed into the Orchard, merily chan=
ting their latine Letanie: But when the Brethren

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and their Ribaldes had espied them within their
daunger, they issued out of their lurking holes, and
ranne vpon them, and made it raine such a shoure
of clubbes and coulestaues vpon the Monkes
Copes, cowles, and Crownes, that for a while the
miserable men knew not what waie to turne them.

After a time, the Monkes called their wits and
spirites togethger, and then (making vertue of the
necessitie) they made eache man the best shift for
himselfe that they could: some, trauersing their
ground, declined many of the blowes, and yet now
and then bare off with head and shoulders: others,
usd the staues of their crosses and behauing them=
selues like prettie men: Some made pikes of their
banner poles: And others (flying in to their adversaries) wrested their weapons out of their handes: amongst the rest, one (sauing his charity) laide lode vpon a married Priest, absolving him (as mine authour saith) ‘A culpa,’ but not ‘A pæna.’ Another, draue one of the Brethren into a deepe ditch: and a thirde (as big as any Bull of Basan) espied (at the length) the posterne (or backe doore) of the Orchyarde, whereat he ran so vehemently with his head and shoulders, that he bare it cleane downe before him, and so both escaped himselfe, and made the waie for the rest of his fellows, who also, with al possible haste conueied themselues out of the iurisdiction of the Hospitall, and then (sha=king their ears) fell a fresh to their Orgia, I should haue saide to their former Orisons.

After this storme thus blowen (or rather born) ouer, I do not maruaile if the Monkes (as the re=porter saith) neuer sought to carrie their processi=on through Stroud Hospital for avoiding of the winde, for in deede it could not lightly blowe more boisterously out of any quarter. And thus out of this tragical historie, arose the byword of Frends=bury Clubs, a tearme not yet clean forgotten. For they of Frendsburie used to come yeerely after that vpon Whitsonmondaie to Rochester, in procession with their Clubs, for penance of their fault, which (belike) was neuer to be pardoned, whilst the Monkes remained.

For albeit I reade not of any that was slaine in the affraye, as peraduenture these Monkes had the priuilege of those that performed their Sacrifice, ‘Fustuaria pugna,’ in which none could be killed, as Herodotus in his Euterpe writeth of the Egyptians report: yet I doubt not but that they were so well blissed with Friendsburie Battles, that they had good cause to remember it many a yeere after.

The land of Frendsbury, was long since giuen by Offa the King of Midle England, to Eardulph then Eslingham.

Bishop of Rochester, vnder the name of Eslingham ‘cum appendiciis,’ although at this day this other beareth countenance as the more woorthie of the twaine: The benefice of Frendsbury (together with that of Dartford) was at the suite of Bishop Laurence, and by graunt of the Pope, conuerted to an appropriation, one (amongst many) of those monstrous byrthes of couetousnes, begotten by the manie of Rome, in the darke night of superstition, and yet suffered to liue in this day light of the Gospell, to the great hinderance of learning, the empouerishment of the ministerie, decaie of Hospitalitie, and infamie of our profession.
Rofi breui.

Some men (desirous belike to advance the estimation of this City) have left us a farre fetched antiquity concerning one piece of the same, affirming that Iulius Cæsar caused the Castle at Rochester (as also that other at Canterbury, and the Tower at London) to be builded of common charge: But I, having not hitherto read any such thing, either in Cæsars owne Commentaries, or in any other credible Historie, dare not avow any other beginning of this citie (or castle) than that which I finde in Beda: least if I should adventure as they doe, I might receive as they have, I mean, ‘The just note of more reading and industrie, than of reason or judgement.’

And although I must (and will freely) acknowledge, that it was a Citie before that it had to name Rochester (for so a man may well gather of Beda his words) yet seeing that by the injurie of the ages betwene, the monuments of the first beginning of this place and of innumerable such other be not come to our handes, I had rather in such cases use honest silence, than rash speeche, and do prefer plaine vnskil and ignorance, before vaine lying and presumptuous arrogance.

For (trust me) the credite of our English Historie is no one way so much empaird, as by the blinde boldnesse of some, which taking vpon them to commit it to writing, and wanting (either through their owne slothfulness, or the iniquity of the time) true vnderstanding of the original of many things, haue not sticked (without any modestie or discretion) to obtrude new fantasies and follies of their owne forgerie, for assured truths, and undoubted antiquitie.

As for examples of this kinde, although there be at hande, many in number, and the same moste fond and ridiculous in matter, yet because it should be both odious for the authors, tedious to the readers, and grievous for my selfe, to enter into them, I will not make enumeration of any: But staying my selfe vpon this generall note, I will proceede with the treatise of the place that I haue taken in hand, the which may aptly (as me thinketh) be broken into foure seuerall portions: The Citie it selfe, The Castle, the Religious buildings, and the Bridge.

The Citie of Rochester, tooke the name (as Beda writeth) of one Rof (or rather Hrof, as the Saxon booke hath it) which was sometime the Lorde, and owner of the place.

This name, Leland supposeth, to have continuance in Kent till this our time, meaning (as I suspect) Rolf, a familie well enough knowne. Whatsoever the estate of this Citie was before the coming in of the Saxons, it seemeth, that after their arrivall, the maintenance thereof depended chiefly
vpon the residence of the Bishop, and the religi-
ous persons: And therefore no maruaile is it, if the
glory of the place were not at any time very great,
Since on the one side the abilitie of the Bishops
and the Chanons (inclined to aduaunce it) was
but meane, and on the other side the calamitie of
fire and sworde (bent to destroy it) was in manner
continuall.

For I reade, that at such time as the whole
Realme was sundred into particular kindomes,
and each part warred for superioritie and inlin-
ging of bounds with the other, Eldred (then King
of Mercia) inuaded Lothar the King of this Coun-
trie, and finding him vnable to resist, spoiled the
whole Shyre, and laide this Citie waste.

The Danes also, whiche in the daies of King Al=
fred came out of Fraunce, sailed vp the rier of
Medwey to Rochester, and (besieging the Towne)
fortified ouer against it in such sorte, that it was
greatly distressed and like to haue beene yeelded,
but that the King (Pæonia manu) came speedily to
the reskew, and not onely raised the siege, and deli-
ered his subiects, but obtained also an honoura-
ble bootie of horses and captiues, that the besie-
gers had left behinde them.

The same people, hauing miserably vexed the
whole Realme in the daies of King Ethelred, came
at the last to this Citie, where they found the inha-
bitaunts ready in armes to resist them: but they
assailed them with such furie, that they compelled
them to saue themselues by flight, and to leaue the
place a pray to their enimies: The which was
somewhat the lesse woorth vnto them, bicause King
Ethelred himselfe (not long before) vpon a displea=
sure conceiued against the Bishop, had besieged
the Citie, and would by no meanes depart thence,
befor he had an hundreth pounds in ready money
payd him.

And these harms, Rochester receiued before the
time of King William the Conquerour, in whose
reigne it was valued in the booke of Domesday at
100 s’. by the yeere, and after whose daies (besides
sundry particular damages done to the Citie, du-
ring the sieges laide to the Castle, as shall appeere
anon) it was much defaced by a great fire that
happened in the reigne of King Henrie the first, the
King himselfe, and a great many of the Nobilitie,
and Bishops being there present, and assembled
for the consecration (as they call it) of the great
Church of Sainct Andrewes, the which was euene
then newly finished.

And it was againe in manner wholly consumed
with flame, about the latter ende of the reigne of
King Henrie the second, at which time that newly
builde Church was sore blasted also: But yet

after all these calamities, this Citie was well re-
paired and ditched about, in the reigne of King
Henrie the third.

As touching the Castle at Rochester, although
I finde not in writing any other foundation there= of, than that which I alledged before, and reckon to be meere fabulous, yet dare I affirm, that there was an olde Castle aboue eight hundreth yeeres agoe, in so much as I reade, that Ecgbert (a King of Kent) gaue certeine landes within the walles of Rochester Castle, to Eardulfe, then Bishop of that See: And I coniecture, that Odo (the bastard bro= ther to King William the Conquerour) which was at the first, Bishop of Baieux in Normandie, and then afterwarde, aduaunced to the office of the chiefe justice of Engiande, and to the honour of the Earledome of Kent, was either the first author, or the best benefactour to that which now standeth in sight.

And hereunto I am drawne, somewhat by the consideration of the time it selfe, in which many Castles were raised to keep the people in awe: and somewhat by the regarde of his authoritie, which had the charge of this whole Shyre: but most of all, for that I reade, that about the time of the Conquest, the Bishop of Rochester receiued lande at Allesford, in exchaunge for grounde to builde a Castle at Rochester vpon.

Not long after which time, when as William Rufus (our English Pyrrhus, or Redhead) had step= ped betweene his elder Brother Robert and the crowne of this Realme, and had giuen experiment of a fierce and unbrideled gouernment: the Nobility (desirous to make a chaunge) arose in armes against him, and stirred his brother to make invasion: And to the ende that the King should haue at once many yrons (as the saying is) in the fire to attend vpon, some moued warre in one corner of the Realme, and some in another. But amongst the rest, this Odo betooke him to his Castle of Rochester, accompanied with the best, both of the English and the Norman nobilitie.

This when the king vnderstood, he sollicited his subiectes, and specially the inhabitaunts of this country, by all faire meanes and promises to assist him, and so (gathering a great armie) besieged the Castle, and straightened the Bishop and his complices the defendants in such wise, that in the ende, he and his company were contented to abiure the Realme, and to leade the rest of their life in Normandie.

And thus Odo, that many yeeres before had been (as it were) a Viceroy, and seconde person within this Realme, was now depreued of all his dignitie, and driuen to keepe residence vpon his benefice, till such time as Earle Robert (for whose cause he had incurred this danger) pitying the cause, appointed him gouernour of Normandie his owne country.

After this, the Castle was much amended by Gundulphus, the Bishop: who (in consideration of a Manor giuen to his See, by King William Ru= fus) bestowed threescore poundes in building that great Towre, which yet standeth. And from that
time, this Castle continued (as I judge) in the possession of the Prince, until King Henrie the first, by the advice of his Barons, granted to William the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors, the custody, and office of Constable over the same, with free liberty to build a Tower for himself, in any part thereof at his pleasure. By means of which cost done upon it at that time, the Castle at Rochester was much in the eye of such as were the authors of troubles following within the realm, so that from time to time it had a part (almost) in every Tragedy.

For, what time King John had war, with his Barons, they got the possession of this Castle, and committed the defence thereof to a noble man, called William Dalbinet, whom the King immediately besieged, and (through the cowardise of Robert Fitz Walter, that was sent to rescue it) after three months labour, compelled him to render the peace.

The next yeare after, Lewes (the French King's Sonne) by the aide of the English Nobilitie, entered the same Castle, and took it by force.

And lastly, in the time of King Henrie the thirde (who in the tenth of his Reigne commanded the Shyrife of Kent to finish that great Tower which Gundulph had left unperfect) Simon Mountforde, (not long before the battle at Lewes in Sussex) girded the citye of Rochester about with a mightie siege, and setting on fire the wooden bridge, and a Tower of timber that stood thereon, wanne the first gate (or warde) of the Castle by assault, and spoiled the Church and Abbey: But, being manfully resisted seven daies together, by the Earle Warren that was within, and hearing suddenlye of the Kings comming thitherwarde, hee prepared to meete him in person, and left others to continue the siege, all which were soon after put to flight by the Kings armie.

This warre (as I have partly shewed before) was specially moued against strangers, which during that Kings reigne, bare such a sway (as some write) that they not onely disdained the natural Born Nobilitie of the Realm: But did also (what in them lay) to abolish the auncient lawes and customes of the same. In deede, the fire of that displease was long in kindeling, and therefore so much the more furious, when it brast forth into flame: But amongst other things, that ministred nourishment thereto, this was not the least, that upon a time it chanced a Torneament to be at Rochester, in which the English men, of a set purpose (as it should seeme) sorted themselves against the strangers, and so overmatched them, that following the victory, they made them with great shame to flye into the Towne for couert. But I dwell too long (I feare) in these two parts: I will therefore now visite the Religious building, and so passe over the bridge to some other place.

The foundation of the Church of S. Andrewes in Rochester, was first laid by King Ethelbert (as we have touched before) at such time as he planted
the Bishops chaire in the Citie, and it was occupied by Chanons, till the daies of Gundulphus, the Bishop; who because he was a Monke, and had heard that it was sometimes stored with Monkes, made meanes to Lanfranc (sometimes a Monke, but then Archbishop) and by his aide and authority, both builded the Church and Priorie of newe, threw out the Chanons, and once more brought Monkes into their place: following therein the example, that many other Cathedrall Churches of that time had shewed before.

And this is the very cause, that William of Malmesbury ascribeth to Lanfranc, the whole thank of all that matter: for in deed both he and Anselme his successour, were wonderfully busied in placing Monkes, and in divorcing Chanons, and Secular Priests from their wives, the which (in contempt) they called, Focalia, no better than White kerchiefs, or kitchenstuffe: although both the lawe of God maketh the accouplement honorable amongst all men, and the law of this countrie had (without any check) allowed it in Priestes, even till their own time.

For Henrie of Huntingdon writeth plainly, that Anselme in a Synode, at London, ‘Prohibuit sacerdotibus vxores, ante non prohibitas,’ Forbad Priestes their wives, which were not forbidden before. And William of Malmesburie affirmeth, that hee there decreed, ‘Ne inposterum filii presbyterorum sint heredes ecclesiarum patrum suorum,’ ‘That from thenceforth Priestes sonnes should not be heires to their fathers benefices.’

Which I note shortly, to the ende that men should not thinke it so strange a matter (in this Realme) for Priestes to have wives, as some peevish Papists go about to persuade.

But to returne to Gundulphus, from whom I am by occasion digressed, he (as I saide) reedified the great Church at Rochester, erected the Priorie, and where as he found but halfe a dozen secular Priestes in the Church at his comming, hee neuer ceased, till he had brought together at the least threescore Monkes into the place.

Then remoued he the dead bodies of his predecessors, and with great solemnite translated them into this new worke: and there also Lanfranc was present with his purse, and of his owne charge incoffered in curious worke of cleane siluer the body of Paulinus, the thirde Bishop of Rochester, who had left there the Palle of the Archebishopricke of Yorke, that was not recouered long after: to the which shrine there was afterwarde (according to the superstitious maner of those times) much course of people, and many oblations made.

Besides this, they both joined in suite to the King, and not onely obtained restitution of sundry the possessions withholden from the Church, but also procured by his liberalitie and example, newe donations of many other lands and priuileges.

To be short, Gundulphus (ouerliuing Lanfranc)
neuer rested building and begging, tricking and garnishing, till he had aduaunced this his crea-
ture, to the iust wealth, beautie, and estimation

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of a right Popish Priorie. But God (who mos=
derating all things by his diuine prouidence) shew=
ed himselfe alwaies a severe visitour of these irre=
ligious Synagogues) God (I say) set fire on this

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building twise within the compasse of one hundreth yeeres after the erection of the same: and further=

1138.

more suffered such discorde to arise betweene Gil=
bert Gianuille, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Monkes of this house, that he for displeasure be=
reaued them, not onely of all their goodes, orna=
ments, and writings, but also of a great part of

1177.

their landes, possessions and privileges: and they,
both turmoiled themselues in suite to Rome for re=
medie, and were driven (for maintenance of their ex=

1212.

pences) to coine the siluer of Paulinus Shrine into ready money.

Which act of theirs turned bothe to the great empouerishing of their house, and to the utter aba=
sing of the estimation and reuerence of their Church:

for that (as in deede it commonly falleth out amongst the simple people, that are led by the sense) the honour and offering to this their Saint, ended and died together with the gay glorie and state of his Tumbe.

By this meanes therfore, Gilbert became so ha=
ted of the Monkes, that when he died, they com=
mited him obscurely to the ground without ring=
ing of Bel, Celebration of seruice, or dooing of any other funerall Obsequies.

But to these their calamities, was also added
one other great losse, susteined by the warres of

1214.

1215.

King Iohn, who in his siege †gainst the Castle of Ro=
chester, so spoiled this Church and Priorie, that (as their owne Chronicles report) he left them not so much as one poore Pixe to stande vpon their Altar.

It was now high time therefore, to devise some way, whereby the Priorie and Church of Rochester, might be, if not altogether restored to the auncient wealth and estimation, yet at the least somewhat releeued from this penurie, nakednes, and abiec=
tion. And therefore, Laurence of Saint

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Martines, the Bishop of Rochester, perceauing the common people to be somewhat drawne (by the fraude of the Monkes) to thinke reuerently of one William, that lay buried in the Church, and kno=
ing well that there was no one way so compen=
dious to gaine, as the aduauncement of a Pilgri=
mage procured at the Popes Court the Canoniza=
tion of that man, with indulgence to all such as woulde offer at his Tumbe: vnderpropping by

1256.

meanes of this new Saint, some maner of reuerent opinion of the Church, which before, through defa=
cing the olde Bishops shrine, was almost declined to naught.

But to the end that it may appeere, to what hard
shift of Saints these good Fathers were then drawn, and how easily the people were then deluded, you shall hear out of Nova Legenda itself, what great man this Saint William of Rochester was. He was by birth, a Scot, of Perth (now commonly called Saint John's Towne) by trade of life a Baker of bread, and thereby got his living: in charity so abundant, that he gave to the poor the tenth loaf of his workmanship: in zeal so fervent, that in vow he promised, and in deed attempted, to visit the holy land (as they called it) and the places where Christ was conversant on earth: in which journey, as he passed through Kent, he made Rochester his way: where, after that he had rested two or three days, he departed toward Canterbury. But ere he had gone far from the city, his servant that waited on him, led him (of purpose) out of the high way, and spoiled him both of his money and life. This done, the servant escaped, and the Master (because he died in so holy a posture of mind) was by the Monks conveyed to Saint Andrewes, laid in the quire, and promoted by the Pope (as you heard) from a poor Baker, to a blessed Martyr.

Here (as they say) he moulded miracles plentifully, but certaine it is, that madde folkes offered vnto him liberally, euenvyntill these latter times, in which, the beames of Gods trueth shining in the harts of men, did quite chase away, and put to flight, this and such other grosse cloudes of will worship, superstition, and idolatrie. Besides this Priorie (which was valued by the Commissioners of the late suppression, at 486. pounds by yeere) there was none other religious building in Rochester. But I remember, that about the 21. yeere of the Reigne of our now Sovereigne Lady, one Richard Watts of the Bolly hill at Rochester, by his last Will devised certaine landes to the Maior and Communaltie there, for the nightly entertainement and reliefe, with foure pence, for euerie of sixe lawfully traualling men, in a poore Almeshouse within the Citie: which devise, being very unskillfully conceaued, had thorow the manifold imperfections thereof come to naught, had not Master Thomas Pagitte (an Apprentice at the lawe of the Middle Temple) laboured to reforme and rectifie it: by whose meanes, the place is now assured of sixtie pounde lands by yeere, and is drawn to order, as well for that first purpose, as also for procuring of Hempe, and Flax in stocke, whereby to set the poore on woorke. Now therefore am I come to the Bridge ouer Medway, not that alone which we presently behold, but another also, much more auncient in time, though lesse beautifull in woorke, which neither stood in the selfe place where this is, neither yet very farre from it.

For that crossed the water ouer against Stroude Hospital: and this latter is pitched some distance
from thence towarde the South, and somewhat nearer to the Castle wall, as to a place more fitte, both for the fastnesse of the soile, and for the breake of the swiftnesse of the streame, to build a Bridge vpon.

That olde woorke, (being of timber building) was fiered by Simon the Earle of Leicester, in the time of King Henrie the third, as hath already appeared: and not fully twenty yeeres after, it was borne away with the Ise, in the reigne of King Edward his Sonne. Wherefore, least that as the Frost and flame, hath already consumed the thing it selfe: So the canker of time should also deuoure all memorie thereof, I haue thought meete to impart such antiquities, as I haue found concerning that bridge, whereof the one was taken out of a booke (sometime) belonging to the late worthy and wise Counsellour, Doctor Nicholas Wotton, and which he had exemplified out of an auncient monuement of Christs church in Canterbury, bearing this Title.

Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi, &c.

1. Episcopus Roffensis debet facere . . . .

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ton dimid. sull. . . . .

385
Hallebroc & Herebertest . . . .
. . . de omnibus hominibus in eadem valle,
The other antiquitie, I found in an olde volume of Rochester Librarie, collected by Ernulfus the Bishop, and intituled, 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi:' in which, that which concerneth this purpose, is to be read both in the Saxon, (or ancient English) toong, and in the Latine also, as hereafter follo= weth.

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This is the Bridgewoorke at Rochester.

Here be named the landes, . . . .

387
to laye of (from) halling . . . .

388
Then is the fifte peere . . . .

389
yardes and a halfe to planke: . . . .
. . . plates to laye;

Hæc descriptio demonstrat aperte, unde debet pons de Rouecestra restaurari, quo= tiens fuerit fractus.

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1. Primum, eiusdem Ciuitatis Episcopus . . . .
By these it may appeare, that this ancient bridge consisted of nine Arches, or peres, and conteined in length, about twenty and sixe roddes, or yarde, as they be here termed. Toward the repairation and maintenance whereof, diuers persons, parcels of lands, and townships (as you see) were of dutie bound to bring stuffe, and to bestowe both cost and labour in laying it.

This dutie grew, either by tenure, or custome, or both: and it seemeth, that according to the quan title and proportion of the Land to be charged, the cariage also was either more or lesse.

For heere is expresse mention, not of Townes and Manors onely, but of Yokes and Acres also, whiche were contributarie to the aide of carrying, pitching, and laying of piles, plankes, and other great timber.

And heere (by the way) it is to be obserued, that so much of the worke as ariseth of stone and earth, is called, Pera, of the Latine word, Petra: that the great grounde postes, plates, or beames, be termed (Sulliuæ) of the olde Saxon woorde (Sylle) whiche we yet euerie where knowe by the name of a Ground Sille: And that the Tables, or Boords, which are laid ouer them, are named (Plancæ) or Plankes, as we yet also in our vulgar language do sound it. But, by reason that diuers Landes are sithence properlie giuen to mainteine the newe Bridge, al this ancient dutie of reparation was quite and cleane forgotten, although by a statute (21. Rich. 2.) the forenamed landes remaine liable thereunto as before: yea, the new Bridge it selfe also (for want of the execution of that, or some other such politique way of maintenance) hath lately lacked helpe, and was like shortly (if remedie in time had not beene applied) to decline to great decaie and utter ruine: Which thing was so much the more to be observed, that the worke is to the founder a Noble monument, to this Citie a beautifull ornament, and to the whole Countrie a moste serviceable commoditie, and easement.

Of this latter worke (being not much aboue eightscore yeeres of age) Syr Robert Knolles (a man aduaunced by valiant behauiour, and good service vnder King Edward the third, from a common Souldiour, to a most commendable Capitaine) was the first Authour: who after that he had beene sent Generall of an armie into Fraunce, and there (in despite of all their power) had driuen the people like sheepe before him, wasting, burning, and destroy ing, Townes, Castles, Churches, Monasteries,
and Cities, in such wise and number, that long after in memorie of his acte, the sharpe points and Gable endes of ouerthrown Houses and Minsters, were called Knolles Miters: he returned into England, and meaning some way to make himselfe as well beloued of his Countrie men at home, as he had beene every way dread and feared of Strangers abroade, by great policie maistred the Riuier of Medway, and of his owne charge made ouer it the goodly woorke that now standeth, and died full of yeeres in the midst of the Reigne of King Henry the fourth.

At the East ende of the same Bridge, Sir John Cobham erected a Chapell, and was not wanting to the principall woorke it selfe, either in purse or guift of landes. And afterwardes Archibishop Warham added to the Coping of the Bridg woorke, those Iron Barres which do much beautifie the same, entending to haue performed it thorowe out: But, either wanting money by the losse of his prerogaties, or time by preuention of Death, he left it in the halfe, as you may yet see it.

Neither is the princely care of the Queenes Maiestie lesse beneficiall to the continuance of this Bridge, then was the coste and charge of the first Authours to the first erection of it: as without the which, it was to be iustly feared, that in short time there would haue beene no Bridge at all.

For, besides that the landes contributarie to the repaire thereof were not called to the charge, euen those landes proper were so concealed, that verie fewe did know that there were any such to support it: the reueneuwe being so conuerted to priuate vses, that the countrie was charged both with Tolle and Fifteene, to supplie the publique want, and yet the woorke declined daily to more and more decay.

At such time therefore as her Maiestie (in the fifteenth yeere of her Raigne) made her Princeuely progresse into Kent, she was informed heerof by Sir William Cecill, then principall Secretarie, now Baron of Burghley and Lord Treasorer, that Noble Nestor, and most woorthie States man: at the contemplation whereof she was pleased to graunt Commission to certaine Lords, to him, and to divers knights and Gentlemen of the Country, to enquire as well of the defects and causes thereof, as of the meanes for remedie. In which part, the laborious endeuour of the late sir Roger Manwood, Chiefe Baron of her Maiesties Escheaquer, deserued special commendation: who, passing tho row all difficulties, first contriued a plot of perfect reformation, And then within three yeeres after, procured that statute of the 18. yeere of her Highnesse Reigne, and lastly that other Act of the 27. yeere: By the carefull execution of which, not one ly the present estate of the Bridge is now much bettered, but also the reuenuew of the lands proper is so increased (I might say Tripled) that there is good hope for euer to mainteine the defence of the Bridge onely therewithall, and without the helpe
of the landes contributarie, which neuerthelesse stande liable, if any vnlooked for necessitie shall so require.

Stroode: of the Saxon, Strogd, that is, Strowed, or scattered: bicause it consisted then of a few scattered houses, without the Citie.

About the beginning of the reigne of King Henrie the third, Gilbert Glanville (the Bishop, of whome you haue hearde) founded the Hospitall at Stroude (called Neworke) dedicating his cost to the honour of the blessed virgine Marie, and endowing it to the yeerely value of fifty two poundes.

The Manor of Stroude (to which the Hundred of Shamele belonged) was graunted to the Temp= plers, by the name, 'Magistro, & fratribus Militiæ Templi Solomonis,' in the xi. yeere of the same King Henrie the third. And after the suppression of that most rich and stately order, it was bestowed by king Edward the third (in the xii. of his reigne) vp= on Marie the Countesse of Penbroke, who within sixe yeeres after gaue it to the Abbesse and Sisters Minorites, of the profession of Saint Clare, of Den= ney in Cambridgeshyre, to which place she had re= moued them from Waterbeche, where they were first planted by her. But, seeing that 'Non omnes arbusta iuuant, humilesque Myricæ,' let vs looke higher.

Thomas
Becket.

Polydore Virgil (handeling that hot contention, betweene King Henrie the seconde, and Thomas Becket) saith, that Becket (being at the length repu= ted for the kings enimie) began to be so commonly neglected, contemned, and hated, 'that when as it happened him vpon a time to come to Stroude, the inhabitants therabouts (being desirous to despite that good father) sticked not to cut the taile from the horse on which he roade, binding themselues thereby with a perpetual reproach: For afterward (by the will of God) it so happened, that euery one which came of that kinred of men which had plaied that naughty pranke, were borne with tailes, euen as brute beasts bee.'

Such another like tale did Alexander Essebye sometime write of Augustine, Becket's predecessour, (or rather founder) in that See: who, as he saieth, when fish tailes were despitefully throwen at him by certeine men of Dorsetshire, was so furiously vexed therewith, that he called vpon God for re= uenge, and he forthwith heard him, and strake them with tailes for their punishment. This later fable, doth lohn Maior the Scot (by what warrant, God woteth) translate from Dorsetshire to Roche= ster in Kent, and so maketh the way open for Poly= dore, both by like poetickal or popish licence, to ca= rie it to Stroude, and also to honour his great God Saint Thomas with it. But Hector Boetius (ano= ther Scot) looking better vpon the matter, sendeth
it home to Dorsetshyre againe, and saieth that it chaunced at Miglington there.

These reportes (no doubt) be as true as Ouides historie of Diana, whome hee feigneth in great furie to haue bestowed vpon Actaeon a Deeres head with mighty brow Anthlers. But, as Alexander Essebye and his followers might easily haue beene restrained to tell so fond a tale of Augustine, both by the silence of Beda, who writing of set purpose Augustines doings, and being nothing dainty of vaine miracles, reporteth yet no such thing of him. And also by the plaine speeche of William Malmesburie, who setting forth the same reprochfull dealing against Augustine at Cerne in Dorsetshyre (a third place, for false witnesses doe seldom agree) hath yet never a worde of any such reuenge, but saith plainly that the people afterward were sore for it, and that Augustine pardonned the offence: Euen so Polydore might well haue spared to maligne Becket with this lie, so farre off for the time, so incredible for the matter, and so slaunderous for the men, vnsesse he had brought his Talesman with him, seeing that neither the Quadriloge of Becketts life, nor the Legend (though never so full of lies) nor any other auncient historian (so farre as I can hitherto obserue) hath once reported it before him. Let the Westernmen therefore (if they will) thinkethemselues pleased by Polydore, who taketh (as you see) the miracle from Augustine applieth it to Becket, and so (remouing the infamous reuenge from them) laieth it vpon our men of Kent. But I dare pronounce, that Dorsetshyre, Kent, and each other part of the realme, is little beholden to Alexander and the rest, but least of all to Polydore, who haue amongst them brought to passe, that as Kentish men be here at home merily mocked, so the whole English nation is in foreine countries abroad earnestly flowted, with this dishonourable note, in so much that many beleeue as verily that we be Monsters and haue tailes by nature, as other men haue their due partes and members in usuall maner. Behold heere one of the fruites of their spitefull miracles.

But yet, least any shoulde thinke that I did wrong, to charge another with vntrueth, and not to set downe the trueth my selfe, to the ende that all men might iudge of vs bothe, hearken (I pray you) what the Quadriloge (or four mans tale, of Beckets life and death) and the new Legende also haue left vs of this matter.

'A few daies (say they) before the Christmas, in which the Archbishop was slaine, he rode to Lon- don with a great troupe (minding to haue visited his prouince) where albeit that he was joyfully re= ceaued of the common sort and of the citizens al= so, yet the Kings sonne strightly enjoyned him to procede no further, but to returne to Canterbury againe, the which also he did accordingly. Afterward, one Robert Brock (a man of the Clergie, and
dwelling in Canterbury) meeting by chaunce with
a horse of the Archbishops that carried certeine
stuffe of his kitchin (or Scullerie) did cut off the
taile of the beast in despite of the maister: who (vp=
on the vnderstanding thereof) stepped the next day

(which was Christmas day) into the pulpit at
Canterbury, and there, ‘ferus, indignabundus, ardens,
& audens’ (the very woordes of the Quadriloge) all
fierce, wrothe, fierie, and bolde, excommunicated
Brock for his labour, as he did sundry others also
(by name) that had grieved him in his absence out
of the realme. And this excommunication (say
they) was of such force, that the very dogs vnder
the table wherat Brock sate, would not once touch,
and much lesse taste, any bread that he had fingered,
no not although it were mingled with other bread
that neuer came in his handes:’ But of any tailes,
or other reuenge, not one woord haue these men.

And truly, albeit this which they say be a good
deale more than I may with any reason desire you
to beleue (vnlesse happily I would haue you think,
that their excommunication is meeter punishment
for dogs than for men, since Brock, so far as they
tell, neuer forbare his meate for it, (whatsoeuer
the dogs did) yet could not Polydore be contented
so to exemplifie it, but he must needs lash out fur=
ther, and contend to outly the lowdest Legendaries.
Whereof if you yet doubt, conferre (I pray you)
his report with theirs, and it shall resolue you.

He saieth, that Becket was contemned of the
common sort; they say, that he was much made of:
he saieth, that such as dwelt about Stroude, did the
shrewd turne, they say that Robert Brock, which
dwelt at Canterbury, committed it: he speaketh of
many, they but of one: he telleth vs of the com=
mon people, they of a clergie man, their owne an=
400
nointed: he affirmeth it to be done at Stroude, they
about Canterburie: hee will haue it of prepensed
purpose, they of sudden chaunce: he saieth it was
the horse that the Archbishop roade vpon, they
that it was a poore beast which caried spits, dishes,
or dripping pannes: So that (omitting other con=
trarieties) either many must be one, the common
sort must become the clergie, Stroude must be Can=
terbury, determinate deuice must be sudden hap,
and finally the Archbishop must bee but kitchin=
stuffe, or else Polydore must be attainted of lying
by these fiue witnesses.

It seemeth, that he himselfe was afraide that
issue might be taken vpon this matter, and there=
fore he ascribeth it to certeine families which he
nameth not: And yet (to leaue it the more incer=
teine) he saieth, that they also be long since worne
out, and sheweth not when: And so, affirming hee
cannot tell of whome, nor when, he goeth about (in
great earnest) to make the world beleue he cannot
tell what.

But (will some man say) although he misse in
the manner and circumstaunces of the thing done,
whereof he might thinke it no great necessitie to be much carefull: yet he may hit in the matter and substance, that is to say, in the plague ensuing, which is the very marke whereat he aimed.

Truely there is no cause to trust him in the sequele, that is found vntrustie in the premises: Neuerthelesse, for mine owne part I thinke for all this that he hath saide well, in telling us that the poste=

ritie borne of such as curtailed S. Thomas horse, were afterwarde plagued with tailes for it: And this forsooth may be the mysterie. It is common-=

ly saide, and not without good cause beleued that 'Maidens children, and Bachelers wiues bee euer well taught and nurtured:' and no marueile, for neither hath the one sort any children, nor the other any wiues at all. After the very same figure and phrase, may Polydores speech be verified also. For (as you see well) Brock alone did this great acte, who (being one of the clergie) could haue no wife, and then (if he liued without a concubine) he could leve none issue behind him: and so Polydore might safely say, that all they which came of him, had not onely tailes like beastes, but also feete like fowles, scales like fishes, or whatsoever other vnkindly partes, that might make vp a fit picture for Ho= race and his friends to be merrie withall.

But (in earnest) I doe not thinke, that he meant thus, and much lesse doe I beleue that hee did but seeke for a byword that might be a match or felow for (Coglioni di Bergamo) The Coollions of Ber= gamo, that scoffe of Italie, his owne countrie: nay rather, it is plaine that he had another purpose in it. For (as the Prouerbe is) 'Cauda de vulpe testatur,' the taile is enough to bewray the foxe, And his woords, ('Bonum patrem,' the good father) do euident+l y shew, that he would not sticke to straine a point, so that he might glorifie Saint Thomas thereby. He had forgotten the lawe whereunto an Historien is bounden. 'Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non au=

deat.' That he should be bolde to tell the trueth, but yet not so bold as to tell an vntrueth: Neither did he remember that he himselfe had told the King in his Preface to his booke, that sincere trueth, and olde wiues tales, doe not agree.

I doe gladly graunt, that his Historie is a wor= the woorke, whether you will respect the Stile and Methode thereof, or the Storie and matter, excep=
tsing the places blemished with suche and some other follies: the which, since he inserted many times, without all choice or discretion, he must bee read of the wiser sort, and that not without great suspition and warynesse. For, as he was by office collectour of the Peter pence to the Popes gaine and lucre: So sheweth he himselfe thoroughout by practice, a couetous gatherer of lying Fables, fayg= red to aduaunce, not Peters, but the Popes owne religion, kingdome, and Miter.

Halling, in Saxon haling, that is to say,
Many Kings at once, in Kent.

I have seen in an ancient book (containing the donations to the See of Rochester, collected by Ernulphus the Bishop there, and intituled 'Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi') a charter of Ecgbert (the fourth christened King of Kent) by which he gave to Dioram the Bishop of Rochester ten ploughlands in Halling, together with certain

403 Denes in the Weald, or common wood. To the which charter, there is (amongst others) the subscription of Leobert the Archbishop, and of one Heahbert, a King of Kent also, as he is in that book termed. Which thing I note for two special causes, the one to shew, that about that age there were at one time in Kent, more Kings than one: The other, to manifest and set forth the manner of that time in signing and subscribing of deeds and charters: a fashion much different from the sealing that is used in these our days. And as touching the first, I myself would have thought, that the name King, had in that place been but only the title of a second magistrate (as Prorex, or Vice-roy) substituted under the very King of the country for administration of justice in his absence or absence:

saying that I read plainly in another charter, of another donation of Eslingham (made by Offa the King of Mercia, to Eardulf, the Bishop of the same See) that he proceeded in that his gift, by the consent of the same Heahbert, the King of Kent, and that one Sigeared also (by the name of 'Rex dimidiae partis provinciae Cantuariorum') both confirmed it by writing, and gave possession by the delivery of a clod of earth, after the manner of seisin that we yet use. Neither was this true in Heahbert only, for it is evident by sundry charters, extant in the same book, that Ecilbert the King of Kent, had Ethelbert (another King) his fellow, and partner: who also in his time was joined in reign with one Eardulf, that is called, 'Rex Cantuariorum,' as well as he. So that, for this season, it should seeme, that either the kingdom was divided by descent, or else, that the title was litigious and in controversy, though our histories (so far as I have seen) have mention of neither.

This old manner of signing and subscribing, is (in my fantasy) also not unworthy the observation: wherein we differ from our ancestors, the Saxons, in this, that they subscribed their names (commonly adding the sign of the cross) together with a great number of witnesses: And we, for more surety, both subscribe our names, put to our seals, and use the help of testimony besides. That former fashion continued throughout without any sealing, even until the time of the conquest by the Normans, whose manner by little and little at the length prevailed amongst us. For the first sealed
Chartre in England, that euer I read of, is that of
king Edward the Confessors to the Abbey of West=
minster: who (being brought vp in Normandie)
brought into this Realme, that, and some other of
their guises with him: And after the comming of
William the Conquerour, the Normans, liking their
owne countrie custome (as naturally all nations
doe) reiected the manner that they found heere, and
reteined their owne, as Ingulphus, the Abbat of
Croyland, which came in with the conquest, witnes=
seth, saying: ‘Normanni, cheirographorum confectio=
num, cum crucibus aureis, & aliis signaculis sacris, in An=
glia firmari solitam, in ceræ impressionem mutant, mo=
dumque scribendi Anglicum reieiunt.’ The Normans

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(saith he) doe chaunge the making of writings,
which were woont to be firmed in Englande with
Crosses of golde and other holy signes, into the
printing with waxe: and they reiect also the man=
er of the English writing. Howbeit, this was not
done all at once, but it increased and came for=
ward by certein steps and degrees, so that first and
for a season, the King onely, or a few other of the
Nobilitie besides him, vsed to seale: Then the No=
ble men (for the most part) and none other: which
thing a man may see in the historie of Battell Abbie,
where Richard Lucy chiefe Iustice of Englande, in
the time of King Henrie the seconde, is reported to
have blamed a meane subiect, for that he vsed a
priuate seale, when as that perteined (as he said) to
the King, and Nobilitie onely. At which time also
(as John Rosse noteth it) they vsed to engrawe in
their seales, their owne pictures and counterfeits,
couered with a long cote ouer their armours. But
after this, the Gentlemen of the better sort tooke
vp the fashion, and bicause they were not all war=
riours, they made seales of their seueral coates or
sheeldes of armes, for difference sake, as the same
author reporteth. At the length, about the time
of King Edwarde the thirde, Seales became very
common, so that not only such as bare armes vsed
to seale, but other men also fashioned to them=
seules signets of their owne deuise, some taking the
letters of their owne names, some flowers, some
knots and flourishes, some birds, or beasts, and some
other things, as we now yet daily behold in vse.

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I am not ignoraunt, that some other manner of
sealings besides these, hath been heard of amongst
vs, as namely that of King Edwarde the thirde, by
which he gaue,

To Norman the Hunter, the hop and the hop towne,
with all the boundes vp side downe:
And in witnes, that it was soothe,
He bitt the waxe withe his fong toothe:
And that of Alberic de Veer also, conteining the do=
nation of Hatfielde, to the which he affixed a shorte
blacke hafted knife, like vnto an olde halpeny
while, in stead of a seale: and such others, of which
happily I haue seene some, and heard of moe. But
all that notwithstanding, if any man shall thinke, that these were receiued in common use and custome, and that they were not rather the deuises and pleasures of a few singuler persons, he is no lesse deceiued, than such as deeme euery Chartre and writing that hath no seale annexed, to be as ancient as the Conquest: whereas (indeede) sealing was not commonly vsed till the time of King Edward the third, as I haue already tolde you.

Thus farre, by occasion of this olde Chartre, I am straied from the historie of Haliing, of which I finde none other reporte in writing, saue this, first that in the reigne of King Henrie the seconde, Richarde the Archbishop of Canterbury, and immediate successour to Thomas the Archtraiture of this Realme, ended his life in the mansion house there, which then was, and yet continueth, parcell of the possessions of the See of Rochester: The circum-

staunce and cause of which his death and departure, I will reserve till I come to Wrotham, where I shall have just occasion to discouer it.

Then, that Hamon of Hothe (Bishop of Roche ster, and Confessor to King Edward the second) raised from the ground that Hall and high Front of the Bishops place which now standeth, reedified the Mill at Holbore neare vnto it, and repaired the rest of the buildings here, as he did at Troscif also, which is another Manor house belonging to the same See. At this place of the Bishop in Hali ling, I am drawing on the last Scene of my life, where God hath giuen me ‘Liberorum Quadrigam,’ all the fruites that euer I had.

As touching that Holbore (or rather Holan bergh) it lieth in Snodland, perteining likewise to the same Bishop, and tooke the name of beorh, or the Hill of buriall, standing ouer it: in throwing downe a part whereof (for the use of the chalke) my late Neighbour, Maister Tylghman discouered in the very Centre thereof, ‘Vrinam cineribus plenam,’ an earthen pot filled with ashes, an assured token of a Romane Monument: the like whereof (as Twyne writeth) was in the reigne of King Henrie the eight digged vp at Barham downe, by Sir Christopher Hales, sometime Master of the Rolles.

And now, for want of a Bridge at Haliing, wee may vse the Fery, and touch at Woldham, giuen by Ethelbert King of Kent, to Erdulph Bishop of Rochester in the yeere 751. and yet parcell of the possessions of the Cathedrall Church there. It is the same in deede, that it hath in name wolde, a faire downe (or Hill) without bush, or wood, opposite to wealde, which is a lowe woodie region: of the same reason, those large champaignes of Yorkswold, and Cotswolde, tooke their appellation also. But since here is none other thing woorthy Note, let vs make towards Ailesforde: for there may you see the most assured marke of great Antiquitie, that we haue within the Shyre of Kent.
Ailesforde, or Eilesforde, called in Brytish (as Master Camden citeth out of Nennius) Sassenaighai Bail, of the ouerthrowe of the Saxons, called in some Saxon copies, Egeleford, that is, the Foord, or passage ouer the Riwier Egle, or Elle: or rather the passage at Eccles which is a place in this parish: In others Angeleford, which is, the passage of the Angles, or English men. It is falsly tearmed of some, Alencester, of some Allepord, and of others Aelstrea, by deprauation of the writers out of the sundry co-
pies as I suspect.

Within a fewe yeeres after the arriuall of the Saxons, the Britons (perceiuing that Vortiger their King was with=
drawn by his wife from them, and
drawn to the part of their enimies)
made election of Vortimer his sonne, for their Lorde and leader: by whose manhood and prowesse, they in short time so preuailed against the Saxons, that (sleying Horsa, one of the Chieftaines, in an encounter giuen at this place, and discomfiting the residue) they first chased them from hence, as farre as Tanet (in memorie of which flight, happi-
ly this place, was called Anglesford, that is, the passage of the Angles or Saxons) and after that compelled them to forsake the lande, to take ship-
ing towards their owne countrey, and to seeke a newe supplie: Howbeit, as in warre and battaile, the victorie is commonly deere bought and paied for: So in this selfe conflicte (otherwise verie for-
tunate) the death of Horsa was recompensed with the losse of Categern, one of the brothers of King Vortimer. And truely, had not the vntimely death of King Vortimer himselfe also immediately suc-
ceded, it was to be hoped, that the Saxons should neuer after haue returned into this lland.

But the want of that one man, both quailed the courage of the Britons, gaue newe matter of sto-
macke to the Saxons to repaire their forces, and brought vpon this Realme an alteration of the whole Estate and Gouernment. The Britons neuer thelesse in the meane space followed their victorie (as I saide) and returning from the chase, erected to the memorie of Categerne (as I suppose) that monument of foure huge and hard stones, which are yet standing in this parish, pitched vpright in the ground, couered after the manner of Stonage (that famous Sepulchre of the Britons vpon Sa-
lisburie plaine) and now tearmed of the common people heere Citscotehouse. For I cannot so much as suspect, that this should be that, which Beda and the others (of whom I spake in Chetham

before) do assigne to be the Tombe of Horsa, which also was there slaine at the same time; partly bi-
cause this fashion of monument was peculiar to the Britons, of which nation Categerne was, but chieflie for that the memorie of Horsa was by all likelyhood left at Horsted, a place not farre off, and
both then and yet so called of his name, as I haue already tolde you.

There landed within the Realme in the time of Alfred, two great swarmes of Danish Pyrates, whereof the one arriued neare Winchelsey, with two hundreth and fiftie saile of Ships, and passing along that riuer fortified at Apledore, as wee haue shewed before: The other entred the Thamise, in a fleete of eighty saile, wherof part encamped them= selues at Midleton on the other side of Kent, and part in Essex ouer against them.

These latter, King Alfred pursued, and pressed them so hardly, that they gaue him both othes and hostages to *dapart the Realme, and neuer after to vnquiet it. That done, he marched with his armie against those other also.

And bicause he vnderstood, that they had diuided themselues, and spoiled the Countrie in sundrie partes at once, he likewise diuided his armie, inten= ding (the rather by that meane) to meete with them in some one place or other: which when they hearde of, and perceiued that they were vnmeete to in= counter him in the face, they determined to passe ouer the Thamise, and to ioyne with their countrymen in Essex, of whose discomfiture they had as yet re=

ceiued no tydings. But when they came at a place in this parish, called (both now and aunci= ently) Fernham, that is, the ferny Towne, or dwel= ling, one part of the Kings power courageously charged them, and finding them giuen to flight, fol= lowed the chase vpon them so fiercely, that they were compelled to take the Thamise without boate or bridge, in which passage there were a great num= ber of them drowned, the residue hauing ynough to doe to saue their owne liues, and to conuey ouer their Capitaine, that had receiued a deadly wound.

No lesse notable was that other chase, wherein (many yeeres after) Edmond Ironside, most fiercely pursued the Danes from Otforde to this towne: in which also (as some write) he had giuen them an ir= reparable ouerthrowe, had he not (by the fraudu= lent, and traiterous persuasion of one Edric, then Duke of Mercia (or middle Englande) and in the Saxon speech surnamed, for his couetousnes, Streo= na, that is to say, the Getter, or gatherer) with= drewne his foote, and spared to follow them.

No doubt, but that it is many times a part of good wisedome, and warlike policie, not to pursue ouer fiercely thine enimie that hath already turned his backe towards thee, least thou compell him to make vertue of that necessitie, and he (turning his face againe) put thee in daunger to be ouercome thy selfe, which before haddest in thine owne hande assurance to ouerthrowe him: In which behalfe, it was well saide of one, ‘Hosti fugienti, pons aureus faci= endus,’ If thine enimie will flie, make him a bridge of golde. Neuerthelesse, for as much as this aduice, proceeded not from Eadric, of any care that he had to preserue King Edmonds power out
of peril, but rather of fear lest the whole army of
Canutus should be overrun and destroyed, he is justly
taxed for this, and other his treasons by our ancient
historians, who also make report of the worthy re-
ward, that in the end he received for all his treachery.
For, this was he (as William Malmesbury writ-
eth, though some others ascribe it to his son) that afterwardes (when these two Kings had by
composition divided the Realm between them)
most villanously murdered King Edmonde at Ox-
ford, and was therefore done to death by King Ca-
uitous: who, in that one act shewed singular argu-
ments, both of rare justice, and of a right noble
heart: Of justice, for that he would not wink at the
fault of him, by whose means he obtained the Mo-
narchie of the whole realm: and of great Nobi-

little of mind, in that he plainly declared himselfe,
to esteem more of his own honor, than of another
mans Crowne and Scepter, and to have digested
quietly, that impatience of a partner in kingdom,
which great Alexander thought as intolerable as
two sunnes in the world at once: and which Romu=
lus could in no wise brooke, since he would not suffer
one kingdom to content him and Remus, whose
one belly had conteined before.
There was at Ailesforde, a house of Carmelite
and preaching Friars, the foundation whereof is by
a Recorde ascribed to Richard the Lorde Gray of
Codnor, in the time of King Henrie the third, vpon
whom the same King had bestowed the Manor it
selfe, which (in assurance that it was sometime of
the demeanes of the Crowne) is yet knowne to be
Auncient Demesne. I finde neuerthelesse, that
in the time of king Iohn (father to this Henrie) one
Osbert Gipford gaue him forty markes, ‘pro habendo
recto de Manerio de Elleisforde, quod Willmus de Caen,
ei defarciat. (Rotul. fin. 9. Ioannis)’ which I note for
two reasons: the one to shew that it was aliened
from the Crowne before the daies of Henrie the
third: the other, for proofe of the Antiquitie of Fines
paied vpon the purchase of Writs Original.

Malling, in Saxon, Mealing, of Mealu ing, that
is, the Lowe place flourishing with
meale, or Corne, for so it is
every where accomplt.

This Towne was first giuen to Burh=
ricus, the Bishop of Rochester, by
king Edmund the Brother of Athel=
stane, vnder the name of three plough
landes in Mealinges.

About one hundreth and fifty yeeres after which
time, Gundulphus (a successour in that See, as you
have read before) hauing amplified the buildings,
and multiplied the number of the Monkes in his
owne Citie, raisd an Abbay of women here also:
which (being dedicate to the name of the Blessed
Virgin) during all his life he governed himselfe,
and lying at the point of death, he recommened to
the charge of one Avice (a chosen woman) to whom notwithstanding he would not deliver the Pastoral staffe, before she had promised Canonical Obedience, and fidelity, to the See of Rochester, and had protested by othe, that there should neither Abbasse nor Nonne, be from thenceforth receiued into the house, without the consent and pruinitie of him, and his successors.

Now, whether this 'Rus propinquum,' and polite provision, were made of a blinde zeale that the man had to aduaunce superstition, or of a vaine glorie to increase authoritie in his succession, or els of a foresight that the Monkes (which were for the most part called Monachi, of Sole liuing, by the same rule, that Montes haue their name of remouing) might haue a conuenient place to resort vn to, and where they might ('Caute,' at the least) quench the heats, kindled of their good cheare and idlenes, God knoweth, and I will not iudge: But well I wote, that this was a very common practise in Papistry: for as S. Augustines had Sepulcres: S. Albans Sopewell: Shene Sion: the knights of the Rodes, the Nonnes of Clerkenwell: all adioyning, or subject to such obedience: euen so Sempringham, and some other of that sort, had bothe Male an<de> Female within one house, and wall togither, the world being (in the meane while) borne in hand, that they were no men, but Images, as Phryne said somtime of Xenocrates. The house was valued in the Recordes, at 218. pounds of yeerly reuenewe.

The terminations, of the names of townes. The name hath (as you see) his termination in (ing) which betokeneth plainly that it hath a low scituation: for (ing) signifieth a lowe ground, or medow, and so remaineth known in the North countrie of England till this present daie: of which reason all so, the names of Halling, Berling, Yalding, and others heere at † haude, were at the first framed to ende in (ing) as this doth. For, as a Name is nothing else, but a worde appointed by consent of men to signifie a thing: Euen so, the Saxons our auncestors endeuored to fashion their names of places after a certaine naturall force and reason, taken from the scituation of the place it selfe (most commonly) 'Vt fons, vt nemus, vt campus placuit,' as Tacitus saieth of the olde Germanes.

And hereof it falleth out, that a man (but meanly exercised in their language) may (for the most part) as readily vnderstand the Scite, or soile, of their townes by the onely sounde of the name, as by the verie sight of the place it selfe.

For proffes wherof, let vs (if you will) take some of those names (or rather Terminations of names) that be most usuall in this Shyre.

Crayford, Dertford, Ailesford, Asheford, and such like, ending in (Ford) do manifestly bewraye, that they be passages ouer those Riuers by which they do stande. For (Ford) in olde English, is the same that (Vadum) is in Latine, the one being deriued of (faran) and the other of (Vado) both signifying, to go, or to wade, ouer.

Dene with them, betokeneth a valley, and Dune
a hill: and hereof the lowe townes in the Weald,
as Mardene, Smardene, Bydendene, Haldene, Tyndene, and others, do beare their name of the one:
And among high placed villages, as Kingsdowne, Luddesdowne, and the Boughdownes (though commonly called and written Boughtons) do reteine their calling of the other.

Of hyrst, signifying a woode, Ashehyrst, Spelhyrst, Lamberhyrst, Gowdhyrst, Hawkhyrst, and the names of many other wooddie parishes have gotten their last Syllable: And of Stæð, denoting the banke of a riuuer, Plumstede, Brastede, Chepstede, Netlestede, and their fellows, haue gained the like.

Ea, which meaneth water, and which we nowe sounde (ey) closeth vp the names of many marrish groundes and waterish places, as of Hartey, Strey, Oxney, and (besides others) of Rumney it selfe:

The like may be affirmed of leah, a pasture, which we now likewise call (ley) being the last particle of Tudeley, Langley, Pluckley, and of many other good pastures and feedings.

I must purposely omit a number, that ende in Brooke, Boorne, Bridge, Land, Field, Hill, Dale, Clif, Wood, and such like, whereof no English man can doubt, that vnderstandeth his mothers tongue.

Neither may I stand here to boult out the whole Etymologie (or reason) of euery Townes name:

For, to speake of the first sort, it were altogether needlesse, seeing that euery man perceaueth what they meane as well as I: And, to attempt the latter, it were utterly endlesse, since they carie (almost) so many diuers matters as they be seueral names: some of them being drawen from the proper callings of men, some from the nature of the soile, some from the coast and manner of the scite, and some from some other causes, which it were not only infinite to rehearse, but also impossible to disclose at this day.

And therefore, as I ment at the first to giue you but a taste of this matter: So, for an end thereof, I wil leaue you one note, which may not only leade you along this shyre, but also guide you (in manner) throughout the whole Realme, to discerne (probably) of the degrees and dignitie that towns and dwelling places had during the time of the auncient Saxons here, howsoeuer since their daies the same be chaunged, some to the better, some to the worse, and some from all maner of habitation.

How to discern of towennes, by the ending of their names. Bye, tun, wic,
their Alphabet) used to sound it as double w: ma=
kings of Vinum, Ventus, and Via, Wine, Wynd, and
Way.

Ham, properly signified a Couering, and (by
Metaphore) a house that couereth vs: This word,
we here call (Home:) but the Northren men (not
swaruing so farre from the Originall) sounde it still
(Heam.)

Finally, by (Sted) they meant a seate, or standing
by a Riuer, deriuing it (happily) from the Latine
woord (Status:) and by Thorpe, or Dorpe, a village,
yet vsed in the lower Germanie.

Againe, such towns and dwellings as then were
of greater price and estimation (either for the woor=
thinesse of the owner, or for the multitude of the
inhabitants, or for the strength or beautie of the
building it selfe) had their names shut vp com=
sonly with one of these fiue particles, Ceaster, Bi=
ry, Burgh, Healle, or Weorth: Chester, denoted a
walled or fortified place, being the same both in
woorde and weight that the Latine (Castrum) is:
Bury, or Biry (then byrig) was vsed for a court, or
place of assembly: Burh (now also Burgh, and som=
times Burrough) is none other in sounde or sub=
stance, than <pyrgos> in Greeke, which we now call a
Towre, of the Latine name (Turris:) Healle, or (as
we now speake it) Hall, is all one with the Latine
Aula, or Greeke <aulê>: Weorth (which also is now
spoken, Woorth) signified Atrium, a base court, or
yarde, such as is commonly before the better sorte
of houses. And thus much generally, and for
this purpose, may suffice: For, to deale thorowly
herein, belongeth rather to a peculiar Dictionarie,
than to this kinde of treatie and discourse.

Bockinfolde commonly: but truly buccenweald,
that is, either the Wood of Buckes, or of
Beeches: for the Mast of Beeche
is called Bucke also.

King Edward the second, being (in the
19. yeere of his reigne) vpon the way
towards Fraunce, for the dooing of
his Homage, due for his Duchie of
Aquitane, suddenly drewe backe his
foote, and withdrewse himselfe to this place, where
he reposed him somewhat, and caused many to bee
endited for their vnlawfull Huntings. The same
time, his ghostly Father (or Confessour) Hamon
the Bishop of Rochester, sent him thither a present
of his drinks, and withall both wine and grapes
of his owne growth in his vineyarde at Halling,
which is now a good plaine meadoe.

Combwelle: that is, the spring in the
place betweene two
hilles.

Robert of Thurnham was the Author
and founder of the Abbay of Comb=
well and Friers there, in the reigne of
King Henrie the seconde, for the Honour (as he thought) of Saint Mary, and therefore bestowed his landes vpon it. And king Henrie the thirde, not onely confirmed that gift of his, but moreouer vouchsafed to the Prior

and Chanons there owne graunt of a Faire by two daies together, on the feast and morow of S. Mary Magdalene yeerely. The yeerely reuennew hath appeered before, and more I had not to speak of this place.

Ashyrst, in Saxon, Ascehyrst, that is, the Wood of Ashes.

The Roode of Ashyrst, was a growing Idol.

In the Southeast corner of this shire, towarde the confines of Sussex and Surrey, lieth Ashyrst, a place nowe a daies so obscure (being little better than a Towne of two houses) that it is not woorthy the visiting: but yet in olde time so glorious for a Roode which it had of rare proper= tie, that many vouchsafed to bestowe bothe their labour and money vpon it.

It was beaten (forsooth) into the heads of the common people (as what thing was so absurde, which the Clergie could not then make the worlde to beleue?) that the Roode (or Crucifix) of this church, did by certaine increments continually wax and growe, as well in the bush of haire that it had on the head, as also in the length and stature of the members, and bodie it selfe. By meanes whereof it came to passe, that wheras before time the fruits of the Benefice were hardly able to susteine the Incumbent, now by the benefite of this inuention (which was in papistrie, ’Nouum genus aucupii’) the Parson there, was not onely furnished by the offe=

ring to liue plentifully, but also well aided toward the making of a rich Hoorde.

But as Ephialtes, and Oetus, the sonnes of Nep= tune who (as the Poets feigne) waxed nine inches every moneth, were so heaued vp with the opinion, and conceite of their owne length and hautinesse, that they assaulted heaven, intending to haue pul= led the Gods out of their places, and were therfore shot thorowe, and slaine with the arrowes of the Gods: Euen so, when Popish idolatrie was growne to the ful height and measure, so that it spared not to rob God of his due honour, and most violently to pull him (as it were) out of his seate, euen then this growing Idol and all his fellowes, were so deadly wounded, with the heauenly arrowes of the woord of God (Qui non dabit gloriam suam sculptilibus, which will not glue ouer his glorie to any grauen woorkmanship,) that soone after they gaue up the ghost, and left vs.

Tunbridge, called (after Mathew Par.) Thune= bruggge, corruptly for tonebrycge, that is, the Bridge ouer Tone: but if it be truely written tunbrycge, then it signifieth, the towne
of Bridges, as in deede it hath many.

Although I finde no mention of Tunbridge in that copie of Domesdaye booke (which I haue seen) concerning the description of this Shyre: yet rede I in historie, that there was a

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Castle at Tunbridge soone after the Conquest, if not euene at the same time when that booke was compiled.

For, omitting that which Hector Boetius writeth concerning a battel at Tunbridge, wherin the Conquerour (as he saith) should preuaile against Harolde, because it is evidently false and vntrue, vnlesse he meane it of the continuance of the chase after the fight euene to Tunbridge, I haue read, that at such time, as Odo (joininge with others of the Nobilitie) made defection from William Rufus to Robert his elder brother, the King besieged at Tunbridge one Gilbert, then keeper of the Castle, and compelled him to yeeld it. Happily this Odo (being the Kings uncle, and of great authoritie within the Shire, as we haue before shewed) had erected this Castle, and giuen the charge to Gilbert: but howsoever that were, certaine it is that the Castle was long time holden of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and continued many yeeres together in the possession of the Earles of Clare, afterwards called of Gloucester.

1088. For, in the daies of King Henrie the second. Tho
mas the Archbishop required homage of Roger then Earle of Gloucester for his Castle of Tunbridge, who, knowing the King to be halfe angrie with the Archbishop, and wholly on his owne side, shaped him a short answer, affirming stoutly, that it was none of his, but the Kings owne, as a Lay Fee.

Falcasius (a hired Souldier, that was entertained by King John, during the warres with his No
bilitie) tooke by force this Castle from the Earle of Gloucester, and kept it for a season to the Kings behoofe.

King Henrie the thirde also, after the death of Gilbert the Earle of Gloucester, seised the Wardship of his Heire, and committed the custodie of this Castle to Hubert of Burgh: But Richarde the Archbishop (surnamed the great) being offended thereat, came to the King in great haste, and made his claime, by reason, that the Earle Gilbert died in his homage: the King gaue answere, that the whole Earledome was holden of him, and that hee might lawfully commit the custodie of the landes to whomseoeuer it liked himselfe: Hereat the Bishop waxed warme, and tolde the King plainly, that since he could not haue right within the realm, he would not spare to seeke it abrode: and forthewith hasted him to the holy Father at Rome, where he so vsed the matter, that he obtained judgement for his part, but he for all that neuer had execu=
tion, by reason that he died in his returne towarde home. Yet you may here see, by the way, that in those daies, there was no Lawe in Englande to rule the proude Prelacie withall, no not so much, as in things meere Lay and temporall.

The same King Henrie granted to Richarde Clare, Earle of Gloucester and Hereforde, licence to Wall, and Embattell his Towne of Tunbridge, by these woordes in that Charter, 'Claudere muro, & kernellare:' which latter woord, being made Latine out of the French 'Charneaux,' signifieth that indent=ted forme of the top of a Wall which hath Vent, and Creast, commonly called Embattelinge; because it was very serviceable in fight to the defendant within, who might at the loopes (or lower places) annoy the enimie that assaulted him, and might with= all shrowd himselfe vnder the higher partes, as vn= der the fauour of a shield.

This manner of warlike Wall, was euermore prohibited within this realme, for feare of inwarde Sedition, and was therefore (amongst many other Articles) inquirable before the Escheatour, by the woordes, 'De domibus carnellatis,' which I the rather note, because I haue knowne many to stumble at it.

Concerning this entended Wall at Tunbridge, either the Earle did nothing therein, or that which he did is now inuisible, and come to naught. But the same king Henrie, within foure yeeres after, and not long before the Battaile at Lewys in Sus= sex, hauing burned the Citie of Rochester, suddenly also surprised this Castle at Tunbridge, wherein he found (amongst other) the Countesse of Glouc= ster: But it was not long before he stored the Ca= stle with men of warre, and restored the Ladie to her former libertie.

The Priorie at Tunbridge.

There was sometime neare to this Castle, a Priorie, whereof the Earles of Gloucester and their Heires were reputed the first Authors and patrones. And in our memorie, there was erected a faire Free Schoole, by the honest liberalitie of Sir Andrew Iudde, a Citizen and Maior of London, which sub= mitted the same to the order and ouersight of the company of Skinners there, whereof himselfe had beene a member. Neither may I with silence slippe ouer, the great stone causey, raised at the end of the towne in the high way towards London, by the charitable charges of John Wilforde another citizen of London, almost thirty yeeres before.

Round about the Towne of Tunbridge, lieth a territory, or compasse of ground, commonly called the Lowy, but written in the auncient Records and Histories Leucata, or Leuga, and being (indeede) a French League of ground, which (as I finde in the Chronicles of Normandie) was allotted at the first vpon this occasion following. There was in Normandie, a Towne (and lande thereunto ad= joining) called Bryonnie, which was of the auncient possession of the Dukedome, and had continually remained in the hands of the Dukes there, till such
time as Richard (the second Duke of that name) gaue it amongst other Landes to Godfrey, his naturall brother, for his aduauncement in liuing.

This Godfrey enjoyed it all his life, and left it to one Gislebert his sonne (which happily was Gilbert the Capitaine of Tunbridge Castle, of whome we had mention before) who also held it so long as he liued. But after the death of Gislebert, Robert (the Duke of Normandy, and eldest Sonne to king William the Conquerour) being earnestly laboured to bestowe it vpon one Robert, Earle Mellent (whose ofspring were sometimes Earles of Leycestere within this Realme) seazed it into his owne handes, pretending to vnite it to the Dukedome againe. But when Richarde (the Sonne of Gislebert) vnderstoode of this, he put to his claime, and making his title by a long continued possesion (euen from Godfrey his graundfather) so encountred the suite of Earle Mellent, that to stoppe Richards mouth withall, it was by the deuice of the Earle, and by the mediation of Duke Robert, (which he made to his brother William Rufus) brought to passe, that Richarde should receiue in recompence, the Towne of Tunbridge in England, and so much lande about it, as Bryonnie it selfe conteined in circuite.

And to the ende that the indifferencie of the dealing might appeere, and his full satisfaction bee wrought, they caused Bryonnie and the land about it to be measured with a line, which they afterward brought ouer with them into England, and applying the same to Tunbridge and the land adjoyning, laid him out the very like in precinct and quantitie: in so much that long time after, it was a common and receaued opinion in Normandie, that the Leagues of Bryonnie and Tunbridge, were all one in measure and compasse.

This, together with the Towne and Castle, came at the length (as you haue seene) to the hands of the Earles of Gloucester, betwene whome, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, there arose often times contention, both for the limits of this league, and for the preeminence of their priuileges. At the last, Boniface the Archbishop (next but one in succession after Richard, of whome we spake before) and Richard the Earle (and Heire to Gilbert) agreed in the reigne of King Henrie the third, vpon a perambulation to be made betwene them, and so the strife for their bounds was brought to an end.

But as touching their priuileges, and iurisdiction in the place, it fel out by inquisition in the time of King Edwarde following, that the Archbishop had nothing to do within the league, that the Earle had returne of Writs, creation of certaine Offi\=cers, an especiall sessions in Eire, &c. most of which things the Towne hath not these manye yeeres enjoyed.

But yet it was agreed, after the perambulation so made betwene Boniface and the Earle Richard,
that the Earle and his heires should holde the Ma=
 nors of Tunbridge, Vielstone, Horsmund, Melyton,
 and Pettys, of the Archbishop and his successours,
 by the seruice of foure knights fees, and to be high
 Stewardest, and high Butlers, to the Archbishops
 at the great feast of their inthronizations, taking
 for their seruice in the Stewardship, seuen compe=
tent Robes of Scarlet, thirtie gallons of wine,
 thirtie pound of waxe for his light, liuery of Hay
 and Oates for fourscore horse by two nights, the di=
 shes and salt which should stand before the Archbi=
 shops in that Feast, and at their departure the diet of
 three daies at the costes of the Archbishops at
 foure of their next Manors, by the foure quarters
 whereof they would, ‘Ad minuendum
 sanguinem,’ So that they repaired thither, but with
 fiftie horses only: And taking also for the office
 of Butlership, other seuen like robes, twenty gal=
 lons of wine, fifty pounde of waxe, like liuery for
 threescore Horses by two nights, the cup wherewith
 the Archbishops shoulde be serued, all the emptie
 hogsheads of drinke, and (for sixe tunne of wine) so
 many as should be drunke vnder the barre also.

The Articles of which their composition, were
 afterward accordingly perfourmed: first betweene
 Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, and Robert Winchelsey
 the Archbishop: next betweene the same Earle, and
 the Archbishop Reignoldes: Then betweene Hugh
 Audley the Earle of Gloucester, and the Archbishop
 John Stratford: After that, betweene the Earl of
 Stafford (to whom the Lordship of Tunbridge at
 the length came) and Simon Sudbury Archbishop, in
 that See: and lastly betweene William Warham
 the Archbishop, and Edward the late Duke of Buc=
ingham, who also executed the Stewardship in his
 owne person, and the Butlership by his deputy sir
 Thomas Burgher Knight: the whole pompe, and ce=
 remonie whereof, I haue seen at greater length
 set foorth, and described, than is meete for this time
 and place to be recounted.

Depeforde, in Latine, Vadum profundum, and
 in auncient Evidences, West
 Greenewiche.

This towne, being a frontier betweene
 Kent and Surrey, was of none estimation
 at all, untill that King Henrie the eight,
advised (for the better preseruation of

the Royall Fleete) to erect a Storehouse, and to
 create certaine officers there: these he incorpora=
ted by the name of the Maister and Wardeins of the
 Holie Trinitie, for the building, keeping, and conduc=
ting, of the Nauie Royall.

There was lately reedified, a fayre wooden
 bridge also, ouer the Brooke called Rauensbourne,
 which riseth not farre off, at Hollowoods hill, in
 the parish of Kestane, and setting on woorke some
 Corne milles, and one for the glasing of Armour,
 slippeth by this Towne into the Thamyse, carying
continuall matter of a great Shelfe with it.

Greenewiche, in Latine, Viridis sinus; in Saxon grenawic, that is to say, the Greene Towne. In ancient evidences, Eastgreenewiche, for difference sake from Depford, which in olde Instruments is called Westgreenewiche.

In the time of the turmoiled King Ethelred, the whole fleete of the Danish army lay at roade two or three yeares together before Greenewich:
And the soldiours, for the most part, were incamped vpon the hill aboue the towne, now called Blackheath.
Duringe this time, they pearced this whole country, sacked and spoiled the Citie of Canterburie, Ælphey, the Archbishop was cruelly slaine.

And here, a Dane (called Thrum) whome the Archbishop had confirmed in Christiaine the day before, strake him on the head behinde and slew him, bicause he would not condescend to redeeme his life with three thousand pounds, which the people of the Citie and Diocesse were content to haue giuen for his ransome: Neither would the rest of the soldiours suffer his body to be committed to the earth, after the maner of Christian decencie, till such time (saith William of Malmesb.) as they perceived that a dead sticke, being annointed with his bloud, waxed suddenly greene againe, and began the next day to blossom. Which by all likelyhood was gathered in the wood of Dea Feronia: for she was a Goddesse, whome the Poets do phantasie to haue caused a whole woode (that was on fire) to waxe greene againe: of whom Vergile said,

Et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

But, referring the credit of that, and such other vnfruitful miracles (wherewith our auncient monkish stories doe swarme) to the judgement of the godly and discreete Readers, most assured it is, that about the same time, such was the storme and furie of the Danish insatiable rauine, waste, spoile, and oppression, within this Realme besides, that of two and thirtie Shyres (into which number the whole was then diuided) they herried and ransacked sixteene, so that the people being miserably vexed, the King himselfe (to auoide the rage) first sent ouer the Seas his wife and children: afterward compounded, and gave them a yeerely tribute: and lastly for very feare forsooke the Realm, and fled into Normandie himselfe also.

Great sumes of money pai=ed to the Danes.

They receiued (besides daily victuall) fourtie eight thousand pounds in readie coyne of the subiects of this Realme, whilst their King Swein li=ued: and twentie one thousand after his death vn=der his sonne Canutus: vpon the payment wherof, they made a corporall othe, to serue the King (as his feodaries) against all straungers, and to liue as freendes and allies without endamaging his sub=
But howe little they perfourmed promise, the
harmes that daily followed in sundrie parts, and
the exalting of Canutus their owne countryman
to the honour of the Crowne, were sufficient wit=
nesses.

In memorie of this Camp, certaine places
within this parish, are at this daie called Combames,
ly Estcombe, Westcombe, and Midlecombe
almost forgotten: For Comb and Combe in Sax=
on (being somewhat declined from Campus in La=
tine) signifieth a field or campe for an Ar<cm>ie to so=
journe in: And in memorie of this Archbishop Ael=
pheg, the parish Church at Greenewiche (being at
the first, dedicated to his honour) remaineth known
by his name euen till this present day.

Thus much of the antiquitie of the place: con=
cerning the latter historie, I read, that it was soone
after the conquest, parcell of the possessions of the
Bishop of Lysieux in Fraunce, and that it bare ser=
vice to Odo, then Bishop of Baieux, and Earle of
Kent: After that, the Manor belonged to the Ab=
atant of Gaunt in Flaunders, till such time as Kinge

Henrie the fift, seising into his handes (by occasion
of warre) the landes of the Priors Aliens, bestowed
it, togerther with the manor of Lewsham, and many
other landes also, vpon the Priorie of the Chartre=
house Monkes of Shene, which he had then newly
erected: to this it remained, vntill the time of the
reigne of King Henrie the eight, who annexed it to
the Crowne, wherunto it now presently belongeth.

The Obseruant or graye Friers, that sometime
liued at Greenwiche (as Iohn Rosse writeth) came
thither about the latter end of the reigne of King
Edwarde the fourth, where they obtained by the
means of Sir William Corbrige (as some thinke)
a Chauntrie with a little Chapel of the holy crosse,
a place yet extant in the towne: And (as Polydore
and Lilley say) king Henry the seuenthe builded for
them that house adioining to the Palacie, which is
there yet to be seene. But, least I may seeme
to haue saide much, of small matters: and to haue
forgotten the principall ornament of the Towne:
I must (before I ende with Greenewiche) say some=
what of the Princes Palacie there.

Humfrey therefore the Duke of Gloucester, and
Protectour of the Realme (a man no lesse renown=
ed for approued vertue, and wisedome, than ho=
oured for his high estate and parentage) was the
first that laid the foundations of the faire building
in the towne, and towre in the Parke, and called it
his Manor of pleasance.

After him King Edwarde the fourth bestowed
some cost to enlargse the worke: Henrie the seventh

followed, and beautified the house with the addition
of the brick front toward the water side: but King
Henrie the eight, as he exceeded all his progenitors
in setting vp of sumptuous housing, so he spared
no cost in garnishing Greenewiche, till he had made
it a pleasant, perfect, and Princely Palace.

1516. Marie his eldest daughter (and after Queene of the realm) was borne in this house: Queene Elisabeth his other daughter, our most gracious and gladsome Gouernour, was likewise borne in this house: and his deere sonne king Edward (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his life in the same house.

One accident touching this house, and then an ende: It happened in the reign of Queene Marie, that the Master of a Ship, passing by whilst the Court lay there, and meaning (as the manner and dutie is) with saile and shot to honour the Princes presence, vnaduisedly gaue fire to a peece, charged with a pellet in steede of a tampion, the which lighting on the Palace wall, ranne through one of the priuie lodgings, and did no further harme.

Blackheath, of the colour of the Earth, or blæcheaþ, of the high and cold situation: for blæke signifieth cold also.

Adioyning to Greenewiche, lieth the plaine, called (of the colour of the soile) Blackheath, the which, besides the burthen of the Danish Campe (whereof we spake euen now) hath borne three severall rebellious assemblies: One in the time of king Richarde the second, moued (as it shal appeere anon in Dartford) by Iohn Tylar, whom William Walworth, then Maior of London, slewe with his Dagger, in Smithfield: in memorie whereof, the Citie had giuen them (for increase of honour) a Dagger, to be borne in their shielde of armes for euer.

The rebellion of Iack Cade. Iack Cade (that counterfeit Mortimer) and his fellowes, were leaders of the second: who passing from hence to London, did to death the Lord Say, and others, in the time of king Henrie the sixt.

These two (besides other harmes, that usually do accompanie the mutinie and vprore, of the common and rascal sort) defaced fouly the Recordes and monuments, both of the lawe, and Armourie: the partes of Rolles remaining yet halfe brent, doe witnesse the one: And the Heralds vnskill (comming through the want of their olde bookes) is sufficient testimonie of the other.

The rebellion of the blacke Smith. The thirde insurrection was assembled by Mi=chaell Ioseph (the black Smith) and the Lord Aud ley, vnder the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth: at which time, they and their complices receiued their iust desert, the common number of them being dis=comfited and slaine, and the leaders themselues taken, drawen, and hanged.

Of this last there remaineth yet to be seene vpon the Heath, the place of the Smithes Tent, called commonly his forge: And of all three, the graue hilles of such as were buried after the ouerthrowe.

Graue hilles, or hillocks. These hillocks, in the West Countrie (where is no small store of the like) are called Barowes, of the
The first and last of these commotions, were stirred of griefe that the common people conceaued, for the demand of two subsidies, of which the one was unreasonabill, because it was taxed vpon the Pollis, and exempted none: The other was vsen reasonable, for that it was exacted, when the heads of the common people were full of Parkin Warbeck.

The third and midlemost, grew vpon a grudge, that the people tooke for yeelding vp the Duchie of Angeow, and Mayrie, to the king of Sicil: The comming in of whose daughter (after that the king would needes haue her to wife, notwithstanding his precontract made with the Earle of Armenac) was not so joyfully embraced by the Citizens of London vpon Blackheath, wearing their red hoods, badges, and blew gownes: as in sequele, the marrieage, and whole government it selfe, was knowne to be detested of the countrie Commons, by bearing in the same place, Harnesse, Bowes, Billes, and other Weapon.

But, bicause I cannot (without paine and pitie) enter into the consideration of these times and matters, I will discourse no further thereof now, but crosse over the next way to Lesnes, and (prosecuting the rest of the boundes of this Bishopricke) take some other time and place for it. Leauing you neuerthelesse to knowe, that Blackheath hath borne some other gorgeous and more pleasant spectacles: as that of king Henrie the fift, when he receaued Sigismund the Emperour: and that also of king Henrie the eighth, when hee brought in the Lady Anne of Cleue.

Lesnes, mistaken (as I thinke) for Leswes (Leswes) which signifieth Pastures. I could easily haue beleued, that the name Lesnes, had beene deriued out of the Frenche, and that it had beene first imposed at the foundation of the Abbay, sauing that I finde the place registred in the booke of Domesday, by the very same, and none other calling. And therefore I am the rather led to think that the name is Saxon, and there miswritten (as many other be, by reason that the Normans were the penners of that Booke) Lesnes, for Leswes, the which woorde (in the Saxon tongue) signifieth Pastures, and is not as yet utterly forgotten, forasmuch as til this day pastures be called Lesewes in many places.

This is my fantasie touching the name, where in if I faile, it forceth not greatly, since the matter is no more weightie: Concerning the Historie of the place, I finde, that after such time as King Henrie the second had not onely purged himselfe by
a corporal oath, that he was neither aiding nor consent to the slaughter of Thomas the Archbishop: but had also submitted himselfe to performe such penance as it should please Pope Alexander to lay upon him: Then triumpheth the holy father for joy of his victory, and taking his owne pleasure in all the matter, first sendeth the deed-doers down to the Diuell with his black curse, and then in open councell canonizeth Becket for a shining Saint, and alloweth him place in heaven above. This being once done, what remained (I pray you) but that altars should be raised, incense burned, gifts offered, prayers powred out, religious orders invented, and divine worship exhibited, to this our newe found Godlyng? The which thing, that it might with the more conntenance and credite be brought to passe, and that the example also might invite others to follow and do the like, the Lord Richard Lucy (then chiefe justice of England, and thereby the second person in this realm) offereth himselfe to go before and leade this holy daunce. He therefore commeth out of Essex, and taking his patern from king Henrie the first (which had builded a conventual church at Colchester to the honour of S. Iohn the Baptist) laieth heere at Westwoode in Lyesnes, the foundations of such a like worke, and dedicateth it in like sort to the name of S. Thomas the Martyr.

Now truly, if he thought that he had espied any resemblance, between Saint Iohn the Baptist, and this shrewd Bishop, it is a plain token, that he looked no further than to the uttermost vizare, which if he had pulled off, and had viewed the very visage it selfe, he should easily have found that there had beene no cause at all to resemble them. For, albeit that Becket was slaine by the Kings servants for that he encountered with King Henrie their master, even as Iohn the Baptist was beheaded because he boldly reprehended King Herodes fact to his owne face: yet, if the cause make the martyr (as no doubt it doth) then is this but a vizare: for Iohn was the forerunner of our Lord Christ, and Becket was a wilfull follower of the Pope, which by al scripture and good interpreters, is very Antichrist: Iohn withstood king Herode for his wicked adulterie, and Becket withstood king Henrie in the execution of godly justice: Iohn preached to all men repentance of former misoqing, and Becket proclaimed to his shauelings, immunitie of condigne punishment, even in a case of most wicked murthering: and this is the lively visage in deede, both of the one and the other.

But loe, this great man may stand for one good proofe, that the wisedome of this worlde, is foolishnesse with God, &c.

And by this worke and such other every man may vnderstande, with what cost of buildings, va=rietie of seates, plenty of possessions, and care of great personages, Poperie was in times past pro=uled for, and apparetled. No corner almost (you see) which had not some one religious house, or
other: Their sundry suites and orders are hardly to be numbered: to behold their landes and revenues, it was halfe a worlde: and he liued without glory, and died without fame, that endeavoured not by one means or other to amend them. I dare affirm, that the cleere yeerely extent of the religious houses within this one shyre, amounted to five thousand pounedes, at the least, the Bishoprickes, Deanries, Archdeaconries, parsonages, vicarages, frieries, chaunteries, heremitages, Saintes offerings, and such others, not accounted. And this I do the rather note, to the end that you may see, how iust cause is given vs at this day, both to wonder at the hoat zeale of our ancestors in this spiritual fornication, and to lament the coldnesse of our owne charitie towards the maintenance of the true spouse of Christ. For, if euer, now most truly, is that verified which the Poet long since said, ‘Probitas laudatur, & alget,’ vertue is praised, but starueth for cold: God (in his good pleasure) blowe vpon our harts with his holy spirite, and kindle in vs a new and true fire to warme it againe.

After this done, not only Reignold and Godfrey (two of the Sons of the said Richard, and of whom the latter was Byshop of Winchester) added somewhat to their fathers gift, but also King Iohn by his Chartre (dated at Douer in the seuenth yeere of his reigne) confirmed whatsoeuer had beene done, and gave many immunities and favour to the place, by the words, ‘Deo, & Ecclesiæ beati Thomæ Martyris de Westwood in Lyesnes, & canonics ibidem.’ These Chanons were of the Order of the Augustines: and as they were deuoted to Thomas Becket: So were they deuoured by Thomas Wolsey, being of that number which he suppressed for his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

The Annales of Saint Augustines doe report that in the yeere after Christ 1279. the Abbat and Couent of Lyesnes inclosed a great part of their Marshe in Plumsted, and that within twelue yeeres after they inned the rest also to their great benefite. And this continued untill about the yeere 1527. at which time the River of Tamise made irruption in two places, the one at Plumstede, and the other at Earyth, which (throw the untowardnesse of some owners and occupiers) was not recovered of long time after, notwithstanding the statute made 22. of Henry the eight, for the speedie paiment of the Taxes and Scotes imposed vpon the same: in so much as if the King with his treasurers and Sir Edward Boughton with his industrie had not interposed themselves, that whole leuell of rich lande had beene vtterly surrounded and lost. Some partes were recovered, but the quantitie of two thousand acres lay still under water, whereof the owners had none other profit, but onely by fishing and cutting of Reede.

At the length, in the reigne of our Souereigne that now is, certeine gentlemen and merchantes
vndertook the Inning of the whole, for the one half to be had to themselues: and for assurance to them, and furtherance of the enterprise, sundry actes of Parlement haue passed in the 14. 23. and 27. yeeres of her Maisties reigne, by meanes whereof, first the lesser breach was stopped, and therewith about fiue hundred acres rescewed from the Riuer: after that, in the yeere 1587. there was an Inning of one thousand acres more, whereof the Inners (by the benefite of the last Statute) enioyed the one halfe and an eight part of the other halfe, leauing onely the residue to the owners. The great Breache is not yet made vp, whereby fiue hundred Acres (or thereabouts) next to Lyesnes, are still maistered by the Water: but so, as it daily giueth way, and fil= leth vp the lande with his residence (or bottome) which maketh hope, that the same also within short time, and with no great cost, may be made sounde and sweete lande againe.

Earethe, deriued (as I gesse) of Ærre hyðe, that is, the olde Hauen.

For plaine example, that our Elders before the Conquest, had their trials for title of lande, and other contro= uersies in each shire, before a ludge, then called Alderman, or Shireman, of whome there is very frequent mention in the lawes of our auncestours the Saxons, the which some yeeres since were collected and published in one volume: and for assured proofe also, that in those daies they vsed to proceede in such causes by the oathes of many persons (testifying their opi=

rion of his credite, that was the first swearer, or partie) a<f>fer the manner of our daily experience, as in the oath yet in vre, and called commonly Wager of Lawe, is to be seene: I haue made choice of one Historie, conteining briefly the narration of a thing done at this place, by Dunstane the Archbishop of Canterburie, almost a hundreth yeeres before the comming of King William the Conquerour.

A rich man (saith the text of Rochester) being ow= ner of Cray, Eareth, Ainesford, and Woldham, and hauing none issue of his body, deuised the same lands (by his last will, made in the presence of Dun= stane, and others) to a kinswoman of his owne, for †fife, the Remainder of the one halfe thereof, after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other halfe to Saint Androwes of Rochester, for euer: he died, and his wife tooke one Leofsun to husband, who (ouerliuing her) reteined the lande as his owne, notwithstanding that by the fourme of the deuise, his interest was determined by the death of his wife.

Hereupon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the Scyremen, or ludge of the Countie (as the same booke interprethet it) before whome, both Dunstane the Archbishop, the parties them=
selues, sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the Lay people, appeered, all by appointment at Eareth: and there in the presence of the whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a crose in his hand) made a corporall oath vpon the booke of the Ecclesiastical lawes, vnto the Shyreman (which

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	hen tooke it to the Kings use, bicause Leofsun him selfe refused to receaue it) and affirmed, that the right of these landes, was to Christes Church, and to Saint Androwes.

For ratification and credite of which his oath, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East, and West Kent, Eastsex, Midlesex, and Sussex) tooke their oathes also, vpon the Crosse after him.

And thus, by this manner of judgement, Christs Church and Saint Androwes were brought into possession, and Leofsun utterly ejected for euer.

The towne of Eareth, is an ancient corporation, either by reputation, or Chartre, but whether it hath been at any time, of greater accompt, I finde not: and therefore, hauing already declared in manner, whatsoeuer it hath note woorthie, I will set downe this one thing, and leaue it.

1457.

Toward the latter ende of the reign of King Henrie the sixt, there were taken at this Towne, foure very great and rare fishes, of which one was then named to be Mors Marina, another a swoorde fish, and the rest were supposed to be Whales.

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Crayforde (alias Earede) in Saxon Creccanford, that is, the Ford (or passage) ouer the water, then called Crecca, now Cray.

Hengist, and Horsa.

After the death of Horsa (of whome we haue spoken in Ailesford before) The Saxons made his brother Hengist their onely King and leader. And he, minding forthwith to shewe him selfe woorthie of his newly attained Honour, and willing to supply in himselfe the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gave them sundrie great encounters: in divers of which, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting with them at Crayforde, he slew foure of their chiefe capitains, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abandoned this countrie, and with great feare fled to London before him.

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selse woorthie of his newly attained Honour, and willing to supply in himselfe the defect of his deceased Brother, pursued the Britons fiercely, and gave them sundrie great encounters: in divers of which, although he sped doubtfully, yet at the last meeting with them at Crayforde, he slew four of their chief captains, and so discomfited the whole number, that the Britons quite abandoned this country, and with great fear fled to London before him.

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The verie beginning of the Kentish Kingdome.

After this fight, the Britons not onely neuer inuaded Hengist (as Ralfe Higden writeth) but fled him like fire, as the Saxon Historie reporteth: so that euen then, and not before, it might truely bee saide, that he had gained the possession of the Kentish kingdom. The place is named of the water Cray, which beginneth at Newell in Orpington (vnder trueely termed for Dorpendun, which signifieth the head, or spring of the Hill water) runneth by Saint Marie Cray, Poules Cray, Fotescray, and Crayford (to all which it likewise giueth name) and cometh at length to Dartford, where it mingleth
with the Riuers Darent, and so openeth into the Thamise.

There are to be seene, as well in the open Heath neare to this Towne, as also in the closed grounds about it, sundry artificiall Cauess, or holes, in the earth, whereof some haue ten, some fifteene, and some twenty fathoms in depth: at the mouth (and thence downward) narrow, like to the Tonnell of a chimney, or passage of a well: but in the bottome large, and of great receipt: insomuch as some of them haue sundry roomees (or partitions) one within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pillars of chalke.

And, in the opinion of the inhabitants, these were in former times digged, as well for the use of the chalke towardes building, as for to marle (or amend) their arable lands therewith. But I suppose, that they were made to another ende also, by the Saxons our auncestors, who (after the manner of their elders) vsed them as receptacles, and places of secret retraict, for their wifes, children, and portable goodes, in the times both of ciuil dissenti=on, and foreine invasion. For, Cornelius Tacitus, treating of the maners of the olde Germanes (the verie Syres of these Saxons) writeth thus: ‘Solent & subterraneos specus aperire, & si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem & defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt quod quærenda sunt.’ ‘They use to dig’ (saith he) ‘certeine Cauess vnder the grounde: and if the enimie come he spoileth all that is abroade: but such things as bee thus hidden, either they lie vn=knowne, or otherwise they deceiue him in that he is driuen to seeke after them.’ If these be not founde in other places, it is to be imputed to the soile, which in chalke onely will affoorde this woorkmanship. Besides that many beasts haue tumbled into some of these: it happened a late Noble person in following his Hauke, not without great perill of his life, to fall into one of them, that was at the least twelve fathoms deepe.

Vpon the water of Cray, was lately builded a Mill, for the making of plates, whereof Armour is fashioned.

Dartford, in Saxon, Derentford, in Latine, Derenti vadum: it signifieth, the ford, (or passage) ouer the Riuier Derent.

Now be we returned into Mesopotaemia, for so me thinketh that this countrie lying betweene the riuers of Darent and Medwey, may not vnaply be termed.

And here you must call to minde that, which you heard in Rochester before: namely, that King Iohn wan the Castle of Rochester from William Dalby=ney, through the faint hart and cowardize of Ro=bert Fitzwalter, whome the Nobilitie had sent of purpose to rescue it: and now (the place so requi=
you shall understand the whole manner of the thing, and how it happened.

The Noble men, that maintaine the warre against King John, understanding that he laide siege to the Castle at Rochester, and fearing that William Dalbney (or Dalbinet) the Capitaine thereof, coulde not long defende it without supply of such things as he wanted, and they could not well minister: determined to giue some adventure to raise the siege. And for that purpose, made Robert Fitzwalter general of a great armie. This man, when he came to Dartforde, mette with a Gentleman of the order of the Temple, of whom he demaunded sundry questions for intelligence of the number of the Kings campe: Who (finding him to be afraid) told him of set purpose, that the Kings armie was much greater than his, whereas in deed his power was thirse so big as the Kings: Hereupon Robert, (being with this false terror stricken into an exceeding great fear, whose companion is flight, as Homer well saith) without further inquisition, sought to save himselfe by the swiftnes of his feet, and so through a faint hart left Rochester to the utmost adventure.

If King John had followed, I thinke it would have become of this man, as it sometime chaunced of a certaine white liuered fellow: who, hearing great praise of Hercules strength, forthwith conveyed himselfe into a caue, and when he had spied him (by chaunce) passing that way, he died out of hand for extreme feare.

I read, that in the time of King Henry the third, Frederic the Emperour sent hither the Archbishop of Colein, accompanied with sundry Noble personages, to demaunde Isabell the Kings sister to bee giuen him in marriage: the which (forasmuch as the Embassadours liked the young Lady wel) was (after such a solemnization as in absence may bee perfourmed) married vnto him at this towne, and then deliuered to the Orators to be caried ouer.

Whereby I make conjecture, that although there be not in storie, mention of any great building at Dartforde, before the time of the Abbay, which was raised long after this marriage; yet there was some faire house of the Kings, or of some others, euen at this time there: For otherwise, I knowe not how to make it a meete place for so honourable an appointment. But leauing all conjecture, certaine it is, that afterwarde King Edwarde the third about the 24. yeere of his Reigne, founded there a faire Monasterie consisting of a Prioresse, (who was a Recluse) and of 39. Sisters, that were after the Order and rule of the Friars preachers of Saint Augustine, dedicating their Seruice to S. Marie and S. Margaret, the virgins. And because some imperfections were founde in diuers of his grauntes, King Edwarde the fourth in the seuenth yeere of his reigne vouchsaft them a new patent of confirmation and amendment. The reuennew
of this house, at the general dissolution, was found to be three hundred and eighty pounds by yeere, and of it King Henry the eight (not without great cost) made a fit house for himselfe and his successors.

The same King Edward the third, at one time in his returne from Fraunce, proclaimed a generall Torneament (or lustes) to be holden at Dartforde, which he and his Nobles perfourmed most honoureable.

This manner of exercise, being then vsed, not at the Tilt (as I thinke) but at Randon, and in the open field, was accompted so daungerous to the persons hauing to do therein, that sundry Popes had forbidden it by decree, and the Kings of this Realme (before King Stephan) would not suffer it to be frequented within their land: so that, such as for exercise of that feate in armes, were desirous to proue themselues, were driuen to passe ouer the Seas, and to performe it in some indifferent place in a forreigne Countrie. But afterwarde, King Stephan in his time permitted it: and then after him King Richard the first not onely allowed it, but also encouraged his Nobilitie to vse it: And so by little and little, the danger being sufficiently prouied for, and the men waxing expert, it grew in the time of the Kings that followed (especially in the reigne of this Edward the third) to a most pleasant, vsuall, and familiar pastime.

But, to returne to Dartforde againe: The first motiue of that rebellious assembly of the Com= mon people of this Shyre, which chaunced in the time of king Richard the second (wherof you heard somewhat in Blackheath before) was giuen at this Towne, by this occasion.

The Parlement, holden at Northampton in the thirde yeere of king Richar=des reigne, had assessed a great subsidie for the maintenance of his warres beyond the Seas: namely, halfe a marke vpon the head of euery religious and ecclesiasticall person, both man and woman: and one shilling (though Polydore being deceiued himselfe, and deceiuing such as follow him, say that it was but a groate) vpon the head or polle of euery lay man and wo= man, married or vnmarried. The collection of which Taxe, was at the first committed to such, as had pite of their poore neighbours, and spared them: So that when the money was come into the Treasorie, certaine Cormorantes of the Court found fault with the smallnesse of the summe, and therefore, offering vnto the King a great piece of money for that which (as they said) was vncollec= ted, they praied Commission from him to aske and leuie it. The young Prince, that had not yet read in the olde Poet, that he was the Shepheard of his people, and that it was his part, to fleece, but not to fleas his flocke, assented to their desire: And they forthwith came downe into the Countrie, made their petie collectors in euery quarter, and with great extremities raked much money from the mi=
serable people. Amongst the rest, one naughty felowe dishonestly intreated a young Damosell, Daughter to one John Tyler that dwelt in Dartford: which thing when the Father heard, he fell at words with the Officer, and from words to worse, so that in the end he slew him.

This done, the Common people of the Towne, partly for grudge at the imposition, and some other things, which shall follow anon, partly for maintenance of that, which they thought well done: and partly to eschew the punishment that by execution of justice might fall upon them, as semled their neighbours, and growing to some number, made this Tyler their Capitaine, named him Jacke Strawe: and did and had further, as you in part haue heard before, and may at large read almost in every English Chronicle. The narration whereof, I doe the rather passe over, because I am heere to note another matter, no lesse pertinent to mine own purpose, and more beneficial for the aduertisement of such as it shall like to reade that history. Polydore Virgile, in the report of this matter, cannot abide that there should be alleged any other cause of this commotion than that Taxe of money whereof I haue before spoken, and saith plainly, that they doe but servue the Princes ears that seeke any further. But as I haue beene thereunto continent to ioyne with him in laying it forth as the present occasion of the sturre: So he must now give me leave to leave him, since he will haue it also the onely cause and fountaine of all that hurling, as they termed it. For it is plainly true, not onely by Thomas Walsingham, which liued in that very age, but also by the reportes of the Parlements of the time it selfe, that the bondmen, landtenants, and other the common and inconstant people, did run to weapon on heapes, purposing no lesse to deliver themselves from the servitude of body and lande which they endured before, than to be acquited of that Taxe that was by parlement then newly laid upon them.

The beginning and ende of all which thing is to be seene in the actes of the first and fifte yeeres of King Richard the second: of which two statutes, the first being made two yeeres before the general insurrection was ripe, taketh order for the punishment of such as did then riotously assemble in many parts of the realm, threatening as it were a rebellion at hand, and had sought by force, some to be enfranchised, and some to get releases from their Lords of their rents, customes, and woonted services: the latter Lawe maketh void all such manaciug wrested from their Lordes during the time of this very rebellion it selfe. The midst also (which conteineth the whole historie of their proceeding in that vproare) is largely set forth by Thomas Walsingham, who not onely sheweth, that the demands of those seditious persons concer=
ned chiefly villenage, and customarie services, but reciteth also (woord for woord) the Recordes of the Proclamations, rescriptes, and pardons of the Prince in that behalfe: which things being laide together, do make mine assertion so full and mani-
est, that no man shall neede to doubt thereof, if hee will vouchsafe but once to reade them.

I gather therefore, that euen as a Pistole that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a man do but touch the Seare; And as the euill humor in a naturall bodie (being eieected into the outward partes, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily breake, if it be neuer so little prickle or launch: So the commons of some partes of the realme, being at that time full swolne with rancor that they had before conceiued against their lords, lay now in await for some opportunitie to cast out their venome: and therfore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them al, they flocked together by and by, and laboured vnnder that couert to pull their necks cleane out of the Collers.

I might heere also vse the auctoritie of this last named Author, to controll Polydore withall in one or two other points of this selfe historie: But bi= cause my purpose is, not to refourme his writing, but to enfourme mine owne reader, I will spare to speake any further therof at this time.

This place (as Crayford before) hath the name of the Water running thorow it, commonly called Derent, but more cunningly (as Leland saith) Dor=quent, which in the Bryttish noteth the Cleare water. It riseth from two fountaines, the one appeering neare the edge of our Shyre at Squirreyes in We= stram (the Towne where Iohn Fryth, that learned Confessour, and most constant Martyr, was borne) the other at Titesey in Surrey: so watereth it Ot=forde, Aynesford, and Darnt (whereeto it giueth the name) thence falleth to this towne, and in com=pany of Cray water, offereth some helpe to the Ri=uer of Thamyse.

Vpon this Derent also, haue beene lately erec=ted two Milles of rare deuise (or rather singular, within our Our Realme) the one emploied for the making of all sortes of Paper: the other exercised for the drawing of Iron into Wyres, and bigger lengths and fashions, as well for the readier making of Nailes of all kindes, as for the easier dispatch of Barres for windowes, and other Seruices.

The Brent, or Dartfordes Brent.

The sight of this grounde, not onely reduceth to my remembrance that deadly and dolefull division of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (or rather of this whole Realme in their behalfe and quarrell:) But also induceth me, by a
manner of necessitie, to make rehearsall of that long and wofull historie it selfe, least otherwise I be not vnderstood of my reader, whilest I shall labour to set downe such partes thereof as belong to the place now presently come to my hande. Take it therefore thus, wholy, and withall so truely and shortly as I can.

King Edward the third had issue (amongst others) these fiue sonnes: First Edward, the noble Prince of Wales, commonly tearmed the Blacke Prince: Then William of Hatfield, which died in his child=hood: Thirdly Lionel, the Duke of Clarence: after him, Iohn the Duke of Lancaster, surnamed of Gaunt: and fiftly Edmund, that was borne at Langley, and was first made Earle of Cambridge, and afterward created Duke of Yorke. Prince Ed=ward, the eldest, died in the life of his father, and left behinde him Richard, his sonne, which at eleuen yeeres of his age succeeded his grandfather in the kingdome, and was called the seconde of his name.

This mans gouernment was after a time greatly misliked, bothe of his owne neare kinsmen, and of sundry others of the Nobilitie, in so much that (either for his fault, or of their own ambition, or both) they not onelly discommended it boldly to his face, but also forceably compelled him to some=mon a Parlement in the eleuenth yeer of his reigne, and against his owne liking to punish, some by exile, and others by death, whom they charged to haue misledde him.

But so farre off was it, that any good came ther=by, either to the King, to themselues, or to the estate, that he continually from thenceforth sought after reuenge; they (for the most part) smarted for it, and all things in the Common-wealth declined from euill to worse.

And first, he caused the head of his owne vncle Thomas of Woodstock (the sixt sonne of King Ed=ward) whom the common people in honour of his vertue vsed to call the Good Duke of Gloucester, to be striken off, bicause he had beene a principall actor in that Parlement. Afterward he beheaded the Earle of Arundale, banished the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Earle of Warwicke, and adiudged some others to perpetuall imprison=ment. Furthermore, he confined his nephew Henrie of Bolinbrooke (the Duke of Hereford, and eldest sonne to Iohn of Lancaster) vpon a very light and slender accusation, and after the death of Duke Iohn his father, he withheld his proper inheritance (the Duchie of Lancaster) from him.

By which his fierce dealing, the harts of his nobilitie were quite estraunged: yea the common people also began to be offended, partly for griefe of Duke Thomas his death, partly for pitie of Henries exile and iniurie, and partly for the Kings indirect proceeding in the Parlements at London and Shrewsbury, where he bothe repeale his for=
mer pardons giuen to his subiectes, and falsified some Rolles of the Parlement it selfe, but principally bicause he charged at once severall shires of his Realme with high treason, for assisting the Duke of Gloucester in that Parlement whereof I spake, and had not onely constringed euery man in them to sweare vnto him the othe of Fidelitie of new, but enforced each man also to confesse him selfe a traitor vnder his owne hande writing, and withall to subscribe a Blanke bill of debt, whereby he might be afterwarde charged with whatsoeuer summe it should please the King himselfe to insert and lay vpon him.

Hereupon, Henrie of Bolinbrooke, perceauing that all men could like of a chaunge, and being secretly assured of his owne welcome, awaited the opportunitie, and whilest the King was busie in Ireland, he returned into this realme, inuaded the crowne, and within forty daies after, and without any bloudshead, or blowe giuen, obteined it.

And so Richarde, whilst he sought vniustly to gaine another mans Duchie, was by the iust vengeance of God depriued of his owne Roialtie and kingdome. The remnant of his daies he spent in prison, where after a while he was violently made away, and left none issue behinde him.

Thus tooke Henrie the Regalitie vpon him, and so did his sonne, and his sonnes sonne, two other Henries, called the fift and the sixt, after him, which three Princes, for as much as they were lineally descended from Iohn of Gaunt (the Duke of Lancaster) were called of the house of Lancaster, and gaue to their friendes and followers, a red Rose for their badge or conusance.

Against these, the bearers of the White Rose, that is, they of the familie of Yorke, became Competitors of the crowne, and striued for chiefe place in the garland: whether rightfully, or no, let that be tried by this Pedegree following.

Lionel the Duke of Clarence, and thirde sonne to king Edward the third (for of his first, second, and fourth sonnes, I haue tolde you already) had issue Philip (his daughter, and heire) which was married to Edmunde Mortimer (Earle of the Marches of Wales) who also, for the better establishment of the succession, was therefore in the life of king Richard the second, openly declared heire apparant to the crowne, if it should happen that King to die without issue of his bodie. Edmund and Philip had issue, one Roger Mortimer: and he left issues, Edmunde, Roger, Anne, and Eleonore: of which foure, three died without any issue, but Anne was giuen in marriage to Richard the Earle of Cambridge (a younger sonne to Edmunde of Langley) the fift sonne (as I first told you) of king Edward the third, and which was the first Duke of Yorke, of which ho: nour, all the race following, were surnamed of the house of Yorke also.

This Earle of Cambridge, had issue by Anne,
Richard Plantagenet the Duke of Yorke, who also (besides eleuen other children) begate Edward, that was afterwarde King, and named the fourth of that calling.

Hereby you see, that after the death of King Richard the second, none of the house of Lancaster could succeede him as next heire, so long as any of Duke Lionels race did remaine: vnlesse you will say, that the fourth brother ought to inherit before the third, and consequently the younger sonne before the elder. Which absurditie, when King Henrie the fourth (hauing catched the crowne) did well ynough see, and knew withall that thousands (euen then aliue) could haue witnessed the trueth of all this matter against him, he thought it best to mount higher, and by fetching his title aboue the memorie of any man, to make it, if not plausible, yet at the least more coulorable and likely.

And therefore, when as at the time of his coronation, it was of set purpose openly pronounced, that King Richarde had resigned the crowne, and that thereby the kingdome was vacant: he arose out of his throne, and in plaine speech challenged it to himselfe, as descended of the bloud royall from King Henry. Now, what he ment thereby, I will but touch the matter, and tell you.

King Henrie the third (for him he ment) had two sonnes, Edward, and Edmunde: of which two, Edward (as all histories of the time doe without controversie agree) being the elder by three and twentie yeers and aboue, was first Prince of Wales, and then the first king of his name, and (for his tall personage) by-named Longshanke.

Edmund, the younger was Duke of Lancaster, and (for the bowing of his shoulders) surnamed Crouchbacke. This oddes of their ages notwithstanding, it was long after feigned (in fauour of the house of Lancaster) that Edmund was the first borne of the twaine, and that he was reiected for his deformitie, and Edward preferred (as the more woorthy) to the inheritance of the Crowne. And therefore, as King Henrie the fourth had deriued his Duchie from his mother Blaunch, the daugther and heire of Henrie Duke of Lancaster, and descending of that Edmund: Euen so woulde he haue deduced the kingdome by the same line of descent, and thereby disprooue at once (as meere usurpatiouns) all the former regiments of Edward the first, Edward the second, Edward third, and Richarde the seconde, which kings (with allowance of all men) had rightfully reigned more than 126. yeeres before him.

And truly, as he was now ready thorowe great ambition, to haue mainteined this new broched title with his swoorde: So wanted there not afterward some, that through seruile flatterie laboured in woord and writing to recommend it as true and auncient. Of which number (a learned ludge and Chauncellour to the Prince that was sonne to
King Henrie the sixt) was one; who wrate a whole Treatise (which I once sawe) in confirmation of that his Maisters right and Title.

But let King Henrie the fourth and his posteri= tie stand here invested with the roiall Diademe, and let vs a while beholde with what quiet he and they kept it, and for how long season the third heire en= ioid the same.

Not long after the deposition of king Richard, and during the time of his imprisonment, his bro= ther the Duke of Excester, associated with the Duke of Aumarle, the Earles of Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and with others moe, coniured to oppresse the person of king Henrie in a mummerie at Windsore: But as their intention was discoue= red, and themselves executed therefore, So also king Richard was forthwith made out of the way, least his life should afterward giue occasion of the like attempt to any other.

Soone after, Sir Roger Claringdon, the Prior of Laund, and certeine Friers went about to stirre vp the subjects, by persuading the world that king Richard was yet liuing: at which time Owen Glend= ore was for his part very busie in Wales also.

In the next yeere after that, Sir Thomas Percy (the Earle of Worcester) gaue the king a Battaile at Shrewsbury. And in the sixt yeere of his reigne, Richard Scrope the Archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mombray (the Earle Marshall) and one Plumton put themselves in armes against him.

Not past two yeeres after which time also,

Troubles moued in the time of King Henry the 4. by the house of Yorke, for recouerie of the crowne.

1399.

1400.

1401.

1405.

1408.

1414.

Henry Percie (the Earle of Northumberland, which had maried Elizabeth, a daughter to Edmund Mor= timer) adjoined himselfe to the Lord Bardolfe and certeine Scots, and taking weapon in hand renew= ed the warre vpon him.

So that King Henry the fourth, albeit hee kept the Saddle in all this leaping and flinging, yet (as you see) he was exceedingly tossed with domesticall warre almost three parts of his whole reigne.

At the last, hauing gotten a few Halcion daies, or rather cares, he departed this life, sory (as some say) for that which he had done.

Henry the fift (a martiall man also) succeeded his father in the kingdome, whose life was likewise in great daunger the seconde yeere of his reigne. For Richard (the Earle of Cambridge, and husband to Anne the right heire of the crowne) perceauing that the former assaies of his friends had taken no successe, tooke the matter into his owne hands, and alllying himself with Henry Scrope the Lord Tre= sorer, and Sir Thomas Graye, purposed to haue slaine the King at Hampton euen when he was rea= dy to embarke towards Normandie. But when his deuice was deciphered, and himselfe assured to suf= fer therefore, he chose rather to say, that he did it as corrupted with the money and crownes of Fraunce, than to be acknowen that he had directed his shot at the crowne of England, least if that had beene espied, he might togither with the losse of his owne life, haue depruiued his posteritie of all hope
to recover their desired right.

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King Henry, when he had bereaued them of life that sought his death, passed ouer into Fraunce, and there spent the time in such prosperous warre and conquest, that hee was made Regent of that realme in the life of king Charles, and declared King after his death. But by reason that Charles of Fraunce ouerliued him, that honour descended to his sonne King Henry the sixt, who was crowne in Paris, within eleuen yeeres after.

Now, during a great part of the reign of this latter King Henry also, the Nobilitie, both of this faction, and of our whole nation, was so exercised with the Frenche warres abroade, that they had no leisure to attend their private quarrels at home: So that for the first thirty yeeres almost of this King Henries government, nothing was attempt=ed against him in the behalfe of the house of Yorke: unless that be true of Eleonor Cobham, and Roger Bolinbrooke (otherwise called Onley) who are charged by some with a conspiracie to bewitche him, whereof others make doubt and question.

But afterwarde, when this King began to lose that, which his father had gained in Fraunce, and when he had not only married the King of Sciciles daughter against his owne precontract made with the Earle of Armenac, and against the advice of his chiefe Nobilitie: But had also suffred his deere vncle Humfrey (that renowned Duke of Gloucester) to be treacherously murdered and made away, and himselfe to be altogether ruled by Queene Margaret his wife, and William the Duke of Suffolk, the very artificers of Duke Humfrys destruction, Then Richard Plantagenet (the Duke of Yorke) at whome also Queene Margaret and her complices had priuily pricked, tooke occasion by the forhead, and (as a coale out of the ashes) began by little and little to peep out and bewray himselfe. And although both many of the Nobilitie, and most of the common sort, were weary of the present estate and governmene: yet hee, being made wise by his fathers fall, would neither plainly disclose his purpose, ne take the matter straightway vpon himselfe, but sought rather to achieue his desire by other mens cost, then at his owne perill.

And therefore, as in a heard of Deere, the great Bucks, when there is noise abroad, will beate for ward the Rascall: So he, first set lac Cade of Ire=land on worke (as it is to be thought) causing him to call himselfe Mortimer (which name waxed then plausible againe, in hatred of King Henrie) and so to moue the vnsteady multitude, that murmured much, and gaped daily for a chaunge. But when he saw that assembly soone scattered, and yet not so much by any power of the Prince, or loue of his people, as by the counsell and credite of the Duke of Somerset, a man of great valoure, and (as things then stooe) the onely stop in his way to the crowne...
whereunto he secretly aspired, he determined before all other things, and with all his might and maine to lift at that blocke and impediment.

And therefore, backing himselfe with the Earle of Deuonshire and the Lorde Cobham, and charging the Duke of Somerset as author of all the euils in the Commonwealth, he gathered a great armie in the marches of Wales, and so making for ward tooke the field at the Brent where we now be.

The King on the other side arrayed a strong bat taile also, and came to Blackheath ready to haue foughten with him: But through the mediation of certeine noble men, some Lords and Bishops were sent with commission, both to demaund for what cause he had put on armour, and also to enter into conditions of atonement with him. He required onely, that the Duke of Somerset might first bee committed to safe custodie, and then be compelled by order of lawe to aunswere to such crimes as hee had to object against him: which being done, hee promised to disarme himselfe, and to dismisse his companie. The King assented, and for a colour, caused the Duke of Somerset to withdraw himselfe out of sight: But when the Duke of Yorke came to the Kings campe, he found the Duke of Somerset, not onely set at full libertie, contrarie to the Kings and his Commissioners promise; But arbitred also with such auctoritie, that he arrested him of Yorke, and made him to be ledd as a prisoner in triumph before the King, against his owne ex pectation.

Neuerthelesse, when they had considered that they had but a wolfe by the eares, whom they could neither well hold, nor might safely let goe, they yet resolved at the last to restore him to libertie, some what bicause he came in vpon safe conduit of the Kings woord, but more bicause it was then noised that his sonne Edwarde, the Earle of Marche, was marching towardes them, with a great power to rescue him.

By this meane, on the one side the Duke of Somerset waxed every day more deere and secrete to the King, and was forthwith with honoured with the Capitanship of Calaice: and on the other side, the displeasure and furie of the Duke of Yorke was a great deale the more incensed: So that thirsting after reuenge, he with the aide of his friendes encountered the King and the Duke of Somerset in a fight at Saint Albons, where also he slew the one, and tooke the other. The Duke he left to bee buried there, the King he brought with al outward shew of reuercence to London with him, and there by a forced Parliament such as had the chiefe roomes before were remoued, himselfe was declared Protector of the Realme, Richard Neuile the Earle of Salisbury made Chauncelor and President of the Counsell, and his sonne Richard Neuile the Earle of Warwike, appointed Capitaine of Calaice and leader of the warre.
Thus haue I shewed you (by occasion of the place where we be) the cause of this great strife and partialitie, and brought you by the hande (as it were) bothe to the first steppe of that priuie staire which they of the house of Yorke made for recouerie of their right, and to the first act of open hostilitie in that quarrell: And now bothe mine owne order, and the haste that I haue to make an ende, doe require that I should leaue the matter here. But yet, partly for my promise sake, partly because I am loth to mangle and maime the historie, which if it stand whole is so much the more worthie of the reading, and partly also for that it hath in the sequele some things that belong to this Shyre, I will breake square for this once, and tell you out bothe the course and conclusion of all this tragicall historie.

Queene Margaret, (which had before time ruled all, and could not now beare to be directed by any) seeing well enough that the Duke of Yorke had alreadie gotten the swoorde, and that the king her husband had but onely the crowne left him, wherat also the Duke secretly aimed, she neuer ceased to sollicite the king, till this new Protector and Chancelor were discharged of their offices: and not so contented, she practised with her husband to sende for them and the Earle of Warwicke to Couentrie, where (hauing before laide the trappe) she had almost taken them.

This deuice of hers, as it had made an ende of the controuersie if it had taken place: So, being discouered, it greatly amended the quarrell of her adversaries, and gaue them good colour to fall to armes againe for their iust defence.

1458. The matter therefore being now like to growe to open war and enmitie, it was eftsoones thought meete, that the king should pretend a vehement desire of reconciliation: and for that purpose, they met shortly after at London on al hands, and from the teeth forwarde departed good friends againe: but in deede enuious rancour so boiled in the brest, that it not onely belched, but also brake forth imediately. And that was the cause, that soone after the Kings owne housholde assaulted the Earle of Warwicke at Westminster, and the Lorde Audeley set vpon his father the Earle of Salisbury at Bloreheath, each so fiercely, that the Earles with much ado escaped their hands.

From thenceforth therefore the hatred waxed deadly, and the strife seemed to be now, not who should leade and reigne, but rather who should liue and remaine: in somuch as forthwith there was on both parts open conference of warre, the men were mustered, and the armies ranged, being ready ouer night to haue ioyned in the morning, when (loe) the Duke and his complices, partly vp on sight that they were the weaker, and partly for the defection of some which had bewraied their
counseiles, suddenly forsooke the fielde, and fledde, some into Ireland, and the residue vnto Calaice.

Howbeit neither lande nor Seas could so diuide them, but that they met both in minde and person, to communicate of their affaires. In which meane while also, they wan the towne of Sandwich twice, by the hand of Denham their Capitaine, who at both times tooke away all the vessels that he found in the hauen, and first ledde away as prisoners the Lorde Ryuers and the Lorde Scalys his sonne, and then afterwarde beheaded Mountfort that succeeeded them.

But after some entercourses, and when they had agreed vpon a plat of their businesse, then the Earles of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwicke came ouer from Calaice, furnished with some strength which they brought, but assisted with more that fell vnto them here, the rather bicause it was by policie sounded abroad, that these noble men intended nothing against the king, but onely against certeine euill counsellors that were about him.

The king, on the other side, slept not when hee heard of their arriuall, but with all possible power made ready against them. At the length, both the armies met at Northampton, and there was the kings power discomfited, sundry noble men of his part slaine, and he himselfe secondly brought into captiuitie.

Thence is he once more caried to London, and his name vsed to sommon a Parlement, whereunto also commeth the Duke of Yorke in al haste out of Ireland, maketh his claime to the crowne, sheweth his right, and preuaileth so far that he is by assent presently made Protector and Regent of the realm, and declared heire to the crowne after the death of the king; with Prouiso semper, that if king Henry should go about to empeach this ordinance, that then the Duke shoulde `reioice the kingdome in possession immediately.

And thus hath this Duke at once both opened and in manner obteined his desire. For now hath he climbed the seconde steppe of this staire to the crowne, and there wanteth nothing to atchieue the toppe, but onely to bring the Queene into †handes, who also (by refusing to obey the agreement) hath ministred him iust cause to demaund it. But, euen as many things happen (according to the pro=uerbe) †bettweeue the Cup and the Lippe: So this man hauing brought the crowne more than halfe way to his head, leaueth the king with the Earle of Warwicke, and speedeth himselfe with all prepara=tion to pursue the Queene: by whose friendes and their power, he was met withall at Wakefield, and there slaine dead in the fight. In the necke (or ra=ther in the nicke) of which also the Queene setteth fiercely vpon the Duke of Norfolke and the Earle of Warwicke at Saint Albons, and so plyeth them, that they were glad to saue themselues by flight, and to leaue the king their prisoner behinde them.

1459.

The Duke of Yorke is slain in a battell at Wakefield.

Another fight at S. Albons.
There was he eftsoones restored to libertie, and his keeper Sir Thomas Cyriel (or Criel) a man of great prowess, and parentage in this shyre, cut shorter by the head.

Now would a man have thought, that the house of Yorke had hitherto but beaten water in a mor= tar, and lost all their former labour. And truly the Du= chesse her selfe, seeing her husbande slain, and his best helps discomfited, began to thinke the case des= perate, and therefore dispatched George and Rich= ard, her younger sonnes, out of the realme. But Edward her eldest, the Earle of March, whome God (rejecting his father) had reserued for the crowne, 470

not a whit dismaid at all this matter, had in the meane while made way with his weapon by discom= fite of the Earles of Penbroke and Wilshyre at Mortimers crosse, and so ioyning with the Earle of Warwicke at Cotswolde, marcheth foothright to London, claimeth the crowne by his owne right and king Henries forfaiture, receaueth the homage of all the Nobilitie, is embraced of the Commons, and proclaimed the fourth King of his name.

From thence he passeth in roiall array towards Yorke, where king Henry and his wife then lay, and at Towton (not farre from the Citie) woonne the fight and field, where were slaine 36000. in one bat= taile. So that he and his entred Yorke in triumph, but Henry, his wife, and some of their friends fled thence in great feare vnto Scotlante, and she with her sonne afterward into Fraunce.

This feate thus luckily atchieued, king Edward committed the charge of the North partes to the Earle of Warwicke, and retired himselfe to Lon= don, where about Midsomer after, he was with great pompe annointed king, and so recontinued the right of the house of Yorke, which by the space of 61. yeeres before had beene withhelden from it.

But now, as he sawe that he had not woonne the garland without great labour and bloudshead, his enemies being at home: So neither did he thinke that he could weare it without continuall care and vigilancie whilst they liued abroad. And therefore (foreseeing in minde, what followed in deede) hee caused all the marches toward Scotland to be kept 471 against Henry, and the Sea coasts towards France to be watched against his wife: So that when shee (within a yeere after) thought to haue arrived heer, she was beaten to the Sea againe, and by the Sea and weather driuen into Scotlante where her hus= band was.

Hee also, being by that time growne to some strength, partly by her companie, and partly by others aide, invaded king Edward vpon the north, and pierced as far as to Hexam: But there was the Lord Montacute ready for him, who gaue him such a welcome, that his whole band was defeated, his chiefe friends were taken, himselfe being driuen to great shift, and his wife enforced to returne to her father into Fraunce againe.
Not long after, when Henrie (being out of all hope to recover his place by foreign aide) dissembled his person to the end that he might solicit some new helps within the realm, he was thirdly taken with the manner, brought vp to the King, and laide fast in the Tower at London.

These things thus prosperously succeeding, King Edward sought (for three or four yeeres together) not onely by justice and liberalitie to fortifie himself amongst his owne subiects, but also by encontre of foreign alliance to weaken Queene Margaret, whose hope of helpe (if any were left) was altogether reposed in his neighbours. And for this purpose, it was thought good to sende the Earle of Warwick into Fraunce, with commission to mooue and make vp a marriage for the king, with the Ladie Bona sister to the kings wife there. But this became such a bone of dissention between these deere friends King Edward and the Earle, that they were from thenceforth so divorced by it, as they could neuer after be united againe.

For whilst the Earle had in that treatise so handled the matter with the King of Fraunce and the young Ladie, that his Masters suite was thereby obtained, he (no lesse suddenly, than secretly) bestowed himself upon the Lady Graye, a widowe, whose husband was slaine in the fight at Saint Albons. This, whether it happened of a certeine leuitie and wanton loue (as in deede he is noted of that fault) or whether he (following that Oracle and counsell in husbandrie, ‘In olea, ramus cæteris lætor reciduntus, ne tota arbor contristetur’) did it of set purpose and policie to discountenance the Earle, whose popularitie and greatnesse he had to feare, I knowe not, but assuredly I finde that the Earle conceaued such implacable hatred against the king therefore, that (howsoever he dissembled it for a time) he sought by all waies to remoue him, and to restore Henry to the crowne.

First therefore, he communicateth this grieue with his two brethren, George the Archbishop of Yorke, and Iohn the Marquesse Montacute, and by great persuasion assureth them vnto him: Then, by cunning meanes and mariage of his daughter, he assureth vnto his part George the Duke of Clarence, and withdraweth him from the king his own brother. The match thus made, a quarrel is piked, the Northren people are incited to take vp weare, and warre is made vpon the king with great successse.

For, first the Northren men, of their own power compell the Earle of Penbroke to turne the backe neare to Northampton: And afterward by the aide of the Duke and the Earle discomfite his men seondly, and take himselfe in the field at Banbury. Then commeth king Edwarde in person, and encometh himselfe at Woolney: where, whiles the time was spent in a treatie of pacification, with the Duke and the Earle, which were then at Warwick,
his aduersaries come suddenly vpon him by night in a Camisado, and killing his watch, take himselfe vnwares in his tent also.

But albeit that it pleased God thus to chastise him for a season, yet ment he not to cast him away, neither to suffer the ioy of his enimies to haue long continuance. For soone after (being conueied to Yorkshire by night iourneies, and there kept in a liberall prison) what by the negligence or corrupcion of his keepers, and what by the happie assiance of his friends, he escaped their hands, repaireth new forces, and finding that no parle woulde bring him peace) first so chased Sir Robert Welles and his Lincolnshyre men at Edgecoate, that the battail (in memorie that they threw away their coates, to the end that they might runne away the lighter) was called by allusion Losecoatefield: and afterwarde so daunted both his brother and the Earle, that they finding themselues vnable to hold out any longer heere, fled ouer into Fraunce with their friends and familie.

There founde they Queene Margaret, Henries wife, and Prince Edward his sonne, between whom and the Earle of Warwicks daughter, a new knot of alliance (by mediation of the Frenche king, a very Bellowse of this fire) was forthwith knit vp and tyed, and withall another plot of reuing the war against king Edward was agreed vpon.

This done and concluded, Lewes the king of Fraunce, and Renard Queene Margarets father, spare neither cost nor labour to furnish out the Duke of Clarence, and the Earles of Warwicke, Oxford, and Penbrooke (who also was now of the same devotion) with men and mony, weapon and vessel: And they (not tarying till the Queene and her sonne could make ready for the iourney) came ouer to giue the first attempt, and left them as a supplie to follow.

And here, it was a world to behold the manner of the common and moueable multitude. For these Noble men were no sooner landed at Dartmouth in the West countrie, and had stricken the drumme in the name of King Henry, but there was flocking on heapes to them from all the partes of the realme, and crying, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, King Henry, King Henry: So that K. Edward, astonished at the straungenesse of the matter, thought not so much of any meane how to resist his enimies, as how to saue himselfe. And therfore, in all haste, and not with out great hazard, he conueieth himself, his brother Richard, and a few others, by land vnto Lynne, and from thence by sea into Flaunders, there to use the aduice and aide of his brother in lawe Charles the Duke of Burgundie. Queene Elizabeth his wife also, being then great with childe, and destitute of better shift, shrowdeth her selfe at Westminster, in the Abbotts Sanctuarie.

This while commeth Warwicke (our English Martell that would make and marre kings at his pleasure) with his complices forward to London,
and without any manner of resistance goeth straight to the Tower, and unprisoneth king Henry, whome he had emprisoned before. He also most joyfully resumeth his former Roialtie, calleth a Parlement, denounceth king Edwarde a traitor, maketh newe Lords, new Lawes, turneth al things ypside downe, and draweth (as it were) a new world after him.

King Edwarde, on the other side, hauing now re-couered breath after his running away, and seeing right well, that delay of time would breede daunger to himselfe, and begette assurance to his enimies, taketh such helpe as the Duke (his brother in lawe) could presently make him, and speedeth him ouer to Rauensport in Yorkshire, trusting that vpon the knowledge of his arriuall, infinite numbers of men would haue fallen vnto him. But when he found by profe, that few or none there durst shew him countenance, for feare of the contrarie facton, he was driuen to chaunge his note, and wheras he came ouer at the first to recouer his kingdome, he was then glad to say that he sought nothing but the Dukedome of Yorke, his proper inheritance.

By which policie partly, and partly by periurie (a fowler shift) he first gained the citie of Yorke, and drew vnto him a great companie. Then pro-ceedeth he further, and reconcileth his brother the Duke of Clarence, and so handeleth the matter with the Marquesse Montacute also (who was laid to encounter him in the way) that he suffered him to passe by vntouched.

Thus commeth Edwarde to London vnlooked for, and therby so amaseth the Nobilitie, that (each man making the best shift for himselfe) poore King Henry was left post alone, and now fourthly and finally taken, and cast into miserable prison.

This while the Earle of Warwicke, all wroth and grieued that king Edward was not stopped in the way, hasteth after with the Marquesse his brother to the towne of Barnet, where (to the increase of his sorrow) it was tolde him, that unfortuuate king Henry was once more fallen into the handes of his enimie, and therefore he thought good to stay vpon Gladmore heath there, of purpose to delibe-rate of some further enterprise.

But king Edward, thinking it best to make hay, whilst the sunne shyned, maketh forward in great speede, and embatteleth himselfe hard by against him. To make short, their armies mete and fight, the Earle and the Marquesse are both slaine dead in the field, some noble men of their part saue them=selues by flight, but their maine battaile is ouer-throwne, and defeated.

This was no sooner done, but (behold) Queene Margaret with her sonne (which had sundry times before attempted the Seas, and were alwaies re-pulsed with contrarie winde) arriueth in Dorset-shire, thinking to haue joined with the Earle and the rest of her friends. But when the siely woman understood of all that was happened, she tare and
tormented her selfe, being ready to die for extreme sorrow and anguish. Howbeit when that passion was put ouer, she bethought her better, and withdrew to the Sanctuarie at Beaulieu for safegarde of her life.

There was she somewhat recomforted by the Duke of Somerset, and such others as were escaped from Gladmore: And there also (after conference of counsellors) she resolued (like to one that had sped ill at Primero) to set vp her last rest, in hope to recover her losses againe.

But the matter fell out farre otherwise: for king Edward, who had beene taught to use his victory, setteth vp all his sailes, like a man that had the winde on his sterne, and vseth such celeritie against her, that before the powers which she and her friendes the Earles of Penbrooke and Deuonshire had provied could joine together, he assailed her, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset (the Generall of that armie) at Tewxbury, and took them all three prisoners, sleaeth the Earle of Deuonshire, and ouerturneth the rest of their company.

And now King Edward, hauing thus recovered his kingdome by Gods clemencie, seeketh to conferme it (after the manner of vnkinde men) by his owne witte and vngodly policie: whereof what scourge ensued, you shall perceiue anone.

First therefore the youg Prince that was taken prisoner, is suffered to be cruelly slaine in his owne presence: And then king Henry (within sixe monethes after his redemption) is wofullly made away in the Tower at London. But as for the Queene, she had no wrong at all, for she bought her life with a summe of money: The Earle of Penbrooke likewise with his nephew Henrie (called afterward the seuenth king of that name) sailed safely ouer the Seas to Fraunces the Duke of Britaine.

I had almost forgotten to tell you here, of that adoe which Thomas Fawconbridge (the Earle of Kents bastarde, and Viceadmirall to the Earle of Warwicke) made at London with a handfull of rakehelles which he had scummed together in this our shire, whilest the king was in his returne from Tewxbury: and how valiantly for their owne praise, and faithfully for the kings seruice, the Londoners fought and repulsed him. But the matter is not great: for as his comming was too late for his friendes succour, so it was soone enowght for his owne destruction, his enterprise being resisted at the first, and himselfe shortly after apprehended at Southampton, and rewarded with a hatchet for his labour.

This end then, had all the ciuile warre that was moued for the title of the crowne: but yet the contention was not wholy quenched, ne could it pardy whilst any of the house of Lancaster was left to remaine. And therfore as you have patiently heard of the Diuision, So heare me I pray you a woord or
1483.

King Edward the fift.

Ten, or eleuen yeeres after all these victorious conflicts, king Edwarde was called away in the flooure of his age, and not without suspicition of poisoning. He left two sonnes behinde him, Edwarde and Richard: of which, the elder was king, but yet neuer crowned: For his vnclle, Richard of Gloucester, who had before embrued his hands with the bloud of king Henry the sixt, and of the young Prince his sonne, sticketh not to bathe them nowe in the bowels of these his owne nephews: and so, through shamelesse fraude, corruption, and other cruelties, usurpeth the crowne to himselfe. The which, thus gotten by Parricide, he would haue vp-holden by Incest, seeking to haue married (or rather married) Elizabeth the eldest daughter of his late brother king Edward.

But within sixe and twenty moneths, the Nobilitie and Commons waxed so wearie of his barbarous Tyrannie, that they sent ouer the Seas and inviited Henry the Earle of Richmonde, a man that was descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, and preserued by God to weare the crowne, notwithstanding all that euer king Edward the fourth had practised to destroy him.

He then crosseth the Seas from Britaine, landeth in Wales, and is receaued with greedy hartes and good liking. From thence he marcheth into Leycestershire, and in a bataile at Bosworth there, 480 encountereth with King Richard, and killeth him. Then is he honourably crowned in the field, and Richard shamefully (but yet woorthily) conueied to the ground.

This done, king Henry both straineth a point of policie in killing innocent Edwarde, sonne to the Duke of Clarence, and onely heire male that remained of the house of York: and also taketh to his wife, Elizabeth the eldest daughter and very heire of that familie, and so (making his Garland of bothe the Roses) quieteth for euer that long and bloudie controuersie.

Thus haue I now at the length ledde you along the reignes of seuen sundry kings, and in a few leaues giuen you a totall of this tedious and tumultuous historie, which to haue been prosequuted at large woulde require a whole booke, or Iliade.

It remaineth, and is requisite, that as a historie is truely called the Maistresse of our life, so some fruit be gathered of it. But because I feare, that as I haue wearied my selfe with writing, so I should tyre you also in reading, I will onely point at a few matters and so leaue them.

At a worde therefore, Kings and Princes are here (in the persons of these Princes) admonished of the instabilitie of earthly Kingdomes, and therewith provoked to sue after that heauenly kinngdome, which is not subject to mutabilitie or chaunge. And this they are taught to do, by vsing pietie towards him by whome they reigne, and equitie towards
them over whom they be set: nam cætera regna,

Luxuries vitiis, odiisque superbia vertit.

Noble men and Counsellors are warned to advise well their Kings, and to avoid ambition in themselvses: for as a noble and wise Counsellor late living was wont to say,

Callida consilia, prima fronte laeta, tractatu difficilia,

Euentu tristia.

Crafty counsellors have a faire shew in the first opening, but they be hard in the handling, and woeful in the winding vp.

And as for Ambition, the winde never bloweth out of that quarter, but storms arise withall, and wreck of noble houses doth ensue.

The Commons also (who many times, and namely here, deserve well their name, because they be common to every side) may by others harms learne to leaue their continuall wavering and inconstancie. For light heads (as they see here) finde heauie rappes: and they shal euer prooue that true, which the Poet (or more truly in this behalfe, the Prophet) once sang:

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achiui.

When Princes doate, in taking armes,

Their subiects smart, and beare the harms.

At once both Kings, Counsellors, Commons, and all men are assured to respect God heedily, to dwell in their own callings quietly, neither seeking other men's things wrongfully, nor labouring to defend their owne unlawfully.

Swanscombe, called in Saxon, Swagenscomb, that is, the campe of Sweyn the Dane that encamped at Grenehithe hard by.

As the whole Shyre of Kent oweth to Swanscombe everlasting name, for the fruition of her auncient franchises obtained there: So I for the more honourable memorie of the place, can gladly afoord it roome, both at the beginning, and toward the end of my labour.

The matter for the which it is especially renowned, is alreadie bewrayed in the discourse of the auncient estate of this Shyre, whereunto I will referre you: And at this time, make note of a thing, or twaine besides, and so passe over to the residue.

The Manor.

The Manor of Swanscombe, is holden of Rochester Castle, and oweth service toward the defence of the same, being (as it were) one of the principall Captaines to whom that charge was of auncient time committed, and hauing subiect vnto it, sundrie Knights fees, as petie Captaines (or inferiour soldiours) bound to serue vnder her banner there.

The Church of S. Hildeferthe.

The Church at Swanscombe, was much haun=
In times past, for Saint Hildesferthes helpe (a Bishop, by conjecture of his picture yet standing in the upper window of the South Isle, although his name is not read in all the Catalogue of the Saxons) to whom such as were distracted, ranne 483 for restitution of their wits, as thick as men were wont to saile to Anticyra, for Helleborus.

This cure was performed heere, by warmth, close keeping, and good diet: means not only not strange, or miraculous, but mere natural, ordinary, and reasonable. And therefore, as on the one side, they might truly be thought madmen, and altered in their wits, that frequented this pilgrimage for any opinion of extraordinary working: So on the other side, S. Hildesferth (of all the Saintes that I knowe) might best be spared, seeing we haue the keeper of Bethleem, who ceaseth not (even till this day) to worke mightily in the same kinde of Myracle.

Grauesende, in Saxon, Gerefesend: in Latine, Limes Praetorius.

The original cause of the name of this place, lieth hid in the usuall name of the officer, lately created in the town: He is commonly called Portreue, but the word (aunciently and truly sounded) is Portgeree, that is to say, the Ruler of the Towne. For Porte (descending of the Latine word Portus) signifieth a Port Towne, and Gereue (being deriued of the Saxon verbe gereccan, to rule) was first called gerecfa, and then gerefa, and betokeneth a Ruler: So that, Portreue, is the Ruler of the Towne, and Greues-end, is as much to say, as the Limit, Bounde, or Precinct of such a Rule or Office.

Of the very same reason, they of the lowe and high Germanie (whence our language first descended) call one ruler, Burgreue, another Margreue, and the third Landsgreue: And of the same cause also, our Magistrate now called a Sherif, or (to speake more truly, Shyrereue) was at the first called (Shyre gereue) that is to say, Custos Comitatus, the Ruler of the Shyre. The head officer of Maydston, long since had this name: yea the chiefe gouernour of the Citty of London likewise, before the time either of Maior or Baylife there, was knowne by the name of Portreue, as in the Saxen Chartre of King William the Conqueroure (sundry examples whereof be yet extant) may appeere. It began thus, ‘William cyng greit william bisceop, + godfreges portgerefan, + ealle þa burhwaren þe on lunden beon,’ ‘William the King, greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreue, and all the Burgesses that in London be. &c.’

To make short, in auncient time, almost every Manor had his Reue, whose authoritie was, not onely to leuie the Lords rents, to set to worke his ser-
uaunts, and to husband his Demeasnes to his best profit and commoditie: but also to gouerne his tenants in peace, and to leade them fourth to war, when necessitie so required.

And although this name, and so much of the authotyie as remained, was (after the comming in of the Normanes) transferred to another, which they called Baylife: yet in sundry places of the Realme (especially in Copiholde Manors, where olde custome preuaileth) the word, Reue, is yet wel inough knowne and understood.

Neither ought it to seeme any whit the more straunge, bicause I call now Reue, that which in old time was Gereue, for as much as this particle (Ge) was in processe of time, in some places chaunged in sound to (y) and in some other partes cleane lost and forgotten: As for example, wheras the Saxons vsed to say, he was Geboren, they of the West countrie pronounce it, he was yborne, and we of the countries nearer London, he was borne.

Thus farre the Etymon of the name (Greues end) hath carried me out of the Historie, whereto I did the rather yeelde, bicause I had not muche to write concerning the place it selfe. Howbeit I reade, that in the beginning of the reigne of King Richard the second, whilest the Lorde Neuel was by the Kings appointment, entred into Fraunce, with a great company of English souldiors, the French men came vp the Thamise with their Gallies, and brent diuers townes, and at the last (comming to Grauesende) spoiled and set it on fire also.

The Manor of Grauesend belonged then to the Abbot of Tower hill at London, of the guilt of king Edward the thirde, founder of that and of some other religious houses. And bicause this Towne was brought to beggerie by that misfortune, the Abbot taking such advantage for reliefe thereof as that time very happily afoorded, had conference with his tenants, and finding that by the continual recourse to and from Calyce (which the same king Edward had gained to his crowne) the passage by water betweene London and Grauesend was much frequented, both for the great ease, good cheape, and speedie transportation (requiring not one whole tide) he made offer on their behalfes to the young King Richard the second, that if he would be pleased to graunt vnto the inhabitants of Grauesend and Mylton the privilige, that none shoulde transport any passengers by Water from Grauesend to London, but they only, in their own boates, then shoulde they of those two parishes vndertake to carrie all such passengers, either for two pence each one with his farthell (or trusse) or otherwise, making the whole Fare (or passage) woorth foure shillings. The King assented for the present, and some of his successors haue sithence confirmed the graunt; besides the which, continuall vsage hath so established the same, as it is notorious to all, not onely by the eie, but by delyuerie of the Statute
also, made 6. Henr. 8. cap. 7.

For the Order of this passage, and government of the Watermen labouring therein, there is belonging to that Manor a proper Court, intituled ‘Curia cursus aquæ,’ which was for sundry yeeres discontinued, by the niggardly negligence of the Fermors of the Manor of Grauesende, but nowe lately hath beene reuiued by the Honourable care of the Lorde Cobham, Lorde Chamberlaine of her Maiesties Housholde, owner of the same: And by the example heerof, they of London obtained (vpon like offer) the like privilege of transportation from London to Grauesende, which also to this day they enjoy accordingly.

King Henry the eight, warned by that which had happened, raised a platforme at Grauesende, one other at Mylton, and two others ouer against them on Essex side, to commaund the Riuer in those plase, at such time as he fortified other the Coastes of his Realme, as we haue before opened.

Heigham.

Of the Nunnes of Heigham Priorie I finde none other note, saue onely that they were vnder the visitation of the Bishop of Rochester. For in the beginning of the reigne of King Edward the third, Hamon of Heth Bishop there, confirmed the election of Mawde of Colchester, Prioress of this house, and about fourteene yeeres after he visited both the head and whole companie, as the Registrar of Rochester, that wrote his actes and life, hath amongst many other small matters, some what curiously observed.

Cliffe, written commonly in auncient Bookes, Cloueshoo, for Cliofeshoo, which is as much to say, as, Cliffs hoo, or Cliffe at Hoo.

Theodore the seuenth Archbishop of Canterbury, and the first (in the opinion of William Malmesburie) that exercised the authoritie of an Archbishop (which appeared (as others say) in that he tooke vpon him to depose Wilfrid of York) called together a Synode of Bishops at Hereforde: in which it was agreed amongst them, that for the more speedie reformacion of abuses that might creepe into the Church, they should all assemble once euery yeere at Cloueshoo, vpon the Kalends (or first day) of August: By vertue of which decree, Cuthbert, the eleuenth Archbishop, somoned the Bishops of his Prouince to the same place, and there (amongst other things woorthie note) it was enacted, that Priestes themselfes should first learne, and then teach their Parishioners, the Lordes praier, and the Articles of their beleefe in the English tongue: To which de=
A learned age, in which Priests had more Latine than English, and yet almost no Latine at all. cree, if you list to add the testimonie of King Alfred, who in his Preface vpon the Pastorall of Gregory, that he translated, saith, that when he came first to his kynodome, he knew not one Priest on the South side of the riuere of Humber that understood his seruice in Latine, or that coulde translate an Epistle into English: And if you will adioine first that which Alfric writeth in his Proeme to the Grammar, that is to say, that a little before the time of Dunstan the Archbishop, there was never an English Priest that could either endite, or understand a Latin Epistle. And then that which William of Malmesbury reporteth, to wit, that at the time of the Conquest, almost all the Bishops of England were vnlearned: Then I doubt not but you shall evidently see, how easie it was for the Diuell and the Pope to creepe into the Church of England, when (whole ages together) the Clergie was so well fed, and so euill taught. But to our matter againe. By vertue of the same decree and ordinance also, two other Councels were holden at Cliffe at Hoo: one vnder Kenulph, the King of Mercia, or middle Engeland, and the other in the reigne of Beornwulfe his successour. This place would I haue coniectured to haue lien in the hart of England, both because it seemeth likely that the common place of meeting should be most fitly a point in the midst of the Realme, and for that it is manifest by the historie, that it was in the dominion of the King of Mercia, which I feare not to call middle England. But, for as much as I once read a note, made by one Talbot (a Prebendarie of Norwiche, and a diligent travailer in the English historie) vpon the margine of an auncient written copie of William Malmburies booke 'De Pontificibus,' in which he expounded Cloueshoo, to be Cliffe at Hoo neare Rochester: and for that I do not finde the expresse name (Cloueshoo) in all the catalogue of townes in that precinct which was sometime the kingdome of Mercia (although there be diuers places therein that beare the name of Cliffe, as well as this) I am contented to subscribe to Talbots opinion: but with this protestation, that if at any time hereafter I finde a better, I will be no longer bound to follow him.

The towne is large, and hath thereto a great parish Church: and (as I haue beene tolde) many of the houses were casually burned (about the same time that the Emperor Charles came into this Realme to visite King Henrie the eight) of which hurt it was neuer yet thorowly cured. It hath the name Cliffe, of the situation, and lieth in the hundred of Shamel, albeit that it be called at Hoo, which in deede is the hundred next adjoyning, and taketh his name (as I suppose) of the effect: for Hoh in the olde English signifieth sorrowe, or sicknes, wherwith the inhabitants of that vnwholesome hundreth be very much exercised.

And thus haue I now visited the places of chiefe

<Stow 1580:925>
note that lie in the skirts of the Diocese, wherunto
if I had added a few other that be within the body
of the same, I woulde no lesse gladly, then I must
necessarily, finish and close vp this winters trauell.

Mepham, aunciently written
Meapaham.

Simon Mepham (the Archbishop that per=
formed the solemnities at the inaugu=
ration of King Edward the thirde) had
bothe his natuitle and name of this
towne, although Polydore Virgil hath no mention
of the man at all, in his hystorie, or catalogue of
Archbishops, either not finding, or forgetting, that
euer there was any such.

It is probable also, that the same Bishop builte
the Church at Mepham, for the vse of the poore,
which William Courtney (one of his successours)
repaired fower score yeeres after, and annexed
therunto fower new houses for the same ende and
purpose.

Besides these notes, it hath chaunced me to see
one antiquitie of Mepham, which both for the pro=
fit and pleasure that I conceiued therof, I thinke
meete to insert, thoughghe happily some other man
may say, that I do therein (and in many others al=
so) nothing els but 'Antiquiora Diphtera loqui.'

Neuerthelesse, to the ende that it may appeere,
what the auncient forme and phrase of a Testament
was: howe the Husbande and the wife ioyned in
making their Testaments: how landes were deui=
sable by testament in olde time: by what wordes
estates of inheritaunce were wont to be created:
how the Lordes consent was thought requisite to
the testament of the tenant: and howe it was pro=
cured by a guift of Heriot, which as Bracton saieth,
was done at the first, 'Magis de gratia, quam de iure:'
Furthermore, how this town of Mepham, and sun=
drie others came at the first to Christes church, S.
Augustine, and Rochester: and finally, that you
may know, as well what aduauncement to Gentrie
was then in vse, as also what weapons, ieweles, and

† and ornaments were at that time worne and occu=
pied, I will set before your eye, the last will and te=
stament of one Byrhtric and his wife, which was a
man of great wealth and possessions within this
Shyre, and had his abiding at Mepham more then
sixe hundreth yeeres ageoe.

This is Birtricks ......

First, to his naturall Lord, ......

markes, and a Cuppe ......

And after his dayes ......
soule their Lord, .......

deale, (betweene God .......

... be hit healdan wille.

It shall suffice, for the most part of the matters (woorthie observation) in this testament, that I haue already onely pointed at them (as it were) with my finger: for that they do appeere and shew themselues manifestly euen at the first sight: Only therefore, touching the estate and degree of this Testatour, I wil (for the more light and discouerie thereof) borow a few wordes of you.

He himselfe here calleth Aelfric, his Lorde, and naturall Lord, and saith further, that Aelfere was Father to this Aelfric: Now, what Aelfere and Aelfric were, it is not hard to finde: for all our aun cient Historians tell vs, that in the daies of King Edgar, of King Edward the Martyr, and of King Ethelred, these men were by birth, cousines of the bloud roayall: by state (Eorles Earles) which woorde we yet retaine in English, and which we commonly cal (Comites) in Latine, for that at the first they were parteners and companions (as I may say) with the King, in taking the profits of the Shire, or Countie: that they were also by dignitie (Ealdormen) that is, Senators, and Gouernours of all Mercia, or middle England: And finally that they were of such great power and credite, that Aelfer the Father, immediately after the death of King Edgar, restored all such priests thorowout Midle England, to their houses, as the king (by aduice of Dunstane the Monke) had in his life expulsed, for the placing of his Monks: And that Aelfric the sonne, resisted king Ethelred in that siege of Rochester, whereof you heard when we were there.

For as much therefore, as Aelfric was hlaford, or Lorde, to our Testator, and hlaford and Ðegn, that is to say, Lorde and Seruitour, be wordes of relation, I gather, that he was Ðegn, which signifieth properly a Minister, or free Seruitour, to the king, or to some great personage. But vsually at those times taken for the very same, that wee cal now of the Latine woorde (Gentilis) a Gentleman, that is (<Eugenês>) a man well borne, or of a good stocke and familie.

Neither doth it detract any thing from his Gen trie at all, that I said he was a Minister, or Seruitour: for I meane not thereby, that he was (Seruus) which woorde (straightly construed) doth signifie a seruaunt, or slaue, whom they in those daies called ðeowe: but my minde is, that he was a seruitour of free condition, either aduanced by his owne ver tue and merite, or els descended of such auncestors, as were never degraded: And that name, the Prince of Wales, or eldest Sonne of our King of
this Realme, doth not, in the life of his Father, dis=
daine to beare: For, out of the very same olde word
(Denian) to serue, is framed his Poesie, or woorde
vpon his armes (Ic Dien) I serue. The like whereof
is vpon the Armes of the Counties Palatine of
Chester, and Durham also.

And thus I suppose that it is manifest, that Byr=
thryc our Testator was by condition a Noble
man, or (which in common acceptance abroade is
all one with it) a Gentleman.

Howbeit, to the ende that bothe this thing may
haue the more authoritie and credite, and that it
may withall appeere what degrees of Nobilitie
and Gentrie there were in this Realme before the
comming in of the Normanes, and by what merits
men might ascend and be promoted to the same, I
will reach a little higher, and shew you another
English (or Saxon) antiquitie, which I haue seene
placed in divers old copies of the Saxon lawes, af=
ter the end of all, as a note or advertisement.

It was sometime . . . . .

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journey (expedition) fiue hides . . . . .
. . . . . notian ne moste.

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By this you see, first, that in those daies there
were but three estates of free men (for bondser=
ants, which we do nowe since call by a strained
worde Villaines are not here talked of) that is to
say, an Earle, or Noble man, the highest: a Theyn,
or Gentleman, the midlemost: And a Churle, or
Yeoman, the lowest: and as touching that which
is here spoken of the servuant of the Theyn, or Gen=
tlemen, I deeme it rather ment for a prerogatiue
belonging to the maister, then mentioned as a se=
veral degree in the man.

Neither doth it make against me in this diuisi=
on, that you shall many times reade, of Ealdorman,
Scyrman, Heretoga, Seðcundman, twelwhyndman,
twihindeman: for these be not names of difference
in degrees, but they do either denote the offices and
dignities, or els the estimation and values, of those
to whome they be attributed: as Alderman and
Shyreman, do signifie that Earle or Noble man, to
whome the government and charge of a Shyre, or
other Precinct, was committed: Hertoga, that
Earle or great man, that was (Imperator Belli) the
Lieutenant of the field: Syðcundman, that Gentle=
man, that had the manred (as some yet call it) or
the office, to lead the men, of a Towne, or Parish:
And as for twelwhyndman, it was giuen to the
Theyn, or Gentleman, because his life was valued
at Twelue hundreth shillings (as in those daies the
lives of all sorts of men were rated at certaine
summes of money) And twyhindman, to the Churle
or Yeoman, because the price of his head was taxed

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at two hundred shillings: which thing (if it were not expressly set forth in sundry old lawes yet existant) might well enough be found in the Etymologie of the words themselves, the one being called a Twelfhynd, as it were, a Twelfe hundred man, and the other a Twyhynd, for a man of Two hundred.

Furthermore, you may here behold, with what discretion and equite, our elders proceeded in bestowing these promotions: for whereas all Nobilitie and Gentrie is either, Nativity, or Datiuie, that is to say, commeth either by Descent, or by Purchase, wherof the first, if it be not accompanied with vertue, is but an emptie signe, and none other thing, than (as one well said) 'Nobilitatem in Astragulis gestare:' But the latter (being both the maker and maintainer of the first) as it ought by all reason to be rewarded with due ensignes of honour, to the end that vertue may be the more desirously embraced: So have they here appointed three several paths to lead men straight unto it, that is to say, Service, Riches, and Learning, or (to speak more shortly) Vertue and Riches: in which two (as Aristotle confesseth) all the old Nobilitie consisted, and which two (as the Ecclesiastes or Preacher teacheth) make a good accomplishment: for (saith hee) 'Vtilior est sapientia, cum diuitiis coniuncta.'

And in this part, you may lastly perceive also, that out of all those trades of life, which be (chrematista) that is to say, conversant in gain, they admitted to the estate of Gentrie such only, as increased by honest Husbandrie, and plentiful Merchandize:

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Of the first of which Cicero affirmeth, that 'There is nothing meeter for a Freeborne man:' And of the other, that 'It is praise worthy also, if at the length being satisfied with gain, as it hath often come from the Sea to the Hauen, So it change from the Hauen into landes and possessions.'

And therefore (in my fantasi) where as Geruas. Tilberiens. (in his observations of the Eschequer) accounteth it an abasing for a Gentleman to occupy 'Publicum mercimonium,' common buying and selling, it ought to be referred to the other two parts of Merchandize, that is, to Negotiation, which is retailing, or keeping of a standing shop: and to Inuention (which is to exercise Mercerie) or (as some call it) to play the Chapman: and not to Navigacion, or Merchandize, which (as you see) is the only laudable part of all buying and selling.

And againe, whereas the Ciule Lawe saith, 'Patritii cum plebeiis coniugia ne contrahunto.' and in our lawe it is reputed a Disparagement for a warde in Chialrie (which in old time was as much to say, as a Gentleman) to be married to the daughter of one that dwelt in a Borowe, I think that it also ought to be restrained to such only as professed handicrafts, or those baser Artes of buying and selling, to get their living by.

But of all this matter, my Maisters the Heralds can better infortume you, to whom (least I be blamed for thrusting my Sicle into another mans Haruest) I will without any more, referre you.
Tunbridge, Wrotham, this towne, and Northfleete, doe lie North and South one from another: and it is a commune and received opinion amongst the Countrie people, that you may be conveyed from the Thamise side, to the edge of Sussex, in these four Parishes: So that the whole Shyre (by that reckoning) should be but four Parishes broad, and yet 19. or 20. myles ouer, on this part. If any man doubt of the truth, let himself make the trial, for I dare not warrant it.

Wrotham, in Latine by some, Vagniacæ, but mistaken. It is in the Domesday booke also corruptly written (Broteham) for I suppose, that wyrtham is the very right name, given for the great plentie of woortes (or good herbes) that growe there.

There was in Wrotham, of auncient time, a Manor house, perteining to the See of the Archbishops. For Geruasius witnesseth, that one Richard (the Archbishop that succeeded Thomas Becket) lay there: And that after suche time as he had, by great largition and bribery, prevailed at Rome, bothe against King Henrie (the sonne of the second of that name) in his owne consecration) against Roger the Bishop of Yorke in the quarrel of preeminencie, and against others in other vaine suites, (so that it might never be more truly said of that Citie in Paganisme it selfe, 'Romæ omnia ire venum,' than in that time of Papistrie) hee had a moste terrible dreame (or vision) in his sleepe at Wrotham, the manner whereof (as he reporteth) was this.

It seemed to him, that a very grave and reverend personage, came to his bed side by night, and demanded of him in a loude voice, who art thou? with which noise, when the Archbishop awaked, and for feare answered nothing, it added moreover, ‘Thou art he that hast scattered the goods of the Church committed to thy charge, and therefore I will scatter thee:’ and so (with the worde) vanished out of sight.

The Archbishop arose in the morning, and having intended a journey to Rochester, addressed himself thitherward: but this vision continually presented itself before the eyes of his minde, and so troubled him, that for ease of his inward griefe, he began to disclose the whole order of it to suche as were in his companie: whereof he had no sooner made an ende, but he was forthwith stricken with such a horroure, and chill colde, that he was driuen of necessitie to alight at Halling in his way, where in great torment he ended his life, the next day following.

This house continued here, vntill the time of Simon Islip, the Archbishop: who having a desire to finishe the Palace at Maidstone, which John Vfford his predecessour had begun, and wanting
wherewith to accomplish it, not only pulled downe the building at Wrotham, and conueied the stuffe thither, but also obtained of the Pope, licence to leuie a Tenth throughout his whole Prouince, to performe his worke withall.

Kemsing.

In the late time of the Popish <polytheia>, the Image of Edith (the Daughter of King Edgar, and sometime Prioresse of Wylton in the West Countrie) was religiously frequented in the Church-yarde at Kemsing, for the preseruation of Corne and Graine, from Blasting, Myldew, Brandeare, and such other harmes as commonly do annoy it.

The manner of the which sacrifice was this: Some seelie bodie brought a pecke, or two, or a Bushell of Corne, to the Church: and (after prayers made) offered it to the Image of the Saint: Of this offering, the Priest vsed to toll the greatest portion, and then to take one handfull, or little more of the residue (for you must consider he woulde bee sure to gaine by the bargaine) the which after aspersion of holy water, and mumbling of a fewe woordes of coniuration, he first dedicated to the Image of Saint Edithe, and then deliuered it backe, to the partie that brought it: who then de= parted with full persuasion, that if he mingled that hallowed handfull with his seede Corne, it woulde preserue from harme, and prosper in growthe, the whole heape that he should sowe, were it neuer so great a Stacke, or mowgh.

I remember, that I haue read in Terentius Varro,

that the olde Romanes (amongst innumerable others) had in great veneration, one God, which (of Robigo, a canker in Corne) they called Robigus, and to whome they made devout intercession and solemn sacrifice, for the preseruation and deliuerie of their graine, from the selfe same annoyances, that ours is subject vnto.

How much that God of the Romanes, and our Goddesses of Kemsing, differed in profession, let som Popish gadder after straunge Gods make the acco= compt, for I my selfe can finde no oddes at all.

And truly, were it not that I am loth to antici= pate nowe before time, that which I shall (God graunting) haue both fit place, and meeete time to utter hereafter, I coulde easily shew, that the olde Romanes, and our new Romanistes, agreed in manner throughout, both in the propertie and number of their Gods (if at the least they be numerable) in the manner and multitude of their sacrifices, in the times and forms of their solemnities, in the report of their false and fained miracles: and finally, al= most in the whole heape and dunghill of their filthy and superstitious Idolatries.

But I will awaite conuenient seasons, and at this time giue to euerie man the same, and none other counsell, than Plautus, (a heathen Poet in
deede, and yet in this behalfe more heauenly than any Papist) sometime gave in the like case, saying: 'Vnus dum tibi propitius est Iupiter, tu hosce minutos Deos flocci feceris.' 'While Jupiter is thy friend, set not thou a strawe by all these petie Gods.'

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Falcasius (or Fulco) de Breant, was owner of the Manor of Keming, and (by graunt of King Henrie the third) had a Market there vpon each Monday. But that is long since lost, and the place shadowed by Sennocke the next Market: Howbeit, Keming is yet the mother Church (as they say) and Seale is but a childe (or Chappell) of it.

Otford, in Saxon, Ottanford.

We haue mention in auncient historie of two famous battels foughten at Otford, whereof the one happened amongst the Saxons themselfes, contending for glorie and supreme souerignty: The other, betweene the Danes and Saxons, striving for landes, liues, and libertie.

In the first, Offa the King of Mercia (hauing already joined to his dominion, the most part of Westsex, and Northumberland, and seeking to haue added Kent also) preuailed against the inhabitants of this countrie, not without great slaughter of his owne subiects, and after the victorie, he both tooke diuers landes from the Archbishopricke, and also transferred (as it were in triumph) the Archbishops Chaire into his owne kingdome, as you heard in the beginning. Neuerthelesse he continued his fauour towards the priorie of Christes churche, and increased it with his owne guifte of Ickam, Roking, Perhamstede, Sandhyrst, this Otford, and sundry other lands in the same Shyre.

In the other fight, King Edmund (surnamed for his great strength, Ironside) obtained against King Canutus the Dane, a most honourable victorie, and pursued him (flying toward Shepey) vntill he came to Ailesforde: committing vpon the Danes suche slaughter, and bloudie hauche, that if Edric the traitour, had not by fraudulent counsell withhalden him, (as we haue before declared) he had that day made an end of their whole armie.

These be the written antiquities that I finde of Otford, which happily some men will esteeme lesse, than the vnwritten vanities of Thomas Becket, sometime owner of the place: And therefore, least any should complains of wrong, you shall heare what they be also. It was long since fancied, and is yet of too many beleued, that while Thomas Becket lay at the olde house at Otford (of which of long time (as you see) belonged to the Archbishop, and whereof the olde hall and chapell onely doe now remaine) and sawe that it wanted a fit spring to water it, that he strake his staffe into the dreie ground, (in a place thereof now called Sainct Thomas Well) and that immediately the same
water appeered, which running plentifully, serveth the offices of the new house till this present day.

They say also, that as he walked on a time in the olde Parke (busie at his praiers) That he was much hindered in deuotion, by the sweete note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bush beside him: and that therefore (in the might of his holinesse) he inioined, that from thencefoorth no birde of that kinde should be so bolde as to sing thereabout.

Some men report likewise, that for as much as a Smith (then dwelling in the towne) had cloyed his horse, He enacted by like authoritie, that after that time no Smith shoule thrive within the Parish. Innumerable such toyes, false Priestes haue deuised, and fonde people (alas) haue beleued, of this iolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which, for the vnworthinesse of the things themselfes, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightened) I neither will, nor can, now presently recount, but must pursue the residue, that pertaineth to this place.

For besides this Thomas, there was holden in great veneration at Otford, another Saint, called Bartilmew, the Apostle (as I trowe) for his feast day was kept solemne, both with a faire, and good fare there.

This man serued the parson as Puruyour of his poultrey, and was frequented (by the parishioners, and neighbors about) for a most rare and singular propertie that he professed.

For the manner was, that if any woman (conceived with childe) desired to bring a male, she shoule offer to Saint Bartholmew a Cocke chick, and if her wish were to be deliuered of a female, she should then present him with a Hen.

This Saint, was as good as Manci pera, whereof the common Adage grewe: and he differed not much from the Priestes of olde Rome, called Lupercci: For a litle of the water of the one, and the doing of a certaine Ceremonie by the other, was (at pleasure) as able as Saint Bartholmew, to make barren women become fruitfull.

Assuredly, through the fraude of this foxe, the Countrie people (as wise as capons) were many yeeres together robbed of their Hens and Cocks: till at the length it chaunced King Henrie the eight (after exchange made with the Archbishop for this Manor of Otford) to haue conference with some of the Towne, about the enlarging of his Parke there: Amongst the which, one, called Maister Robert Multon (a man, whom for the honest memorie of his godly zeale and vertuous life, I sticke not to name) detesting the abuse, and espying the Prince inclined to heare him, vndfolded the whole packe of the idolatrie, and preuailed so farre in fauour, that shortly after, the King commaunded Saint Bartholmewe to be taken downe and to be deliuered vnto him.
Thus haue you hearde, the contention of the Saxons, the ouerthrowe of the Danes, the fraude of Popish Priestes, the folie of simple folkes, and the fall of deceitfull idolatrie. Now a few woordes (for example) of the prodigallitie of a proude Prelate, and then to the residue.

William Warham the Archbishop, minding to leaue to posteritie, some glorious monument of his worldly wealth, and misbegotten treasure, determined to haue raised a gorgious Palace for himselfe and his successours in the Citie of Canterbury, but (vpon occasion of a difference that arose betweene him and the citizens for the limits of his soyle there) he chaunged his former purpose, and in displeasure towards them, bestowed at Otforde, thirty and three thousand poundes, vpon the house that is now to be seene, notwithstanding that he himselfe, Morton his immediate predecessour, and Bourchier before him had not long before liberally builded at Knolle, a house little more than two miles from it.

For, that house also (so called of the situation which is vpon the knap, (or Knoll) of a hill,) had Bishop Bourchier in the beginning of his time pur chased of William Fynys the Lorde Saye, of the Seale, and appropriated it to the See of the Arch bishopricke.

But now before I can depart from Otford, I am to begge licence for a woorde or two more, as well for the satisfaction of mine owne promise heretofore made, as also for the direction of my Reader, which otherwise by the countenance of a certaine famous and learned writer, might be quight and cleane carried from me.

Des. Erasmus taking occasion, in the Preface to Frauncis the French King (prefixed before his Paraphrase vpon Saint Markes Gospell) to discourse vpon the great troubles and warres that were in his time betwene the Princes of Christendome, declareth, that it were a laudable labour for some man of the Clergie (euen with the hazard of his life) to become the instrument of their reconciliation.

And amongst other examples of times passed, he bringeth in Thomas Becket, who (as he speakeoth) spared not to exercise the Evangelicall libertie (meaning excommunication, belike) vpon the King himselfe, and that for a verie small matter: wherein, although he profited little in his life (saith he) yet by his death he purchased both gaine and glorie, to himselfe, and the whole Clergie.

Which saide, he addeth in effect as followeth: They contended (saith he) not for reconciling Princes one to another, but the controversie was onely for a certaine withdrawing house, called Otforde, a place more mette for a religious mans meditation, then for a Princes pleasure, with the which (saith Erasmus) I my selfe could not haue beeene greatly in loue, till such time as William Warham
the Archbishop, bestowed so great cost upon it, that he might be thought rather to have raised a new house in the place, then to have repaired the old: for he left nothing of the first worke, but onely the walls of a hall, and a chapell:

Thus farre out of Erasmus. Wherein first (by the way) you may espie the reason that moued King Henrie the eight, to take that house by exchange from the Archbishop, namely, because Warham (not contented to continue it a plaine house, fit to withdrawe himselfe vnto for contemplation and prayer) had so magnificently enlarged the same, that it was now become meete, to make

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a Palaice for a Kings habitation and pleasure.

But let vs come to our matter. You see heere that Erasmus maketh this house, the matter, and motiue of al the contention that was betweene the King and the Archbishop: which if it be so, then haue not I faithfully dealt, in laying the cause thereof to be such, as appeereth in Canterburie before, and consequently, I haue too too much abused the Reader.

But for a short answere hereto, I doe eftsoones auow, that not onely William of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, and Mathew Parise, (whom chiefly I haue followed in this storie, and which all, were, either men liuing when the matter was in hande, or borne immediately after) do plainly testifie with me, that the ordinaunces made at Clarendune, were the very subiect and motiue of all that strife: but also the whole number of our historiens following, yea and the very authours of the Quadriloge it selfe (or song of foure parts, for they yeeld a concent, though it be without Harmonie) doe all, with one pen and mouth, acknowledge the same.

Amongst the rest, Polydore sheweth himselfe exceeding angrie, with some that had blowne abroad some such like sound of the cause of this great hurley burley: for he saith plainely, that they were 'Amentiæ pleni, qui deblaterabant, Thomam conservandarum possessionum caussa, tantum iniuriarum accepisse.' starke madde, which babbled that Thomas did receive so many iniuries, for sauing of his possesions.

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But for all this, to the ende that it may fully appeer, both that Erasmus hath said somewhat, and also from whence (as I suppose) this thing was mistaken, I pray you heare the Quadriloge or storie of his life it selfe: for that only shall suffice to close vp the matter.

It appeereth by the authors of that worke, that after such time as the King and the Bishop had long contended (and that with great heate) about the Statutes of Clarendune, and that the Bishop, vpon great offence taken, had made three severall attempts to crosse the Seas towarde the Pope, and was alwaies by contrarie winde repulsed, and driuen to the land againe: The King in his iust indignation, sought by all possible meanes to bridle his
immoderate peeuishnesse: and therefore, first resu-
med into his owne handes, all such honors and ca-
stles of his owne as he had committed to the Bi-
shops custodie: Then called he an assembly of all
his Nobility and Bishops to Northampton castle,
where before them all, he first charged Thomas with
**flue hundred poundes** that he had long before lent
him: for the repaiment wherof, he there compelled
him to giue flue seuerall sureties.

This done, he called him to an account for thir-
tie thousand Markes, receiued of the reuenues of
the crowne, during the time that he was Chaunce-
lour. Now, whilst the Archbishop was much trou-
bled with this matter (sometime denying to yeelde
any account at all, sometime crauing respite to
make a resolute aunswere, but alwaies delaying

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the time, and meditating how to shift the place)
there come (on a time) into his lodging, the Bi-
shops of London and Chichester: who, finding him
at supper, saide vnto him (woorde for woorde of the
Quadriloge) as followeth, that is, 'That they had
found out a way for peace: and when the Archbishop
had required, vnder what forme? They aunswered:
There is a question for money betweene you, and the
King: If therefore you will assigne vnto the King,
your two Manors, Otford and Wingham in the name
of a pledge, we beleue that he being therewith paci-
...
King and the Archbishop, but moved only by the pacifiers (these two Bishops) as a meet mean
of reconciliation in their own opinion and judgment: or, if it may be thought, that they were sent
and suborned by the King himself with that device: yet is it manifest, that the right of the houses them-
seles was not desired, but only that they might re-
mained as a pause till the account were audited: Neither if the gift of this house would have made an
ende of the strife, doth it by and by follow, that the contention was moved at the first about it.
And therefore, as on the one side you may see,
that Erasmus his report is but matter of Preface,
and no Gospel: So yet on the other side it is evi-
dent, that of such and so lustie a stomach was this
Archbishop, that if former cause had not beene, yet
he could have found in his hart to fall out with his
Prince for this, or for a smaller matter.
For, what would he not adventure for a Manor
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or twaine in lawfull possession, that would not stick
to hazard his head before he would release that
right, which he thought he had to a piece of lande,
and that but only by hearesay, or supposition?
But it is more then time to make an end, and ther-
fore leaving Thomas, and his house, in the bottom,
let us nowe clime the Hill toward Sennocke.
Holmes Dale, that is to say, the Dale
betweene the woodde
hilles.
There are as yet to be seen, at Reigate
Surrey, the ruines of an auncient castle
sometime belonging to the Earls of Sur-
rey, which Alfrede of Beuerley calleth
Holme, and which the Countrie people do yet terme,
the Castle of Holmesdale. This tooke the name, of
the Dale wherin it standeth, which is large in quan-
tity, extending it selfe a great length into Surrey, and
Kent also, and was (as I conjecture) at the first called
Holmesdale, by reason that it is (for the most part)
Conuallis, a plaene valley, running between two hils,
that be replenished with store of wood: for, so
much the very word (Holmesdale) it selfe importeth.
In this Dale (a part of which we nowe crosse, in
our way to Sennocke) the people of Kent (being
encouraged by the prosperous successe of Edwarde
their King, the Sonne of Alfrede, and commonly
surnamed Edwarde the Elder) assembled them-
seues, and gae to the Danes, that had many yeers
before affilicted them, a moste sharpe and fierce
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encounter, in the which, after long fight they pre-
uailed, and the Danes were ouerthrowne and van-
quished.
This victorie, and the like euent in an other bat-
ial (giuen to the Danes at Oforde, which standeth
in this same valley also) begate, as I gesse, the
common bywoord, use amongst the inhabitauntes
of this vale, euyn till this present day, in which they
vaunt after this manner,
904.
The vale of Holmesdale,  
Neuer wonne, nor neuer shale.

Sennocke, or (as some call it) Seuen oke,  
of a number of trees, as they conjecture.

About the latter ende of the reigne of  
King Edward the thirde, there was  
found (lying in the streetes at Sen=  
nocke) a poore childe, whose Parents  
were vnknowne, and he (for the same  
cause) named after the place where he was taken  
vp, William Sennocke.

This Orphan, was by the helpe of some charita=  
bble persons, brought vp and nourtured, in suche  
wise, that being made an Apprentice to a Grocer  
in London, he arose by degrees (in course of time)  
to be Maior, and chiefe magistrate of that Citie.  
At which time, calling to his minde, the goodness  
of Almightye God, and the fauour of the Townes=  
men, extended towards him, he determined to  
make an euerlasting monument of his thankfull  
minde for the same.

And therefore, of his owne charge, builded both  
an Hospitall for reliefe of the poore, and a Free  
Schoole for the education of youthe within this  
Towne: endowing the one and the other, with  
competent yeerely liuing (as the daies then suffe=  
red) towards their sustentation, and maintenance:  
But since his time, the Schoole was much amen=  
ed by the liberalitie of one Iohn Potkyn, which ly=  
ued vnder the reigne of King Henrie the eight: and  
now lately also, in the second yeere of the reigne of  
our souereigne Ladie, through the honest trauaile  
of diuers the inhabitants there, not only the yeerely  
stipend is much increased, and the former litigious  
possessions quietly established: but the corporation  
also chaunged into the name of Wardeins, and  
foure assistants, of the towne and parish of Sen=  
nocke, and of the free Schoole of Queene Eliza=  
both in Sennocke.

The present estate of the Towne it selfe is good,  
and it seemeth to haue been (for these many yeeres  
together) in no woorse plight: And yet finde I not  
in all historie, any memorable thing concerning it,  
saue onely, that in the time of King Henrie the sixt,  
Iack Cade, and his mischieuous meiny, discomfited  
there Sir Humfrey Stafford, and his Brother,  
two Noble Gentlemen, whom the  
King had sent to encoun=  
ter them.

An edifying  
Bishop.

Anthonie Becke, that Bishop of Dur=  
ham, which in the reignes of King  
Henrie the thirde, and of King Ed=  
ward his Sonne, builded Auclande  
Castle in the Bishoprice of Dur=  
ham, Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire, and Durham
place at London, was (by the report of Iohn Le= land) either the very Author, or the first beautifier, of this the Princes house here at Eltham also.

It is noted in historie of that man, that he was in all his life and Port, so gay and glorious, that the Nobilitie of the Realme disdained him greatly therefore. But they did not consider (belike) that he was in possession Bishop of Durham, which had 'Iura Regalia,' the Prerogatives of a pety kingdom: and that he was by election, Patriarch of Ierusa= lem, which is neere Cousin to a Popedome: in which respects, he might well ynough be allowed to haue 'Domus splendidas luxu Regali,' his houses, not onely as gay as the Noble mens, but also as gorgeous as the Kings owne. But, 'Sequuntur prodigum rapinæ;' 'Pillage, is the handmaide of prodigalitie.' For, as it is the condition of Prodigal men to catch from some, to cast to others: So this man, hauing got= ten this and other lands by defrauding that trust, which the last Lorde Vescy reposed in him for the behoofe of a Bastard that he left, he bestowed it (as Master Camden writeth) vpon Eleonor the Wife of King Edward the first, for supportation (I think)

of his owne haughtinesse, and vaineglorie.

And yet he builded no faster here, than he destroi= ed in other places, as may appeere by a complaint exhibited in Parlement against him, for destruction of the woods, and oppression of the tenants of his Bishopricke, whereupon also a speciall prohibition was awarded to restraine him.

To say the trueth, this was not Bishoplike to build vp the spiritual house with liuely stones, resting on the chiefe corner to Heauen, and to God= ward: but with Mammon and Materiall stuffe to erect warlike Castles for the nourishment of con= tention, and stately Palaces, for the maintenance of worldly pride and pleasure, towardses Hell and the Deuill. Howbeit, letting all that passe, let vs see what afterwards became of this peece of his building.

1270. King Henrie the third (saith Mat. Parise) toward the latter ende of his reigne, kept a Royall Christ= mas (as the manner then was) at Eltham, being accompanied with his Queene and Nobilitie: and this (belike) was the first warming of the house (as I may call it) after that the Bishop had finished his worke. For I do not hereby gather, that hi= therto the King had any propertie in it, for asmuch as the Princes in those daies, vsed commonly both to soiourne for their pleasures, and to passe their set solemnities also, in Abbaies and in Bishops houses. But yet (as you see) soone after the house came to the possession of the Crowne: for more proofe whereof I praye you heare and

marke what followeth also.

The wife of King Edward the second, bare vnto him a Sonne at this house, who was thereof sur= named lohn of Eltham. What time King lohn of

1315. Fraunce (which had been prisoner in England) came
ouer to visite king Edward the third (who had most honorably intreated him) the King and his Queen lay at Eltham to entertaine him.

1412. King Henrie the fourth also, kept his last Christ= massaie at Eltham. And King Henrie his sonne and successor, lay there at a Christmas likewise, when he was faine to depart suddenly, for feare of some that had conspired to murder him.

Furthermore, John Rosse writeth plainly, that

1414. King Edward the fourth, to his great cost, repaired his house at Eltham: at which time also (as I suppose) he inclosed Horne parke, one of the three, that be here, and enlarged the other twaine.

And it is not yet fully out of memorie, that king Henrie the seuenth, set vp the faire front ouer the mote there: since whose reigne, this house, by reas= son of the neereneses to Greenewiche (which also was much amended by him, and is through the benefite of the Riuier, a seate of more commoditie) hath not beene so greatly esteemed: the rather also for that the pleasures of the emparked groundes here, may be in manner as well enjoyed, the Court lying at Greenwiche, as if it were at this house it selfe.

These be the things that I had to remember in Eltham: And (to make an ende of all) these be the places, whereof I meant to make note in this my Xenagogie and Perambulation of Kent, the first and onely Shyre that I haue described: wherein although I haue not spoken of sundry Townes, nothing inferior, at this present, in estimation to a great many that I haue handeled, and happily equall with them in antiquitie also, yet I thinke I haue neither pretermitted many that be much wor= thy of observation, nor scarcely omitted any, that be mentioned in such bookes of Historie, as bee easily to be had and obtenied.

But as for the Feodaries and Tenures of land, the Genealogies and Armes of men, the Ebbes, Floudes, and Tides of the Sea and Riuers, the Flattes and Barres of Hauens, and such other more hidden things, although somewhat might haue beene severally said concerning each of them, yet haue I wittingly, and without touch, left ouer them all: Partly for the incerteintie, partly that I scatter not any seede of dissention and enuiue, and partly least, whilst (by disclosing secrets, and la= bouring to serue the curiositie of some few) I e= ither offend many of the sadder sort, or deserue euill of the whole estate.

Now therefore, I will both deliuer you, and rest me: wishing that some other man of greater pro= fite in reading, deapth in Judgement, and Dexte= ritie in penning, woulde haue vndertaken the la= bour. For as I at the first assaied it, to proue my selfe, to prouoke any, and to pleasure and profite others: So, hauing now atchieued it (after the measure of my small talent) if any man shall like to take this mettal, drawn by me out of a fewe
Sowes into many sheetes, and will hammer it to some further and finer fashion, I will not onely not enuie it, but will most gladly thanke him, and gratulate to our Countrie so good a turne and benefite.

As touching the description of the residue of this Realme, finding by this one, how harde it will be for any one (and much more for my selfe) to accom= plish it for all, I can but wish in like sort, that some one in each Shyre woulde make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours (as it were, ‘ex symbolo’) we might at the last by the vnion of ma= ny parties and papers compact one whole and per= fect bodie and booke of our English Topographie.

Here left I (good Reader) when I first set forth this Woorke: Since which time I finde my desire not a little serued by Master Camdens Britannia: wherein, as he hath not onely farre exceeded what= soeuer hath been formerly attempted in that kynd, but hath also passed the expectation of other men and euen his own hope: So do I acknowledge it writ= en to the great Honour of the realme with men a= broad and to the singular delight of vs all at home, hauing for mine own particular found my self ther= in I had endeououred to know most. Neuerthe= lesse, being assured that the Inwardes of each place may best be knowen by such as reside therein, I can not but still encourage some one able man in each Shyre to vndertake his owne, wherby both many good particularities will come to discouerie euery where, and Master Camden him selfe may yet haue greater choice wherewith to amplifie and enlarge the whole.

The Customes of Kent.

Although good order mighte haue borne the rehersall of the ancient Customes of this shire, in that generall discourse which we had in the beginning as tou= ching the estate of this whole Countie, the rather for that it was there shewed by what meanes and policie they were conserved: yet, least the recittal of the same (being of themselues large and manifold) might haue beene thought too great a Parenthesis, or ra= ther an interruption of the Historie, wherein wee were as then but newly entred, I thought it better to reserve them for this place: to the ende, that both the one and the other, might appeere, without breach, or confusion.

These Customes, therefore, being (for the most part) discrepant from the common lawes of our Realme, and annexed to such landes within this Shyre, as beare the name of Gauelkinde, are com=
monly called Gauelkinde Customs, for that they preuaile and haue place, in landes of Gauelkinde nature. In which respect, it shall not be amisse to shew, for what reason those landes were at the first so termed, and why they doe yet hitherto continue the name.

Two coniectures I haue of the reason of this name: The one grounded vpon the nature of the discen, and inheritance of these landes themselues: The other founded vpon the manner of the dutie and seruices, that they yeelde: bothe which I will not sticke to recite, and yet leaue to each man free choice, to receiue either, or to refuse both, as it shal best like him.

The name Gauelkind, whereof it arose.

I gather by Cornelius Tacitus, and others, that the auncient Germans, (whose ofspring we be) suf=fered their landes to descende, not to the Eldest Sonne alone, but to the whole number of their male Children: and I finde in the 75 Chapter of Canutus lawe (a King of this Realme before the Conquest) that after the death of the father, his heires shoulde diuide both his goods, and his lands amongst them.

Now, for as much as all the next of the kinred did this inherit together, I coniecture, that there=fore the land was called, either Gauelkyn, in mea=ning Giue all kyn, bicause it was giuen to all the next in one line of kindred: or Giue all kynd, that is, to all the male children: for kynd, in Dutche, signifieth yet a male childe. Besides this, the Welsh=men also (who but now lately lost this custome) do in their language call this discen, Gwele, and in their Latine Recordes, Lectus, progenies, & gauella, of their own woord, Gefeilled, which signifieth Twins, or such as be borne together, bicause they doe all inherit together, and make (as it were) but one heire, and not many.

And here (by the way) I cannot omit to shew, that they of this our Kentish countrie, do yet call their partition of lande (shifting) euen by the very same woord that the lawe of Canutus many yeeres since termed it, namely (Scyftan) in Latine, Herciscere, that is, to shift, depart, or diuide land.

My other coniecture, is raised vpon the considera=tion of the rent and seruices going out of these landes: for it is well knowne, that as Knights ser=vice lande, required the presence of the tenant, in warfare and battaile abroad: So this land (being of Socage tenure) commaunded his attendance at the plough, and other the Lordes affaires of hus=bandry, at home: the one by manhoode defending his Lordes life and person, the other by industrie mainteining with rent, corne, and victual, his estate and familie.

This rent, and customarie paiment of woorkes, the Saxons called, gafol, and thereof (as I thinke) they named the lande that yeelded it gafolle, or gafolcynd. that is to say, lande Letten for rent, or of the kinde to yeelde rent. In this sense I am sure, that the rents, customes, and seruices, which the
tenants of London pay to their landlodes, were woont (and yet are) to be recouered, by a Writ, thereof called Gauellet, as by an auncient statute, made in the tenth yeere of king Edward the second, intituled, ‘Statutum de Gauleto,’ in London, and by daily experience there, it may well appeere. Thus much then concerning the Etymon of this woorde Gauelkinde, being said, let vs proceeve further.

It hath already appeered, how the Kentishmen, immediately after the Conquest, obtained the continuation of their customes: and it is very manifest by auncient writers, that the same (for the more part) haue beene in vre and exercise euer since. For (omitting that which Thomas Spot hath written concerning the same matter, for as much as it is already recited at large) Glanuile, a learned man, that flourished in the reigne of king Henrie the second, in his seuenth booke, and thirde chapter: Bracton, that liued in the time of king Henrie the third, in his second booke, ‘De acquiringdo rerum domino:’ And Bretton, that wrote vnder king Edwarde the first, and by his commandement: haue all expresse mention, of landes partible amongst the males by vsage of the place, and some of them recite the very name of Gauelkind it selfe. But most plainly of all, an auncient Treatise, receiued by tradition from the handes of our elders (whereof I my selfe haue one exemplar, written out, as I suppose, in the time of King Edwarde the first) agreeing with the daily practise of these customes, prooueth the continuance of them, to stand with good lawe and liking. And therefore, forbearing (as needlesse) further testimonie in that behalfe, I will descende to the disclosing of the customes themselues: not numbring them by order as they lye in that treatise, but drawing them forth as they shal concerne, either the lande it selfe, or the persons that I will orderly speake of, that is to say, particularly the Lord and the Tenant: The husband and the wife: The childe and the gardien, and so after addition of a few other things incident to this purpose, I will drawe to an end.

As touching the lande it selfe, in which these customes haue place, it is to be vnderstood, that all the lands within this Shyre, which be of auncient Socage tenure, be also of the nature of Gauelkind. For, as for the lands holden by auncient tenure of Knights seruice, they be at the common lawe, and are not departible after the order of this custome, except certaine, which being holden of olde time by Knights seruice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, are neuertheless departible, as it may appeere by an opinion of the judges in the Kings Benche, 26. H. 8. fol. 4. And that grew by reason of a graunt, made by King Iohn, to Hubert the Archbishop, the tenor whereof (being exemplified out of an auncient roll, late remaining in the handes of the deceased Reuerend father, Mathew, the Archi= bishop) hereafter followeth.
Ioannes Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normaniæ, Aquitaniiæ, & Comes Andegauen. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Barois, Iusticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis ministris, & omnibus Balliuis, & fidelibus suis: Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, & præsentí charta nostra confirmasse, venere regali patri nostro ac Chro. Huberto, Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, & successoribus suis in perpetuum, quod liceat eis terras, quas homines de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuariæ tenent in Gauelkind, conuertere in feodo militum. Et quod idem Episcop. & successores sui, eandem in omnibus potestatem, & libertatem habeant in perpetuum, in homines illos qui terras easdem ita in feodo militum conuersas tenebunt, & in hæredes eorum quam ipse Archiepiscopus habet, & successores sui post eum habebunt, in alios milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuar. & in hæredes. Et homines illi, & hæredes eorum, eandem & omnem libertatem habeant in perpetuum, quam alii milites de feodo Ecclesiæ Cantuari. & in hæredes eorum habent. Ita tamen, quod nihil minus consuetus redditus denariorum, reddatur integre de terris suis, sicut prius, xenia, aueragia, & alia opera, quæ fiebant de terris isdem, conueriantur in redditum denariorum aquivalentem. Et redditus ille reddatur, sicut alius redditus denariorum. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus, quod quicquid prædictus Archiepiscopus & successoribus suis, in terris hærediis in feodo militum secundum præscriptam formam conueri possit, ratum in perpetuum & stabile permaneat. Et prohibemus ne quis contra factum ipsius Archiepiscopi, vel successorum suorum, in hac parte venire præsumat. Teste E. Eliensi, & S. Bathon, Episcopis. G. filio Petri, comite Essex. Willmo Marescallo, comite de Penbroc. Robergo de Harocort. Garino, filio Geraldi. Petro de Stoke. Ric. de Reuerus. Roberto de Tateshal. Datum per manum S. Archid. Willielmi apud Rupem aurial. 4. die Maii Anno regni nostri tertio. And I finde a Note of a Recorde, within 4. yeeres after, to this effect: Henricus Pratt dat Regi. 2. palfredos, pro habenda confirmatione Domini Regis de 4. Iugatis &. 5. acris terrae, in villa de Bradborne in Gauelkynd ad tenendum de cætero in dimidio feodi militis, sicut Charta Baldwini de Betun Comitis Albemarlæ testatur: Fyn. Reg. Ioannis, memb. 8. But now for as much as it is disputable, whether these actes of the King and other men be of sufficient vertue to chaunge the nature of the Gauelkynd land or no, and for that the certeintie of all the landes so conuerited into Knight fee, doth not anywhere (that I haue seene) appeere (onely in a copie of the booke of Aide, leuied in this Shire, Anno. 20. Edward. 3. it is foure or fiue times noted, that certeine landes there, be holden in Knights seruice, permitteth, ‘Per nouam licentiam Archiepiscopi’) I will leave this, and procee to prooue, that all the landes of auncient tenure in Knights seruice, be subiect to the ordinarie course of descent at the common lawe. And that may I (as me thinketh) sufficiently doe, both by the expresse wordes of a note. 9. H. 3. in the title of Praescription. 63. in Fitzherbert: by the resolution of the same Fitzherbert, and Nor=
wiche, lustices, 26. H. 8. 5. And by plaine recitall in
the acte of Parleament, made. 31. H. 8. Ca. 3. by
which statute, the possessions of certeine Gentle=
men (there named) were deliuered from this custo=
marie discent, and incorporated to the common
lawe. For (amongst other things) in that acte it is
saide, 'That from thencefoorth, such their landes shal
be changed from the said Custome, and shall de=
scend as lands at the common lawe, and as other lands
being in the saide countie of Kent, which neuer were
holden by servicie of Socage, but alwaies haue beene
holden by Knights servicie, do descend.' By which
woords it is verie euident, that the makers of that
estatute, vnderstood all lands holden by Knights ser=
vice, to be of their proper nature descendable after
the common lawe, and that Socage tenure was the
onely subiect in which this our custome of Gauel=
kynd discent had place and preuailed.

Auncient
Knight fee, is
not of the na=
ture of Ga=
uelkynd.

But when I thus speake of Socage, and Knights
fee, I must alwaies be vnderstanded to meane of a
tenure long since, and of auncient time continued,
and not now newly, or lately created: for so it may
fall out otherwise then is alreadie reported. As
for example. If land aunciently holden by Knights
servicie, come to the Princes hand, who afterwarde
giueth the same out againe to a common person,
to be holden of his Manor of Eastgrenewiche in
Socage, I suppose that this land (notwithstanding
the alteration of the tenure) remaineth descenda=
bly to the eldest son only, as it was before: As also,
in like sorte, if landes of auncient Socage servicie
come to the crowne, and be deliuered out againe,
to be holden either of the Prince in Capite, or by
Knights servicie of any Manor, I thinke it ought to
descend according to the custome, notwithstanding
that the tenure be altered.

And if this be true, in the graunt of the King
himselfe, then much lesse (sauing the reuerence due
to King Iohns Chartre) might the Archbishop or
any other by a new creation of tenure, make to his
tenants any alteration, of this olde custome and
maner. For, as the pleading is, 'Quod terræ prædictæ
sunt de tenura & natura de Gauelkind:' Euen so the
trueth is, that the present tenure only guideth not
the discent, but that the tenure and the nature to=
gether, do gouerne it. And therefore, as on the one
side, the custome cannot attache, or take holde of
that which was not before in nature subject to the
custome, that is to say, accustomably departed:
So on the other side, the practise of the custome,
long time continued, may not be interrupted, by a
bare alteration of the tenure. And this is not my
fantasie, but the resolution of all the lustices (as
ludge Dalison himselfe hath left reported) 4. & 5.
Philippi & Mariae: And also of the Court. 26. H. 8. 5.
where it was affirmed, that if a man being seised
of Gauelkind lande, holden in Socage, make a gift
in taile, and create a tenure in Knights servicie, that
yet this land must descend after the custome, as it
A contrarie vsage, changeth not the nature of Gauelkind.

Moreouer, as the chaunge of the tenure cannot preuaile against this custome: So neither the continuance of a contrarie vsage, may alter this prescription. For it is holden. 16. E. 2, Praescription. 52. in Fitzherbert, that albeit the eldest sonne only hath (and that for many discents together) entered into Gauelkynde land, and occupied it without any contradiction of the younger brothers, that yet the lande remaineth partible betweene them, when so euer they will put to their claime. Against which assertion, that which is saide 10. H. 3. in the title of Praescription. 64. namely of the issue taken thus, ‘Si terra illa fuit partibilis, & partita, nec ne,’ is not greatly forceable. For it is not expressly there spoken of Kent (where the custome is most generall) and although it were so that the lande were neuer departed in deede, yet if it remaine partible in nature, it may be departed when so euer occasion shall be ministred. And therefore, euin in the forme of pleading vsed at this day (Quod terra illa, a toto tempore &c. partibilis fuit, & partita) it is plainly taken, that the woord (partibilis) onely is of substance, and that the woorde (partita) is but of forme, and not materiall, or trauersable at all. And this caused them of the Parlement (31. H. 8. cap. 3.) to speake in the disiunctiue, ‘that haue beene departed, or bee deaprtible.’

Yea, so inseparable is this custome from the land in which it obteineth, that a contrarie discent (continued in the case of the Crowne it selffe) can not hinder, but that (after such time as the lande shall resort againe to a common person) the former inueterate custome shall gouerne it. As for the purpose. Landes of Gauelkynde nature come to the Queenes handes, by purchase, or by eschete, as holden of her Manor of A. which she purchased. Now after her death, all her sonnes shall inherit and diuide them: But if they come to her by forfeiture in Treason, or by gifte in Parleament, so that her Grace is seised of them in ‘Iure Coronæ,’ then her eldest sonne onely (which shall be King after her) shall enioye them. In which case, although those lands which the eldest sonne (being King) did possesse, doe come to his eldest sonne after him (being King also) and so from one to another, by sundrie discents: Y et the opinion of Sir Anthonie Browne was 7. Elizab. that if at any time after, the same lands be graunted to a common person, they shall reuolt to their former nature of Gauelkynde, and be partible amongst his heires males, notwithstanding standing, that they haue runne a contrarie course, in divers the discentes of the Kings before. But much lesse then may the vnitie of possession in the Lorde, frustrate the custome of Gauelkynde discent, as it may appeere 14. H. 4. in the long Recordare. Onely therefore these two cases I doubt of, concerning this point, and thereupon judge them meete to be inquired of. That is to say, first, if a
or fee, de Haubert, which oweth to defend the land by full armes, that is, by horse, haubert, target, sword, or helme: and it consisteth of 300 acres of land, which is the same (as I suppose) that we called a whole knights fee.

The custome of Gauelkynde eschete to the Lord, by reasong of a Ceasser (as hereaftewr it shall appeere, that it may) or if it be granted vnto the Lorde by the tenant, without any reseruation, which Lorde holdeth ouer by fee of Haubert, or by Serueancie (both which I take to be Knights servuce) whether now this tenancie be partible amongst the heires males of the Lord or no. For the auncient treatise of the Kentish Customes so determineth, but I wot not whether experience so alloweth. The other doubt is this, if it be so that any whole town, or village in Kent, hath not at any time (that can be

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shewed) bee acquainted with the exercise of Gauelkynde descent, whether yet the custome of Gauelkynde shall have place there or no. Toward the resolution of which later ambiguitie, it shall tende somewhat to shewe, how farre this custome extende itselfe within this our countrey.

It is commonly taken therefore, that the custome of Gauelkynde is generall, and spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole Shyre, into all landes subject by auncient tenure vnto the same, such places onely excepted, where it is altered by acte of Parleament. And therefore 5. E. 4. 8. and 14. H. 4. 8. it is saide, that the custome of Gauelkynde is (as it were) a common law in Kent. And the book 2. E. 4. 19. affirmeth, that in demandaung Gauelkynde lande, a man shall not neede to prescribe in certaine, and to shew, ‘That the Towne, Borowe, or Citie, where the landes be, is an auncient towne, borowe, or citie, and that the custome hath been there (time out of minde) that the lands within the same towne, borow, or citie, should descend to all the heires males.’ But that it is sufficiently ynowe, to shew the custome at large, and to say, ‘That the lande lieth in Kent, and that all the landes there be of the nature of Gauelkinde.’ For, a Writ of partition of Landes in Gauelkynde (saith Maister Litilton) shall be as generall, as if the lands were at the Common lawe, although the declaration ought specially to conteine mention of the Custome of the Countrie. This vnuersallitie therefore considered, as also the strait bond (wherby the Custome is so inseparably knit to the land,

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as in manner nothing but an acte of Parleament can cleerely disseuer them) I see not, how any City, Towne, or Borow, can be exempted, for the onely default of putting the Custome in vre, more than the Eldest Sonne (in the case before) may for the like reason prescribe against his yonger brethren.

This was the resolute and setted opinion, not onely of the best professors and practizers, but also of the Moderne lustices and Judges of the Law, at such time as I first published this Customal of our Shyre: and accordingly was this custome of Gauelkynde descent then put in vre, without any re claime in the Countrie, as a great many yet allie can testifie with me.

Howbeit, knowing that of latter yeeres there hath beene some strong opposition, and seeing that
now at this day some doe incline, and others doe stagger therein, I hold it necessarie, to let the reader knowe, both what they say, and what I reade, that may enforme his vnderstanding in that point also.

"Graunting therfore (say they) that all the lands of Gauelkeynde nature be of the Tenure in Socage: yet is it not therefore to be graunted, that on the other side, that all the landes of Socage Tenure be of the nature of Gauelkeynde. For, as there be two sortes of Socage, the one Free, the other Base, So is the nature of their Discent diuers also: the Free Socage descending to the eldest alone, the Base falling in diuision betweene him and all his Brethren."

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This distinction and difference of Tenure and Discent, they faile not to iustifie by a great number of Inquisitions, remaining of Recorde in the Tower of London, whereof my louing friend, Master Michael Henneage (the worthy keeper of them) hath shewed sundrie vnto my selfe. Amongst them all, one hath fallen into my handes, whereof bothe this and further uses may be made, and to that end I will exemplifie it vnto you, as it lieth before me.

Ex Bundello Eschaet. de Anno Primo Edwardi tertii.

Inquisitio facta apud Thonebregge, coram Eschaetore Domini Regis, in Comitatu Kanc, xxv. die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum primo, Per sacramentum Ioannis Pieres, Thom. Grigory, Richardi de Clyue, Thom. Polteman, Alexandri at Bourne, Martin. Prikel, Walteri Partriche, Thom. de Beltring, Wilhelmi Flishert, Daniel de Ryddenne, Thom. at Longe broke, & Clementis de Prikel: Qui dicunt per Sacramentum suum, quod Walterus Colpeper (qui obiit tenebregge, coram Eschaetore Domini Regis, in Comitatu Kanc, xxv. die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum primo) tenuit Coniunctim cum Iohanna uxore eius die Langley & Boughton. quo obiit in villis de Langley & Boughton Monchency in eodem comitatu, Duas partes vnius Mesuagii, vnius carucat. terr. quindecem solidorum annui redditus, & reddidit quindecem gallinarum & quinquaginta ouorum, de Agnete Domina de Leybourne per seruicium vnius paris Calcarium, vel trium Denariorum per Annum pro omnii seruicio: Et dicunt quod prædict. Duæ partes valent per Annum in omnibus exitibus xxxiii s. iii. d.

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Item dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gauelkeynde in dominico suo vt de Feodo die quo obiit quædam tenementa in E. Farlegh in eodem comitatu de Priore Ecclesiae Chricti Cantuariæ per seruicium xx. s. per Anum, & faciend. sectam a Curiam dicti Prioris de E. Farlegh, de tribus septimanis, in tres septimanas. Et dicit quod sunt ibi vnum capitale Mesuagium, lxx. acr. terr. arabilis quæ valent per annum in omnibus exitibus xxxv.s. Item sunt ibi redditus per Annum xxx s. ad quatuor terminos principales soluend. Item sunt ibi de redditiu ad terminum dictum xii. gallinarum, quæ valent per annum xvii. d. Item dicunt quod idem Walterus tenuit in Gauelkeynde, in Dominico suo vt de feodo die prædicto
West Earleigh. v. s. redditus, & redditus ii. gallinarum, prec. iii. d. in West Farleigh in eodem comitatu, de prædicto Priore per serui- 
cium prædict. Item, dicunt quod prædictus Walterus te=
nuit in Gauelkinde die quo obit in villa de Elding in 
eodem comitatu quendam annuum Reddittum, viarius galli 
& xii. gallinarum quæ valent per Annum xix. d. de 
Hugone Dandele, absque aliquo serviciio inde faciend. Item 
dicunt quod prædictus Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde in 
dominico suo vt de feodo die quo obit vnum Mesuagium 
in villa de Malling, quod valet per annum ii. s. iii. d. de 
Wilhelmo Large per serviciium ii. d. per Annum. Item 
dicunt quod prædict. Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde die 
quod obit quedam tenementa in villa de Brenchesley, vocat. 
Marescales de Domino Hugone de Audele, vt de honore 
de Thonebregge, per serviciium reddend. ad lardarium 
dicti Hugonis viii. porc, & dimid. ad Festum Omnium 
Sanctorum per annum prec. xv. s. Et de Wilhelmo de Ore 
milite, per serviciium v. s. ix. d. per annum. Et dicunt quod 
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sunt ibidem in eisdem tenementis vnum Mesuagium 
nullius valoris ultra repricis, lxxs. acre terr. arabilis quæ 
valent per annum xx. s. prec. acr. iii. s. iii. d. xx. acr. pa=
stureæ, quæ valent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. i. d. xiii. acr. 
prati, quæ valent per annum iii. s. viii. d. prec. acr. iii. d. 
Item tenuit ibidem in Gauelkinde xviii. acras terræ ara=
bilis quas adquisuit de Matil Salmon, quæ valent per 
annum iii. s. vi. d. prec. acr. iii. d. De Galfrido atte Hole=
dene per servitiuim v. s. per annum. Item tenuit in Gauel=
kinde in eadem villa de Brenchesley, die quo obit ix acras 
terræ arabilis, quæ valent per annum ii. s. iii. d. prec. acr. 
iii. d. De Richardo de Sheyfelle, per serviciium iii. d. per 
annum pro omni serviciio: Item dicunt quod prædictus 
Walterus tenuit in Gauelkinde die quo obit, quedam te=
nementa in villa de Est Pecham, in eodem comitatu de 
lohanne de la Chekere, vt de Manerio suo de Adynton 
per serviciium i. d. per annum, pro omni serviciio, & red=
dendo per annum Domino de Cosinton vii. s. Et sunt in 
eisdem tenementis, vnum Mesuagium nullius valoris vi=
tra reprisas, xxvii. acr. terræ arabilis, quæ valent per 
annum ix. s. iii. d. prec. acr. iii. d. ii. acr. prati qui va=
 lent per annum xx. d. prec. acr. x. d. Item tenuit con=
junctim cum lohanne xxore eius in liberum Feodum in 
Shybourne in eodem comitatu quendam annuum reddy=
tum xxvi s. & vinius galli prec. i. d. & iii. gallinarum, 
prec. iii. d. ob. De Rogero Bauent absque aliquo serviciio 
inde faciend. Item dicunt quod Thomas Colpeper filius 
prædicti Walteri quod ob libere feodum est eius heres pro=
inquin & xx. annorum & amplius: Et quod tene 
menta in Gauelkinde, prædictus Thomas, Galfridus, & 
lohanes fratres eiusdem Thomæ sunt heredes ipsius Wal=
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teri propinquiores. Et prædictus Galfridus est ætatis 
decem annorum, & lohanes est ætatis ix. annorum. In 
cuius rei Testimonium prædicti luratores huic Inquisi=
tio sigilla sua apposuerunt.

To this, I thinke it agreeable, to adioine, what 
I reade first in the Booke, commonly ascribed to 
Glanuille, and then in the Woorke of Master Brac=
ton also.

Si quis (saith Glanuille fol. 46.) hæreditatem habens,
moriatur, & plures reliquerit filios, tunc distinguitur
vtrum ille fuerit Miles (siue per feodum militare te=
nens) aut liber Socmannus: Quia si Miles fuerit (vel per
militiam tenens) tunc secundum ius Regni Angliae pri=
mogenitus filius patri succedet in totum, ita quod nullus
fratrum suorum partem inde de iure petere potest. Si
vero fuerit liber Socmannus, tunc quidem diuidetur hæ=
reditas inter omnes filios (quotquot sunt) per partes æqua=
les, si fuerit Socagium, & id antiquitus diuisum: Si vero
non fuerit antiquitus diuisum, tunc primogenitus (secun=
dum quorumdam consuetudinem) totam hæreditatem ob=
tinebit: secundum autem quorumdam consuetudinem, post=
natus filius hæres est.

To the like intent, and almost in the like words,
wrítheth Master Bracton, fol. 75.

Si liber Socmannus moriatur, pluribus relíctis hære=
dibus & participibus, si hæreditas partibilis sit & ab an=
tiquo diuisa, hæredes (quotquot erunt) habeant partes
suas æquales. Si autem non fuerit hæreditas ab antiquo
diuisa, tunc tota remaneat primogenito. Si autem fuerit
Socagium villanum, tunc consuetudo loci erit observanda.
Est enim consuetudo in quibusdam partibus, quod post=
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natus praefertur primogenito, & e contra.

And that you may knowe, what he meaneth by
Socagium villanum, take these his woords (fol. 77.)

Tenementum aliud dicitur per Seruitium Militare,
aliud per Serieantiam: Et de hiis Homagium faciendum
est. Aliud tenetur in libero Socagio, vbi fit seruitium in
denaris: aliud in Socagio villano: Et in hiis fidelitatis
sacramentum requiritur.

It seemeth plaine, by this Harmonie of these
Writers, that in Socage lande, (whether free, or
base) the diuision of the inheritance stoode wholly
vpon the practize of the Custome: So as, no Ga=
uelkinde partition could be challenged, but onely,
where the custome of Diuision had preuailed. And
likewise, this Inquisition (found after the death of
Walter Colpeper) most cleerely distinguisheth free
Socage from the Gauelkinde: but yet mainteineth
not Bractons difference of them, by which the one
should consist of money, and the other of base ser=
uces, which were called ‘Manu opera.’ For, in this
Inquisition some lands are denoted to be of Gauel=
kinde nature, which neverthelesse doe yeelde none
other but money alone: So as thereby also, it see=
meth, that Gauelkynde was not tried by the man=
er of the Socage seruices, but only by the touch of
some former partition. Yea, the very Customall of
Gauelkinde it selfe vseth neuer a woord of Socage
tenure, but of Gauelkynders, tenants in Gauelkynd,
tenements of Gauelkynde, heritage in Gauelkynd,
and such like.

How befalleth it then (may a man well say) that
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this seuerance of Socage tenure, holding force in
the time of King Henry the second when Glanuille
liued, and so downward till the daies, not onely of
King Edward the third (as this Inquisition bewrayeth) but sundrie yeeres after his reigne also (as many other the like offices do conuince) shoulde thus growe into disuse and oblivion, so as the way hath bene opened to that vniuersallitie, by which all Socage seruice was clothed with the apparell of Gauelkyndye? To say what I think, I must say, that this latter declination from that elder vsage, was not any chaunge at all, but rather a restitution of the first custome, and a recourse to the right Originall. For, by the Custome of Normannie, from whence we receaued our Gauelkynde, by the deliuerie of Odo (Earle of Kent, and bastarde brother to King William the Conquerour) the landes there be of two like sundry discents and natures, as be our Knights seruice and Socage, whereof the first they call 'Fife de Heaubert,' that descendeth to the eldest sonne onely, the other they terme 'Fife de roturier' (the plowmans fee) which falleth vpon all the Sons togeth(er, without any distinction of Free, or Base. I suppose moreouer, that the sundrie fauours of our Gauelkynde custome enticed many to creepe into it, and by one and one (vpon occasion of the intestine troubles that ensued the depriuation of king Richardre the second) to shrowde and couer themselfes vnder the safetie and shadowe of the priuileges that do waite vpon it, as not to forfeite landes for Felonie, not to be subiect to seruices before the Iustices, not to be challenged for villanies, and many others that landes of other nature did not afoorde. By these meanes (as I gesse) the custome was spred, and growne to such generalitie, that the statute (made 18. H. 6. cap. 3.) taketh knowledge, that 'There were not at that day within the Shyre aboue 40. persons at the most, which had lands to the yeere value of xx. pounds without the tenure of Gauelkynde; and that the greater partie of this Countie, or well nigh all, was then within that Tenure.' Thus much I had to say of this matter Academically, and without taking any part, leauing to the consideration of the learned and Iudiciall sort, whether it be now more tolerable, that the country be yet lulled asleepe in this Error (if it be any) or otherwise to awake so many questions, and to moue so many Suites (as will ensue) of the contrarie.

The reason of Gauelkynde Custome. But here, before I conclude this part, I thinke good, first to make maister Littletons answere to such as happily will demaund, what reason this custome, of Gauelkinde discent hath, thus to diuide land amongst all the Males, contrarie to the manner of the whole Realme besides. The yoonger sonnes (saith he) be as good gentlemen, as the Elder, and they (being alike deare to their common auncestors, from whom they claime) have so much the more neede of their friends helpe, as (through their minoritie) they be lesse able then the Elder Brother to helpe themselves: secondly to put you
in remembrance also of the statute of Prærogatiua Regis, Ca. 16. Where it is saide, that 'Fæminæ non participabunt cum Masculis,' The Females, shall not divide with the Males, which is to be vnderstoode, of such as be in equall degree of kinred, as Brothers and Sisters, &c. But if a man haue issue three Sonnes, and the Eldest haue issue a daught= ter, and die in the life of his Father, and the Father dyeth: In this case (it is holden) that the daught= ter shall joine with the two other Brethren her Vnc= cles, for that she is not in equall degree with them, as her Father was, whose heire she neuerthelesse must be of necessitie.

And nowe, thus much being spoken, touching the name, tenure, nature, generality, necessity, reason, and order of Gauelkind, it is woorthie the labour, to shew of what qualitie the Rents, Remainders, Conditions, Vouchers, Actions, and such other things (of the which some be issuing out of these landes, some be annexed vnto them, and some be raised by reason of them) shall be. In which be= halfe, it may generally be saide, that some of them shall ensue the nature of the Lande, and some shall keepe the same course that common Law hath ap= pointed. But in particular, it is to be vnderstoode, that if a Rent be graunted in Fee out of Gauel= kinde land, it shall descende to all the males, as the land it selfe shall doe, as Fitzherbert helde, against the opinion of Shelley, who mainteined that the Custome extended, not to rentes, but to landes onely.

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And, Ald. and Chart. in 7. E. 3. were of opinion, that albeit a tenancie be of Gauelkynde nature, yet the rent seruice, by which that tenancie is holden, might well be descendable at the common Lawe.

The like shall be of a Remainder of Gauelkynd land: for if it be tailed to the Heires Males, they altogether shall inherit it, as Fitzherbert and Nor= wiche two Justices, thought. 26. H. 8. 8. But that is to be vnderstoode, that if lands of Gauelkind nature be leassed for life, the Remain= der to the right Heires of I. at Stile, Which hath issue four sonnes and dieth, and after the Leasssee for life dieth, now the Eldest Sonne onely of I. at Stile shall haue this land, for he is right Heire, and that is a good name of purchase. 37. H. 8. Done. 42. en Maister Brooke: But if the lands had beene De= uised to I. at Stile for life, the remainder to his next Heire Male, this had beene in the opinion of some an estate taile in I. S. himselfe, and then the Land (as I take it) should have descended to al his Sonnes, in so much as in that case the woordes (Next Heire Male) be not a name of purchase, but of limitation.

Howbeit, it was greatly doubted 3. & 4. Philip. & Mariæ (as Justice Dalison reporteth) if Lande in Gauelkinde be devised by Testament to S. for life, the remainder (præximo hæredi masculo de corpore eius procreato, and the devisee hath diuers sonnes) whe= ther in that case the Eldest Brother only shall haue it, in so much as (in the vnderstanding of the Law, which is a judge over all Customes) he is the next
Heire Male: and therefore inquire of it.

As touching Vouchers, it appeereth 11. E. 3. that all the Heires in Gauelkinde shall be vouched for the warrantie of their auncestour, and not the eldest onely. But the opinion of Maister Litleton, and of the justices. 22. E. 4. is cleerely: that the Eldest Sonne onely shall be rebutted, or barred, by the warrantie of the auncestour. To be short, the Eldest Son only shall enter for the breach of a condition: but the rest of the Brethren shall be joyned with him in suing a Writ of Attaint, to reforme a false verdite, or in error to reverse a judgment: And they all shall be charged for the debt of their auncestour, if so be that they all haue Assetz in their handes: But if the eldest onely haue Assetz remaining, and the residue haue aliened their parts, then he onely shall bee charged after the minde of the Booke. 11. E. 3. Fitz. Det. 7. And this also for this part, at this time shall suffice.

Now a woordre or twaine, touching the triall of right in this Gauelkinde land, and then forward to the rest of my purpose. There be at the common Lawe, two sorts of triall in a Writ of Right, by Battaile, and by the Graund Assise: of the which two, this Custome excludeth the one, and altereth the other. For, Battaile it admitteth not at all, and the graund Assise it receiueth, not by the election of foure Knightes, but of foure Tenants in Gauelkinde, as it may be read in the auncient Treatise of the Customes of this Countrie. But when I speake of the Treatise of the Customes (you must knowe) I meane not that which was lately imprinted, but an other with much more faith and diligence long since exemplified: a Copie whereof you shall finde, at the end of this Booke. For, not onely in this part, the woordes (Ne soient prises per battail) be cleane omitted in the imprinted Booke, but in sundry other places also the woordes be mangled, the sentences be curtailed, and the meaning is obscured, as by conference of the variations, it may to any skilfull reader most easily appeere. But all that, I will referre to the sight and judgement of such, as will search and examine it, and (returning to my purpose) shewe you, what belongeth to the Lord of this Gauelkinde land, by reason of this Custome. And, for because the Prince is chiefe Lorde of all the Realme (as of whom all lands within the same be either mediatly or immediatly holden) let vs first see what right (by reason of this custome) belongeth vnto him.

If Tenant in Fee simple, of Landes in Gauelkinde, commit fellonie, and suffer the judgement of death thercfor, the Prince shall haue all his Chattels for a forfaiture: But as touching the Lande, he shall neither haue the Eschete of it, though it be immediatly holden of himselfe, nor the Day, Yeere and Waste, if it be holden of any other. For in that case, the Heire, notwithstanding the offence of his auncestour, shall enter immediately, and enjoy
the landes, after the same Customes and seruices, by which they were before holden: in assurance whereof, it is commonly said,

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The Father to the Boughe,  
The Sonne to the Ploughe.

But this rule holdeth in case of Felonie, and of murder onely, and not in case of treason at all: nor (peraduenture) in Piracie, and other Felonies made by Statutes of later times, because the Custome cannot take holde of that, which then was not at all. It holdeth moreover, in case where the offen= der is justi= ed by order of Lawe, and not where hee withdraweth himselfe after the fault committed, and will not abide his lawfull triall.

For if such a one absent himselfe (after proclamation made for him in the Countie) and be outlawed: or otherwise, if he take Sanctuarie, and do abjure the Realme, then shall his Heire reap no benefite by this Custome, but the Prince or the Lorde, shall take their forfeiture in such degree, as if the Landes were at the common law. Which thing is apparant, both by the Booke 8. Edward 2. abridged by Maister Fitzherbert, in his title of prescrip= tion. 50. And by 22. E. 3. fol. Where it is saide, that this Custome shall not be construed by equitie: but, by a straight and literall interpre= tation. And also by the plaine rehearsall of the saide treatise of the Customs it selfe. And in this be= halfe also, some haue doubted, whether the Bro= ther or Vncle shall haue the aduantage of this Custome: But, seeing that the woordes of our Customal extend to the Heire, and be not restrained to the Sonne, they bee answered, and we may procee= de.

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Duties, of the Tenant, to his Lord.

There belongeth moreover, due by the Tenant, to each common person, being his Lorde of Lande in Gauelkinde, Suite to his Court, the othe of fide= litie, and the true doing and paiment, of all accusto= med Rents, Duties, and Seruices. Also if the Tenant die, leauing his heire, within the age of fif= teene yeeres: the Lord hath authoritie to commit the nouriture of the body, and the custodie of the goods, and lands of the infant, to the next of the kinred, to whome the inheritance cannot descende. But, as neither the Lorde ought to take any thing for the custodie, neither to tender to the Heire any marriage at all: So must he take good heede, that he credite not the custodie to any person, that shall not be able to answere therefore. For if the Heire, at his full age of fifteene yeeres, shall come to the Lordes Court, and demaund his inheritance, al= though the Lorde may distreine the Gardein to yeele his accompt (as it appeereth. 18. E. 2. Auow= rie 220.) Yet in default of his ability, the Lord him= selfe, and his Heires, remaine charged to the Heire for the same. For which onely feare (as I think= e) the Lordes at these daies do not enterpose them= selues in this businesse.
Furthermore, if the Tenant shall withdrawe from the Lord his due rents, and services, the Custome of this Countrie giueth to the Lord, a special, and solemn kind of Cessauit, and that after this manner.

The Lord, after such a Cessing, ought by award of his three weekes Court, to seeke (from Courte to Court, vntill the fourth Court) in the presence of good witnes, whether any distresse may be found upon the Tenement, or No: And if he can finde none, then at the fourth Court it shal be awarded, that he shall take the Tenement into his handes, as a distresse, or pledge, for the Rent and seruices, withdrawne, and that he shall deteine it one yeere and a day, without manuring it: within which time, if the Tenant come, and make agreement with the Lord for his arrerage, he shall enter into his Tenement againe: but if he come not within that space, then at the next Countie Court the Lorde ought openly to declare all that his former proceeding, to the end that it may be notorious: which being done, at his owne Court, next following the said Countie, it shall be finally awarded, that hee may enter into that Tenement, and manure it as his proper demeane.

And that the forfaiture, due to the Lord for this Ceasser of his Tenant, was fiue poundes (at the least) besides the arrerages: it doth well appeere by the olde Kentish bywoorde, recited in the often remembred Treatise of these Customes.

Neg he syth seald and Neg he syth geld.
And fiue pound for the were, er he become helder.

That is to say, ‘Hath he not since any thing giuen? nor hath he not since any thing paide? Then let him pay fiue pounde for his were, before he become tenant, or holder againe:’ But some copies haue the first verse thus.

‘Nigond sithe seld, and nigon sithe gelde:’ That is, ‘Let him nine times pay, and nine times repay.’ And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that this woorde (were) in olde time signified, the value, or price of a mans life, estimation, or countenance: For, before the Conquest, each man in the Realme was valued at a certaine summe of money, hauing regarde to his degree, condition, and woorthinesse, as is more at large shewed in the Table to the translation of the Saxon Lawes, whereunto for this purpose I will send you. This custome of Cessauit, is set forth in the treatise of Customes, and hath beene allowed of (as Maister Frowike 21. H. 7. 15. repor=ted) in time passed, but whether it be also at this day put in vre, I cannot certainly affirme.

But now, as these advantages arise to the Lord from his Tenant: So on the other side, the Lord also ought to suffer his Tenant to enjoy the bene= fite of such customes as make for his auaile. And therefore, first he ought to let him alien his lande at his owne pleasure, without suing to him for li=
ence: He ought also to be contented with one
suite to his Court for one Tenement, although
the same happen to be divided amongst many: of
very right also he ought to admit an Essoine, if any
be cast for the Tenant, whether it be in a cause of
Plaint, or for common suite to his Court: And lastly,
he may not exact of him any manner of oth, other
than that of Fidelitie, which growth due by reason
of his Tenure.

And thus leaving the Lord and his Tenant, let

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vs come to the husband and the wife, and first shew
what courtesie the husband shall finde by order of
this custome after the death of his wife that was
seised of landes of Gauelkinde tenure: and then
what benefite the wife may haue after the decease
of her Husband dying seased of Lands of the same
kinde and nature.

The Husband (saith our treatise of Gauelkinde
Custome) shall haue the one halfe of such Gauel=
kinde lande, wherein his wife had estate of inheri=
tance, whether he had issue by her or no: And shall
holde the same during so long time, as he will keepe
himselfe widower, and vnmarried. For if he marrie,
he looseth all. Neither may he commit any
waste, more than Tenant by the courtesie at the
common lawe, may. So that one way (namely, in
that he shall haue his wifes land for life though
he neuer had issue by her) this our Custome is more
courteous than the common lawe: but another
way (I meane in that he shall haue but the one
halfe, and that with a prohibition of second marri=
age) it is lesse beneficcial. Howsoever it be, it hol=
deth place, and is put in practise at this day.

The wife likewise, after the death of her Hus=
band, shall haue for her life, the one moitie of all
such lands of Gauelkinde tenure, whereof her Hus=
band was seised of any estate of inheritance during
the couerture betweene them. Of which Custome
also, though it exceede common measure, the com=
mon lawe of the Realm (bearing alwaies speciall
faouour to Dower) hath euermore euen hitherto

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shewed good allowance: Neuerthelessse, as tenant
by the courtesie after this custome, had his condi=
tions annexed: so tenant in Dower, by the same Cus=
tome, wanteth not some conditions waiting vpon
her estate. One, that she may not marrie at all: and
another, that she must take diligent heede, that shée
be not found with childe, begotten in fornication.
For in either case she must loose her Dower: But
yet so, that lawful matrimonie is by a meane (con=
trarie to the Apostolique permission) utterly for=
bidden, And the sinne of secret Lecherie (according
to the Popish Paradoxe, ‘Si non caste tamen caute’) is
in a sort borne and abidden, Seeing that by this
custome, she forfeiteth not in this later case, vnlesse
the childe be borne, and heard to cry, and that of
the countrie people, assembled by hue and crie: For
then (saith the custome)
Se that his wende,
Se his lende:
But corruptly, for in true Saxon letters it standeth thus,
Se pat hire wende,
Se hire lende.
That is to say,
He that doth turne, or wende her:
Let him also giue vnto her, or lende her.
And thus the custome, making like estimation of both the cases, depriueth her of her liuing, no lesse for honest marriage, than for filthie fornication. In which behalfe, as I must needes confess, that the later condition hath reason, bicause it tendeth (though not fully) to the correction of sinne and wickednesse: So yet dare I affirm, that the former is not onely not reasonable, but meerely lewde and irreligious also. For, although the Ethnickes did so much magnifie widowhood, that (as Valerius reciteth) ‘Fæminas, quæ vno matrimonio contentæ erant, corona pudicitiae honorabant,’ and although that the common Lawe also (being directed by the Popish Clergie, which therein followed the error of Ierome) doth in another case, by the name of Bigamie, dislike of a womans second marriage: Yet Saint Paul saith plainly, ‘Mulier, si dormitterit maritus eius, libera est, vt cui vult nubat, modo in Domino.’ But for all this, seeing that our treatise of usages reciteth it, seeing also that common experience of the countrie approoueth it, and that the common lawe of the Realme (as it may be read, Prærogatiua Regis cap. 16, & 2. H. 3. in Præscription. 59.) admitteth it: let vs also for this place and purpose, be contented to number it amongst our customes, and so proceede with the residue.

It appeereth, by that which is already said, that the common lawe, and this custome, differ in two things concerning Dower: One, in that the common lawe giueth but a third part, whereas the custome vouchsafeth the halfe: Another, in that this custome giueth conditionally, whereas the gift of the common lawe, is free and absolute. Now therefore, there remaine to be shewed, certaine other pointes, wherein they varie also. As, if the husband commit Felonie: at the common Lawe, his wife hath lost her title of Dower, but by the custome of this countrie, she shall not loose her Dower for the fault of her husband, but onely in such case, where the heire shall loose his inheritance, for the offence of his father. Which thing is manifest, both by the treatise of our Kentish customes, and by the opinion of the Court 8. H. 3. Præscription. 60. At the common lawe also, the wife shall be endowed of a possession in law, but (as me thinketh) she shall haue no Dower by this custome, but only of such lands, whereof her husband was actually and really sei=
s. For the woordes be (Des tenements, dount son Boron morust seisei, et vestu,) which woord (vestu) being cleane omitted in the imprinted booke, inforceth a possession in deede, and not in law onely. And therefore, if landes in Gauelkinde descend to a married man, which dieth before he make his entrie into the same, inquire whether it be the manner to endowe his wife thereof, or no: for vse is the onely Oracle that in this case I can sende you vnto. Again, it may seeme, that the conditions laide vpon the Dower, do runne onely to those lands whereof he died seised: and that of such as he aliened, she is at libertie both for demaunde of Dower at the common lawe, and otherwise.

Moreover, at the common lawe, a woman shall be endowed of a faire, or bailywike, or of any such other profite. But (for as much as the wordes of this customarie Dower, be (terres et tenements) and for that all customs shal finde a literall and streight interpretation) the opinion of Maister Parkins is, that no Dower lieth of a faire, &c. by this custome, vnlesse it be appendant to lande. Furthermore, if the wife recover her Dower at the common law, she ought of necessitie to be endowed by metes and bounds: But in Dower after this custome (saith the same Author) she may very well be endowed of a moitie, to be holden in common with the heire, that enioieth the other halfe. Lastly, this custome, besides Dower of the one halfe of the husbandes lande, proudeth Dower of the moitie of suche goods also, as he died possessed of, if he had no children, and of the third part, though he leave issue: whereas the common lawe (at the least in common practise at this day) hath no consideration of any such endowment. These then be the differences, betweene the common lawe of the Realme, and the particular custome of this countrie concerning Dower: the comparison whereof, and whether sort of Dower is more beneficiall, I will not now attempt, and much lesse take vpon me, to determine in another thing, wherein I most gladly desire to be judged by other men: namely, whether a woman, intituled to Dower in Gauelkinde, may wayue her Dower of the moity after this custome, and bring her action to be endowed of the thirde at the common lawe, and so exempt her selfe from all danger of these customarie conditions, or no? The resolution of which doubt, wil depend partly vpon comparison, whether it be more aduantage to her, to haue the thirde at the common lawe absolutely, or the moitie by the custome conditionally. For if the Dower at the common law be better for her, then it seemeth reasonable that she should stand to the worse, which is the custome: evene as tenant by the curtesie, must take the moitie that the custome giueth, and not aske the whole, as common lawe appointeth. And yet thereto it may be replied, that the cases be not like: for so much as that of
Dower is much more to be favoured. I my selfe once heard two reverend judges, of opinion, that the woman was at libertie, to ask her Dower of the Third, or of the Moitie: But because it was uttered by them in a passage of sudden speech, and not spoken upon studied argument, I will not use the authoritie of their names, to encounter the opinion of the Court 2. E. 4. 19. onely this I repeate (and that with Master Bracton) that if she marrie before Dower assigned, she is not afterwarde to be endowed.

The childe, and the guardian.

After the husband and the wife, there followeth next in order of our division, the childe and his Gardian, whom also (since they be Relatiues, as the other be, and that their interestes carrie a mutuall, and Reciproque eie, each hauing respect to other) we will likewise couple together in one treatise. And because the custome was wont to commit the custodie, not of the landes only (as the common lawe doth) but of the goods and chattells also, we will first shew, what portion of goods did growe to the childe, by the death of his parent.

The manner of this countrie sometime was (as it appeereth by our olde treatise) that after the funerals of the dead man performed, and his debts discharged, the goods should be diuided into three equall portions, if he left any lawfull issue behind him: of which three, one part was allotted to the dead, for performance of his legacies: another to the children (that were not his heires, nor adaunted) for their education: and the thirde to the wife for her sustentation and maintenance: But if he had no children left on liue, then was the diuision into two partes onely: of which, the one belonged to the wife for her endowment, and the other to her departed husband, to be bestowed by his executors, if he made a testament, or by the discretion of the ordinarie, if he died intestate. To this effect sounded the recorde (claus. 9. H. 3. memb. 13.) where it is saide thus: ‘Rex mandauit vicecomiti Kancæ, quod omnia Catallia quæ fuerunt Roberti Nereford in Heyham, Borham &c. faceret esse in pace donec sciatur, utrum filius & hæres dicti Roberti ea habere debeat, aut alii pueri dicti Roberti vna cum eo, vel sine eo.’

The selfe same order is at this day observed in the Citie of London, and the same in effect, was long since vsed throughout the whole realme. For it is evident, both by the lawe of King Canutus befoare remembred, by Maister Glauuile in his booke Cap. 18. and by the woordes of Magna Carta, that the wife and children had their reasonable partes of the goods by the common lawe of the Realme, howsoever it came to passe at the length, that it was admitted for lawe but in such Countries only,

where it was continued by daily usage (as it is holden 17. E. 2. and in many other bookes) and that all the Writs in the Register ‘De rationabili parte bonorum,’ haue now mention of the special Custome of the Shyre, in which the part is demaunded. But
as in deede at this day, partition of Chattels is not vsed (though in the meane time it hath not lost the force of common law as many thinke) through= out the whole Realme: so is it (so far as I can learne) vanished quite out of all vre within this Countrie also. And therafore, seeing the Gardian is deliuered of this charge, wee also will leaue to speake further of the goods, and come to the parti= tion and custodie of the land of this Infant.

If a man die seised of landes in Gauelkinde, of any estate of inheritance, all his Sonnes shal haue equall portion: and if he haue no Sonnes, then ought it equally to be diuided amongst his daught= ters: But yet so, that the eldest Sonne or Daught= ter, hath by the Custome a preeminence of electi= on, and the yoongest Sonne or Daughter, a prefer= ment in the partition. For as of ancient time, there ought to be granted to the eldest, the first choice after the diuision: so to the part of the yoongest, there ought to be allotted in the diuision, that piece of the Mesuage, which our treatise calleth Astre, that is to say, the stocke, harth, or chimney, for fire: which woord (as I thinke) was deriued of the La= tine Astrum, a starre, bicause the fire shineth in the house, as the Starre therof: and which, though it be not now commonly vnderstood in Kent; yet do they of

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Shropshyre and other parts reteine it in the same signification till this day, euen as the first case (23. lib. Assis.) doth interpret it. I knowe, that Master Bracton in the place before cited, writeth that the eldest ought to haue the Capitall Messuage: But at this day there is no regarde of either in making the partition: onely consideration is had that the parts be equall and indifferent.

Now therefore, if the Childe be vnder the age of fifteene yeeres, the next Cousin to whom the in= heritance may not descend, shall (by appointment of the Lord if diuers be in equall degree of kinred) haue the education, and order of his bodie, and landes, vntil such time as he shall attaine to that age: euen as the Gardein in Socage at the com= mon Lawe shall keepe his, vntill the warde aspire to foureteene. And in all other things also, this customarie Gardein is to be charged and to haue allowance, in such sort, and none other, than as the Gardein in Socage at the common lawe is: Saue onely (as it is partly remembred already) that he is both chargeable to the Heire in accompt for his receipt, and subiect also to the distresse of the Lorde for the same cause: Yet doe I not heare, that the Lordes take vpon them (at this day) to commit the custodie of these infants, but that they leaue it altogether to the order of the common lawe, the rather (belike) for that they themselues (if they in= termedle) stand chargeable (as I saide) in default of the abilitie of such as happily they might credit therewithall: Euen as by Iustinians ordinaunce,

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such as appoint Datiue tutours, must do it at their owne perils. So that vpon the whole matter, the
oddes consisteth only in this, that Gardein in Socage at the common Lawe shall keepe the land till the Infant be fourteene yeeres of age, and Gar-dein by this custome till he haue attained fully fif-teene: whiche diuersitie, ariseth not without great reason: For whereas the Infant in Socage at the common law, cannot make alienation of his lande vntill he haue reached to the full age of one and twenty yeeres (although he be long before that, free from al wardship.) The Infant in Socage by this Custome, may giue and sell his land so soon as he is crept out of this Custodie.

And therfore it was expedient to adde one yeere (at the least) to the common Law, before he should be of power to depart with his inheritance, which otherwise (being vnaduisedly made away) might worke his owne impouerishment and ouerthrowe. And truly it seemeth to me, that the Custome it selfe hath a watchfull eie vpon the same matter, in so much as it licenceth him at fifteene yeeres, ‘Not to giue his Lande’ (for that he might doe for no thing) ‘But to giue and sell his land,’ which it meaneth he should not doe without sufficient recompence. Such like interpretation, the common Lawe also seemeth to make of this custome both by the opinion of Vauasor. 5. H. 7. who said, that it was adiudged that a release made by such an Infant was voide: by the sentence of the Booke. 21. Ed. 4. 24. where it was saide, that an Infant cannot declare 565

his will vpon such a Feoffment: and by the iudgement of Hank. 11. H. 4. who also helde, that a war=rantie, or graunt of a reuersion made at such age, was to no purpose at all, although a lease with re= lease might happily be good by the Custome, bi=cause that amounteth to a Feoffment. And in my simple judgement, it is not fit that this Cu-stome should be construed by equitie, for as much as it standeth not with any equitie, to enable an Infant, of little discretion, and lesse experience, to sell his lande, and not to prouide withall that hee should haue, ‘Quid pro quo,’ and some reasonable recompence for the same: for that were, not to defend the Pupill and Fatherlesse, but to lay him wide open to euerie slie deceipt, and circumuen=tion.

In which respect, I cannot but very well like of their opinion, who hold, that if an Infant in Gauel=kinde, at this day will sell at fifteene yeeres of age, these three things ought of necessitie to concurre, if he will haue the sale good and effectuall. The first, that he be an Heire, and not a Purchasour, of the lande that he departeth withall: The seconde, that he haue recompence for it: And the third: that he doe it with liuerie of seison by his owne hande, and not by warrant of Attourney, nor by any other manner of assurance.

And these men for proove of the first and seconde point of their assertion, doe builde vpon the woords of our written Custome, where it is saide, ‘Del heure que ceux heirs de Gauelkinde, soient, ou ount passe lage de
15. ans, list a eux, lour terres & tenementes, Doner & Vender) in which, the woordes (Ceux Heires) doe re=
straine the Infant that commeth in by Purchase:
And (Doner & Vender) in the copulatiue (for so they
lie in deed, though the imprinted booke haue them
disiusctiuely) do of necessitie implie a recompence,
for as much as, ‘Vendere,’ cannot be ‘Sine precio.’
And for maintenance of the thirde matter, they
haue on their part, besides the common usage of
their owne Countrie, the common Lawe of the
whole Realme also: which expoundeth the woorde
(Doner) to meane a Feoffment (as I haue before
shewed) which not onely disalloweth of any gifte
made by an Infant, but also punisheth the taker
in trespasse, vnlesse he haue it by liuerie from the
Infants owne hands.

Thus haue I lightly run ouer suche Customes,
as by meane of this Gauelkinde tenure doe apper=
taine, either to the Lorde or the Tenant, the Hus=
band or the Wife, the Childe or the Gardein: To
these I will adde (as I promised) confusedly, a
few other things, of the which, some belong gene=
raly to the Kentishe man throughout the whole
Shyre: Some to the inhabitants of some parti=
cular quarter of the Countrie: and some to the
tenants in Gauelkinde onely, and to none other.
It appeareth, by claime made in our aucnent
treatise, that the bodies of all Kentish persons be
of free condition, which also is confessed to be true
30. E. 1. in the title of Villenage 46. in Fitzherbert:
Where it is holden sufficient for a man to auoide

No villains in Kent.

It appeareth, by claime made in our aucnent
treatise, that no man ought to haue commen in landes of Gauelkinde,
howbeit, the contrarie is well knowne at this day, and that

Chase and driue out.

The same booke saith, that the vsage in Gauel=kinde is, that a man may lawfully inchase, or driue
out into the high way to their aduenture, the
beastes of any other person, that he shall finde doo=
ing damage in his land, and that he is not compel=
able to impound them, which custome seemeth to
me directly against the rule of the common Lawe, 
But yet practised it is till this present day.  

The Parleament (15. H. 6. 3. which I touched  
before) mynding to amplifie the Priuileges of Gau= 
elkinde, graunted to the Tenants of that lande, 
exemption in Attaints, in such sort as the inhabi= 
tants of ancient demeane, and of the Fiue Ports had 
before enjoyed: But within three yeeres after (18.  
H. 6. cap. 2.) vpon the complaint of the Countrey  
(which informed the Parleament house that there 
was not in the whole Shyre aboue the number of 
thirtie or fortie persons, that held to the value of 
twenty pound lande, out of Gauelkinde, who in de= 
fault of others, and by reason of that exemption, 
were continually molested by returns in Attaints)  
that Acte was vitally repealed.  

The Statute <1>4. H. 8. Cap. 6. giueth libertie to  
euerie man, hauing high way (through his Lande  
in the Weald) that is worne deepe, and incommo= 
dious for passage, to lay out another way, in some  
such other place of his lande, as shall be thought  
meet by the view of two Justices of the Peace,  
and twelve other men of wisedome and discre= 
tion. Finally, the generall Lawe, made 35. H.  
8. 17. for the preseruation of Coppies woods, tho= 
rough out the Realme, maketh plaine exception  
of al woods within this Weald, vnesse it be of such  
as be common.  

Thus much concerning the Customes of this  
our Countrie, I thought good to discourse, not so  
cunningly (I confesse) as the matter required, nor  
so amply as the argument would beare (for so to  
doe, it asketh more art and judgement, than I haue  
attained) But yet sufficiently (I trust) for vnder=  
standing the olde treatise that handeleth them, and  
summarily ynoough for comprehending (in man= 
er) whatsoever the common, or Statute Lawe of  
the Realme hath literally touching them, which is  
as much as I desired. Now therefore, to the ende  
that neither any man be further bound to this my  
discourse vpon these Customes, then shall be war= 
ranted by the Customes themselues: neither yet  
the same Customes bee hencefoorth so corruptly  
caried about, as hitherto they haue beene, but that  
they may at the length be restored to their aunci= 
tent light and integritie, I will set downe a true and  
just transcript of the very text of them, taken out  
of an auncient and faire written Roll, that was  
giuen to me by Maister George Multon my Fa= 
ther in lawe, and which sometime belonged to Ba= 
ron Hales of this Countrie. I will adioine also,  
mine owne interpretation in the English, not  
of any purpose to bind the learned vnto  
it, but of a desire to inforrne  
the vnlearned  
by it.  

Kent.
These are the vsages, ...... 
571 him in that which ...... 
572 townes, which ought ...... 
573 which her husband held ...... 
574 their Eschetes of those ...... 
575 then let the eldest ...... 
576 before accustomed: But ...... 
577 taunce can not ...... 
578 that from such time ...... 
579 the ancient vsage: ...... 
580 strippe, or waste, ...... 
581 their fees, fermes, and ...... 
582 tenement into his hande, ...... 
583 <sig 2P> tenements, as in his ...... 
584 the crowne of our ...... 
585 graund assises, let ...... 
... Idots since till now. 
586 Sir Henrie Wiat, Knight, procured his possesse-
sions to be chaunged from the nature of 
Gauelkynd Discent, by one acte 
of the Parlement hol-

The names of such persons, as procured their 
possessions to be altered from the nature of 
Gauelkinde, by acte of Parlement 
made. 31. H. 8. cap. 3. 

Thomas Lord Cromwell. 
Thomas Lord Burghe. 
George Lord Cobham.
Andrew Lord Windsore.
Sir Thomas Cheyne.
Sir Christopher Hales.
S. Thomas Willoughby.
S. Anthonie Seintleger.
S. Edward Wootton.
S. Edward Bowton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Iohn Champneys.
Iohn Baker Esquier.
Reignold Scot.
Iohn Guldeford.
Thomas Kempe.
Edward Thwaites.
William Roper.
Anthonie Sandes.
Edward Isaac.
Perciuall Harte.
Edward Monyns.
William Whetnall.
Iohn Fogg.
Edmund Fetiplace.
Thomas Hardres.
William Waller.
Thomas Wilford.
Thomas Moyle.
Thomas Harlakenden.
Geffrey Lee.
Iames Hales.
Henrie Hussey.
Thomas Roydon.

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The names of such as be likewise prouided for 2. & 3. E. 6.

Sir Thomas Cheyney.
Sir Anthonie Seintleger.
S. Robert Sowthwell.
S. Iohn Baker.
S. Edward Wootton.
S. Roger Cholmley.
S. Thomas Moyle.
S. Iohn Gate.
S. Edmund Walsingham.
S. Iohn Guildforde.
S. Humfrey Style.
S. Thomas Kempe.
S. Martyn Bowes.
S. Iames Hales.
S. Walter Hendley.
S. George Harpar.
S. Henry Isley.
S. George Blage.
William Roper.
Thomas Wylforde.
Thomas Harlakenden.
Thomas Colepeper of Bedgebury.
Iohn Colepeper of Ailesforde.
Thomas Colepeper, son of the said Iohn.
William Twisenden.
Thomas Darrell of Scothney.
Robert Rudstone.
Thomas Robertes.
Stephen Darrell.
Richard Couarte.
Christopher Blower.
Thomas Hendley.
Thomas Harman.
Thomas Louelace.
Reignald Peckam.
Herbert Fynche.
William Colepeper.
Iohn Mayne.
Walter Mayne.
Thomas Watton.
Iohn Tufton.
Thomas White.
Peter Hayman.
Thomas Argal.

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The names of such, as be specified in the acte made for the like cause, 5. Elizabeth.

Sir Thomas Browne, of Westbecheworth in Surrey.

George Browne.

It were right woorthie the labour, to learne the particulars and certeintie, (if it may be) of all such possessions, as these men had, at the times of these seuerall Statutes, for that also will be serviceable in time to come.

A Table, comprising the principall places, men, and matters, handeled in this Perambulation.

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Faultes escaped.
Pag 52. line 5. reade Watrinbury.
Pag. 54. lin. 12. reade Ifield.
Pag. 57. lin. 23. reade Mottingham.
Pag. 368. lin. the last. reade man of Rome.
Pag. 438. lin. 27. reade sectes.
Pag. 456. lin. 7. reade at once 17.

A new edition of Lambard’s book was published in 1596 – why exactly then I do not know. (On internal evidence, in fact, it cannot have been published till early 1597, but that was still 1596, as the reckoning went at the time.) The text was extensively revised. Not very much was omitted. In the preliminaries, though Fleetwood’s verses (1576, page xii) were dropped, Wotton’s preface (pages iii–xii) was retained; but it was printed in very small type and superseded by a new preface, a 26-year-old letter from Lambard to Wotton. (Copies of this letter survive in manuscript as well.) In the body of the text, the only large omission is the list of the nobility and gentry of Kent (pages 54–8); possibly this had given some offence. (It was not for Lambard to say who counted as a gentleman and who did not.) The additions, which I have printed black, are numerous, and some of them run on for several pages. (Longest of all is the potted history of the fifteenth-century civil wars (1596, pages 454–81), which is only incidentally connected with Kent.) Camden’s ‘Britannia’ is cited several times, usually with some complimentary remark; there are also some references, mostly dismissive, to John Twine’s ‘De rebus albioniciis’, published by his son Thomas Twine in 1590 (STC 24407). In a few places, Lambard acknowledges help from some of his friends – John Stow (pages 184, 287), Francis Thin (page 317), Michael Heneage (page 540). Like Lambard himself (or ‘Mr Lambert’, as he was often referred to, even by people who were personally acquainted with him), these men were all members of the discussion group – the unofficial ‘college of antiquaries’ – which began meeting in London in the mid 1580s. Another friend mentioned is a Rochester man, the surveyor Philip Simonson (page 220), whose map of Kent had just recently been published. – C.F. September 2010, last revised February 2011.>