

KENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

KENT RECORDS

SEARCHABLE

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KENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS ON
KENT FEET OF FINES
By Keith Griffiths.

Lambert Larkin in his articles on Kent feet of Fines¹⁸⁶ said that:

“The earliest evidences which we have, after Domesday, [of the alienations and descent of lands and manors, and the genealogy of our leading families from the earliest times] are the Pipe Rolls, which commence with the reign of Henry II. The next, in order of time, are the Plea Rolls and Pedes Finium, which begin in the reign of Richard I. When we reach the reigns of John and of Henry III., our materials become more abundant; we then have great resources in the Close and Patent Rolls, the Fine Rolls, the Memoranda Rolls, the Inquisitions post Mortem, etc. etc.”

Concerning the reigns of Henry II, the early years of Richard I and John, Larkin has this to say:

- Prior to the seventh year of King Richard I. there are only five Fines extant, viz. four of the latter part of the reign of Henry II. and one of the fourth or fifth of Richard I., transcripts of which are given by Mr. Hunter.¹⁸⁷
- “From the seventh year of King Richard I only, is there any large collection of documents of this class extant, or anything which can be called a consecutive series of them. From that time to the present day, the series may be said to be unbroken; not but that some Fines which once no doubt existed cannot now be produced, and there are, perhaps, a few years, such as the two last years of the reign of John, in which, either no Fines were levied, or the record of them has wholly perished. But so many remain of the seventh of Richard I., and of almost every year from that time downward, that we may justly speak of possessing a series of documents of this class from the seventh of Richard I. to the present time.”

186 Archaeological Cantiana, vol 1, p. 217 and p. 279.

187 From a preface to the "Pedes Finium" edited by him under the direction of the Commissioners of the Public Records.

Larkin provided abstracts of fines for Richard I which were incorporated into the calendar edited by Irene Churchill. However, contrary to what Larkin says, there are other published works on Fines starting with Henry II but it is not clear whether they include any from Kent. Viz.

1. Vol. 1, 1894, Feet of Fines in the Public Record Office of the reign of Henry II and of the first seven years of the reign of Richard I. Pipe Roll Society Vol. 2, 1896,
2. Pedes finium de regno Regis Richard I.

One that does contain Kent is:

- I. "Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry VIII's reign", by I. Churchill, R Griffin and F W Sandman, Kent Archaeological Society, Kent Records, volume 15, (1956)
- II. No study of Kent Fines would be complete without reference to everything that Lambert Larkin has written. His research is rich and informative and can be found in *Archaeological Cantiana*, vol 1, p. 217 and p. 279.

All the other known information on Fines has been included in the table below:

KENT FEET OF FINES PROGRESS OF ABSTRACTION AND PUBLICATION

The original Feet of Fines are located at the The National Archives (TNA) at Kew. They are in Latin to 1733 except for the Commonwealth period (1649-1660).

Since the late 1800s, Kent Archaeological Society has been involved in translating, abstracting, editing and publishing Fines for Kent. The present objective is converting the translation / abstraction work by Lilian Redstone contained in the Ralph Griffin collection at CKS¹⁸⁸ into published records.

When this is completed, TNA will have to be visited to translate / abstract the remainder of the Latin Fines and abstract the English ones from the original documents. An alternative and preferred option is to take images of the Fines and do the work away from TNA.

It is fortunate that Houston University, under the auspices of the

188 CKS TR 465/1

Anglo-American Legal Tradition (AALT), is undertaking the imaging of Medieval and Early Modern documents at TNA, which include some Feet of Fines. Unfortunately, following an email exchange with Professor Robert Palmer who is in charge of the AALT project, it is doubtful whether they will obtain any more images of fines than those shown below.

The table below shows the AALT images taken of Kent Fines, KAS publications, KAS work in preparation and the work being done at <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml>

NB1 The item marked # denotes that it is not clear whether Kent Fines are included

NB2 Divers Counties (Kent and other counties in the same fine) are in course of preparation for the monarchs from Edward III to Henry VII

NB3 The entries in italic are fines still to be published

NB4 Duncan Harrington adds that the Pipe Roll Society covered fines from 1182 to 1198 in Vol xvii (1894), Vol xx (1896) and Vol xxiii (1898, reprinted 1929), and fines from 1198 to 1199 in Vol xxiiii (1900, reprinted 1929). And the Record Commission published fines from 1195 to 1214; counties B-C are in Vol 1 and counties C-D are in Vol II. Moreover that the Faversham Borough fines which have survived from 1295 have been published in KAS New Records Series Volume 3 parts 7-9 (2002). Also early fines are to be found in the assize rolls and manor records.

Monarch	Regnal year s	Years of reign	Regnal years of AALT images	Progress	Publications
Henry II	1-35	1154- 1188		Published	# Vol. 1, 1894, Feet of Fines in the Public Record Office of the reign of Henry II and of the first seven years of the reign of Richard I. Pipe Roll Society

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Richard I	1-10	1189-1198		Published	Arch. Cant. Vol I by Lambert Larkin. Viz. Temp and regnal years 7-10, indexes, errata and addenda
John	1-18	1198-1216		Published	Arch. Cant. Vols. II-VI by Lambert Larkin. Years 1-17 only. See Larkin's statement above
John Henry III	1-18 1-57	1199-1216 1216-1272		Published	"Calendar of Kent Feet of Fines to the end of Henry VIII's reign", by I. Churchill, et al, KAS, Kent Records, volume 15, (1956)
<i>Edward I</i>	<i>1-35</i>	<i>1272-1307</i>		<i>Abstracted but not published</i>	<i>Abstracts are at CKS in box 2 of TR465/1</i>
Edward II Edward III	1-20 1-7	1307-1327 1327-1334		Published	Abstract of the Feet on Fines for Kent from I Edward II to 7 Edward III (abstracts 1-250) in Arch. Cant. vols. XI-XV, XVIII and XX by J. Greenstreet
<i>Edward III</i>	<i>8-51</i>	<i>1334-1377</i>	<i>50-51</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	<i>Digital images obtained by Duncan Harrington</i>

KENT FEET OF FINES – RICHARD II

Richard II	1-23	1377-1399	1-23	Published	KAS – Kent Records, New Series. Volume 4, Parts 4-9
<i>Henry IV</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>1399-1403</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	<i>Not at CKS but regnal years 1-4 are at AALT</i>
Henry IV	5-14	1403-1413	5-6	Abstracted	In preparation by Duncan Harrington
Henry V	1-10	1413-1422		Abstracted	In preparation by Duncan Harrington
Henry VI	1-39	1422-1461		Abstracted	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml
Edward IV Henry VI Edward IV	1-10 40 (49)	1461-1470 1470-1471 1471-1483		Abstracted	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml
Edward V	1	1483-1483		Abstracted	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml
Richard III	1-3	1483-1485		Abstracted	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml
Henry VII	1-24	1485-1509	1-24	Abstracted	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/fines/kent.shtml
Henry VIII	1-38	1509-1547		Published	KAS – Kent Records, New Series. Volume 2, Parts 1-4, and 5 (index)

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Edward VI	1-7	1547-1553	Published	KAS - Kent Records, New Series. Volume 4, Parts 1-2
Jane	1	1553-1553	Published	Reigned for 14 days; probably subsumed in Phillip & Mary
Mary	1-2	1553-1554	Published	KAS - Kent records, New Series. Volume 2, Part 2 NB Title of this part just says Edward VI
Phillip & Mary	1-5 3-6	1554-1558 1555-1558	Published	KAS - Kent Records, New Series. Volume 4, Parts 3-4
<i>Elizabeth I</i>	<i>1-45</i>	<i>1558-1603</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>James I</i>	<i>1-23</i>	<i>1603-1625</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>Charles I</i>	<i>1-24</i>	<i>1625-1649</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>Commonwealth</i>		<i>1649-1660</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>Charles II</i>	<i>12-37</i>	<i>1660-1685</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>James II</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>1685-1688</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	
<i>Interregnum</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1688-1689</i>	<i>Not abstracted</i>	

KENT FEET OF FINES – RICHARD II

<i>William & Mary</i>	1-6 6-14	1689- 1694	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>William III</i>		1694- 1702	
<i>Anne</i>	1-13	1702- 1714	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>George I</i>	1-13	1714- 1727	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>George II</i>	1-34	1727- 1760	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>George III</i>	1-60	1760- 1820	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>George IV</i>	1-11	1820- 1830	<i>Not abstracted</i>
<i>William IV</i>	1-7	1830- 1837	<i>Not abstracted</i>

LOST SANDWICH MUSTER RECORDS AND OTHER RECORDS

by Duncan Harrington

Introduction

These transcripts are in a bound volume all written in the same hand, a sample page from this volumes following this introduction. As yet the transcriber has not been identified so I would welcome any suggestions from identified examples.

In 1551 in Kent the office of lord lieutenant was created to answer the needs of an unstable regency under Edward VI.¹⁸⁹ To put the sheriff in charge of the militia when he was only appointed on an annual basis would not make for continuity. The value of the change, which originally arose from an emergency, soon became apparent. In practice, although not in theory, he took precedence over the sheriff. The problem was to decide who was to be

¹⁸⁹ Taken from *Faversham Tudor & Stuart Muster Rolls*, Faversham Hundred Records Volume 3 by Patricia Hyde and Duncan Harrington (2000).

answerable for raising and training the county militia and keeping them in a state of readiness to suppress rebellions or invasion. The post of sheriff was an annual royal appointment from a wide field of candidates. In 1549, troops intended by Protector Somerset to be used against the Scots were diverted to quell a rebellion in the south-west. Thus in the same year the Protectors, first Somerset and then Northumberland, appointed special officers to keep order and, if necessary, to use force. Sir Thomas Cheyne was chosen for Kent and Canterbury. Two years later, in 1551, Cheyne was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and again in 1552 and 1553.

Under Mary, the problem for the Crown of local gentry having control of military preparations became apparent. In March 1558, when she was fast losing the loyalty of her subjects, she appointed as lord lieutenant a friend, Sir Henry Jerningham, master of the horse, who had only a band of retainers and a few lands in North Kent to offer. His nomination provoked instant opposition, from the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, still Sir Thomas Cheyne, and from the boroughs of Rochester and Canterbury, both enraged by his infringement of their military privileges. The majority of county magistrates refused to co-operate with him at all. There was no way that Jerningham could force the gentry to support him, as he explained in plaintive letters to the Privy Council.¹⁹⁰ Thomson says, “The Tudors had a favourite and short method of dealing with such questions, and the disputants were curtly advised to settle their differences amiably if they could, but anyhow to settle them unless worse things should befall them.”¹⁹¹

The English monarchy had never possessed a permanent, paid, professional force and only rarely had foreign mercenary soldiers been used on English soil. There was a long-standing national dislike of standing armies even before the formation of the New

190 P. Hyde and M. Zell, *Governing the County*, chap 1 in *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640*, ed. M. Zell, Kent History Project Vol. 5, (Boydell & Brewer, 2000), p.25.

191 G. Scott Thomson, *The Twysden Lieutenancy papers 1583-1668*, Kent Records Vol. X, (1926), p. 6 quoting *Acts of the Privy Council*, 31 March 1558.

Model Army in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, there was a fear of public disorder if the civilian population were to be armed. In 1558, two very important acts, together now called the Arms Act, were passed, and from that date onwards there was a stream of orders about the conduct of the militia. The 1558 Act laid down a graduated scale of arms contributions from all temporal persons in ten bands, and provided the administration to enforce these provisions. The act said that those with a reputed income of £1,000 a year were to provide six horses for men-at-arms carrying the shorter lances used in battle, (demi-lance); ten geldings equipped with armour and weapons (light-horse); 40 corslets; 40 almain rivets; 40 pikes; 30 longbows each with a sheaf (24) arrows; 30 skulls or steep caps; 20 black bills; 20 hackbuts and 20 morions or sallets. At the other end of the scale were gentleman, knights and esquires, and substantial yeoman farmers who came within the landed income of £5 and £10 a year, the lowest band. They were required to supply one almain rivet, one bow with arrows, a steel cap and a bill. A similar tariff applied to those assessed on their moveable goods.

Hassell Smith quoting the Act says of clause v, “the inhabitants of every city, borough, town, parish and hamlet within this realm, other than such as are specifically charged before in this Act, shall ... find ... and maintain, at their common charges and expenses, such harness and weapon and as much thereof as shall be appointed by the commissioners for the musters,”¹⁹² Whilst Faversham does not seem to have suffered quite as much as many parochial armouries at the hand of the ever changing parish constable, it no doubt suffered some neglect as appears from the various entries relating to its repair and cleaning.

When the orders came down from the Privy Council, commissioners were appointed. The musters were held on two days - one to show

¹⁹² A. Hassell Smith, ‘Militia Rates and militia statutes 1558-1663’, *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640* Edt. P. Clark, A. G. R. Smith & N. Tyacke, (1979), p. 97.

the equipment and the second to show that matters had been put right. The main difference between royal armies and the militia was who paid for them. In the case of the latter, expenses had to be met by the parishes whose constables levied a rate for the purpose on the more substantial householders. The men of the militia were paid 8^d a day and were not expected to serve outside the county except in the event of an enemy landing or a serious civil disturbance. A man could suffer a fine of 40 shillings or ten days imprisonment for non-appearance. It took three days for a muster throughout the country - one day to go, one to muster and one to return. It was a great social event in the locality and the second week in July was considered a good choice because it was between hay-making and harvest. It is interesting that even in times of national emergency, the musters never quite lost the air of popular pageantry. Those that went abroad, voluntarily or as pressed men, had to be paid maintenance by the Crown.

In 1559 muster masters were appointed and Elizabeth issued commissions for a general muster throughout the kingdom. The musters of 1569 were taken against a background of the rising in the north otherwise known as the rising of the northern earls, and alarming developments in the Netherlands. Plowden says, "The most heartening conclusion which the government was able to draw from the events of 1569 was the manifest reluctance of the Queen's subjects to be misled. Out of a possible total of at least 60,000 men of fighting age in the northern counties, the rebels had never been able to raise more than 7,000 at most."¹⁹³

Whilst many county returns for that year have survived, Kent is not amongst them.¹⁹⁴ The Duke of Alba's success in the Netherlands helped to persuade "the English government to indulge in a few well applied pin-pricks against Spanish and Catholic power - a little help for the Huguenots at La Rochelle; tacit approval for the seamen who joined the Dutch and French privateers in the Channel and then in November, the seizure of the payships."¹⁹⁵

The 1569 muster lists amongst the state papers provide details of those assessed that year to provide horses, armour, and weapons as well as those able to serve in person. The lists categorize those serving as archers, billmen, pikemen and harquebusiers and later lists shows the pioneers, labourers able to wield a pick and shovell

193 A. Plowden, *Danger to Elizabeth*, (1974), p. 91.

194 J. Gibson & A. Dell, *Tudor & Stuart Muster Rolls*.

195 J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided 1559-1598*, (1971), p. 172.

and carters to carry the equipment. It was in 1569 that we get details of the parish or town armouries. Even by 1569 almost every parish had its small contingent of harquebusiers and their number crept up proportionally over the years, though rarely outnumbering the bowmen throughout the century.

As Boynton says, ‘the vital development of Elizabeth’s reign was the acceptance of the imperative need for a professional attitude, based on continental standards in military affairs.’ The need for a select, fully trained, properly armed force, urged by men of affairs like Gresham, was probably influencing the government even in the 1560’s. The government formally ordered in 1573 ‘a convenient and sufficient number of the most able to be chosen and collected’ at musters, and then ‘tried, armed and weaponed, and so consequently taught and trained.’ The first detailed muster roll survives for Faversham for that same year, earlier ones being much shorter.¹⁹⁶

By then, the government realized that the militia needed reform. As Hassell Smith says, the 1558 Arms Act created tensions and contradictions within militia administration ‘once the Elizabethan Council began to organize the trained bands and to demand that they be equipped with modern weapons and regularly instructed in their use.’ The Act ‘had been carefully drawn up to ensure that a person provided private arms through lay subsidies or parish arms through rates, but it did not specify how this was to be done’. In other words, who was to pay for the weapons and training?

He goes on to say out that ‘the failure to devise an equitable rating system produced a sense of grievance which undermined militia efficiency’. The act did not stipulate procedures for assessing and levying private arms contributions. Militia administrators therefore had to base their assessments upon the subsidy books, when the subsidies were declining, inflexible and out of date. This led to double rating for administrative simplicity. ‘In short, a captain or his muster commissions, faced with a shortfall of private arms could recoup these losses by raising the contributions of parish arms. Hence the frequent complaints from the queen and her councillors that the poorer sort were overburdened while the rich avoided realistic contributions’. So, it is no surprise to hear that the parochial armour was frequently lost, sub standard and in a state of

¹⁹⁶ Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia*, (1967), pp 90-91.

disrepair. By the 1590's constables were meeting with widespread refusal to pay these rates.'¹⁹⁷

The two chief methods of warfare were the longbow and the shot. An Act of Parliament in 1571 declared the longbow to be 'God's special gift to the English nation.' Besides requiring considerable strength, it also required practice. For rapidity of fire and reliability, especially in wet weather the bow was still more than a match for the gun, which required some dexterity to do more damage to the enemy than to the handler. Boys records that in 1431 "The butts granted to the corporation for a sporting place."¹⁹⁸

Shakespeare on archery practice;

Maria: Wide o' the bow-hand! I' faith your hand is out.

Costard: Indeed, 'a must shoot nearer , or he'll ne'er hit the clout.

Boyet: An if my hand be out, then belike your hand is in.

Costard: Then she will get the upshoot by cleaving the pin.¹⁹⁹

Grimley tells us, "Butts were built up of earth banked and turfed. The target was a paper disc and to strike it was to 'hit the white' – usually from a distance of from 100 to 140 yards. Clout shooting or prick shooting stood the archer up to 200 yards from the target which was a straw disc a mere 18 inches in diameter, white painted with a wooden peg stuck in the centre. To 'cleave the pin' was to hit the peg, and such a feat was decidedly a matter more in the hands of fortune than skill. The real object of clout shooting, however, was to train the archer to shoot to a length."²⁰⁰ In 1572 statutes for keeping butts in repair were enforced.

Grimley also quotes an Elizabethan manuscript but doesn't specify the source." Captains and Officers should be skilful of that most noble weapon; and to see that their soldiers, according to their draught and strength, have good bows, well nocked, well stringed, every string whippe in their nock, and in the myddes rubbed with wax - braser²⁰¹ and shutting glove - some spare strynges trymed as aforesaid; every man one sheaf of arrows, with a case of leather, defensible against the rayne, and in the same fower and twentie arrows; whereof eight of them should be lighter than the residue, to

197 Hassell Smith, pp. 94-100.

198 William Boys, Collections for an History of Sandwich (1792) p. 671.

199 *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 4. Scene 1, line 126.

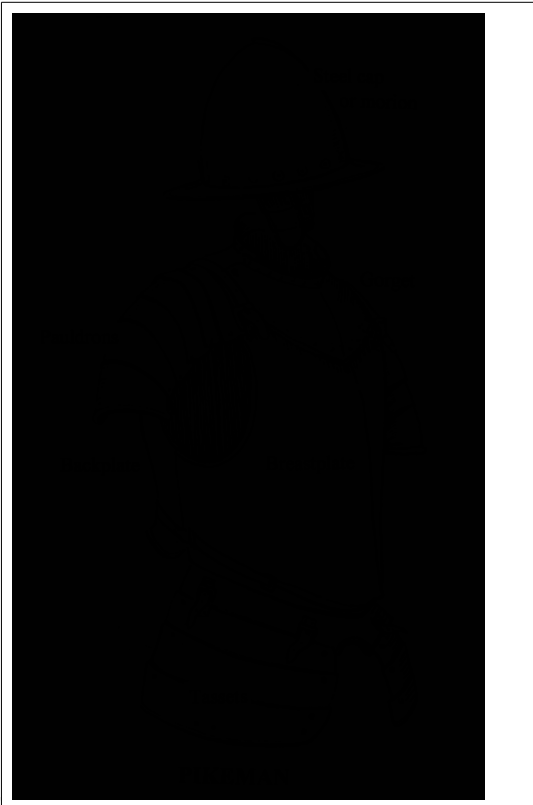
200 G. Grimley, *The Book of the Bow*, (London, 1958), p. 84.

201 Bracer see glossary.

gall or astoyne the enemy with hail-shot of light arrows, before they come within danger of the harquebus shot.”

There were other rapid developments in offensive weapons, methods of training and strategy and tactics. Besides an assortment of swords and daggers which many Tudor men carried for self-defence, all men were expected to be proficient in the use of a particular military weapon. It was at first reckoned that gentlemen fought with pikes, the humblest men with firearms, the clumsiest with bills, and blockheads with pick and shovell as pioneers. Nonetheless, providing the equipment must have been a heavy burden for the townsmen. For instance, a pikeman, who was the heaviest individual, had to fight at close quarters, so he needed body protection. He had an 12 to 18 foot pole made of ash tipped with metal and also a sword and dagger. He wore a corslet, which was a metal shell round the body, with pouldrons, vambraces and tassets (metal plates protecting the shoulders, arms and thighs) and gauntlets. His headpiece was a steel cap or morion well stuffed for comfort, which was tied with a scarf under the chin. All this had to be provided by individuals.

The halberd was shorter at 7-8ft and had a metal point like a pike but also the axe shape of a bill which was between 6-7 ft. Originating from agricultural and hedging implements (axes, scythes, bills) mounted on poles, pole-arms were used by the infantry throughout 11th to 18th centuries, becoming steadily longer and more elaborate. Most included a point for thrusting, a heavy blade for cutting and a rear spike or hook for dragging horsemen from their saddles, and long steel straps or langets from the head down the shaft to prevent the head being lopped off. The hackbut (hakenbüchse) was the first firearm that could be said to be aimed. The long tube was fitted to a wooden stock from which projected a hook or lug, which could be rested on a wall or other cover to absorb the recoil. After the invention of the slow match the



addition of a simple device, an S-shaped lever on the side of the stock, to carry the lighted match to the touch hole, the serpentine, brought about the development of the matchlock musket.

The stock gradually developed a downward curve and by 1530 reached its characteristic form known as a (h)arquebus. “The barrel, up to forty inches long and weighing anything up to twenty pounds, was so heavy that it was impossible to hold the weapon steady enough to aim. The musketeer overcame this problem by means of an ash staff mounted by a U shaped holder. With this rest he could prop up the barrel and so take aim.”²⁰² The Sandwich lists show mostly the caliver, a smaller and lighter version of the harquebus.

Shakespeare must have seen the London trained bands at drill at Mile End. John Stow mentioned in his *Survey of London* that it was a popular pastime for the citizens to watch them.

Falstaff; Put me a caliver into Wart’s hand.

Bardolph; Come, manage me your caliver. So: very well: go to: very good; exceeding good. O, give me always a little, lean, old, chapt, bald shot. Well said, I’ faith, Wart; thou’rt a good scab: hold, there’s a tester for thee.

Shallow; He is not his craft’s master; he doth not do it right. I remember at Mile-end Green, there was a little quiver fellow, and a’would manage you his piece thus; and a’ would about and about, and come you in and come you in: ‘rah, tah, tah,’ would a’ say; ‘bounce’ would a’ say; and away again would a’ go, and again would a’ come; I shall ne’er see such a fellow.²⁰³

It is important to remember that the phrase ‘trained band’ meant a band that was to be trained, not a band that had been trained. In fact, the training was both infrequent and inadequate. It was the need to instruct the captains that was the basic and most frequent explanation of what was wrong with the militia system. As Hale put it, “Thinly scattered among the rustic manors of England were men who had fought the Scots at Solway Moss and Pinkie, had vainly defended Calais and won and lost Boulogne. But there were not enough of them to pass on their experience to the militia.”²⁰⁴ Instructions have survived for other Cinque Ports about where to meet and how to train and in 1585 it was also laid down how many

202 F. Wilkinson, *Small Arms*, (1966), p. 15.

203 *Henry IV*, part 2, Act III, scene 2; John Stow, *Survey of London*, (1720), Vol 2, pp. 451-7.

204 J. R. Hale, *On a tudor parade ground the captain’s handbook of Henry Barrett 1562*, The Society for Renaissance Studies, Occasional papers No. 5, (London, 1978), p. 2.

barrels of powder should be held in readiness by each town. In particular a training manual for 1599, issued by Henry Cobham, has survived amongst the Faversham records²⁰⁵ The muster master was responsible for selecting not only the right men for the job, in the right proportion, but also to see that they were properly trained. Ideally they were advised to have equal proportions of armed pikemen and shot, the latter to have greater portion of harquebus to muskets. It was suggested that the strongest and best should be pikemen and the strongest and squarest fellow to carry muskets, and the fastest and nimblest should be trained in the harquebus. The instructions then proceed to show how the company was to be divided into squadrons and files and set forth the duties of the corporal and lance-corporal; lanspesadoe, as it was anciently written, or as it is given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* lancepesade or lanceprisado.²⁰⁶

Having divided the men into manageable units, the aim was then to teach them how to carry and use their arms, march in formation and change position in an orderly manner. This was to be achieved either by the sound of the drum or the voice of a commander. In the case of the drum, not only was it used to help the soldiers keep pace but also to march slower or faster, and the commands were suggested as those “which we used in training and disciplining Her Majesty’s Army at Plymouth”. Ex-soldiers will be amused to see parallels between the modern ‘square bashing’ with the suggestions given in this manual. It not un-naturally suggests that it would be better that the same words of command were used throughout the kingdom rather than breed confusion.

After dealing with the pike, the manual then turned to the shot. The sergeants of companies were responsible for training the soldiers in how to use the weapons and when to fire. The comments on giving volleys, condemning the ancient practice of giving a whole volley by battalion, makes it sound a very dangerous exercise - ‘for either the hindmost must venture to shoot their fellows before, through their heads or else will overshoot’. As is pointed out, this single volley allowed the enemy to attack without risk whilst an orderly volley by ranks was much more effective . The captain was to be at the head of the troop and the lieutenant at the rear and in retreat they reversed position. Whilst the need for proper instruction handbooks

205 CKS:Fa/CPm 8, 17, 26, 27, 34

206 A non-commissioned officer of the lowest grade; a lance corporal.

was apparent to all those concerned in training it appeared not to be so for the government. The first practical manual to be licensed for the press came as late as 1600 and the first official drill-book was not issued until 1623.²⁰⁷

William Urry also quotes from material taken from a set of Elizabethan training instructions, found amongst the Canterbury city records, which sets out the form of training of shot with the least expense of powder, “First that you appoynte an holbard to be sett upon some playne and to cause the shott to passe by single [file] one after another a good distance from the holbard and every man as he passeth to present his pece as though he would shott thereat, and those that doe not, in holding their peces, in putting their matches unto their cockes, and frameing their bodies, behave themselves orderly, maye receive by the Captayne or officer perticuler instruction for reformacion thereof.”²⁰⁸

Besides further sections about loading, charging and retirement, there is a section about constructing a butt forty foot broad and sixteen foot high not near a highway or other frequented place and to place on it a target of one and a half yards width. “With certyn blacke cirkles and a whyte in the midst against which the soldiari is to level his pece for his better ayme and readye discharginge.” Urry says that, “Section four embodies the perennial expectation that the officer in charge of the firing practice is to produce some sort of prize for the best shot of the day”, ... ‘That the soldiari be placed a 150 paces from the said butt and instructed whoe [how] .. to fynd his marke redealy through the sighte of his pece and to encorage them to shotte for some small tryfle which he is to wyne that shoteth nearest. For it is not the often dicharging which is comendable in a shott but the nere shotinge and they together are gretely to be comended.’ Or, in modern army language: accuracy before a high rate of fire is to be aimed at.²⁰⁹

The Cinque Ports musters differed from most other places because the commissioners under the lord warden had centuries of experience in dealing with ship service and because mariners were included. In 1590, Thomas Fane, acting on behalf of the Lord

207 J. R. Hale, *op. cit.*, p.8: citing Sir Clement Edmondess, *The maner of our moderne training, or tacticke practise*, and *The military discipline ... to be exercised in musters*, (1623) on the engraved title page and the printed title page, *The military art of training*, and is dated 1622.

208 W. Urry, ‘Home Guard for Canterbury, 1588’ *Good Books*, (Summer 1947), pp. 2-5. He suggested 1588 but this is probably May 1584, *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* Vol. 170 no. 85 III ‘An order for training of shot without any waste or great expense of powder.’

209 F. Wilkinson, *Small Arms*, (1966), p.15.

Warden, William Cobham, sent strict instructions to the masters, subofficers, mariners and gunners of the Cinque Ports to muster and not to be out of the way on pain of death.

These muster rolls can with care be constructively used by local and family historians. They cannot easily be used to work out population figures because they only consider men aged between 16 and 60. Unlike some other Cinque Port towns the Sandwich returns are arranged by wards. Unfortunately it seems that the detailed description of the boundaries of these wards has not survived amongst the Sandwich records.

Queen Elizabeth knew of the intention of the Spanish long before the Armada sailed. Sir George Carey, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State,²¹⁰ telling him that on 30 January 1574 the master of a ship just returned from Lisbon, a man “seeminge to be bothe sober, discrete and of reasonable judgement”, declared that “great preparation be in hande for arminge a navie this sommer to the sea ffive gallies to be upon the stockes whereof one excedethe in bignes anie heretofore made by the halfe”, and “that the Kinge determinethe in persone to go this intended voyage with an armie of manye thousands of menne”, the design being “to accomplishe some acceptable service to God for the subversion of religion in England, and that the plott was laid that all his Biscayens should lande at Milforde; the Kinge about Southampton; the French Kinge at that instant to proclaime warre against us and to enter by Scotlande ioyninge with the Scottish forces to invade us.” In ‘The Annals of the Town and Port of New Romney’ is an account of the beacons tended by the inhabitants of New Romney.²¹¹ It was a heavy responsibility to be in charge of beacons. Lambarde in 1576 published a *Perambulation of Kent*, which included a chapter and map on beacons in Kent. He was accused of giving away information to the enemy but rebutted the charge.²¹² He marked 52 beacon sites and in clear weather any warnings of approaching danger by sea would be very rapidly flashed from one end of the country to the other, and London would soon be aware of any threat of landing on any part of the Kent coast.

A Scottish Jesuit arrested in May 1582 was found to carry a letter

²¹⁰ *S.P.Dom.* 167 (53).

²¹¹ *Arch. Cant.* Vol. XLI.

²¹² Lambarde, 1576, p.22.

written in Italian referring to the proposed invasion of England, the first attempt since the Norman Conquest, and to the deposition of the Queen. There is still preserved the attorney general's own notes about the proposed invasion dated 1583.²¹³ Further reports were received from various quarters backing up earlier intelligence.²¹⁴ 5,000 men were to be ready in Kent in 1583 and Elizabeth sent instructions to the muster masters to inspect and train the men.²¹⁵ In 1584 a certificate of the Ablemen and armour in the Cinque Ports shows a total of Able caliver men 1,701, calivers 1,555, able pikemen 509, corslets 385, able archers 219, bows and arrows 384, demilances 1. The Cinque Ports also had to furnish light horse 50, light horsemen 50, halbards with mur. (sic) swords and daggers 250, halbert men 215, black bills 984, bill men 240, labourers or pioneers 826, shipwrights 23.²¹⁶

We should have it at the back of our minds that around this time, as well as being concerned with the militia, the town was starting to get its ships ready for service for the Cinque Ports. The muster regulations were tightened up in about 1585 at the serious threat of danger. In 1585 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, ordered that no horse or gelding was to be transported abroad without special licence. Owners and master of ships were to give a bond for good behaviour. Two years later, the lord warden ordered two of the jurats in each town to watch in person every night.²¹⁷ In May 1586, Drake had given "a cooling" to King Philip by capturing 20 Spanish ships with 250 brass pieces.²¹⁸ Burghley wrote from Richmond to the deputy lieutenants of counties on 10 October 1586 directing that all the musters should be at full strength and prepared. In November they were to have in readiness 20,000 footmen, 3,000 horsemen, and 1,000 pioneers. Thomas Churchyard, the poet, was muster master for the county of Kent.

Because it was expected that a landing would take place in Kent,

213 *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* Vol. 153 No. 79.

214 *S. P. Dom.* 185 (16), 187 (81) & BL. Harl. Mss. 295 fo. 178

215 29 Dec 1583 the privy council to the commissioners for musters "for putting of some men in readiness in certain of the maritime counties" *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* Vol. 164, nos. 72-74; April 1584 "A minute of instructions for the muster masters by her majesty specially appointed to take a view of the able men, armour and weapon put in a readiness within the said county and to train the shot and soldiers in the use of their several weapons etc. *S. T. Dom. Eliz.* Vol. 170. No 65.

216 Manuscript Book of Musters 1588 fol. 52, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th report Appendix part V: Manuscripts of the Rt Hon F. J. Savile Foljambe of Osberton* (London, 1897) C. 8550

217 CKS:Fa/CPm 28 & 29.

218 *S.P.Dom.* 189 (23).

6,000 men were assembled in a camp at Sandwich²¹⁹ under Captain John Warde, a veteran who had served at the capture of Boulogne in the reign of Henry VIII.²²⁰ The county also raised 2,000 men under Sir Thomas Cecil to form an army for the defence of Her Majesty's person,²²¹ and sent lances and light horse to London.²²² By June 27, Kent had contributed 4,000 foot under Colonels Sir Robert Sidney (brother of Sir Philip) and Sir Edward Moore, 64 lances, 330 light horse, 263 harquebuses, 84 petronels and 1,077 pioneers.²²³ A further 4,824 foot remained in county defence reserves at Canterbury and Maidstone.²²⁴

A note survives of the captains' names in Kent in April 1588 when the Spanish invasion was hourly expected.²²⁵ Other local preparations in Kent are recorded in *Archaeologia Cantiana*.²²⁶ In 1588 a camp was formed at Northbourne to watch the coast and to prevent a landing of the Spaniards upon the flat shore between Deal and Ramsgate. To the camp flocked the several companies that formed the East Kent Battalion, Canterbury contributing two hundred men led by Alderman Brome, whose namesake commanded the band sent to reinforce Edward IV in 1470. The Canterbury contingent consisted chiefly of bowmen and billmen, the latter armed with weapons and corslets served out from the Guildhall; but besides these were twenty "trayned shott" or "calyver men" who in skill and appointments approached the soldier of the present day. The Walloon "Estrangers", who had settled in the city some twenty years before, took their places in the ranks with their English fellowcitizens, cheered by the rattle of their own Walloon "drumme". The zeal with which these and other drums were thumped is proved by the appearance, after every muster, of charges for "new heddyng of a drumme"; sometimes two or even three drums required repairing at the same time." Amongst the expenses connected with the Armada, the Canterbury records show, "To Clarkson the fletcher for suppleng and settyne up of ix bowes and for ix stryngs ij^s ix^d, To the Wallon drumme toward the relief of

219 *Hist. Mss. Com. Rep.* xv App. v. 49; VHC Kent Vol. III p. 804.

220 *Ibid.* Hatfield Mss.vi. 34.

221 *Ibid.* Rep. xv App. v.46

222 *Ibid.* 57.

223 *Ibid.* 46.

224 J. J. N. McGurk, 'Armada preparations in Kent and arrangements made after the defeat', *Arch. Cant.* LXXXV, (1970), pp. 71-93.

225 *Ibid.* 37 ; VCH, Kent, III, p. 37.

226 J. B. Sheppard, 'The Canterbury Marching Watch with its Pageant of St. Thomas,' *Arch. Cant.* Vol. XII p. 43-44.

his poore children he beyng from home in the campe so wylled by Mr Maior ij^s”

The first real test of the Kent beacon system came in July 1588 when the Spanish Armada came up the channel. When the Spanish fleet was sighted off Brittany in May 1591 the beacons in Kent were once again manned. Up to 1640 the beacon system was kept in good repair but after that was allowed to decay, although they were reinstated in 1745 and 1804. The duties of the lieutenant for Kent in the 16th century proved to be onerous. Lord Cobham as lieutenant and lord warden of the Cinque Ports was able to achieve the compromise so well understood by the Tudors.²²⁷ From the Twisden papers we get a glimpse of Lord Cobham dealing with the details of raising the local militia in 1595, especially for the Queen’s visit to Sandwich.²²⁸ The lathe, and not the hundred, was the unit of administration used by both the sheriff and the lieutenant.²²⁹ The justices and the local gentry played an ever increasing part in the organisation, many of them often acting as deputy lieutenants, though only three or four were actually named for each county.²³⁰

During the later part of the Elizabethan period, as Hassell Smith says, ‘not the least of Burghley’s and Walsingham’s achievements was the fostering of a tolerably adequate corps of officers, under whom the bands were organised and to some extent trained. Towards 1588 the government attempted to eliminate the older weapons in favour of equal proportions of pikes and shot. Muskets became noticeably more prevalent by the end of the century. The militia was actively mustered in Kent and at the same time men were regularly raised for campaigns overseas. The less desirable elements of society were ‘encouraged’ to join such ventures, thus ensuring that the trained men were retained in the militia and the county armouries were not depleted. Increasingly, however, the Privy Council conscripted men from the trained bands and men from the Essex and Kent trained bands found themselves outside Rouen in 1592. In August 1599, the ‘army of Kent, to be furnished by Kent and Sussex,’ reached the respectable total of 10,000 foot and 680 horse,²³¹ of which Kent itself supplied 6,000.²³² Maritime counties

227 G. Scott Thomson: *Lord Lieutenants in the 16th century*, pp. 40-41.

228 CKS: U49 O5/1

229 CKS: U47/16 O2. In 1509 there were six lathes as the more modern lathe of St Augustine was divided by the existence of a lathe Hedlynge.

230 *op. cit.* Thomson, Twysden, p.7.

231 *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* III, App. 51.

232 *ibid.* Rep. XV, App. V, 74.

were called upon to assist their port towns in providing ships for the Cadiz expedition in 1596. Ships provided an important possible arm of defence. Sandwich already had its duty as a member of the Cinque Ports, but ships and seamen were increasingly included in surveys of the militia.²³³

Lord Wotton succeeded Cobham as lord lieutenant of the county when the latter was attainted in 1603. Wotton was not also made lord warden, the position going to Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton. In order to avoid the problems of the past, the commission to Lord Wotton extended over the whole county, including the cities of Rochester and Canterbury but not to the Cinque Ports.²³⁴ In 1605 the Lord Lieutenant sent a detailed instructions to Sir William Twisden to act as a captain of horse within the lathe of Aylesford and was told how to enrol gentlemen to find light horses.²³⁵

The 1558 Arms Act was repealed in 1604. As Hassell Smith points out, ‘all parties agreed about the unsatisfactory state of militia administration under this Act. Nobody disputed the need to devise a system whereby militia captains could draw upon the total wealth and resources of their hundreds. But there agreement ended.’ ‘Its repeal left the Stuart lieutenancy with few realistic coercive powers when confronted with an increasing body of sullen ratepayers.’ Mustering was renewed in 1608 without legal force behind it.. ‘In corporate towns the mayors’ courts abandoned the organization of musters and enforcement of arms assessments.’ Anthony Hill was appointed muster master of the Cinque Ports in 1617.²³⁶ Charles I had a scheme ‘for the settling of a perfect militia’ and, as Hassell Smith says, ‘ironically, the ship-money levies of the 1630’s represent the first government-directed moves towards a system of parochial assessments for general militia rates.’ Furthermore, the Council supplanted the deputy lieutenants as ship-money collectors with the sheriffs, who were so successful ‘because of the power concentrated in their hands.’²³⁷

However, Western points out that ‘parliament before the civil wars wished to reduce and fix the military obligations of the subject by

²³³ For further details of Faversham’s seafaring role see, P. Hyde, *Ships & Seamen*; Boynton, pp. 96, 112.

²³⁴ *Cal. State Papers Jas. I*, 1603-10, p. 64.

²³⁵ CKS: U49/O5/2.

²³⁶ Hassell Smith, pp. 100-101,104-10; CKS:Fa/CPm 19/1, 38, 39.

²³⁷ Hassell Smith, pp. 107-8; Wake,p.124.

statute. The Petition of Right made a start by declaring the billeting soldiers in private houses to be illegal. In December 1640 the Commons set up a committee to bring in a bill to regulate the conduct of the lieutenancies and the 'rating levying and assessing of the arms of the kingdom'. The Militia Ordinance of 1648 and its successors did just that.²³⁸

The list of soldiers raised in Kent for Count Mansfield's expedition in December 1624 is to be found amongst the state papers,²³⁹ and their un-organised arrival at Dover caused great problems. 8,000 foot soldiers and some horse descended upon the town which was unable to feed them, so they set about helping themselves, to the great consternation of the community. The Kent trained bands were mustered in August 1625 in response to a perceived threat from the Dunkirkers. And in March 1639, because of the situation in Scotland, the Lord Lieutenant was ordered to alert the trained bands in Kent and for them to be exercised weekly. When on 8 April 1639 1,000 men from Kent were required to rendezvous at Gravesend, it is interesting to note that two parts were to be muskets and only one part pikes, a change in policy from Elizabethan times.²⁴⁰ When the Earl of Essex, commanding the parliamentary forces addressed his officers in 1642 with the following words, he would have been surprised to learn that they became the content of a British Army poster in the second world war. 'I shall desire every officer by love and affable courage to command his soldiers, since what is done by fear is done unwillingly and what is unwillingly attempted can never prosper.'²⁴¹ It is very difficult to assess the effects of national and county events in the Commonwealth period upon Sandwich or to be sure of the feelings of the community about what was happening. Whilst Kent was not the scene of major battles, the desperate attempt by the royalists to defend Maidstone on 1 June 1648 may have drawn Sandwich men into the Earl of Norwich's army, 7,000 of whom were kept in reserve and never fought.²⁴² Thomson has quoted in full the commission of lieutenancy issued to the Earl of Winchelsea, 10 July 1660 and his to Sir Roger Twysden dated 16 July 1660 making him a deputy lieutenant. The memoranda, orders and letters of Sir Roger Twysden for the period 1662-68 provide a wonderful insight into the activity of the militia in the county during this period. There must

238 J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century*, (1965), p. 10.

239 PRO: SP 14/178 & 179.

240 VCH, Kent, iii, pp. 306-07.

241 E. S. Turner, *Gallant Gentlemen: a portrait of the British Officer 1600-1956*, (1956), p. 23.

242 A. Baker, *A battlefield atlas of the English civil war*, (1986), p. 115, map 51.

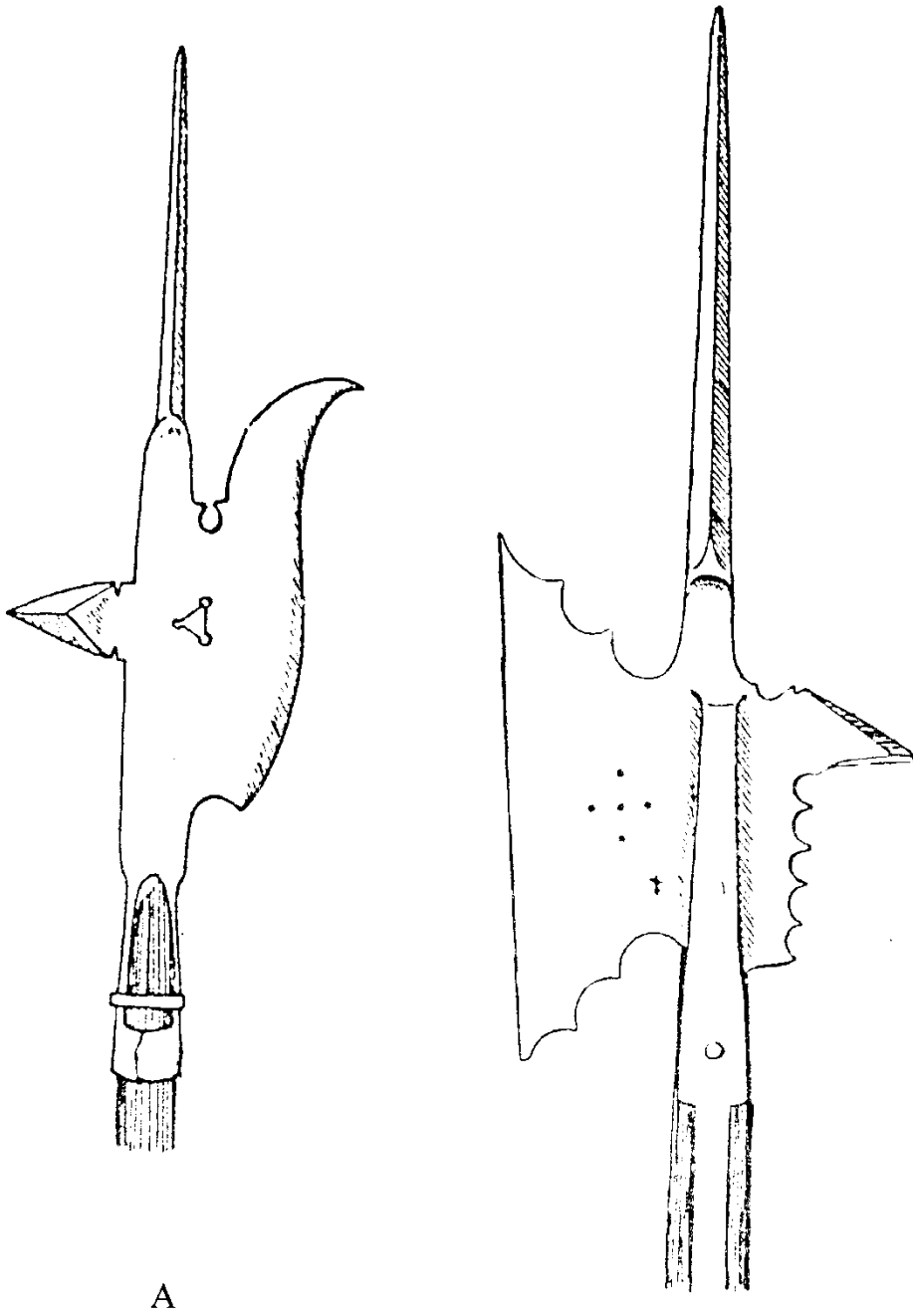
have been similar activity emanating from the lord warden to the Cinque Ports. As Hassell Smith points out, ‘the way had been prepared for the militia acts of 1662 and 1663.’ They settled rivalry between JPs and the lieutenancy about responsibility for military administration by placing it squarely in the hands of lord lieutenants. Western continues, ‘the burden was unequally distributed. The acts of 1662-3 specifically laid extra obligations on certain areas. The Cinque Ports had a militia of their own, and this was to be maintained at its customary strength unless the lieutenancy found cause to reduce it. This involved the inhabitants in a greater liability than they would otherwise have faced, and they were therefore exempt from militia charges in respect of lands lying outside the Ports.’²⁴³ Western concludes that ‘the militia of the Restoration was thus a force which even on paper had serious deficiencies. In practice, despite bursts of activity in times of crisis, it was foredoomed to waste steadily away into inanition.’²⁴⁴

Whilst some of the documents are dated others are not and tentative dates have been shown in brackets taken from William Boys, *Collections for a History of Sandwich*, (1792), and Charles Wanostrocht, *Sandwich Freeman* (2006).

243 Hassell Smith, p. 109; Western, p. 21.

244 Western, p. 29

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II



A

B

A. An English bill, fifteenth to sixteenth centuries B. Halberd, first half of the sixteenth century. *Based on drawings made from weapons in the Tower of London Armouries* GLOSSARY

A	Ableman	
	Alien	One who is a subject of another country than that in which he resides. A resident foreign in origin and not naturalized, whose allegiance is thus due to a foreign state.
	Almain rivets	Flexible light body armour; obsolescent by mid-sixteenth century, when it was superseded by the corslet. It consisted of a metal breast plate and back plate with a short apron to the upper thigh in front made up of rivetted overlapping plates. ²⁴⁵
	Ancient Bearer	The full name of a standard-bearer, an 'ensign.'
Ar	Archer	Man who shoots with bow and arrow.
	Armour	Full armour, from head to foot, was no longer in use except for special occasions such as tilting matches; armour from the thigh upwards was worn by pikemen and lances. But in quotations from contemporary sources the term often denotes arms and/or armour.
	Arrows	Pointed missile shot from bow; numbered by the sheaf (24).
	Artillery	Contemporary usage denoted not ordnance but any missile weapon, whether firearm or bow.
	Assign	Assignatus, appointed (Latin).
	Beaver	The lower portion of the face-guard of a helmet, when worn with a visor; but occasionally serving the purposes of both.
B	Bill and	Obsolete military weapon. A sort of

²⁴⁵ T. L. Stoate, *Dorset Tudor Muster Rolls 1539, 1542 & 1569*, (1978), p. xiv.

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	black bill	axe-blade of iron, sometimes hooked or curved, affixed to the end of a long staff.
	Borrow [Borough]	Tithing, association of ten neighbouring householders, who were jointly answerable before the law.
Bors	Borsholder	The chief of a tithing or frankpledge; afterwards a parish officer identical in functions with the Petty Constable.
Bo	Bow	Weapon for shooting arrows:the 6ft long bow.
	Bracer	A leather guard worn on the bow-arm to protect the arm from accidental blows by the string.
Borg	Burgonet	A species of close helmet, in which the rim of the helmet was adapted to the upper one of the gorget by hollowing out so as to receive the head of the latter; by this means the head could be turned to the right or left without exposing the throat.
ca	Caliver	The standard firearm for much of this period, superseding the hackbut and arquebus in the mid-sixteenth century, was itself superseded by the musket in the Thirty Years War. It was about 3.5 feet long, between a arquebus and musket in weight, and fired without a rest.
cal fur	Caliver furnished	
	Steel Cap	Simple form of helmet.
	Carbine	Cavalry firearm, intermediate in size between the musket and pistol, superseding the dragon in the early seventeenth century.
cors	Corslet	Armour for pike men which protected the upperhalf of the body. Often used by contemporaries to denote the full equipment of armour pike and all accoutrements. Another name for a breastplate.

cors fur	Corslet furnished	
	Crep	crepance. Farriery. In 17th c. crepanches, crepances, ad. It. crepacci pl., 'the scratches, cratches, or rats-tails in a horse...little chaps or rifts about the cronet of the horses hoofe' (Florio, 1598), f. crepare to crack, chap:- L. crepare to crack, etc. A sore or wound on a horse's foot.
	Cuirassiers	Heavy cavalry, superseding the lances in the early seventeenth century.
	Curate	Cuirass: A piece of armour for the body (originally of leather); spec. a piece reaching down to the waist, and consisting of a breast-plate and a back-plate, buckled or otherwise fastened together; still worn by some European regiments of cavalry. The breastplate alone was sometimes called a cuirass, or the two pieces combined were called (a pair of) cuirasses, and the breast-plate a half-cuirass. The word has also been used in a general sense for all kinds of ancient close-fitting defensive coverings for the body, made of leather, metal, or other material.
	Currier	Firearm of similar bore to the harquebus, with larger barrel, for throwing quarrels, ie short arrows.
	Dag	Early form of pistol.
	Dagger	Stabbing weapon with short, pointed blade.
	Decimer	One in charge of ten soldiers. See Fa/CPm 17 fol. 13r.
d at sea	defaulter at sea	Some entries given as 'def at sea'. However, 'd not warned' can only be defaulter.
Def	Defaulter	
	Denizen	By restriction: One who lives habitually

		in a country but is not a native-born citizen; a foreigner admitted to residence and certain rights in a country; in the law of Great Britain, an alien admitted to citizenship by royal letters patent, but incapable of inheriting, or holding any public office. One admitted to, or made free of, the privileges of a particular society or fellowship; one who, though not a native, is at home in any region.
	Dragon	Form of cavalry pistol in the earlyseventeenth century, mounted on a swivel in a sling, leaving the rider's hands free. It was soon replaced by the carbine; also the light horse named from it - drago(o)ns.
	Dromester/ Drumester	Drumster: A player on the drum, a drummer.
	Flax and Touch Box	A box holding the flax or tow match for firing a caliver or matchlock, cf tinder box for kindling fire.
	Gelding	A gelded or castrated horse.
	Gent	Gentleman.
	Gisarme	A kind of battle-axe, bill, or halberd, having a long blade in line with the shaft, sharpened on both sides and ending in a point. ²⁴⁶
	Gorget	A piece of armour for the throat. ²⁴⁷
	Glaive or Gleve	A name given at different periods to three distinct kinds of weapons, viz. lance, bill, and sword. The second of these senses seems to be peculiar to English, the others are derived from French; in a large number of passages it is impossible to determine from the context which weapon is intended, esp. in the case of later writers.
	Hackbut	Firearm of the early sixteenth century,

²⁴⁶ See article by Alan Borg, *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, (1976), Vol. 8, no. 6.

²⁴⁷ H. Oakes-Jones, 'The evolution of the Gorget,' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* Vol. 1 (1921-22), p. 115 et seq.

		smaller than the harquebus.
H	Halberd, Halbert, Houlbeard	Combining a spear and battle-axe, it consisted of a sharp-edged blade ending in a point and a spear-head mounted on a handle five to seven feet long. Similar to the poleaxe it was the continental equivalent of the bill used in fighting.
	Hanger	A short sword.
	Harquebus	Firearm of the mid-sixteenth century, perhaps the first to develop from a crude to a relatively reliable weapon. About 3ft. long it weighed about 10lbs
	Harquebusiers	Generic term in the mid-sixteenth century for men armed with firearms, whether harquebuses, calivers or even muskets. Later replaced by the term 'shot'. It should be noted that contemporary terminology was often loose in referring to firearms. Harquebusiers or shot, wore a jacket or morion, replaced c.1660 by a buff leather coat or a hat.
	Harness	A general term for armour. In terms of military equipment normally consisted of a sallet, jack, gorget and splints.
	Horse	The usual contemporary term for cavalry, whether lances, light horse, petronels, cuirassiers or dragoons.
	Ibidem	There (Latin).
	Infirmus	Sick, ill (Latin).
	Jack	A kind of sleeveless tunic or jacket, formerly worn by foot-soldiers and others, usually of leather quilted, and in later times often plated with iron, fastened together with a trellis work of cord; sometimes applied to a coat of mail or a 'coat of fence.' Worn by harquebusiers and musketeers being a successor to the brigandine. ²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ See Meyrick in *Archæol.* xix, p. 224.

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	Jun	Junior.
	Jur	Jurat, one of the town councillors of Faversham.
La	Labourer	
	Lance	Heavy cavalry, formerly called men-at-arms, wearing three quarter length armour, high boots and armed with lance (and, by the sixteenth century, pistols), sword and dagger. The animal was no longer barbed, or armoured, but was supposed to have a protective frontlet and a plated or steel saddle.
	Light horse	Light cavalry, armed with pistols and staff; wore light protective armour on the upper body, similar to the harquebusier.
	Mar	Mariner, sailor.
	Mason	Worker in stone.
	Mr	Master.
	Mattock	Tool of pick shape with an edge and a chisel edge as ends of head.
	Militia	Strictly, the term dates only from the late sixteenth century, but it is here used to denote unprofessional citizen forces as opposed to professional soldiers.
	Morion	A kind of helmet, without <i>beaver</i> or visor, worn by soldiers in the 16 th and 17 th century, with a brim cocked for and aft and usually with a ridge crest.
	Mortuus	Latin for dead.
	Mould	A hollow form or matrix for casting bullets. OED.
	Musket	Two meanings: (i) before about 1588 it referred to a swivel-mounted gun used on ships to repel boarders; (ii) by about 1588 the English, following the Spaniards, were using it to mean an infantryman's handgun. Its barrel was 4.5 feet long; despite its weight, which necessitated firing from a forked rest, it

		superseded the caliver because of its power to pierce armour.
	OED	Oxford English Dictionary.
	Partisan	A military weapon used by footmen in the 16 th and 17 th century consisting of a long handled spear, the blade having one or more lateral cutting projections, variously shaped, so as to pass in to the gisarme and the halberd.
	Petronel	Form of cavalry pistol, introduced into England in the second half of the sixteenth century; it was of intermediate size between the dag and the true pistol.
	Pioneer	<i>Mil.</i> One of a body of foot-soldiers who march with or in advance of an army or regiment, having spades, pickaxes etc. to dig trenches, repair roads, and to perform other labours in clearing and preparing the way for the main body.
p	Pike	By the mid-sixteenth century, one of the two main arms of the infantry, the other being the shot. Pikemen were either armed; or unarmed ('bare' or 'dry'); if armed, they wore a corslet and morion; if unarmed, jacks and morions. The pike itself had the staves covered with little nails; it was 16 to 18 feet long.
	Pointmaker	A maker of points of laces (for sails of ships).
	Pole axe	Weapon of war.
Pren	Prentiss	Apprentice OED.
	Rivet	A short nail or bolt for fastening together metal plate.
Sa	Sallet	A light steel cap with a projection behind, extending over the nape of the neck.
Sel	Selected	for the trained band; after 1573.
Sen	Senior	
	Senex	Latin for old.

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	Sheaf	Of arrows.
	Shirt	Mail shirt.
	Shipwright	Ship builder.
	Shot	See harquebusiers.
	Shovell	Scooping implement.
	Skull	Skullcap.
	Spade	Tool for digging and cutting ground.
Spli	Splints	One of the plates or strips of overlapping metal of which certain portions of armour were composed; especially one of a pair of pieces of this nature used for protecting the arms at the elbows.
	Staff	The cavalry spear or lance.
Sug'	Sugeorner	Sojourner, a temporary resident.
	Summa Totalis.	Latin for sum total
	Sword	A weapon adapted for cutting and thrusting, consisting of a handle or hilt with a cross-guard, and a straight or curved blade with either one or two sharp edges and a sharp point
	Trained bands	The principle of selection was introduced in 1573, the earliest citation in OED is from William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (written 1570-6) which mentions 'trained companies'. The earliest citation of 'trained bands' given is Sir Henry Cokes in 1594.
	Vambrace	Armour for the forearm.
	Vintenary	A military officer in command of twenty men.
	Vidua, Widd	Latin for widow.

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

N^o. 211.

A Remembrance of all the armour
and weapon that is in the town and who
is to fynde the same.

Calyvers Pykes Servauntes Halbardes Bowes

	Calyvers	Pykes	Servauntes	Halbardes	Bowes
<u>The First Ward.</u>	ij	i	St. Crispe		
Edward Wood					
John Swynford	i				
Thos. Robynson	ij	paye cu rethor fust			
W ^m . Wood	ij				
Jamson Barrow			Henry Barrow	i	
John Seeche					
Robert Goodman				i	
W ^m . Reynouldes				i	
Vincent Lott				i	
Mychell Halle					
Ather Fylcocke	i				
W ^m . Grounte	i				
Nycholas Nychardson					
Rafe Lane				i	
John Longht				i	
Richard Harrington					
W ^m . Barfoote	i			i	
Robert Edroppe	i			i	
Robert Curlew	i				
Henry Beakon.					
John Harris	i				
W ^m . Coper	i	13	2		7
<u>The Second Ward.</u>					
Roger Marwood	ij				
Edward Phillips	i				
Therent Hubbard	ij	i			
Thos. Wheeler	ij	i			i fur

No. 239
The names of the Calyver men apoynted
under the governemente of Mr Edward
Wood, Jurat captain²⁴⁹

1 The Fyrst Warde	26 John Gryffen
Edward Wood, Jurat	
	4 The Fowerthe Warde
1 Rycharde Chrispe	William Jacobe, Jurat
2 John Swynforde	27 Rycharde Breskoe
3 Mychell Horne	
4 Wm Barnes	28 John Clevelands
5 Giles Clarke	29 Walter Halsnode
6 Wm Amwell	30 Rycharde Halsnode
7 John Norris	31 Mathewe Ellett
8 Stephen Brightringe	32 John White
	33 Nycholas Bates
2 The Seconde Warde	
Roger Manwood, Jurat	5 The Fyvethe Warde
	Stephen Rucke, Jurat
9 Peter Plomer	
10 Edward Phillipis	34 Robart Kynge
11 John Bentoppe	35 John Dape
12 Christofer Lambe	36 Wm Diersley
13 Thos Wheler, junr	37 John Whaly
14 John Perrey	38 Frances Barnes
15 John Fynall, junr	39 John Hebeing
16 John Botman	40 Wm Harryson
17 Robart Turke	41 Wm Martyn
18 Thos Page	42 Tho Lee
19 Henrye Hussye	43 John Hencham
20 Nycholas Lane	44 Tho Dyxe
	45 Tho Whetley
3 The Thirde Warde	46 Ellis Griffen
Rychard Tenche, Jurat	47 Nycholas Francklyn
	48 Tho Pyham
21 Abell Goger	49 Gregory Palden
22 Wm Clarke	50 Rychard Whyte
23 Roger Frost	51 Tho Paramour

²⁴⁹ Edward Wood was mayor in December 1577, 1578 and 1588.

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

24 Wm Woodcocke	52 George Wylckes
25 Hugoe Forthe	53 John Hane
54 Danyell Wybrande	89 Henrye Stanye
55 Anthony Hickers	90 Wm Belquithe
56 Giles Jeames	91 Cornellis Grove
57 Audryan Addyson	92 John Snode
58 Thos Frenche	93 John Jackson
59 Wm White	94 Danyell Browne
	95 Walter Tuck
6 The Sixt Warde	96 Rycharde Letherlande
Wm Rychardson, Jurat	97 John Forrest
	90 Peter Justice
60 Cornellis Frynde	
61 John Branderye	8 The Eight Warde
62 Henrye Rables	Mathewe Wynis, Jurat
63 Edward Smalwood	
64 John Sharpe	99 Mathewe Messenger
65 Thomas Mychell	100 Danyell Orgrave
66 Thos Cayne	101 Walter Younge
67 John Hande	102 Tho Sawnce
68 Henrye Sayer	103 John Mundaye
69 Nycholas Williames	104 John Atkynes
70 Wm Deane	105 Tho Swynforde
71 Edwarde Lane	106 Wm Scottes
73 Rychard Lawrence	107 Wm Dyx
	108 John Halle
7 The Seventh Warde	109 Nycholas Crispe
John Lee, Jurat	110 John Davyes
	111 Rychard Swynglehurst
74 John Rygden	112 George Ansell
75 Robart Ashbie	113 John Calvet
76 Grigorye Ashborne	114 John Bullock
77 Allexander Wreste	115 Wm Yawkynes
78 Nycholas Chester	
79 Rychard Philpott	9 The Nynthe Warde
80 Wm Ferryer	Edward Peke, Jurat
81 Tho Wylde	
82 Tho Tamkyn	116 John Cooper
83 Wm Borrell	117 Arthore Browne

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

84 John Sheperd	118 Tho Boyet
85 George Fauset	119 John Ellyes
86 Robart Turnor	120 George Browne
87 Benjamyne Martyne	121 Robart Pentlande
88 Tho Adkinges	122 John Jelley
123 Tho Wynyates	157 Younge Stace
124 Samuell Debney	158 Rychard Durram
125 Henrye Dunkyne	159 Tho Malson/Matson
126 Wm Keas	160 Anthonye Borman
127 George Deubode	161 Wm Malkam
128 Tho Shorte	162 Henrye Campyan
129 Wm Joones	163 Edwarde Campyan
130 Tho Stace	
131 Tho Robsdon	12 The Twelveth Warde
132 John Thodes	Wyllm Crispe, Jurat
133 Phillipp Elton	
134 Rychard Thomlyn	164 John Burfoote
135 Nycholas Cox	165 Robart Yeomans
136 Walter Powell	166 John Iryshe
	167 Tho Browne
10 The Tenthe warde	168 John Baker
John Bartelmewe Jurat	169 Wm Tylley
	170 John Stace
137 Rycharde Waters	171 Wm Grige
138 Rycharde Hurlleston	172 Nycholas Joyce
139 Wm Cooke	173 Tho Gooke
140 Walter Johnson	174 John Graye
141 John Cowrle	175 Robart Pryor
142 Tho Crane	176 John Ferrye
143 Tho Younge	177 Wm Dallamour
144 Thos Woulters	178 Jeromye Ellyot
145 John —	179 Hugoe Arnolde
146 Robart Collyver	180 Rychard Egerton
147 Humfreye Robynson	181 Stephen Porke
148 John Harvie	182 Tho Durram
149 Robert Prynge	183 Wm Estbrooke
150 Nycholas Hurlleston	184 John Pendred
151 Danyell Irishe	185 Wm Collarde
152 Tho Singleton	186 John Chalke
153 John Grove	187 Robert Stace

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

154 Tho Courle	188 Rychard Jacob
	189 Tho Isack
11 The Eleventh Warde	190 John Shepwell
John Iden, Jurat	191 Henrye Hurlestone
	192 Rychard Johnson
155 John Asheman	193 Mathewe Dade
156 Marke Elcock	194 John Olyver
195 Anthonye Slaughter	14 Robert Curlewe
196 Robart Clement	15 Jeames Nebreathe
197 Tho Barde	
198 John Harrys	The Seconde Warde
199 Wm Adames	16 Thomas Inglande
200 Tho Mychells alias Peters	17 Robart Blackleche
201 Wm Gaynye	18 Rycharde Wyate
	19 Robart Atwell
Calyver men of the denysones	
	The Thirde Warde
1 Jacob Curte	20 Rycharde Chittenden
2 Mychell Stracell 2 ²⁵⁰	21 Hugoe Maures
3 George Kyte	22 Rycharde Clarkson
4 Tho Vanell	23 John Boone
5 Gylis Ente	24 Wm Dalmyngton
6 Mychell Stampe 3	25 George Bruer
7 Charle de Brooker	26 Hewe Mathewe
8 John Carbonett	
9 Francis Latyne	The Fowerthe Warde
10 Mahue Smeker	27 Mychelle Rycharde
11 Vincent Jacob 4	28 John Bollarde
12 George Baveler 9	29 John Wyer
13 Lambert Clayse 10	30 Wm Mollande
	Edward Woodforde
The names of the Pyckes	31 Rychard Smyght

²⁵⁰ These numbers represent the wards in which the denizens lived.

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

and	
Halbarderes appoynted	32 Rychard Jones
	33 Jeames Lexstan
The Fyrst warde	34 Wm Gasken
1 Henry Tayler	35 Wm Browne
2 John Leeche	36 Wm Plomer
3 John Hillyarde	
4 Tho Cossens	The Fyvethe Warde
5 Robart Goodman	37 John Baddyson
6 Wm Reignoulde	38 Wm Wolheade
7 Vyncent Loll	39 Tho Parrot
8 Nycholas Rychardson	40 Ryse Enge
9 Robart Edropp	
10 Ralfe Lane	The Syxthe Warde
11 Wm Burfoote	41 Wm Hunte
12 Nychas Andryan	42 Edward Furnis
13 Tho Goulder	43 Rycharde Stone
44 Jacob Thorne	The Tenthe Warde
45 Jeromye Turner	68 Rycharde Smyght
46 Wm Wynter	69 Jeames Rumsey
47 John Burrowe	
	The Eleventhe Warde
The Seventhe Warde	70 Thomas Cortop
48 Frances Browne	71 Andryan Cooke
49 John Mewe	72 Andrewe Harwood
50 Wm Borowe	
51 Henrye Howse	The Twelveth Warde
52 Xpofer Vintman	73 John Moore
53 Vincent Woodman	74 Wm Harrys
54 Thomas Worster	75 Tho Guynes
	76 Tho Hurleston
The Eight Warde	77 Wm Woulters
55 Tho Wyllmson	
56 Valentyne Baker	The names of the able archers
57 Tho Mathewe	78 Henrye Norres
	1 ²⁵¹
58 Lewes Huson	79 Abram Sancrye
	2

²⁵¹ These numbers represent their wards.

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

59 John Tyndall	80 2	Lawrance	Parke
60 Wm Walles	81 2	Robart	Myles
	82 2	John Fyndall,	senr
The Nynthe Warde	83 2	Wm	Braye
61 George Hutchingson	84 4	Edward	Fanne
62 John Androwes	85 9	Ricjard	Patteson
63 John Keale	86 9	Roger	Phillipes
64 Robart Goodwyne	87 10	Davye	Neys
65 John Tayller	88 11	Anthonye	Fayerwether
66 Rychard Gyll			
67 Henrye Warde			

The names of the pyoners and what they are chardged with

	Wm Harlocke	a byll and a spade
	Wm Coper	a byll, a shovell
	Denys Quernes	a byll
1	George Hudson	a byll, a mattocke
	Rychard Bollarde	1 byll mattocke and spade
1	Robart Johnson	a byll and shovell
	Stephen Boyer	
	Tho Clement	a byll, a spade
2	Robart Gybson	
	Abram Gaskyne	a byll
	John Norryngton	a byll, a shovell
3	Rychard Turner	a byll, a shovell

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

	John Haywarde	a byll, a shovell
	Rycharde Waltes	a byll, a spade
	Rycharde Drewe	a byll, a spade
	John Brown	a byll, a spade
4	Wm Plover	a byll, a spade
	George Harga	a byll, a shovell
	Tho Sotheye	a byll, a spade
	Evan Jones	a halbarde, sworde dagger spade
		shovell
	Robert Herelwood	a byll, a shovell
	Edward Ponder	a byll, a shovell
	Tho Dype	a byll, a shovell
	Wm Balye	a byll, a mattocke
5	Phillipe Gate	a byll, a spade
	Rycharde Mose	a byll, a spade
	Wm Myddeton	a byll, a spade
	Stephen Lytles	a byll and a mattocke
	George Whyte	a byll and a mattocke
6	Tho Yeomanes	a byll and a shovell
	Rycharde Johnson	a byll and a spade
	Wm Cutler	a byll and a spade
	Wm Fysher	a byll and a spade
	Wm Phillippes	a byll and a spade
7	John Hudson	servant to John Shephard
	John Apse	a byll, spade and shovell
	Rycharde Rolfe	a byll and a spade
8	Jeames Whyte	a byll and a shovell
	John Warrener	a byll and a spade
	Tho Perse	a byll and a shovell
	Tho Juson	a halbarde swerde and dagger
	Clement Rose	a byll and mattocke
	Xpofer Croydon	a byll and spade

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

10	Rycharde Smyght	a byll and spade
	John Tomson	a byll and shovell
	Wm Wood	a byll mattocke and spade
	Tho Davey	a mattocke and spade
	Robert Robynson	a byll and mattocke
	John Curt Williams	a byll and shovell
	John Stocke	a byll and mattocke
	Persefall Jeferye	a byll and spade
11	John Spendley	a byll and shovell
	— Bucke	a byll and shovell
	Rycharde Powell	a byll and mattocke
	Marten Ryckarde	a byll and shovell
	Edward Felde	a byll and shovell
	John Bereman	a byll and shovell
	Paule Sylvester	a byll and spade
	Walter Chapman	a byll and mattocke
12	Stephen Bushopp	a byll, sworde and dagger
	John Bellenger	a byll

Nº. 240

The names of the officers of the general bande in the Towne of Sandw^{ch}
viz:

Cap ^{an}	Mr Edwarde Wood ²⁵²
Leften	Mr Bartholomewe
Ensigne	Mr Glover
Serjant	Mr Clarson

Corporales over the armed men	{ Thomas Hurleston { Rycharde Hurleston { Rycharde Stone { Robart Goodwyne
----------------------------------	---

	{ John Swynford { John Bootman { Tho Page { Robart Mychell
Corporals over the shotte	{ Tho Frenche { Edwarde Lane { Rycharde Jacobe { Edwarde Phillippes { John Stace { Gylis Ente

Corporall over John Tyndall, the Elder
the archers

	{ Evan Jones
Corporales over the pyoners	{ Rycharde Powell Tho Yeomans { Marten Ryckarde Wm Merryman

252 Edward Wood was mayor in December 1577, 1578 and 1588.

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

N^o 241

A Remembrans of all the armoure and wepon that is in the towne
and who is to fynde the same

	Calyve rs	Pykes	Servaunt es	Halbard es	Bowe s
The Fyrste warde					
Edward Wood	ij	j	R. Crispe		
John Swynford	j				
Tho Robynson	ij	Payre of cureses furn'			
Wm Wood	ij				
Samson Barrow			Henrye Barrowe	j	
John Leeche					
Robart Goodman				j	
Wm Reignouldes				j	
Vincent Loll				j	
Mychell Halle					
Arther Fylcocke	j				
Nycholas Rychardson	j				
Rafe Lane				j	
John Smyght				j	
Rychard Hampton					
Wm Barfoote	j			j	
Robert Edropp	j			j	
Richard Curlew	j				
Henrye Beakon					
John Harris	j				
Wm Coper	j				
	13	2		7	
The Second warde					

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Roger Manwood	ij				
Edward Phillips	j				
Repent Hubbard	ij	j			
Tho Wheler	ij	j			j furn'
	Calyvers	Pykes	Halbard es	Bowes	
Wm Evanes	4	ij		ij furn'	
John Hampto n	j				
Olyver Warson	ij	j			
John Sutton	j	j			
Tho Alden	j				
Robert Blacklec h	ij	j		j furn'	
John Fyndalle					
John Botman	ij				
Rychard e Wyat			j		
Nycho Colbran d			j furn'		
Robart Turcke	j	j			
Tho Philpot	j				
Robart Atwell	j		j		
Tho Page	j				
Robart Scott	j				
Henry Hussy	j				

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Wm Braye	j		j	j furn'
Jacob Curte	j			
Mychell Stracett	j			
George Keete	j			
Francis Regebar l	j			
The Thirde Warde				
Rychard Tench	ij	ij		
John Neame	j			
Abell Gager	j			
Josua Poredg	j			
Tho Venell	j			
Hugoe Mayres			j	
Wm Woodco cke	j			
Ellis Ente	4	2		
Rych Clarson	ij		j	
John Boons	ijj		j	
Mychell Stampe	j			

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Charles de Broke	j			
John Carbone I	ij	j		
	20	5	3	
Tho Buskynne		j		
Wm Dalmyngton		j		
Frances Latyne	j			
Mathew Smeke	j			
George Bruer			j	
Hewe Mathew			j	
Clement Palmer	j			
	23	7	5	

The 4 Warde				
Willm Jacobe	ij	j		
John Elner	j		j	
Walter Halsnode	j		j	
John Hache	j			
John Bollard	j		j furn'	
John Wyer			j	
Vyncent Jacobe	j			
Wm Molland			j	
Walter Haman	j			j
John Tayler	j			j
Rychard Joones			j	
Walter Brattell			j	
John Whyte	j			
Edward Fanne			j	j

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Reignald Sage				j
Nycho Bates	j			
Jeames Lexston			j	
Tho Northe			j	
Evan Jones			j	
Henrye Smythe	j			
Edward Bradford				j
	12	1	10	5
The Fyvethe Warde				
Stephen Rucke	ij	j	j furn'	
Rob Mychell	j		j	
Rob Clarke	j			
John Dunkyn	ij			
Rych Thomkyn	j		j	
John Henham	j			
John Joones	j			
Jervys Bassock	j			
Wm Wolhed	j		j	
Nych Francklyn	j	j		
Tho Pyham	j			
Tho Parrot	j		j	
John Seathe	j			
Rych Nowell	j	j		
Tho Nowell	ij	j		
Wm P Asheley	j			
Lac' Preston	j			
Danyell Wybrand	j			
Audrey Adyson	j			
Tho Chrispe	j	j		
Tho French	j			
Wm Whyte	j			
	25	5	5	
The 6 Warde				
Wm Rychardson	ij	ij		

KENT FEET OF FINES - RICHARD II

Roger Rowe	j	j		
John Bradery	j			
Wm Hunte	ij	j		
Tho Godfrye	j			
Aug Wynyates	j			
Edward Smalwood	j			
Chris Verrall	j			
Wm Borman	j			
Wm Pyttock	j			
Ellen Luck vid'	j			
Rychard Stone	ij	j		
John Barrowe				j
Jerom Furner			j	
Tho Noble	j			
Wm Wattes			j	
Hen Sayer			j	
Andr Cocket	j			
John Satonstoll	j	j		
	18	5	11	1
The 7 Warde				
John Lee	ij	j		
Edward Robardes	j		j furn'	
John Verall	j		j	j
Fafe ²⁵³ Hutton			j	
Robert Griffen	ij	j	j furn'	
Wm Burrell			j	
Tho Knowles	j			
Jacob Berrye	j			
Gylbert Knowles	j			

To be continued

253 Query Rafe.