

William Darell
The history of Dover castle
translated by Alexander Campbell
London
1786

<engraved title-page>

THE
HISTORY
OF
DOVER CASTLE,

BY THE REVD. WM. DARELL
Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth.

ILLUSTRATED
with 10 Views, and a Plan of the Castle.

<vignette>

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To the Right Honourable WILLIAM Lord COBHAM,
Constable of Dover Castle, and Lord Warden of the
Cinque Ports, a Nobleman no less distinguished by his
Honour and Virtue than his great Accomplishments,
WILLIAM DARELL, one of the Chaplains to her Majesty
Queen ELIZABETH, wisheth Success in the Acquisition
of all Honour, Dignity, and Happiness, with a long
and uninterrupted Enjoyment of Health.

There are two things, my Lord, that will ever have a powerful
influence over a grateful heart; both which strongly incline me at
this time to write: these are, the recollection of the many favours
I have received from you, and the promise I made you.

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For if the extraordinary favours you have been pleased to confer
upon me should not prompt me to express my gratitude publicly in
writing, it would argue the greatest insensibility; and as I have
often promised to write an account of the origin and gradual en=
largement of that castle of which you are governor, not to attempt
the performance thereof, would, I fear, expose me to the charge of
caprice and levity. But when I reflected on the difficulty of the
undertaking, my own incapacity with respect to style, and the seve=
rity and censoriousness of the partial and prejudiced, I was quite
disheartened, and determined to give up an undertaking attended
with such difficulty and labour in the execution, and that would,
when finished, afford so ample a field for the remarks of the censo=
rious: but the greatness of your favours, and the obligation of my
promise, still more forcibly impelling me on, I determined to sur=
mount the difficulty of the work by labour and industry, and the
censoriousness of men by patience; and, in an undertaking intended
as a memorial of my gratitude to you, to fly for protection to your
dignity, and shelter myself under the covert of your great name.

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For should I declare my unwillingness to refuse compliance to
any request made by William, Lord Cobham, my inability to disobey
his orders, or want of audacity to controvert his commands, that
alone, in my opinion, would be a sufficient excuse, and full justifi=
cation. But as Dover Castle has been little noticed by Latin writers,

if, from an ardent love of my country, I should draw up a full account of that celebrated bulwark of our kingdom, in the language of ancient Rome, it would methinks be a work not unworthy of the attention and patronage of the learned; for if men endued with any degree of taste and portion of learning, find pleasure in perusing narratives of the exploits of foreign nations, though these affairs are of no great importance in themselves, and are delighted even with the exactness of dates, and the regular order and arrangement of facts, one would think that those who have studied and laboured to compile histories of the transactions of their native country, far from meeting with calumny and ill-treatment, would rather be considered as worthy of praise and honour.

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But conscious as I am, that there are some men, so malevolent by nature as to be more eager in exposing the errors, than in emulating the merits of a writer; by way of shelter, and in order to conciliate indulgence, I seek the patronage of your Lordship, so illustrious by your eminent rank and accomplishments. And as it was in compliance with your advice or desire, or rather in obedience to your commands, this Work was undertaken, if you shew yourself not only an impartial judge, but a zealous patron against the remarks of malevolence and injustice, you will inspire me with resolution to pursue and complete other Works, which I wish to take in hand; at the same time you will give, as it were, a proof to every body of your benignant disposition, and impress with an eternal sense of your favour

Your LORDSHIP's most grateful and devoted humble servant,

<1>



Brazenstone, or the Devils Drop.

HISTORY
OF
DOVER CASTLE.

CHAP. I.

When first I set about giving an account of the origin and successive improvements of Dover Castle, and the great men who have had the command of it, I found that the most eminent antiquarians, &c. differed widely in their opinions concerning the name and rise of that famous Castle.

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Leland.

For John Leland, the most celebrated antiquarian of the present age,

thinks that the Town had the name of DOVER given it from the extraordinary clearness or transparency of the waters that issued from the bottom of the cliff. He says nothing of its having changed its name; for he does not believe that it is the same place that was anciently called Rupecester, or that the Roman port of Rutupiæ was situated thereabouts, but both the one and the other where Sandwich now is. But, though he must be allowed to be a very eminent antiquarian, I cannot on this occasion subscribe to his opinion, which, as far as I can discover from their writings, is contrary to that of preceding authors; for I cannot agree with him in thinking that Sandwich is the town anciently called Rupecester, since the latter was founded not long after Cæsar's invasion of this island; whereas, in the place where Sandwich stands, there were no vestiges, before the reign of Canute, of any town, either of that name, or any other, that had been destroyed. Besides, it appears from the testimony of our ancient writers, that the Bay or Sea off Sandwich, before that town was built by order of Canute, as a place proper to land his troops at from Denmark, was called the Wasum sea. But what, I think, makes more against Leland's opinion, is, that both the Roman authors and our own concur in giving the name of the Rutupian Sea or Shore to that which extended along the whole promontory or headland of Kent, and consequently might be seen by navigators at a great distance;

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whereas Sandwich lies at the bottom of a bay, out of sight. I therefore adopt the opinion of our old writers, that the ancient name of the Town or Castle in question was different from that by which it is known now. Elmerus, a man of great learning, integrity, and veracity, who was cotemporary with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, is of the same opinion as I, and against Leland: for the sea in ancient times forming a deep haven or bay in those parts, necessity prompted the inhabitants to attempt to form a harbour out of it, confined within narrower bounds, whence it got the name of Doafer; signifying, in the language of those times, a harbour shut up, or of difficult access. Afterwards, however, time, which changes all things, at length converted the name of Doafer into Dover. But some farther account of the harbour, and the change of its name, will be given in the sequel.

CHAP. II.

After Brutus, and his followers, as we learn from the most authentic chronicles of our nation, had, by expelling the giants, got possession of this island, then called Olbion from its fertility, those who succeeded, by a kind of hereditary right, to their possessions and dominions, led a very plain, simple life, without towns, castles, walls, or any kind of fortifi=

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cation to protect them against the inroads of their enemies, though they were almost constantly engaged in war. But they had little dexterity in the use of their arms, and were totally ignorant of the art of war, and the advantages resulting from it; rushing into battle, and fighting as natural instinct directed them. However, they did not fail, when an opportunity offered, to avail themselves of their high mountains and thick woods, either to annoy their enemies, or defend themselves. In process of time, Julius Cæsar, having taken a resolution to invade this island, and impose the Roman yoke upon it, fitted out a great fleet, and stood for the Rutupean haven, which lay most towards the east, with an intention to land his forces there; but the inhabitants, who used to stain their bodies with woad, that they might strike the greater terror into their enemies, galled them so with their missile weapons from the cliffs, that the landing could not be effected. Cæsar, upon that, getting under sail again, and running down the coast about eight miles further, came to an anchor upon a flat open coast, off the place which is still called Deal; and where at this day, upon the side of a hill, near a place named Wall= mere, that is, the sea-wall, appear some vestiges of a camp, surrounded

King's-down.
Roman Codde.

with a ditch and rampart. And though the hill, on which the camp was situated, hath now lost its old name among the vulgar, and is commonly known by that of Kingsdown, or the Royal Mount, yet antiquaries still distinguish it by that of Roman Codde, which, according to them,

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Essedæ.

signifies, The valour of the Romans. But Julius Cæsar, after the storm that shattered and dispersed his fleet, and the battle in which his army had been so galled by the Britons, who fought in an unusual manner from a sort of carts or waggons, re-embarked and put to sea again, in hopes, however, that he should be able, at another time, to bring the natives entirely under the Roman yoke.

CHAP. III.

Thus we are told by Asserius of St. David's. Cassibelan.

Accordingly returning next spring with a more formidable army, and being joined, as some of our British historians affirm, by Androchius, the petty king or chieftain of the Trinobantes, he made a considerable progress towards reducing the island, having driven the inhabitants of Kent from their woods and fastnesses, though not without great difficulty and loss: whence we may conclude, that they made use of their hills and rising grounds, as so many forts and castles, to annoy the enemy from. When Cæsar had thus, about sixty years before Christ, by breaking the strength of the Britons headed by Cassibelan, and bringing them under the Roman yoke, added greatly to the glory of his nation; the better to secure the fidelity of these new subjects to the Roman State, he obliged them to give him hostages, imposed an annual tribute of two thousand pounds on them, and constituted Mandubratius, with whom he had

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Mandubratius the first governor of Kent before the Norman conquest.

made an alliance, his lieutenant, with authority over the other petty princes. And as, in his first expedition against the island, he had landed in Kent, and had obtained his last victory over the Britons at Baramdown in the same county, he thought it would be the most convenient of any to land and re-embark his forces at for the future, if there should be occasion; therefore, as the Rutupean shore was overhung by a kind of mountain, cliff, or promontory, he considered that it might be of the greatest service to the Republic, if in a place so admirably adapted to the purpose by Nature, he should erect a strong fort, by the help of which and the neighbouring port he might be able, at all times, to awe the enemy, and repress their inroads and depredations. He therefore built a prætorium, or edifice for the residence and accommodation of the chief commander of the forces, resembling those fortifications that were in use among the Romans; and as the natives were obliged to assist in carrying on the work by their hard labour, he exempted them, on that account, from bearing any part of the expence. This part is now called the Subterranean Castle, to which such vast additions were afterwards made, and with such magnificence, as cannot but excite the greatest admiration in every beholder.

In the year before Christ 53. Prætorium the first name of Dover Castle.

Mandubratius the first governor of Dover Castle, then called Cæsar's Castle, or the Castle of the Rutipini.

The government of the castle when finished, to which, with the title of Legate, was annexed that of Kent and the Trinobantes, was first conferred on Mandubratius, a Briton by birth, who transacted all the affairs of his government in Cæsar's Castle, or the Castle of the Rutipini, as it was also called, deriving the last name either from the Rutini, a people of Gaul, now called the Bolognese, or from the rocks, in Latin Rupes, between which the sea enters the land there, and forms the harbour.

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CHAP. IV.

Guinderius the son of Cymbeline.

It came to pass, not many years after this, that Guinderius, the son of Cymbeline, who derived no small glory from Christ's being born during his reign, broke the treaty that had been made with the Romans, refusing to obey the orders of their commanders, to deliver up the deserters, and to pay the tribute: but he, having been taken off by a plot, was succeeded,

Vespasian.

not only in his dominions, but also in his hatred to the Romans, by his brother Arviragus, who took up his quarrel, and his views of revenge, with great spirit; whereupon Claudius, then Roman emperor, being highly provoked at his behaviour, dispatched Vespasian, a very able commander, into Britain, to make war upon him, and to chastise his insolence and temerity. On the other hand Arviragus, having maturely considered his situation, what a powerful enemy he had to deal with, and with what reluctance his people had born the Roman yoke, determined, as became a great general, and who, in point of magnanimity, was not inferior to Hector himself, to examine the coast with the utmost diligence, in order to secure every place, where it was likely a descent might be attempted. Of all the places which he thus examined, there were none that appeared either of easier access, or more safe in case of storms, than the Rutipine port: to prevent, therefore, the Romans from deriving any benefit from it, and

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Arviragus enlarged Dover Castle in the year of Christ 70.

The Rutipine port stopped up anno Domini 70.

that he might be the better enabled to frustrate their designs against himself, he summoned an assembly of his people, and got them to raise a sum of money, with which he hired workmen, strengthened and enlarged the Roman Castle, and drew a very deep moat or ditch round it. Nor did he stop there, but with prodigious labour and art rendered the Rutipine port inaccessible and useless, by blocking it up, and excluding the sea; whence the town and castle got a new name, viz. that of Dofris, Dobris, or Doris: for whereas the town before was called by the Britons, Rupecester, that is, a camp or castle situated upon a rock, it now got the name of Doris, in consequence of the filling or damming up of the harbour; for that it got its new name thus, appears more probable to me, than from the transparency of the water, according to Leland. The Romans finding it impracticable to enter the Rutipine port, in consequence of the measures taken by the active and vigilant Arviragus, after being tossed about some time by contrary winds, landed at last in the Isle of Wight, or, as I find it in some authors, in the harbour of Totness. Vespasian with his army having in this manner got into the island, the Britons were obliged to submit to the payment of the tribute which had been so often denied, or discontinued.

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CHAP. V.

Marius.

Marius, as he succeeded his father Arviragus in his dominions, so did he in his endeavours to secure the island against descents, by making sure of the harbours. With this view he built a fort to guard the Portus Lemanis, now a village, which was called the Castle of Stout Men, or the Stout Castle, and now Stoutwall or Stutfall, and that castle at the bottom of Mount Lemanis, which was of great service to the people of Kent, and of which some remains are to be seen at this day. The tribute, however, that was so burdensome, and the occasion of such distress to the Britons, continued still to be paid during his reign. Coilus, his successor, had a strong desire to join the old town of Doris to the outward wall of the castle, on the North side. Lucius, who reigned next, was very attentive to the government of his dominions, and, in particular, was very careful of the harbours, and of that castle upon which his ancestors had bestowed such expence and labour. He did not think it became him to quarrel with the Romans, as Arviragus had done, about the payment of the tribute; for, being the first of the British kings who embraced Christianity, he was desirous to reign in peace, and to avoid, if possible, war and bloodshed. He was determined also to use his utmost efforts to extirpate idolatry and superstition out of his dominions, and, for that end, to employ himself more in building schools and churches for teaching and

Lucius, the 1st Christian king, reigned anno 159.

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propagating the Christian religion, than forts or castles for the defence of his kingdom. Accordingly, out of the particular regard he had for Dover Castle, after amicably adjusting all differences and disputes with his neigh=

A church built in Dover castle anno Do. 161.

Severus emperor anno 195.

bours, he erected, in honour of Christ, and for his worship, a magnificent church, on the top of the hill, or cliff, on which the castle is built. When he had finished and secured it against the inroads of an enemy, by a strong wall, and deep ditch or moat, he appointed three priests to perform divine service in it, and assigned them for their maintenance the toll paid by the shipping. This pious prince, whose thoughts were wholly bent on propagating the Christian religion, and the glory of its author, having no issue, appointed, at his death, with the unanimous consent of his subjects, the Roman emperor Severus his successor. This man, so noted for his cruelty, with his own and the public money, built Sarisbury, and a wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, to separate the Britons from the Scots and Picts, and to check the inroads of the latter: but he became at last so odious to all men, on account of his cruelty, that when he died at York, his death was supposed to have been occasioned by poison. The consequences of it, however, were severely felt by the Britons; for, having nobody now to head and defend them against their enemies, they were massacred by the Scots, harrassed by the Picts, and plundered by the Romans; new scenes of distress and horror presenting themselves every day to their eyes, in the ravishment, captivity, and murder, of their wives and children.

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CHAP. VI.

William de Regibus, or King, B. I. ch. 2. Vortigern.

Hengist.

Horsa made governor of Dover castle, and warden of the ports. Horney or Whorney.

Horsa slain by Vortimer the son of Vortigern near the river Darwent.

Cadwallader. Ethelbert.

Edbald.

Colton's-gate. St. Austin. Withred.

In this calamitous situation of the country, necessity, as we are informed by William de Regibus, or King, in a manner compelled Vortigern, a weak prince, to have recourse to the Saxons, a foreign nation, for aid and protection: but, though in that he succeeded according to his wishes, yet the consequences were afterwards very mortifying; for they treacherously took advantage of the footing they had got to make themselves masters of the whole island: for Hengist, who, with his brother Horsa, commanded the Saxons that came over to assist the Britons, having been appointed by Vortigern governor of Kent, out of gratitude and friendship, for having helped to rid him of his enemies, took possession of Dover castle, with a resolution to make it subservient to his ambitious views. In his absence, he conferred the command of the castle upon his brother Horsa, for whom those in Kent of the name of Horney or Whorney are supposed to derive their descent. But having been also constituted warden of the ports, he fixed his residence at Appeldour, looking upon it as the most convenient place, from its vicinity to the ports. These powers and commands, however, not long satisfying the ambition of the two brothers, they drew their forces together, in order to possess themselves of the crown; but these forces having been defeated and dispersed by King Vortimer, and Horsa slain, Hengist was fain to have

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recourse to flight to save his life. Yet little advantage accrued from this victory, as Vortimer was soon after, by the contrivance of his step-mother Rowena, taken off by poison. His death was sincerely lamented by the Britons, as they could not help seeing the calamities that would be the consequence of it: for they were never after able to make head against the Saxons; and in a few years, upon the death of Cadwallader, Ethelbert the Saxon, descended from Hengist, was raised to the throne. This Ethelbert extended his dominions as far as Northumberland, building for their security several forts and castles, and giving the command of that of Dover to his son Edbald. He succeeding to the crown upon the death of his father, by the advice of one Lawrence, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had been formerly upon very ill terms, resolved to shew some mark of his regard to the castle, of which he had once been governor, and accordingly founded a college of six canons, with a provost, near Colton's gate, joining it to the church, that I mentioned above, built by Lucius in honour of Christ, and consecrated by St. Austin to the Virgin Mary. But Withred afterwards alledging that it was not decent

Withred built St. Martin's church in Dover, and increased the college of canons, anno Dom. 726. He bestowed also on the canons the toll of the shipping, and Canute confirmed the grant.

Edward the Confessor.

King Harold.

Toston, earl of Northumberland, made governor of Dover castle.

Rollo, afterwards baptized by the name of Robert, was 30 years duke of Normandy, and the first of his family. Henry of Huntington, in the 4th book of his history, says, that the Danes brought to the Portus Lemanis 250 ships. Ranulphus, B. VI. c. 5. Anno Dom. 887.

Rollo, first duke of Normandy.

William Longspit duke of Normandy 25 years.

for priests to live among soldiers in a garrison, removed the college to the neighbouring town. There, after increasing the number of canons to twenty-four, he built very handsome houses for them, not far from the castle, with a church, which was dedicated to St. Martin; and as it was his intention that they should apply themselves wholly to the duties of

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their function, he bestowed upon them for their maintenance the toll or duty paid by the shipping. He further ordained, that no foreigner should be allowed to reside in Dover castle; built a church in that very spot where, before the reign of Arviragus, ships used to ride at anchor; finished many works begun by his ancestors; and that the people of Dover might live in greater security, and be the better able to defend themselves against their enemies in time of war, he caused a wall for that purpose to be erected on the side towards the sea.

In this condition did the town and castle of Dover continue till the reign of Edward the Confessor; when Earl Godwin had the command of the castle conferred upon him, which he held many years, till his crimes and intrigues occasioned his being banished. A reconciliation, however, between the king and him, taking place some time after, he was allowed to return, and his son Harold appointed to succeed him in the government of the castle. Harold, upon his advancement to the throne, conferred the government of the castle, which had been so long in his family, upon his brother Toston. But these sons of the wicked Earl Godwin did not continue long in this exaltation and prosperity; for Alfred, the brother of Edward the Confessor, having been cruelly murdered by Godwin, God stirred up William, Duke of Normandy, to revenge his death by that of Harold. But having mentioned Normandy, it does not seem improper, nor foreign to my design, to present the reader here with a short account of the Normans, who made a conquest both of the Danes and Saxons that were settled in this island.

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Rollo, by birth a Dane, a gallant man, and their chief captain, had often intended to make a descent, and attempt the reduction of this island; but his last design of landing at the Portus Lemanis having been defeated by King Alfred, he resolved to drop the project altogether: accordingly, quitting the English coast, he stood over to that of Nuestria, a part of France then so called; where he landed his troops, and, by making himself master of Rouen, without any great loss, laid the foundation of a new principality. Charles the Simple, then king of France, being hard pressed in a war with some of the grandees of the kingdom, and consequently unable to put a stop to the conquests and depredations of the Normans by force, was fain to enter into a treaty with Rollo, by which he engaged, upon condition of his renouncing idolatry, and embracing Christianity, to yield up to him the whole country of Nuestria as far as the Seine, to be held as a fief of the crown of France. This proposal being accepted, Rollo, in consequence thereof, was baptized by Francion, bishop of Rouen, Robert earl of Poitou standing godfather, and in a full convocation of the nobles dignified by Charles with the title of duke and peer of France. Thirty years did he govern the duchy, which he had thus obtained during the weak and unprosperous reign of Charles in France, and the more glorious one of Alfred in England, highly esteemed and loved by his subjects. At his death he ordained by his will, that his eldest son William, by Ops, daughter of Berengarius, earl of Beauvois, should succeed him in his

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dominions. This William, after he had governed the duchy for many years with great glory and applause, was in the end very unfortunate; for he was put to death in a cruel manner, by order of Arnulph, earl of Flanders, about the middle of December, in the year 942, at a place called Picquigny, in an island of the river Somme, where he had been seized.

Richard I.
duke of Nor=
mandy 53
years.

Upon his death, Lewis, king of France, proclaimed his son Richard duke of Normandy. He was the first duke of that name, and a monster of cruelty.

Richard II.
30 years duke.

Richard, his son, acquitted himself with great prudence and steadiness in the administration of the duchy, duing thirty years, and was inferior to none of the dukes before or after him in military prowess.

Richard III.
only one year
duke.

He was succeeded by his son Richard the Third, who lived only about a year after his accession. He died much regretted by his subjects, and all good men, on account of the glory he had acquired during his short administration; so that, had it been of a longer duration, 'tis probable he would not have come short of the greatest of his ancestors. Dying without any issue by his duchess, his brother Robert was appointed his successor.

Robert II.
eight years
duke.

Robert the Second held the reins of government eight years; but having had no issue by his duchess during that time, he ordained at his death, that a son, named William, whom he had had by a concubine, should succeed him in the duchy.

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William the
Bastard was
duke of Nor=
mandy, and
20 years, 9
months, king
of England.

William, an active, high-spirited prince, whose thoughts were wholly bent upon extending his dominions, invaded England, which, being then torn by factions, he easily subdued, and transmitted to his posterity. His reign would have been happy and glorious, had it not been for his cruelty, which left an indelible stain upon it: for notwithstanding he had promised to the English nobility, and confirmed his promise by an oath, that he would wrong no man, yet he no sooner found himself in full possession of England, that he banished the greater part of the nobility. But since I have mentioned his cruelty to the great men of this kingdom, I shall present the reader with a brief account of his barbarous treatment of some of those who lived in the neighbourhood of Dover castle, and have therefore a particular claim to my notice, which cannot fail to excite his indignation and detestation of the tyrant.

William's in=
human treat=
ment of the
noblemen of
Kent.

The whole body of the nobility of Kent having taken a resolution, with the hearty approbation and consent of the inferior orders of the people, not to submit to his government, unless he would engage to grant them, under his hand and seal, a confirmation of their ancient rights and privileges, as so many kings had done before him, William determined to visit that country, not only to gratify his curiosity, but also to smother the flames of rebellion that were ready to break out in it. As soon as the people of Kent were apprised of his intention, in a meeting of the chiefs of the county, a resolution was taken to raise and arm a body of men; and archbishop Stigand, and the baron of Ashburnham, who

The people of
Kent take
arms to obtain
a confirmation
of their privi=
leges.

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had before been made governor of Dover castle, together with one Everard, and Egelsine, abbot of the monastery of Augustine friars, were charged with the management of the whole business. This they very readily undertook; and, in consequence of that, having raised a considerable force, they drew it together, and advanced towards the King, whom they met and surrounded, at a place, that lies within the county, called Swanscombe; from which they would not suffer him to stir, till he had granted their demands, and taken an oath, that nobody should ever be called to an account for what had been done on that occasion: nor were they satisfied with his oath, but obliged him also to give them hostages for their greater security. But all their precautions were vain; for the King, fired with indignation and the desire of revenge, and paying no regard to the sacredness of his promise and oath, nor to the danger to which he exposed the great men whom he had given for hostages, soon after seized Stigand the archbishop, and sent him prisoner first to Winchester, and afterwards to Normandy, where he was starved to death. The baron of Ashburnham had his head struck off near one of the gates of Canterbury, where he had lived much esteemed, and been very active in the cause of liberty and his country. Everard, after being stripped of all his possessions, died in extreme poverty; and Egelsine, abbot of the

Swanscombe.

The treachery
of king Wil=
liam.

Augustine friars, despairing of pardon, had recourse to a voluntary banish=

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ment, and went over to Denmark. Such were the cruelties and calamities which these great men brought upon themselves by their patriotism and public spirit, which have embalmed their names, and secured them the love and admiration of posterity. William, after he had thus wreaked his vengeance on the Kentish chiefs, began to think how he might guard himself and kingdom against the descents of the Danes, who threatened him with an invasion. In order to that, he took care, in the first place, to provide for the security of all the ports of Kent, putting a garrison of 700 men in the castle of Canterbury, called Lodan's castle, from a Saxon of that name. He detached also 500 for the defence of Rochester castle, which he had strengthened and enlarged, as well as that of Dover, at a great expence, and gave the command of them all to John Fienes, whom he dignified also in the commission with the title of Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; namely, of Hastings, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, and Hythe. And to engage him to apply himself more diligently to the fortifying and securing them, he assigned him estates, to be held of the crown as fiefs, by him and his sons: and still further to enable him to make head against any enemies, foreign or domestic, (as the English were not yet quite humbled and reconciled to the yoke,) who might attempt to get possession of them, he with royal munificence presented him with 56 knights fees, to be bestowed by him on some men eminent for their valour and military exploits. Accordingly John, to shew himself worthy of the king's generosity and good opinion,

Lodan's or Canterbury castle.
Rochester castle.
Dover castle.
These castles are all situated on the Ruti= pine or eastern coast of Kent.
John Fienes.

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immediately singled out from the whole Norman nation, eight celebrated for their heroic deeds and feats of arms, to assist him in the defence of the above-mentioned castles and forts. As these gallant men justly claim my notice, I shall here gratify the reader with their names, and the soldiers they furnished to guard Dover castle.

William d'Albranche.

First, William d'Albranche, who held the manor of Folkstone, bestowed upon him by Fienes. Out of 21 soldiers, which he furnished, three being appointed to guard the castle a month by turns, that rotation was performed in the space of 28 weeks.

Fulbert of Dover.

The next, named Fulbert of Dover, who had Chilham assigned him, kept 15 soldiers for the defence of the castle; three of whom being upon guard a month by turns, their rotation took up 20 weeks.

William Arsick.

The third, named William Arsick, furnished 18 soldiers for the guard of the castle; three of whom mounting guard by turns a month, the whole number took their turn in 24 weeks.

Jeffery Peverell.

The fourth, whose name was Jeffery Peverell, was accounted a very brave man. The quota of soldiers enjoined him by Fienes for the guard of the castle, was 18; three of whom being on duty a month by turns, their rotation was concluded in 24 weeks.

William Mainmouth.

The fifth, named William Mainmouth, was ordered to furnish 24 soldiers for the guard of the castle; three of whom serving a month by turns, the whole number took their turn in 32 weeks.

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Robert Port.

The sixth, whose name was Robert Port, furnished 12 soldiers; two of whom mounting guard a month by turns, their rotation took up 24 weeks.

Robert or Hugh Crevecœur.

The seventh, called Robert or Hugh Crevecœur, who built Ledan castle, where Sir Warham St. Leger lives at present in great magnificence, was bound to furnish five soldiers, all of them to guard the castle 26 weeks, but after two months two of them were allowed to depart.

Adam Fitz William.

Adam Fitzwilliam, who, though his name was the first in the world, is the last in our list of knights, furnished the three remaining soldiers to mount guard on the castle two months every year. The whole number thus furnished, exclusive of the knights, was 112. These knights bache=

lors, who were all famous for their military prowess, when not otherwise employed in the king's service, attended at the castle to provide whatever was required for its security and defence: or, if, upon any occasion, they were obliged to be absent, persons properly qualified were engaged by them to perform their duty. But when the time limited for their service and attendance was once expired, they were not bound to appear again, but might dispose of themselves as they pleased during the space of 186 weeks. And thus William, though highly reprehensible for his cruelty and treachery to the English nobles, cannot be denied the praise due to him for the care he took to secure his kingdom against the attempts of enemies, both foreign and domestic: for no sooner had he received advice

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that the Danes intended to invade the island with a great force, than he issued a proclamation, ordering strong castles to be built all over the kingdom, partly at his own expence, and partly at that of his subjects, there having been none before that time, except upon the sea-coasts; which, as we are told by Gotsoline, he not only enlarged, but also garrisoned. But he gave a particular attention to that of Dover, of which having conferred the command, as I observed before, on John, lord Fienes, and enabled him to procure so many brave men to assist in the defence of it, to engage these last to exert themselves more zealously and courageously when on duty, he ordered each of them to build a tower for his particular residence, with his arms on the front side of it. I shall here give the names of these towers, as I found them in the ancient records, which the right honourable William Brook, lord Cobham, governor of the castle, and William Crisp, and Roger Norington, gentlemen of very good families, who have commands in the castle, were pleased to favour me with the sight of. I shall take them as they stood, from South to North; for they now lie in ruins, notwithstanding the founders and their descendants were bound to keep them in repair, and give the names imposed on them by the first commanders.

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The Names of the Forts and Towers, and of the Captains who were first vested with the command of them by Lord Fienes, agreeably to the King's ordinance; and who, as a memorial thereof to posterity, placed their arms at the extremity of the wall.

A description of the castle.

In this our account of the towers and forts, we shall take in the whole extent of the castle, beginning with the wall that is called the curtain, and connects all these forts. On that side, therefore, of the castle, which looks towards the sea, the above wall begins and runs towards the North, where it joins the Old Tower, and where there was anciently a gate and draw-bridge, affording an easy communication with the town and harbour, without being attended with any danger; and it was called Canons-gate, from the canons or friars, who lived contiguous to it.

The Canons, Friars, or Old Gate. Albranche's or Rokesley's tower.

From thence the wall goes on to the tower of Albranche, baron of Folkstone, mentioned above. This Albranche having committed the custody of the tower, and the command of the soldiers posted in it, to one Rokesley, who lived near Lenham, and was bound to keep it in repair, it got from him the name of Rokesley's tower.

From thence the wall runs on towards the North, till <... ..> the tower of Fulbert of Dover, who being by the king's bou<nty>

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manor and castle of Chilham, and having fixed his residence there, the tower was denominated Chilham tower: but he living upon his estate, and giving the custody of the fort to one Chaldercot, instead of Chilham, it took the name of Chaldercot tower: yet whoever was in possession of the castle of Chilham, whether by inheritance or otherwise, was bound to keep the fort in repair.

Chilham or Chaldercot's tower.

The next tower on the wall, that goes from thence towards the North, and

Arsick's or
Say's tower.

has a kind of gate in it, is a small one, and of no great strength, being a kind of appendage to that of Chilham, or Chaldercot, and taking its name from Hurst, a village near Chilham, the rents of which were allotted for the defence and repairs of it. A branch of the family of the Darells, of Wiltshire, got possession of that estate in the time of Henry IV. but it afterwards devolved to the Darells of Cadhall or Cathull, in Kent, the heir of which family, in our time, by his extravagance and prodigality, quite wasted this noble estate of his ancestors. Proceeding along the wall, we come to the tower or fort which anciently took its name from Arsick, the first commandant of it; but he having got one Say, who was afterwards created a lord, to take the charge of it, it came to be called from him Say's tower. In the reign of Henry III. Sir Stephen Pincester, a knight bachelor, being constable of the castle, the paymasters of the garrison were ordered to make that tower the place of their residence, and to see that the soldiers were duly and regularly paid in it; Sir Stephen copying in this the example

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set him by Hubert de Burgh, who first introduced that regulation: but the tower ought to have been kept in repair, and the guard maintained, by Godfrey Lord Say, who held two good estates by that tenure, namely, Langdon, a part of the manor of Folkstone, and Pevington, not many miles distant from Pluckley.

Gatton tower.
Copley, esq.
lord of the
manor of Gat-
ton.

Upon the wall called the curtain stands also Gatton tower, which — Copley, esq. and his successors, lords of the manor of Gatton, a borough town situated near the frontier of the county, were bound to keep in repair. From thence, proceeding along the curtain, by which all the towers are connected, you come to a very beautiful one, which being accommodated with a gate and draw-bridge, is very useful in protecting the inhabitants of the sea-coast adjoining, and contributing to the defence of the other towers. This tower was at first called Peverell's, from the captain or commandant; but afterwards, with the unanimous consent of the soldiers that guarded it, was named from one Beauchamp, whom Peverell had either associated with him in the command, or made captain of it in his stead. But he being afterwards appointed marshal of the castle by the king's patent, it was thereupon denominated the Marshal's tower. The Beauchamp's arms, put up to inform posterity in whom the command was originally vested, are still to be seen. Those who had a grant from the king of the estates of Verownd, Wernsted, and Eshhurst, were bound by their tenure to keep it in repair.

Beauchamp's
or the Mar-
shal's tower.

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Porth's,
Gastings', or
Mary's tower.

At no great distance from the former, along the wall, stands Porth's tower, so called from the name of its first captain; but he having conferred the command of it upon one of his inferior officers, names Gastings, it came thereupon to be denominated from the latter. Lord St. John, as holding the estate of Lasswell of Porth by that tenure, was bound to keep it in repair. Falling afterwards to decay, and being rebuilt by Queen Mary, it got from thence the name of Mary's tower.

Fienes's, or the
Constable's, or
Newgate tow-
er.

On the curtain, at a small distance from the last-mentioned, stands a tower, larger and more magnificent than the others, called Fienes's or the Newgate tower, taking the former name from John lord Fienes, the constable or chief governor, who took up his residence in it, and had his arms on it, fronting the gate which was the principal gate of the old castle, and called New gate, because there was another lesser, but more ancient, that had been the only entrance into the old castle, before the other was erected. In this tower, governor Fienes, and the others who succeeded him, heard and determined all disputes and controversies that arose among the officers and solders in the garrison, particularly about their pay, and issued all orders respecting the guard of the castle, &c. And that this tower, as it was larger and better built, might be also better watched, than the others, he ordained double the number of men, for that purpose, that was allotted for the others. But Hubert or Hugh de Burgh, the

Fienes's or the
Constable's
gate.

Hubert or
Hugh de
Burgh.

fourth governor, and second of that name, to extend his own fame at the expence of that of Fienes, ordered the gate to be called, not by the name of the latter, but by his own. Those, however, who succeeded in the government of the castle, ordered both those names to be suppressed, and the tower and gate to be called the Constable's, to whom the care and guard of it was chiefly intrusted. This patched building, which may be called a dove-house, or the upper part of the cottage, Philip was bound to keep in repair. For this he held from lord Fienes the castle of Alington, with the lands of Dunstall and Charney, in Kent; as did Avarinch, Egerton in Norfolk, and Langdon Servinfield in the manor of Folkestone.

Clopton.

On the North side of the above gate, the wall or curtain leads on to another tower, not large indeed, but well contrived, which having fallen to decay, was rebuilt from the foundation, in the reign of Edward IV. at the king's expence. Before Pincester was governor, this fort was named from and kept in repair by a gentleman of the name of Clopton, in Suffolk. Pincester assigned it to the treasurer of the castle, not for his residence, but to keep his office and the archives or records of the castle in. These records were very serviceable to me in compiling this account, and would have been still more so, had they not been piled up in a heap, and then set on fire, by an infamous scoundrel, named Levenishe, out of spite to John Moninge, whose competitor he had been for the chief command.

Godsfoe's tower.

But to return to the Treasurer's or Paymaster's tower:— It is connected by a small part of the curtain, or wall so called, to the fort, which goes by the name of Godsfoe, a name derived from one who was deputy to Nicolas Veround, to whom Peverell was a great benefactor. When this tower was either demolished by an enemy, or fallen to decay, whoever was in possession of the estate of Estling was bound to rebuild or repair it.

Craville's or the Earl of Norfolk's tower.

A little farther on, upon the curtain, stood a magnificent tower, the command of which was given to Hugh Crevecœur; but he appointing one Craville his deputy, it took its name from the latter; which it retained till the reign of Henry III. when there being a necessity for giving the command of it to Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and marshal of England, the soldiers, in honour of him, bestowed upon it the name of the Earl of Norfolk's tower. It commanded the royal bridge, that led to the castle, built with so much art by the Romans. The earl of Norfolk having had a grant of the manors of Gravesend, Whitchling, and Sandling, in Kent, for his gallant defence of this fort, was bound, from the rents thereof, to keep it always in repair. By this tower there is a subterranean passage leading to a vault, defended by a moat and drawbridge, and so vastly large, that a considerable number both of horse and foot might be concealed in it, ready to sally out upon and destroy an enemy that had got into the castle. Besides the moat, which is of a prodigious depth, and

St. John's tower.

dry, the vault is also defended by a kind of round tower; so that it is altogether inaccessible to an enemy. From the tower there are some secret openings, or passages, called by our people Barbicans, which have a communication with the country, and thereby afford an opportunity of detaching more to attack the enemy without. This tower is supposed to have been constructed by Hugh de Burgh, when the castle was besieged by Lewis, dauphin of France, whom the malcontent Barons had invited over to assist them, and take possession of the government. Lord St. John was bound to keep it in repair, having had a grant, on that condition, of the lands of Burleigh, Pising, and Chaball, lying on the borders of the county of Kent, and of the estate of Popeshall in Herefordshire.

The next tower to the Earl of Norfolk's, along the curtain, is that which took its name from Adam Fitzwilliam, its first commandant. But John lord St. John getting possession of his estate, in right of his lady, suppressed the old name of the fort, and gave it his own. Here also, as

in the former, are some secret apertures or outlets for annoying the enemy. The estates allotted for guarding and keeping it in repair, were those of Blakstone and Betelhanger, in Kent; but the rents assigned for upholding the works under-ground not being thought sufficient, an addition was made to them, by the royal bounty, of those of Redegend, Wapinghold, Whitfield, Tontereg, Hartinger, and Ham.

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Not many paces from the former, to which it is connected by a wall or curtain, stands a small watch-tower, without any bed-room or place to rest in during the night; but there was a place hard by, to which the watchmen might resort, till the parole was given out at night. Whoever was in possession of the estate of Swinfield was bound to maintain a watch here.

Further on, towards the East, appears the stately tower of Avranche, connecting the two curtains; but it afterwards took the name of Maunsell, who succeeded Avranche, and whose arms, elegantly cut, are placed over the gate. For the guard and repairs of this fort, Maunsell had a grant from the king of the estates of Malton and Alkeham.

Henry Veville.
Stephen Pincester.
Pincester's tower.

The next tower upon the curtain, which makes a kind of angle here, is that whose first commandant was William the son of Henry Veville, or Wyville; but when king John had been almost stripped of his dominions by his rebel barons, he sent Stephen Pincester, in whom he confided much, to take the command of it, with a chosen body of men, and to give all the assistance he could to Hugh de Burgh, who was now actually besieged by the enemy. Stephen having acquitted himself in the execution of this commission with great honour and applause, obtained, without any difficulty, the consent of those under his command, that the fort should be called by his name. But the descendants and successors of the above-mentioned William, the first commandant, were bound to keep it in repair,

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as holding the lands of Posteling, Horton, Roging, and Blackmounster, in Kent, by that tenure. From that tower we pass between two walls to the bridge and gate of the subterranean vault; and in the same walls are also three gates, leading to the ancient church of St. Lucius.

Earl Godwin's tower.
A postern.
Hubert de Burgh.
William Longsword.

The tower that next occurs, is that of Godwin, earl of Kent, which has a postern in it, and is nearly connected with the former by a thick wall. This tower, as it was built by earl Godwin, constable of the castle, before the Norman conquest, so it was also to be kept in repair by him; for he held, by that tenure in particular, the lands of Godwinston, a village not far from Sandwich, which took its name from him, and where he had his seat; but it now belongs to lord Clinton. How the latter came by it, I cannot say; whether by purchase, or inheritance, or a grant from the king. This much, however, is certain; that the king gave almost the whole of earl Godwin's estate to Finch or Fienes, from whom Clinton claims to be descended. We are informed by Thomas Redburn, in his Chronicle, that Hubert de Burgh, after he had long been besieged by Lewis, dauphin of France, and the rebel nobles, introduced by the postern or back gate of this tower, a considerable reinforcement, especially of bow-men, with cross-bows and other engines for annoying the enemy; by which he inspired the garrison with fresh courage, and greatly disheartened the besiegers: insomuch, that as soon as they were apprized of it, struck with admiration of his valour and conduct, they immediately deputed William Longsword, and forty-nine other English barons, of whom his youngest

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Thomas de Burgh, brother of Hubert.

brother was one, with full powers to treat with him, and, if possible, to prevail on him to capitulate. They told him, 'that it was the opinion of every body, that he had acquitted himself sufficiently of his duty to his country, and to king John, who was now dead, or, if alive, altogether unqualified for the administration of the government; that he ought therefore to desist from opposing them, and to surrender to the

Dauphin a castle, that would contribute so much to put an end to the war; and, in that case, they would engage to vest, as a perpetual inheritance, in him and his heirs, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.' The reply that he made, after upbraiding all of them, and in particular his brother, with their treasonable conduct, is said to have been in substance as follows: 'Do you think I am capable of such baseness and ingratitude, as to violate the duty I owe my country, betray the trust reposed in me by the king, and stain the honour of my family? Do you imagine that I will shrink from any fatigue, danger, or death, to preserve my country from slavery, and a foreign yoke? or that I will suffer a king, whom his father on his death-bed, with tears in his eyes, recommended to my care and protection, if I can prevent it, to be stripped of his kingdom, and forced to take shelter among hostile nations? or the dignity of my family, which, I am sorry to say it, has been already sullied by my brother's conduct, to be quite extinguished by mine? I would therefore advise you, who are the authors of all the calamities

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Hubert used to swear by the lance or spear of God.

The Eshetisfordian tower.

Rupecester. St. Giles's church.

under which the kingdom labours at present, and such a reproach to its nobles, to depart immediately, and not expose yourselves to the fury of the soldiers; for 'tis in vain to hope that I, whose honour has been hitherto unimpeached, will ever comply with your desires. Like a true English nobleman, I would sooner part with life itself than my liberty, or deliver myself up to the French king's son.' When this noble answer was reported to the Dauphin, and he found his expectations balked in relation to the surrender of the castle, he immediately raised the siege, and retired. Hubert and his cross-bow men gained great glory, both to themselves and their posterity, by their steady, loyal, and gallant behaviour. Thus much of Godwin's tower and postern. At a little distance stands a tower, with a small gate, connected with the former by a wall. The first inhabitants of the castle though this gate would be a very convenient passage into the town, and they gave it the name of the Eshetisfordian gate; because those, who were in possession of the estates of Thorney and Marham, were bound to uphold it. From hence runs a long wall, on which are three towers; but these have neither names, nor any convenient apartments to lodge or pass the night in: those, however, who are bound to take care of the Eshetisfordian, were also obliged to keep these in repair; having had a grant, for that purpose, of the estates of Cherbrian and Bodingham, in Norfolk. Close by the above wall was built, in the reign of Arviragus, the ancient town of Rupecester, and the church of St. Giles, for the use and accommodation of the inhabitants.

33

Mortimer's tower.

Vaillant's or Valence's tower.

Clinton's tower.

Lucius's church.

The tower or belfry of Lucius's church.

The last in this circle of towers, is that which goes by the name of Mortimer's, standing not far from the sea shore. At first it had the name of Vaillant's or Valence's tower, its first commandants having been of that name; but the Fogo's, who afterwards got possession of their estate, by marrying their daughters, were bound to see the repairs of it; and though it took the name of Mortimer's tower, the Valences arms are still to be seen over the gate. But to return to Eshetisfordian tower, and the long wall adorned with the three towers; another wall or curtain, beginning near the postern, on the side next the church last mentioned, extends to Clinton's tower, which has the arms of that family on it, but is quite destitute of any rooms or apartments. From hence runs a wall inclosing the church of St. Lucius, which is in the form of a cross; and both the church and the wall are believed to have been built by that king. The former has a tower, which is better adapted for its defence than for a belfry, being built in the form of a Roman fort. Clinton's tower was to be kept in repair by the baron of that name, or whoever should succeed them in the manor of Folkestone. On the West side also of the above church is a quadrangular tower, built after the fashion of those of the Romans, and adorned with the arms of Lucius; which are now quite effaced by time and the weather. Here are some vestiges of an altar,

where, as the ancient records or chronicles of Dover inform us, St. Austin

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Pure Christiani-
nity professed
in Britain
during 170
years, from the
reign of Lucius
to that of Dio-
clesian.

King Ethel-
bert.

publicly said mass, and dedicated the church to the Virgin Mary; which had been profaned by Pagan superstition and idolatry. Lucius, however, dedicated it at first to Christ, by the advice, as 'tis supposed, of St. Sagan, who, having been instructed in the Christian religion by pope Eleutherus, in the year 156 introduced it among his countrymen, who professed and practised it in its genuine purity till the year 286: but after the martyrdom of St. Alban, it declined, and in a short time was almost quite extinguished. At last, however, in the year 616, Austin the monk, of the noble family of the Gordiani at Rome, commiserating the Saxons, who were then Pagans and idolaters, set out from the above city for this island, in order to preach the gospel to them, and convert them. Accordingly, arriving at the court of Ethelbert, then king of Kent, he soon persuaded that prince to embrace Christianity, and be baptized. Ethelbert was succeeded in his throne by his son Edbald, who at first delivered himself up to idolatry and lewdness, living in a criminal familiarity with his step-mother; but upon being reprov'd and admonish'd by Lawrence, the successor of Austin in the see of Canterbury, he forsook his former evil courses, became a sincere convert, and very zealous in propagating Christianity: for he finished and endowed a convent for nuns of St. Austin, near Canterbury, which had been begun by his father, and ordered the canons or friars of the college, which, as I observed before, was founded in Dover castle, to be assisting to the archbishop of Canterbury in his ecclesiastical functions.

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Colton's gate.

Harcourt's
tower.

The Fountain
or Well tower.

The armoury.
Arthur's gate.

The King's
wardrobe.

But to return from this digression. On the West side of the above-mentioned church stands a large stately tower, in which is the gate, called Colton's. Here the chaplain of the garrison was wont to lodge; and whoever was in possession of the estate of Thilham was bound to keep it in repair. From thence runs a strong thick wall, flat at top, and secured by a moat or ditch; near which are still to be seen some remains of the ancient college of canons, and a sort of gate, by which we pass first to the royal apartments, and then to Beauchamp's tower; whence we are led, by a narrow passage betwixt two walls, to Harcourt's tower, having the arms of that family in the wall over the gate. For the guard and repairs of this tower, the family of Harcourt had a grant from the king of the estate of Stainton-Harcourt, in Oxfordshire. Close to this tower is a large court or area, having a fountain or well in it, to supply the garrison with water, which gives name to an adjoining tower. With the same area stands another tower, in which the armourers formerly had their workshop for the fabrication of arms. Here also is Arthur's gate, leading to Pin-
cester's tower; and near the latter a house, in which the king's wardrobe was formerly deposited. At a little distance from that stands a large tower, in which were apartments for the gentlemen of the bedchamber. But to return to Harcourt's tower:— Here is a gate, called the palace or subterranean gate; which you have no sooner passed, than the royal palace

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Duke of Suf-
folk's tower.

De la Pole or
Pool, duke of
Suffolk.

The old arse-
nal.

appears full in view, upon the top of the hill or cliff. Near this gate Edward IV. erected a stately tower, furnished with handsome apartments, and adorned with the figures of lions and fleurs-de-lis, which he bestowed on Pool, duke of Suffolk, who was therefore bound to keep it in repair. A few paces from this stands another tower, in which are deposited all the arms, machines, and stores, necessary for the defence of the castle. Among these are some in appearance so ancient, that they are commonly supposed to have belonged to the Romans: but I cannot be of that opinion, as I think 'tis hardly possible, that arms so curiously wrought could have lasted so long: I am inclined therefore to believe, that they were made for Hugh de Burgh, whom I have had occasion to mention so often above. Adjoining to the arsenal is the king's kitchen, with other edifices and

Arthur's hall. offices for the accommodation of the court; and a hall that takes its name from the renowned king Arthur, whose wars with the Saxons never ceased during his reign. These edifices and apartments, in the times in which they were erected, were thought very magnificent, and suited to the dignity of a king, though they now appear to us to be characteristic of a rude and barbarous age. From Arthur's hall run two walls, or curtains, connecting with it as many towers, now in a ruinous condition; and near these is a gate and bridge, both of which go by the name of the King's. And to come to the king's palace or castle, there are first, for its defence, three towers near the New gate, connected by a curtain or straight wall, which were occupied by Mainmouth, marshal of the castle, in the time of

The King's gate and bridge.

37

The royal palace.

William the Conqueror: one of them, however, about the 25th year of Henry the VIIIth's reign, was called Gore's tower. Between two of them stood a large hall, that reached as far as the fountain or well, and went by the name of Arthur's hall, as well as the former. This was used as a storehouse or cellar, when Henry VIII. went over to France with Ann Bollen, then marchioness of Pembroke. The palace itself, or prætorium, as it was called by the Romans, was built very strong, and of coarse materials; for being intended, by the Romans, to serve both as a watch-tower, to observe the enemies motions whether by sea or land, and as a fort to protect them against their inroads, and awe the other forts that they had erected, they did not regard so much the beauty and elegance as the strength of it. But our princes, charmed with the situation, embellished it with a great number of stately structures. They also raised the walls, at an immense expence, to the height of 89 feet, and made them of such a thickness, that they contained apartments within them. Edward the IVth, in particular, laid out 10,000l. in beautifying and fortifying it, under the direction and superintendance of Edward lord Cobham. In the highest part of it is a fountain or spring, 240 paces deep, which Elmer calls a draw-well. This Harold, before his advancement to the throne, promised, upon his oath, to deliver up, together with the castle, to William of Normandy, if ever he should aspire to the throne of England; but afterwards, when he would neither perform this promise, nor that of

The wall 89 feet high, and 66 in breadth.

A well in the highest part of the castle.

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espousing his daughter, a war broke out between them, in which Harold being worsted and slain, though fighting in his country's cause, left his rival in the possession of the crown and kingdom.

An exact List, with a short Account annexed, of all the great Men who have succeeded one another as Constables of Dover Castle, and Wardens of the Cinque Ports, since the Norman Conquest: By William Darell, Prebendary of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Bangor.

Godwin, earl of Kent, constable of Dover castle.

Godwin, earl of Kent, a man more noted for his crimes than his virtues, more desirous of being feared than loved, of extending his own power and influence, and gratifying his ambition, than acquitting himself as a dutiful and loyal subject to his prince, was, two years before his banishment, constable of Dover castle, and during that time was very attentive to the improving and enlarging of it.

Harold, earl of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, constable of Dover castle.

His son Harold, whose eminent virtues rendered him equally the favourite of prince and people, succeeded him as constable and warden, both when he was banished and when he died: for by the laws of Edward the Confessor, who was on the throne of England at this time, the attainder of the father did not preclude the son from succeeding him in his hereditary

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Waltham abbey built by Harold. Harold advanced to the throne. Toston, earl of

estates or offices. We find, also, that Waltham abbey was founded by Harold in the same reign, anno Dom. 1064. When he was afterwards advanced to the throne by the unanimous suffrages of his countrymen, he conferred upon his brother Toston the above offices, which had been so long in his family, and were then to be disposed of with the more caution,

Northumber=
land, constable
of Dover
castle.

John Finch
and his heirs
made consta=
bles of Dover
castle.

James lord
Finch, consta=
ble of Dover
castle.

John lord
Fienes, consta=
ble of Dover
castle.

as a great fleet of Danes and Norwegians, afterwards defeated by him in a bloody battle, was hovering upon the coast, and threatening a descent. Harold, after a reign of one year, having been vanquished and slain by William duke of Normandy, the latter, the better to secure the domi=
nions he had acquired by his valour and good conduct, granted to John Finch, and his heirs for ever, the government of Dover castle. John died in Normandy, in the 18th year of William's reign, much esteemed and regretted, both by the king and his fellow-subjects; but leaving issue, he was succeeded by his son James, who rendered himself dear to all by his gallant behaviour in the field, and his steadiness, wisdom, and integrity, as a minister of state. He continued in the government of Dover castle, and the cinque ports, till the 13th year of Henry I. when he died at Folkstone, much regretted, as appeared in a particular manner at his funeral.

He was succeeded by his son John lord Fienes, who did not derogate in the least from the glory of his father or grandfather, in respect either of his public or private virtues: but siding with the empress Maud or

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William Mar=
shall, constable
of Dover
castle.

Alan lord
Fienes, con=
stable of Dover
castle.

James lord
Fienes, con=
stable of Dover
castle.

Matilda in the violent contest between her and Stephen for the crown, he was stripped by the latter both of his government and estate; and

William Marshall, master of the revels to king Stephen, was made constable in his stead: but Marshall, having been afterwards taken prisoner by Maud at the battle of Wilton, was obliged, for his ransom, to deliver up his castle of Sherbourn, as some kind of recompence for that, which had been unjustly taken from Finch, and bestowed upon another. Upon the death of Stephen, Marshall, seeing the danger he was exposed to, fled into Normandy, where he ended his days.

Henry II. as became a grateful prince, not only put Alan lord Finch in possession of his father's estate, but also of the government of Dover castle, that was the birthright of his family; for he was applauded by every body. Alan held the office of constable with great honour till the 28th of Henry's reign, when he lost his life in Normandy, fighting glo=
riously for his king.

He was succeeded in his honours and hereditary government by his eldest son James, while king Richard was abroad in his expedition to the Holy Land. That for which this nobleman deserves most to be blamed, was his endeavouring, at the instigation of William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, to whom Richard had committed the government of the king=
dom during his absence, and whose daughter he had married, to destroy Gotofrid Laze, a natural son of Henry the Ild, who having been in due

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A new priory
founded by
Henry II.

He fled to Do=
ver castle, dis=
guised in wo=
men's clothes,
where he lay
concealed in
the governor's
house.

These things
happened in
the year 1191.

form elected archbishop of York, with the approbation of pope Celestine, had set out in all haste, from the extremity of Italy, for England, in order to take possession of the archiepiscopal dignity. As soon as Fienes had notice of his arrival, for he had ordered a sharp look-out to be kept for him at all the ports, he ordered him to be dragged by force from the priory of St. Martin, to which he had fled, and confined in the castle jail: but John, earl of Cornwall and Gloucester, was so highly offended at the injury done his brother, that, putting himself immediately at the head of a considerable body of men, he not only released him, and put him in possession of the see of York, but made the bishop fain to have recourse to flight and concealment for his safety. He also, when, upon the death of his brother, he was advanced to the throne, took the govern=
ment of Dover castle from the Fienes's, though they had an hereditary right to it: for finding, at his accession, a great fermentation all over the kingdom, occasioned by the dissensions among the nobles, the violent measures taken to procure him the crown, the disturbances in Normandy, and the rapaciousness of the clergy, he thought he could not be too expe=
ditious in providing for his own safety, and the public tranquillity. In order to that, and to enable him the better to revenge the injury done his brother, and defeat the designs of the malcontent barons in favour of

Lewis dauphin of France, he concluded it would be absolutely necessary

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Hubert de Burgh governor of Dover castle in the reign of John and Henry III. The arms of the De Burghs were expressive of these offices and honours.

A standing garrison established in the castle.

The order of the watch.

Those who were anciently called Cockle-cows were of the college of canons.

to get possession of Dover castle, and commit it to the care of one on whom he could depend; as it was so advantageously situated for preventing descents, and in the hands of lord Fienes, one of the most zealous partisans of the discontented nobles. Accordingly, addressing himself to Fienes, he by dint of flattery, presents, and a handsome estate, prevailed upon him to give up his right to the government of the castle, which he conferred upon Hubert de Burgh, a man very learned, especially in the law, active, able, and loyal, and who before had distinguished himself in the service of his brother Richard. He also raised him to the dignity of earl of Kent, together with that of chief justiciary, by virtue of which he could hold courts or assizes all over the kingdom for the trial and punishment of malefactors; an office that was afterwards annexed to the government of the castle. This great man began the exercise of his authority, as constable and warden, with reforming all abuses and disorders and suppressing all bad customs, that had crept into the garrison under his command; and being, moreover, desirous of abolishing the old, and introducing new regulations, he ordained, with the king's consent, that those who before were bound to give their personal attendance, for the guard of the castle, should, for the future, pay each ten shillings a month in lieu thereof, for the maintenance of a standing garrison. Hence it came afterwards to be enacted, that whoever, possessing lands granted to them by William the Conqueror for the defence of Dover castle, should

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neglect to pay their contributions upon the days appointed for that purpose, should, for every day they omitted, forfeit double the sum. Thus was a fund settled for the regular pay of those soldiers who, when once admitted, kept guard or did duty in the castle during their whole lives. This garrison was not so considerable for the number, as for the intrepidity, fidelity, experience, and alertness, of those who composed it. There was a continual watch kept during the night, sometimes under the inspection of the marshal, and sometimes of the judge; and every hour an horn or trumpet sounded to keep them all awake, and at their respective posts. Some kept watch at the king's palace, and others at the gates. These last gave notice of what passed at their posts, to all the rest of the garrison, by signals made with brazen trumpets. Something of these forms still continues; and they would never have been discontinued, had not the money assigned for the support of the garrison been carried into the royal treasury, and of course the means of keeping up the consequence of the place lost. About fifty years ago there were three chaplains upon the establishment of the garrison, either for the officers or private men, two of whom had a house near the church, and the other, called Cockle-cow, was lodged in the tower distinguished by the name of Colton's gate. This last, during the reign of Lucius, preached to the soldiers; but in after-ages he only read prayers to them every morning. These two having

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at length given place to the popish superstition of masses, when popery was abolished, there was nobody appointed either to preach or pray, in place of the mass-priest, though there is a salary for that purpose. While mass was allowed, the priest in question used to appear in the habit of a prebendary, on account both of the dignity and antiquity of his place. Of the other two, one used to say mass to the marshal's men, and the other inferior officers of the garrison, at nine o'clock; and the other to the governor, at ten. It may be worth while, also, to observe, that the soldiers chaplain said mass at the North end of the chapel of relics, the marshal's at the altar of the blessed Virgin or our Lady, and the governor's at the high altar. But to return to our history:— Hugh de Burgh acquitted himself with great diligence and fidelity in discharge of the trust committed to him, maintained a strict discipline, reinforced his garrison, and gal=

This siege begun in the 15th year of the reign of John, anno Dom. 1213, and ended the 1st of Henry III. anno Dom. 1216.

lantly defended the castle against all the efforts of the dauphin, who had laid siege to it with a large body both of French and English. This siege, of which we took some notice above, when speaking of the secret or subterranean gate, having been often raised, and often renewed, continued, with intervals, to the first year of the reign of Henry III. during the space of four years. To perpetuate the memory of it, there is a certain structure on the West side of the castle, that was built on purpose, and took its name from it. By the reinforcement of 400 men, besides his own

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The White-Hall begun by Hubert, carried on by Wolsey, and finished by Henry VIII.

Anno Dom. 1535.

attendants, which Stephen Pincester conveyed into the castle, when in the greatest danger, De Burgh was enabled to stand his ground, and baffle all the efforts of the enemy. This Hubert de Burgh flourished in the reign of King John; and, as he had a great estate, he built upon the North bank of the Thames, near Scotland-yard, a house or palace, in which he rivalled the magnificence of the Romans. He died not till after the accession of Henry III. after being exceedingly harrassed and persecuted by his enemies. The magnificent house above mentioned was seized by Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, a man no less remarkable for his great wealth, than his turbulent disposition; for he had a great hand in all the confusions and rebellions of the late reign, and was a violent enemy of De Burgh. The house in question came afterwards into the possession of the archbishops of York, either by purchase or gift; and Cardinal Wolsey, who was distinguished by nothing so much as his unbounded pride, having made a present of it to Henry the VIIIth, though not till after he had incurred a premunire, it has ever since been the ordinary residence of the court family. Thus Hubert, who had obtained from king John, in reward of his services, gifts or grants, under the great seal, of the estates of rebels, and other malefactors, after the death of that prince, was tossed about on a continual sea of troubles, from the implacable malice of his enemies, without any guilt or misdemeanour on his side: for though he had been raised to the dignity of earl of Kent by king John, to encourage him to exert himself in his service,

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De Rupibus an implacable enemy of Hubert de Burgh.

Sir Stephen Pincester made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry III.

and maintained in the possession of it by his son Henry (with whom he was in high favour during the first twelve years of his reign) as a reward for his past services, yet he was at last borne down by the unrelenting malice of De Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. He was charged by him, 1st, with poisoning William Marshall, who had been regent of the kingdom during the king's minority; and, 2dly, with lavishing and misapplying the public money; and so much did these accusations terrify him, that he took refuge first in the priory of St. Martin, and afterwards in a church in Essex. Quitting that also, he was tossed about from place to place, till he was at last seized, and committed close prisoner to a tower or castle, from which he would never have been able to deliver himself, had it not been for the powerful intercession of Ranulph, earl of Chester, and Luke, archbishop of Dublin. But though they had interest enough to procure him his life and liberty, yet they could never get him restored to his honours and estate. During these transactions, Henry made choice of Sir Stephen Seagrave for his chief justiciary; but the government of the castle was conferred upon Sir Stephen Pincester, who wanted neither courage to face danger, nor patience and resolution to bear fatigue, not a proper activity and alertness in the discharge of his office. By his orders all the records of the castle, all the writings and instruments containing the rights, privileges, and immunities, granted to the constable, &c. were collected together, and digested into a book, which he called the castles's charter-

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book. This has been of great use to me in compiling this description of the castle, and thereby preserving the names and exploits of several illustrious men from oblivion. Sir Stephen held the office of constable from the time of his first appointment till the death of Henry, with great

Henry Bray= brock constable of Dover castle.

Edward, prince of Wales, constable.

Henry lord Cobham constable at the accession of Edward I.

applause; and all the intrigues of his enemies to displace him proved ineffectual. Upon his death, Henry Braybrock, a very gallant man, was appointed constable, but died a few years after, much respected. The title of constable was then conferred upon Edward, prince of Wales; but he, satisfied with the honour, left the government entirely to Henry Cobham, who at the same time had the command of Tunbridge castle. When Edward ascended the throne, Henry lord Cobham, being much in his favour, was constituted chief governor of Dover castle. His son and heir, John lord Cobham, who was afterwards governor of the castles of Tunbridge and Rochester, and the founder of Cobham college, did not derogate in the least from the fame of his ancestors, having been not only an able statesman, but very amiable in private life. While Henry lord Cobham was constable, he assisted the king in reducing the castles of Leeds and Tunbridge, which Crevecœur and Culpeper refused to surrender, having been engaged in a conspiracy against the king. When the castles were taken, the king was so enraged against the conspirators, that he ordered them to be crucified, and the castles to be destroyed. During Cobham's absence, the care of Dover castle was entrusted to Sir John Waldershere, whose daughters having been married to the Moneux's, made a large addition to the estate of that family. The next constable,

Sir John Waldershere, lord Cobham's deputy.

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Sir Robert Ashton constable of Dover castle in the reign of Edward II.

Richard Malmain his deputy.

namely, Sir Robert Ashton, was no less an honour to his friends and family, than a terror to his enemies; and being at the same time warden of the cinque ports, and high admiral, the protection of trade, and guard of the seas, engaged his attention as much as the supply and security of his castles: in short, he studied to approve himself a faithful servant to his king and country. His deputy, when absent, was Richard Malmain, a man of rank, and of Norman extraction, whose ancestors came over with William the Conqueror. Both Cobham and his deputy, when they had paid their last debt to nature, were buried in the church of the castle, where they seem still to live and breathe in their effigies, and to animate their successors to an emulation of their magnanimity and valour. While Ashton held the office of constable, Edward II. who at that time proposed to go over to France in person, and do homage to the French king for the duchy of Aquitaine, vested John lord Cobham with the government of the whole county of Kent, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace near Wingham. The king, however, apprehending the danger of the sea, did not adhere to his resolution of going abroad, but sent his son to do homage in his stead; which, though it prevented his running any risk in crossing the sea, proved fatal to him in the sequel. Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, and uncle to Edward III. was at that time constable of Dover castle, warden of the cinque ports, and high admiral. He held these offices twelve years, but suffered afterwards a sad

John lord Cobham made governor of Kent.

Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Edward II. and III.

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reverse of fortune, though not unusual to the nobles at that time; for having been impeached of high treason, he had his head struck off near the outer gate of the tower of London. The tragical death of this great man having vacated the place of constable, Edward III. conferred it on Reginald Cobham, who had a greater share of the king's confidence than any other at that time, and who held it many years.

Reginald Cobham constable of Dover castle in the reign of Edward III.

Sir Bartholomew Burghwash constable in the reign of Edward III.

The next constable was Sir Bartholomew Bourghwash, who, having been sent over ambassador to France, was there seized with an illness that brought his life into the most imminent danger; which, however, he at last surmounted, with the help of his physicians, and continued in the office of constable till the 30th year of king Edward III. He was then succeeded in that important charge by John Beauchamp, descended from the Beauchamps mentioned above, and in high repute both for his virtues and abilities. So eminent was he, particularly for military skill and prowess, that the king made him also warden of the cinque ports, high admiral, and earl of Warwick. He still retained the dignity of earl of Warwick, and transmitted it to his posterity; but was obliged to resign his other

Sir Robert Harley constable in the reign of Edward III.

employments, after he had held them two years, in favour of Sir Robert Harley, who kept possession of them till his death, in the 44th year of Edward III. being a man in great favour with the king, and much esteemed.

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Edmund, earl of Cambridge, constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.

Harley was succeeded by Edmund, earl of Cambridge, the fourth of the king's sons who were then alive; and he going often abroad with his father to the wars in France, delegated his authority as constable to Sir Richard Spigurnett. Edmund was afterwards created Duke of York, by Richard II. and died in the reign of Henry IV.; but the former of these kings, either jealous of his authority, or with a view to raise him higher, (for I cannot be positive in regard to his motive,) took the offices of constable, warden of the cinque ports, and high admiral, from him, and gave them to Simon Burleigh, who lived in great intimacy with Robert Vere, marquis of Dublin; but Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was highly offended at the advancement of Simon, and resolved to make him feel the whole weight of his resentment. Accordingly, having got him to be impeached by the commons of embezzling the public money, and defrauding the soldiers of their pay, he was condemned and executed, though both the king and the marquis interested themselves in his behalf, and endeavoured to save him. His corpse, having been conveyed by his relations, in great affliction, to Canterbury, was buried in the church of the Black friars, on the North side of the choir; and the greatest part of his estate went to the Darells, of Cathull, in Kent.

Simon Burleigh constable in the reign of Richard II.

Richard gave the government of Dover castle, that was vacated by his death, to Henry lord Cobham, son of Reginald lord Cobham, a privy counsellor to Edward III. by whom he was highly favoured, and made a

Henry lord Cobham made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Richard II.

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knight of the most noble order of the garter. He dying in the 10th year of Richard II. left a great estate, and an illustrious name, to his son Henry, who, either on account of his own signal merit, or that of his noble ancestors, had that extraordinary privilege conferred upon him, that he might, like the marshals, order any person taken in the actual commission of a capital crime, to be immediately executed. He acquitted himself, with great diligence, of his duty as governor of Dover castle, together with those of Rochester and Tunbridge, till such time as he was sent into Ireland, in quality of the king's lieutenant, with full powers to compose the differences, and suppress the tumults and disorders, that reigned in that kingdom; and as he would be at too great a distance, and too much engaged in business, to attend to the affairs of his government in England, he resigned them, by the king's command, into the hands of Sir John Beaumont, a gentleman distinguished no less by his virtues than his illustrious descent: accordingly he acquired great fame by his wise and gallant conduct, both as constable and high admiral. These two last did not imitate the constable Burleigh, by residing constantly in the castle, and managing the affairs thereof in person, and upon the spot; but, being much trusted and employed by the king in the administration of the government, they were obliged to delegate their authority as constables to some person of distinction, for whose capacity and fidelity they could answer. Thus Henry lord Cobham, during his embassy in France, gave the command of the castle to sir John Devereux; as sir John Beaumont,

Sir John Beaumont made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Richard II.

Sir John Devereux, lord Cobham's deputy.

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Sir Arnold Savage, sir John Beaumont's deputy.

when absent, did to sir Arnold Savage, whose estate afterwards fell to lord Cobham's family. But Richard, in the 19th year of his reign, conferred the offices of constable of Dover castle, warden of the cinque ports, and high admiral, on Edward, created first earl of Rutland, and afterwards duke of Albemarle and York. This happening during the contest between Richard and Henry the IVth for the crown, Edward, though his connexion was the same by birth with both, yet, as he had been raised by the former to high offices and honours, with many distinguishing marks of

Edward, duke of Albemarle, constable in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

Sir Thomas Erpingham made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry IV.

his favour and confidence, he discovered a true sense of gratitude, by concerting measures with the duke of Exeter's party for setting him at liberty. And though Henry, in consideration of his relationship, and to comply with the importunities of his father Edmund, consented to overlook and forgive what had passed, yet he took the government of Dover castle from him. He was afterwards slain at the battle of Agincourt, wherein the French were totally defeated; and as he died without issue, his estate and honours devolved on Richard, son to the earl of Cambridge, who afterwards, under the title of duke of York, was raised to the throne. Edward having been removed from the office of constable, for the conspiracy above mentioned, Henry appointed for his successor Sir Thomas Erpingham, who afterwards contributed greatly to the obtaining that glorious victory at Agincourt, by giving the signal to, and leading on, the archers, who were posted within the entrenchments. During the time that he held

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Anno Dom. 1406.

Andrew Butler appointed Erpingham's deputy. Henry, prince of Wales, made constable, and sir Richard Barry his deputy.

the offices of constable, warden of the cinque ports, and high admiral, and in the eighth year of Henry's reign, he caused an exact survey to be taken of all the decayed towers and buildings within the castle, in order to their being repaired, and appointed Andrew Butler to act as his deputy in his absence. But the king, not long after, gave the office of constable to his eldest son, Henry, then prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and earl of Chester, not from any disgust at Erpingham, whom he still continued to favour, but to inspire that prince with a noble emulation and love of glory becoming his high rank, by conferring on him the highest employments. The prince, however, as he coveted nothing besides the honour of the office, appointed Sir Richard Barry, a Kentish knight, to fulfill the duties of it in his stead. This prince Henry, who when king gained so much glory by his victories in France, was educated in the university of Oxford, under the care and tuition of Henry Beaufort, chancellor of the university, and then bishop of Lincoln, but afterwards of Winchester. We learn from history, that the same bishop, being the son of John of Gaunt, and the king's brother, obtained in the sequel a cardinal's hat; and, after the untimely death of the king, was advanced to the regency, in conjunction with the duke of Gloucester, as Henry VI. was then but a child.

The abovementioned Henry, prince of Wales, so celebrated for his military exploits, after he had long held the government of Dover castle,

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Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Henry V. and VI.

The library had been pulled down, and the books dispersed, during the chancellorship of D. Cox.

conferred it at last on his brother Humphrey, for whom he had a particular affection; so that, when he was on his death-bed, and in a very weak and languid condition, he recommended his infant son, and his dominions, to his care and protection; and so well did he acquit himself of this trust, that he was commonly known in those times by the name of the good duke of Gloucester. As he patronised and promoted learning and learned men in an extraordinary manner, that he might leave behind him some monument to bear witness to posterity of his love of science, he erected at Oxford, entirely at his own expence, one of the most magnificent schools of theology in Europe: and lest any, who were addicted to learning and science, should be discouraged from prosecuting their studies, by poverty and want of books, he fitted up a place for the library in the upper part of the hall or school, which he enriched with 250 volumes, besides presenting the university with a very considerable sum. But this man, so great, so good, and so popular, having been accused by William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, (a title of which he was altogether unworthy,) of sorcery, was imprisoned, and strangled in the night, by order of queen Margaret, who by that execrable deed brought destruction at last on herself, the innocent king, and the whole Lancastrian line. The unfavourable turn that the king's affairs soon after took, made her thoroughly sensible of her error, in making away with a man so much loved and respected in the nation, so brave, and so loyal. After his death, those who had the

James Fienes, lord Say, constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VI.

administration of affairs in their hands, made choice of James Fienes, lord Say, and then lord high treasurer of England, as the properest person to be entrusted with the government of Dover castle: but the popular odium he laboured under, on account of his being suspected of having a hand in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, proved fatal to him soon after; for when the rebellion under Jack Cade, that had been stirred up by the duke of York and his adherents, broke out in Kent, and threatened universal destruction, Fienes was seized and put to death by the rebels, at London, in the open street. The intrigues and ambition of the duke of York, whose views upon the crown were now no longer a secret either to the court or nation, continually exciting insurrections and tumults, and throwing every thing into confusion, the king thought it adviseable to appoint Edmund, duke of Somerset, who was a descendant of the house of Lancaster, to be constable of Dover castle. This duke, a man of great courage and experience, who had often distinguished himself in his engagements with the French in Normandy, who had suppressed the insurrection of the Kentish rebels, and afterwards curbed their turbulent seditious dispositions, in fine, who had been constantly and indefatigably employed against the disturbers of the public tranquillity, fell a victim at last, at St. Alban's, to the duke of York's party, which he had always opposed. The chief or only blot in this great man's character, was the duke of Gloucester's death, which he was supposed to be the adviser and contriver of, or at least accessory to. The king was deeply affected with the

Edmund duke of Somerset made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VI.

Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VI.

loss of Somerset, and immediately nominated Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, who had lived in great intimacy and friendship with him, to be constable of Dover castle. This Humphrey, earl of Stafford and duke of Buckingham, and now governor of Dover castle, was a nobleman who had acquired no small glory and reputation, and who constantly adhered to the interests of his sovereign, in his contest with the house of York. No promises, however tempting, no losses, no dangers or disasters, could shake his loyalty or attachment, till at last he fell a victim to it at Northampton, where he was slain, fighting gallantly for his king, and thereby demonstrating his inviolable fidelity. Thus four great men, who had been successively constables of Dover castle, came to an untimely death: but that of the first of these four, namely, of Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester, I am fully convinced, drew down the vengeance of Heaven upon the other three: for they, envious of his power and influence, and to get the administration wholly into their own hands, having set on William de la Pole to destroy that great and good man, the wrath of God pursued, and at last overtook, them and their accomplices. Thus De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, had his head struck off by the duke of Exeter's servants, who apprehended him upon the sea-shore at Dover, and his grandsons all suffered as traitors and rebels to their king; so that there is now hardly any the least vestige remaining of the ancient grandeur and splendor of the family.

The blood of the innocent crieth, and draweth down the vengeance of Heaven.

William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, put to death.

The unhappy fate of Edmund duke of Somerset and his three sons, and of the duke of Buckingham and his family.

Edmund, duke of Somerset, too, and his three sons, all very hopeful young noblemen, had the misfortune to lose their lives either on a scaffold or in the field; so that that most illustrious family would have been extinct, had not Duke Henry left a natural son, namely, the honourable Charles Somerset, a gentleman of great merit. As for the duke of Buckingham, he was slain at the battle of Northampton, after he had lost his son, a very promising young nobleman. It appears also from history, that his grandson Henry was put to death by Richard III. Nor did fortune even then cease from persecuting this noble family, but stirred up that worthless minion Wolsey to contrive and work the ruin of Edward, duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of great merit, who, being the last of the family of Stafford, dukes of Buckingham, was consequently the last victim of that

family offered to the manes of Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester.

As to the remaining constable, who was accessory to the murder of the duke of Gloucester, namely, James Fienes, lord Say; he too fell a victim to divine vengeance; though the nation suffered greatly by his fall; and the title of lord Say went afterwards to the Clinton family, upon the failure of male issue in his. To conclude this digression, I have to observe only, that the dukes both of Somerset and Buckingham employed one Galfred Londrey as their deputy constable of Dover castle.

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Sir Simon Mountford made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VI.

Henry VI. having, as we have seen, lost almost all the great men on whom he depended for the preservation of his crown, and deliverance from his enemies, appointed Sir Simon Mountford constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports, who looking on Sandwich as very convenient to get supplies from by sea, he resolved to take possession of it with a strong body of armed men: but the earl of Warwick, getting notice of his design, sent John Denham, a very brave man, to lay an ambush for him in the night, which he performed with the greatest expedition and success; for having surprized Mountfort, he brought him, with twelve of his attendants, to Calais, where Warwick caused their heads to be struck off. Mountfort having thus fallen a victim to party rage, there was no particular person appointed to succeed him as constable of Dover castle and warden of the cinque ports; but, as Edward Brook, lord Cobham, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Kent, sided with the house of York, the care of the ports and castles in that county, till the battle of Saxton, was committed to sir Edward Guildford, sir William Peachy, sir John Pimpey, and William Darell, esq. all men of eminence and renown. Edward, duke of York, having in the abovementioned battle gloriously revenged the death of his father, and broke the whole strength of the opposite party, after he had returned to London, and been crowned with the usual solemnity, immediately conferred the important office of constable of Dover castle on Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick. This earl,

Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Edward IV.

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Fought on Palm-Sunday.

one of the greatest men in all respects that ever England produced, and whose valour and conduct made him formidable even to foreign nations, had for his father Richard, son of Rodolph the great, earl of Westmoreland; and his mother was the daughter of Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was slain at the siege of Orleans. Animated by the examples of two such illustrious grandfathers, he displayed, in his future exploits and heroic actions, the intrepidity and resolution of the Nevills, the military skill and address of the Montacutes, and the magnanimity of both families. He got a great estate, and the title of earl of Warwick, by marrying the sister of Duke Henry, of the name of Beauchamp. In the contest for the crown between the houses of Lancaster and York, he declared for the latter, and contributed greatly to its superiority and success: for at the battle of Saxton, where the dispute continued so long, and with such obstinacy and fury, when lord Clifford had thrown the Yorkists into such confusion, that they seemed ready to give way and fly on all hands, he swore aloud, before Edward and his army, that he would either die or conquer. This had such an effect, both on Edward and the soldiers, that being inspired with fresh courage and resolution, and redoubling their efforts, they obtained a compleat victory, and with that the crown, to which the house of York had certainly the best right. As the king, to celebrate his accession to the crown, and reward his adherents, dignified many of them with new titles and employments, so he did not

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forget the earl of Warwick; on whom, as I observed already, he bestowed the government of Dover castle. Afterwards, however, either envious of his glory, or jealous of his popularity, he left no stone unturned to destroy his influence and authority. Such unworthy treatment the earl could not patiently submit to, but resented highly; and, in consequence thereof,

Edward Guildford Warwick's deputy.

William, earl of Arundel, constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Edward IV. and V. Richard III. and Henry VII.

Edward lord Cobham, sir John Scot, sir John Devereux, and Philip Fitzlewis, esq. lord Arundel's deputies.

Henry, duke of York, son of Henry VII. made constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports.

James Fienes, lord Say, made constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII.

Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, appointed constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VIII.

Sir Edward Poyning made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VIII.

used all his power and credit to pull the king from the throne, to which he had been so instrumental in raising him: but the fickle goddess, Fortune, who never smiles upon the same person always, at last forsook him entirely, and disconcerted all his schemes: for, after he had been basely betrayed by the duke of Clarence, coming to an engagement at Barnet with Edward, whom he had before so zealously supported, he was slain, together with his brother, the marquis of Montacute, gallantly fighting for that king whom they had before dethroned and ruined. But Edward Guildford, who had been his deputy in Dover castle, signalized himself in the service both of the king and of his country.

After Edward had thus got rid of the ringleader of his opponents, and entirely subdued the whole party, he constituted William Maltravers, earl of Arundel, constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports, charging him also to keep a watchful eye over the men of Kent and Sussex, who, having been lately drawn into a rebellion by a natural son of lord Falconberg's, were become very fierce and turbulent; but the constable, by tempering justice and severity with lenity, brought them to a quiet submission to the government. His chief counsellor and confident was Edward, lord Cobham, by whose persuasion also king Edward laid

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out 10,000l. in the repairs of the castle and its appurtenances, the direction and inspection of which was committed to him. Lord Arundel held the office of constable till the reign of Henry VII. but during that time there were many deputies employed by him when absent. In the first place, Edward lord Cobham was pleased to take that charge upon him; after whose death it was given by Arundel to sir John Scot; then to sir John Devereux, who was succeeded by Philip Fitzlewis, whose grandson George, when he attended his master sir James Darell at the siege of Tournay, not only distinguished himself by his fidelity and attachment, but even saved his life, when in the most imminent danger. In the reign of Henry the VIIIth, Arundel being now old and near his end, Henry, then duke of York, was appointed constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports; who gave the charge of them to sir William Scot, in the interim, till he should pitch upon a proper person to be his deputy; but sir William continued in the office, and acquitted himself in it with great reputation, not only till Henry arrived at man's estate, but even after, five years in all; when Henry, being advanced to the dignity of prince of Wales, upon the death of his brother Arthur, appointed James Fienes, lord Say, to succeed him as constable and warden. Say, many of whose family had formerly been constables, having appointed for his deputy

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Rodolph Tuck, a gentleman of the most distinguished merit, continued in the office during three years, when he died, leaving his soul to God's disposal, his employment to the king's, and his estate to the lord Clinton's. Henry VIII. who had borne the office himself in the late reign, and thereby added fresh lustre to it, resolved to confer it upon some person of high birth and eminent virtue: accordingly he singled out for that purpose Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, who was a natural son of the renowned king Edward IV. and consequently inferior to none in the splendor of his birth, and also a nobleman of the most exalted virtue; nor did his conduct as constable diminish in the least the high reputation he had acquired, and to which he was indebted for his promotion. He appointed for his deputy one of the Dudleys, whom of all men he valued most; for John Dudley (of whose great virtues and accomplishments I shall have another opportunity of speaking more fully) succeeded him both in his estate and honours. The next constable after lord Lisle, was sir Edward Poyning, who gave many proofs of his military skill and prowess, when he commanded for the king in Guelderland; and many of his political abilities, when he was lord lieutenant of Ireland: for in the former of these countries he made great slaughter of the enemy, and in the latter he not only curbed the mutinous disposition and turbulent fierceness of the wild Irish,

but framed and enacted many wholesome laws, that continue still in force

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William Copeldike appointed his lieutenant.

Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VIII.

Arthur Plantagenet, lord viscount Lisle, Henry's lieutenant.

at this day. He delegated his authority, when absent, to William Copeldike, who acquitted himself of the trust with great fidelity. But when Poyning was sent to Ireland, the king thought proper to confer the office of constable on Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a very hopeful youth, whom the king had by Elizabeth Blount, the daughter of sir John Blount, a gentleman of family and figure. The king, who had been deeply in love with his mother, gave him the name of Fitzroy, i. e. the king's son, and when he was six years old created him the same day earl of Nottingham, and duke of Richmond and Somerset. A few years after also, when Poyning was sent to Ireland, he thought proper to dignify him with the title of constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports: but as a boy of that age was not capable of discharging the duties of such an important office, he ordered Arthur Plantagenet, who was at that time governor of Calais, to act as deputy constable. Though this nobleman had acquitted himself with the utmost fidelity and loyalty, both as governor of Calais, and deputy governor of Dover castle, yet was he not able to defend himself against the calumnies and intrigues of his enemies: for when he had been charged with many crimes and misdemeanours, and, in consequence of that, committed to prison, though he cleared himself of them all, yet he was so deeply affected by the prosecution, and the malice of his enemies, that he sunk under it, and died of grief. The next deputy

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Sir Edward Guildford made constable of Dover castle.

appointed by the duke of Richmond to superintend the garrison, was Edward Guildford, to whom that employment was only the prelude to higher and greater: for the duke of Richmond dying a few days after, (in whose liver, when examined after his decease, were discovered evident signs of poison, and who, had he not been cut off in this manner in his early days, would have justified, if not exceeded, the hopes conceived of him,) the king his father, when the grief occasioned by the unhappy fate of his son was a little worn off, confirmed the choice made by the latter of sir Edward Guildford, and gave him a commission constituting him chief governor or constable of Dover castle. He was the son of that Richard who was master or steward of the household in the reign of Henry VII. and by his loyalty, his public spirit, his generosity, and his wise, active, and vigilant conduct as constable and warden, added to the splendor of his birth, and the glory of his ancestors, attained such reputation and renown, that his name will never be forgot, but be transmitted with honour to all succeeding ages. But Providence did not suffer him to reach that pinnacle of glory, to which he aspired by his virtues and great actions; for he had a fall from his horse, as he was going a-hunting one day, which he did not long survive. William Copeldike, his lieutenant, dying before him, was buried in St. Lucius's church, where he had a fine monument erected to him, and was succeeded by Richard Dering, a very

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Richard Dering, Guildford's deputy.

able, and a very gallant man, and who, I may say without flattery, hath gained himself universal love and esteem by his justice and integrity. I would say a great deal more in his praise, if it were not, that the favours he hath conferred upon me, and the obligations I owe him, particularly in regard to my education, would be apt to make my sincerity be called in question. As he had acquitted himself with so much reputation in quality of Guildford's lieutenant, Henry VIII. made him superintendant or surveyor of his buildings or works, which George viscount Rochford had before had the charge of. At the accession of Edward VI. at which time he filled the important office of deputy constable and warden with great applause, he was appointed, in reward of his loyalty and faithful services, governor of Sandown castle, which stands not far from Deal, and was built by Henry VIII. After he had held this government sixteen years, and given great satisfaction both to the king and the garrison, being now

advanced in years, that he might end his days in peace, disengaged from the fatigue of business, he obtained leave to resign, and retired to Pluckley, where he had first drawn his breath, and where he breathed his last, being worn out with age and infirmities; and his remains were deposited with those of his ancestors.

But to return from this digression: Guildford having lost his life in the manner above mentioned, the office of constable of Dover castle and warden of the cinque ports was given to George Boleyn, viscount Roch-

George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, made constable of Dover castle in the reign of Henry VIII.

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ford, who, after he had been installed with great solemnity in the office, gave a grand entertainment, and such as Lucullus himself would not have been ashamed of, to the whole body of the Kentish nobles, who had assisted at the ceremony. For this high and important trust, he was indebted in some measure to his own merit and services, but chiefly to the recommendation and interest of his sister Anne Boleyn. But scarce had he spread his sails to the soft inviting gales of fortune, when the dark clouds of adversity began to gather round him; for in a short time he was not only stripped of the honours and offices that had been conferred upon him, but brought to the block and beheaded. After his death, Henry advanced sir Thomas Cheney, at that time steward of the household, and a gentleman of singular merit, to the dignity of constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports. As he was much in favour with king Henry, on account of his wise and dutiful conduct, in quality of constable and warden, so was he likewise much honoured and caressed by those who were entrusted with the education of the young king Edward VI. and the administration of the government during his minority. In the reign of queen Mary, too, although his being a well wisher to the Reformation had alienated the queen from him, and he was now so far advanced in years that he could not be of any service in a military capacity abroad, yet he managed the affairs of his government at home with so much judgement, that no fault could be found with him. He was so transported

Sir Thomas Cheney constable of Dover castle in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth.

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with the news of the accession of the illustrious queen Elizabeth to the throne, that it is probable, as he was now very old, it contributed to hasten his dissolution; for a few days before the queen's coronation he was seized with a cholick, which carried him off. The people of Kent were lavish in his praise, and sincerely lamented his death.

John Money appointed sir Thomas Cheney's lieutenant.

After Richard Dering was appointed to the government of Sandown castle, sir Thomas Cheney nominated John Money to succeed him as his deputy in Dover castle. This gentleman, who was of a good family, continued in that office till the third year of queen Mary's reign, when he died in the castle, and was buried in Dover church. The next whom sir Thomas Cheney employed in that capacity, was William Crisp, a most accomplished gentleman, and highly esteemed by the constable on account of his probity. He not only justified, but far exceeded, the good opinion sir Thomas had conceived of him; and he acquits himself also much to the satisfaction of the present constable, lord Cobham, being kind, liberal, and condescending to the poor and indigent, and distributing impartial justice to all.

William Crisp, sir Thomas Cheney's and lord Cobham's deputy.

After the death of sir Thomas Cheney, queen Elizabeth having, in pursuance of the resolution she had taken to advance none to public offices but such as had a just claim by their characters and services, duly weighed the merits and pretensions of the chief of her subjects, she could not find

William, lord Cobham, appointed constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth.

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any one more deserving, on all accounts, of such a mark of her favour and confidence, and by promoting of whom she would more ingratiate herself with her people, than lord Cobham. Accordingly, that she might by the same act do a kindness both to her people and herself, she soon nominated him constable and warden, and ordered a commission to that purpose to be forthwith expedited. This nobleman, upon his advancement,

gave great application to the study of military matters, as well as other sciences, patronizing and encouraging men of learning and ingenuity, and punishing disorderly persons and malefactors with the utmost severity. What is very singular in him, is, that he can blend gravity with gaiety, reservedness with affability, stateliness with condescension and complaisance, and reconcile dignity with ease and freedom; so that he is no less loved than respected, which would not be the case if his courtesy and politeness were not as conspicuous as his virtues and talents. That he, and the most illustrious Queen, his sovereign and benefactress, together with his worthy deputy, William Crisp, esq. may long be preserved for the public good, is the earnest wish and prayer of the Author!

FINIS.

<I>

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Manuscript from which this Work is printed, was transcribed from the Original, in the Library of the College of Arms, under the inspection of the late WILLIAM OLDYS, Esq. then Norroy King of Arms. It was translated by Mr. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

The VIEWS are engraved from Original Drawings, taken on the spot in the year 1760; the PLAN, from an actual Survey, made by an Engineer.

<II>

LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE I.

The Vignette in the Title-Page – shews the Entrance into the Keep of the Castle. It was drawn from the Leads of the Guard-House.

PLATE II.

View of the Castle and Town as seen from the London Road, a small Distance before entering the Village of Charlton. In clear Weather, the Coast of France is plainly apparent.

PLATE III.

Dover Castle as it appears from the outer Walls of the Priory, Part of which are shewn on the left of the Piece.

PLATE IV.

Dover Castle as seen from the Rope-Walk.

PLATE V.

The Cliff and small Fort called Mote's Bulwark; over which are shewn Part of the outer Walls of the Castle. At a Distance is seen a small Pier, now little used.

PLATE VI.

The chief Entrance into the Castle, over which is the Governor's Apartment. – The Frontispiece.

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PLATE VII.

The North-West View of the Castle, as it appears on the Road leading to Deal.

PLATE VIII.

The Castle, as viewed from a Station near the Pier.

PLATE IX.

The Old Church, with a Building at its West End, supposed by Dr. Stukeley and others to have been a Roman Pharos. About many Parts of the Church, particularly the Angles of the Tower, there are great Quantities of Roman Brick.

PLATE X.

A small Fragment of a Building said to have been a Watch-Tower, now vulgarly called Bredenstone, and the Devil's Drop, from the Hardness of the Mortar. To this Place every new Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports comes in Procession, and here takes his Oath of Office. This Fragment stands on a Hill opposite to the Castle, the Town of Dover lying in the Valley between them.

PLATE XI.

Plan of the Castle, – to front Page 1.

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<publisher's advertisement>

<William Darell (d. 1580) was the author of a Latin tract about castles in Kent, 'Castella in campo Cantiano' – a truly dreadful piece of work, which did a great deal of damage. It seems to have been written in the period 1565–70, while Darell was (among many other preferments) chancellor of Bangor cathedral (p. 38). Certainly William Lambard had seen it by the time that he came to revise his own book for publication: two passages derived from Darell, written on slips inserted into the draft (CKS U47/48 Z1), are incorporated into the printed text (Lambard 1576, pp. 102–4, 124–5). Darell died, intestate, before 11 Sep 1580 (when administration of his effects was granted to his next of kin, one James Darell (Arch Cant 18:21)); unhappily this manuscript of his survived him. (Camden cited it and quoted one sentence from it (Camden 1586, p. 181); like Lambard he took it much more seriously than it deserved.) Somehow or other (I do not know how or when) it was acquired by the College of Arms; with the right sort of introduction, people who wanted to read it could get to do so. Though it has never been published in full (and probably never will be), the section relating to Dover castle was printed in 1786, with an English translation credited to Alexander Campbell. (The English text is placed at the top of the page, the Latin at the bottom; I have put them into separate files.) The translation is very free, and misses out a phrase here and there. For a close study of the text (which no one should think of spending time on), this version would not be adequate. For a quick assessment, it is perfectly good enough. – C.F. June 2010.>