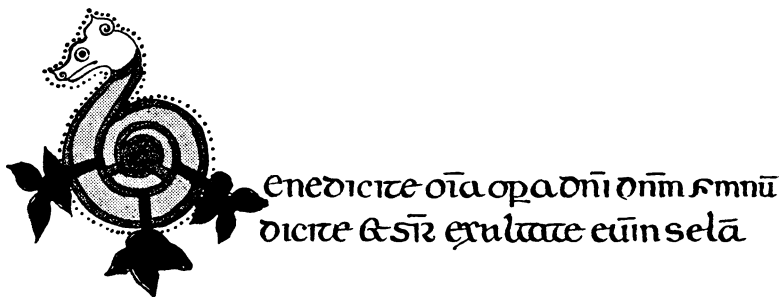


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DOVER PRIORY

A History of the Priory
of St Mary the Virgin, and
St Martin of the New Work

BY

CHARLES REGINALD HAINES

M.A., D.D. designate, F.S.A.

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

G. G. COULTON

LITT.D. Camb., HON. D.LITT. Durham, F.B.A.

Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge

Honorary Fellow of St Catharine's

College

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Fratribus Meis
Collegii Sancti Martini de Dovoriam
Et Magistris et Discipulis
Praeteritis Praesentibus
Futuris
Nec Minime Ei Qui Primus
In Animo Habuit
Hanc Historiolam
Iam Manu Aliena Consummatam
Conscribere
Summo Studio Summa Pietate
Hunc Librum Dedico

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And yet these grim old walls are not a dilettantism and dubiety, they are an earnest fact. It was a most real and serious purpose they were built for. Yes, another world it was, when these black ruins, white in their new mortar and fresh chiselling, first saw the light as walls years ago....The old...walls, I say, were not peopled with fantasm, but with men of flesh and blood, made altogether as we are....For...generations here was the earthly arena where painful men worked out their life-wrestle,—looked at by Earth, by Heaven and Hell. Bells tolled to prayers; and men of many humours, various thoughts, chanted vespers and mattins;—and round the little islet of their life rolled for ever (as round ours it rolls, though we are blind and deaf) the illimitable Ocean, tinting all things with its eternal hues and reflexes, making strange prophetic music! How silent now: all departed, clean gone.

CARLYLE

When we build, let us think that we build for ever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labour and wrought substance of them, “See! this our fathers did for us.”

RUSKIN

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

A BOOK on the Priory at Dover was projected by the late F. L. Adam, an old Dovorian, in the interests of his old school, which is built on the actual site of the former monastery, and still uses its gateway for its library, its refectory for its school hall, and its guest-house, if that be its correct designation, for its chapel. For 400 years, from 1136 to 1535, these buildings were occupied by monks professing the Rule of St Benedict.

On the premature and lamented death of F. L. Adam, I, as an old master at Dover College, was asked to take up the task, which my predecessor had left quite incomplete. Some even of the material, which he had collected, had disappeared in the interim, and the work had really to be begun afresh. But I wish here fully to acknowledge that we owe to him the inception of the idea of such a history, and an intense longing that it should be adequately carried out. So I have done my best to do what he would have wished so much himself to do, and I have spent several years and uncounted hours in performing this labour of love. But let me say at once, that it could never have been even attempted, but for the generous and ungrudging help of an old boy of the school, who stipulated that his name should not be mentioned. Alas, that I should have to add, that this liberal and noble-hearted lover of his fellow-men has even as these pages were in the press passed on to join his peers. To him then, as well as to my old pupil and friend, A. S. Lee, head master of Dover College, and to my lifelong friend, Richard Norris, O.D., I must return my most grateful thanks for all sorts of encouragement, advice, and assistance in this arduous work.

But, when I lightly agreed to undertake this task, remembering the words of our patron saint, *non recuso laborem*, which indeed has been my life's motto, I had no conception of the magnitude of what I was engaging to do, nor the unexpected amount of material there was in existence, whether manuscript or printed, bearing upon the history of this small, though, as it seems, in its way

HDP

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important, monastery. In searching, sifting, and putting together this mass of varied information under difficulties of time, space, and health, not to say want of near access to a good reference library, I could never have produced any satisfying results without the co-operation and kindly help of many friends and workers, to whom I cannot but express my deep obligations, in particular to A. H. Davis, an old colleague of mine at Dover College, and himself no mean authority on medieval life and manners; to Miss Rose Graham, D.Litt., F.S.A., a notable authority on monasticism, who has not grudged time and trouble for my benefit; to the Reverend C. E. Woodruff, librarian at Canterbury Cathedral, that great storehouse of documents relating to Dover Priory, whose help has been invaluable; to R. E. Knocker, O.D., and E. Amies, O.D., from whom I have learnt much of value for my purpose. Mrs Martyn Mowll, also, of Dover, has kindly allowed me access to her unique collection of prints and sketches of Dover. Nor must I forget the help of Mrs Duckworth who first urged me to take up this work, and of E. A. Minty, F.R.I.B.A., and H. Cayley, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., in making the plans of the site, etc., and of Mr Amos, of Dover, in regard to "bygone Dover". Dr M. R. James, Provost of Eton, and Dr Previté Orton, of St John's College, Cambridge, have been most courteous in supplying me with information, and the former's book on the *Ancient Catalogues of Christ Church, Canterbury and Dover Priory* has of course been indispensable.

Lastly, I must acknowledge my immense debt to my friend Dr Coulton for his kind interest and advice throughout my labours. No one can of course study medieval times, and more especially monachism, without making the fullest use of his monumental works on the religion, manners, and life generally of the Middle Ages.

It would not be easy, and I think scarcely necessary, to give anything like a complete bibliography of the numberless sources which I have consulted. Secondary authorities in such a work as this are apt to be disappointing, if not actually misleading. Of the four main compilations on Kentish matters, Dugdale, Hasted, Ireland, and Lyon (the last for Dover only), the fourth is nearly useless, and Ireland not much better. For our purpose, Dugdale

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is far the most valuable and important. In fact his account of Dover Priory (which in his *Monasticon* is strangely enough called "a Nunnery") is the foundation on which any account of our Priory must be built. Of modern writers, the most useful for my work have been without doubt the books of S. H. P. Statham, J. Bavington Jones, and Edward Knocker, and the *Victoria County History* for Kent. There are besides the invaluable pamphlets of Dr F. C. Plumptre and J. Tavenor Perry on the foundations of the Priory and St Martin's le Grand, and various papers and articles in the *Archaeologia Cantiana* and *Archaeological Journal*. But the mines from which the most valuable and virgin ore has been extracted are, of course, such depositaries as the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the libraries of Lambeth Palace and Canterbury Cathedral, the Public Record Office, and various College libraries at Cambridge and Oxford, all of which sources contain MSS. of the greatest value for this history. In consulting these I have met in every case and everywhere with the utmost courtesy and assistance from the custodians of the libraries and collections to which MSS. and books, that were the property of the monks of Dover Priory, have, in the course of the ages, strayed. Among these are the libraries of Corpus Christi College, St John's College, Trinity College and Pembroke College at Cambridge, Trinity College at Oxford, the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Among printed sources and indices, absolutely essential for such an enquiry as ours, I need scarcely name the Rolls Series, the Series of Domestic and State Papers, Patent, and Close, and Fine Rolls, Papal Letters, Charters, Rymer's *Foedera*, Ancient Petitions, *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, the various monastic annals such as Gervase, the two Rogers, Ralph de Diceto and many more, the Canterbury and York Society Publications, and other useful aids to research of the same sort.

Many monographs on individual monasteries have been published, such as those on Beaulieu, Chertsey, Shulbred, Boxgrove and others. Cardinal Gasquet is doubtless an authority to be consulted, but he is not always quite accurate. Miss Graham's pamphlet on the English Monasteries, and of course Hamilton

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Thompson's little manual are excellent guides for the beginner. Monasticism in England is a vast and intricate subject and even six years of strenuous labour are by no means enough to explore it. So I must crave the indulgence of my readers, if I have fallen into error here and there. One fault, which was very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid, owing to the scheme of the work, namely much overlapping of facts given in different chapters, will I hope be excused. I have failed to eliminate it.

Though I have tried to be as complete as possible, I do not claim to have unearthed everything that is extant about the Priory in the old documents. What there is left undiscovered I must leave my successors, who have youth, leisure, and enthusiasm, to glean after me. I shall have blazed the trail for them. What I have accomplished I have done to the best of my time, strength, and ability. But there is one work, which I should much like to have done at this time, namely, transcribe and edit the mutilated Dover "Annals", which Bishop Stubbs pronounced to be one of the best class of monastic annals. The fire at the Cottonian Library in the eighteenth century unfortunately greatly damaged this MS., and out of about seventy folios, only fifty are at all legible. In the account, which I gave in *The Library* for June 1927, pp. 73-118, all known particulars of the extant books from Dover Priory are stated, and to this I beg to refer my readers.

The history, which I here give, of Dover Priory links it on to the foundation of the community of secular canons in the castle in the seventh century, and of the canons regular established in the town of Dover in the following century, the site of the former of these being perhaps connected with the earliest organization of Christianity in England. This, as far as it is authentic, is a fine pedigree, and we of Dover College are inheritors of a great past.

Contained in this *historiola* is a miniature panorama of the religious history of our county, diversified with many incidents and scenes drawn from its political life through nearly 1000 years of our annals. But there is a monumental work yet to be written by some master hand, that shall, without fear or favour, without malice or partiality, but with a single eye to the truth, write a full and complete and documented account of English monasticism from

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the earliest and simplest times to that last and more sophisticated development of it, that led infallibly to its complete suppression. When this is taken in hand by some competent writer, let me hope that this, my amateur exploration of a byway in the province of English monachism, may form a humble part of the materials necessary to build up this suggested compilation of the conventual records of our forefathers.

C. R. H.

26 April 1930

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FOREWORD

My old friend Mr Haines has asked me to write a foreword, and, though I do not feel that this valuable book needs any other introduction beyond the author's own, I gladly accede to his request.

He has carefully studied and analysed all the documents available for the history of a monastery which has the added interest of having given birth, however indirectly, to a modern Public School. The medieval and purely monastic story of Dover Priory is peculiarly interesting in more than one respect. There is, to begin with, its evolution from an earlier community of secular canons (themselves evolved from a great castle chapel) and its struggle of 200 years to maintain independence of the lordly cathedral monastery at Canterbury; a struggle in the law courts which throws into insignificance even the great Jarndyce case in *Bleak House*. This, and similar matters, can be traced the more easily, through all their complications, in virtue of Mr Haines's excellent idea of following old Thomas Fuller's example, and introducing each important paragraph with a fresh headline.

Another peculiarity of Dover is that, though it failed in the Canterbury lawsuit, and was reduced finally to the status of a mere dependent cell, it was at the central point of the greatest trade and travel route in England, and had therefore to bear the burden, which was sometimes found oppressive even by great houses like St Albans or Reading, of the constant influx of travellers. In normal times, this was counterbalanced automatically by the royal grant, in the thirteenth century, of half the port-tolls and one-third of the market dues, which would bring an increase of income proportionate to every increase of visitors (p. 266). But, when we had serious wars with France, this equilibrium was disturbed; more men than ever passed then through Dover, but trade rather diminished than increased, even apart from the few evil years during which the French and Spanish fleet commanded the Channel, or from such a disaster as that of 1295, when the French

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sacked the town and Priory, and slew an innocent monk in his bed, for whom his fellows tried in vain to procure a papal declaration of martyrdom and formal canonization (p. 243). There again, however, we must not exaggerate on the other side, since here, as elsewhere, the multitude forestalled all papal decisions, and so many miracles were worked at the tomb of the Blessed Thomas de la Hale, including four cases of actual resurrection from the dead, that his cult lasted at least until the verge of the Reformation, and probably until the actual Dissolution.

The reader will find many such items of interest in this book: it may be worth while to indicate a few of them in conclusion of this foreword. Of special value are the account of the Library (pp. 388 ff.), the table of customs duties in 1363 (pp. 430 ff.), and the prior's account of income and disbursements in 1530-1 (Appendix II); this last may be profitably compared with the daily expenses at Winchester Cathedral Priory, published by Dean Kitchin. Of smaller details, it is worth while to single out the regulations of the Leper Hospital (p. 185), the hand-to-hand scuffle between the two archbishops (p. 193), the effect on Dover of the Canterbury Pilgrimage (p. 207), the meeting at the Priory in 1270 (pp. 222 ff.), and the prior's complaints (no doubt only too well justified) of his sufferings from unprincipled guests, so that "it is not possible to keep any good stuffs long in good order, and many times, and especially strange ambassadors, have such noyous and hurtful followers that they have packed up tablecloths, napkins, sheets, [and] coverpanes, with other such things as they could get" (p. 314).

But I have now written enough, or perhaps too much; it only remains to me to point out the care with which Mr Haines has analysed the contents of the monks' library, with the help of the valuable catalogue published by Dr M. R. James, and to invite the reader to follow out for himself the many facts of historical and social interest which he will find in a volume which, to the author, has been a labour of love, undertaken in his retirement from long and fruitful educational work at Dover and at Uppingham.

G. G. COULTON

April, 1930

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	A fresco of twelfth-century work showing our Lord's Supper, now nearly obliterated	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	Photographed about 1850 by Messrs Amos of Dover, who have permitted me to reproduce it. The outlines can just be dis- cerned still at the east end of what was the monks' refectory.	
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necti (corax) hodio habetur omnibus avibus Ita Christus a
iudeis: nunquam ambulat avis illa in die | id est, in ecclesia
pro timore avium, id est, Christus in prosperitate iudeorum
seu(?) in nocte avis illa ambulat | id est Christus in passione
dedit vindictam.

No Irish gloss appears on this page.

XIII. Initial Letters from the Dover Bible . . . *facing p. 391*

As specimens of the illuminations in the Corpus Bible above mentioned (Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, nos. 3 and 4), are given these two initials: "F" to the 1st Book of Kings (i.e. Samuel i) 1, f. 116^a, and "D" 11, f. 58. The former shews in a blue panel on green a minute David slinging at a gigantic Goliath, and at the foot of the letter David beheading the fallen giant with his own enormous sword. In the latter is shewn, above in the segmented space (on white ground), Christ, half length against a cross, nimbed, holding a scroll, one end of which issues from a wooden case, with "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram". This initial is at the beginning of Wisdom. On either side of the head, in blue, are the letters "R(ex) R(egum) D(ominus) D(eus)". Below on green ground with a white hand, in the centre, a nude criminal wearing only a loin cloth and with his eyes bandaged, stands full face. A ring shackles his legs together, and his arms are bound behind him. On left and right are groups of judges, holding red stones in their hands. One holds a staff. Is the youthful criminal St Stephen?

The librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, kindly allowed me to have these pages photographed.

XIV. The Crucifixion, and David and Goliath . . . 393

These very remarkable pictures come from the unique Irish Psalter, and were photographed by kind permission of the librarian, Dr Previté Orton. The one represents David before Goliath, who in token of defeat is upside down; the other is a most rude and grotesque picture of the Crucifixion. The latter is on fol. 35^b. *Border.* Yellow frame with panels of interlaced work and squares and discs in red and vermillion. *Picture.* On the arms of the cross are two figures with outspread hands, which may be meant either for the Virgin Mary and St John, or for two angels, scarcely for Dysemas and Gestas, the two malefactors (as has been suggested!). On either side of Christ are Longinus with the spear, and Stephaton with the reed and sponge. The figure above Christ must be meant for God the Father.

The David and Goliath picture is on fol. 68^b. *Border.* Yellow frame with squares and discs of yellow interlaced work in panels. *Picture.* On the left, David holding a staff with the head of a bird or beast, and spiked at the end; on the right, Goliath upside down, holding his hand to his face, his round shield athwart his thighs halfway down (or up) his body. The

ILLUSTRATIONS

drapery of both figures is mainly purple in bands separated by white lines or with discs of red and yellow. Red dots round all the figures in these pictures are a feature of the painting. The pointed nose, chin, and fingers are noticeable.

XV. The various Priory Seals *facing p. 435*

The two pairs of circular seals are those of the convent. The earlier pair, obverse and reverse, are the two upper ones (Brit. Mus. no. 3065). Their date is 1231, when we know from the Dover Annals that a seal was made for the Priory. But this is not likely to have been their first seal. The second seal (no. 3066 in the Brit. Mus.) was probably made late in the same century, or early in the next, pursuant perhaps to an order of Edward I in 1307, that every convent should have a seal. These are sufficiently described in the text. The latter seal served its purpose till the Suppression, and it is an impression from it that is attached to the Deed of Surrender.

The third seal, the left-hand top oval one, was the private official seal of Robert Hathbrand, 1355 (Brit. Mus. no. 3068), with the first appearance on it of the Priory coat of arms below the figure of St Martin.

The fourth seal, next to the above, gives us our only portrait of a prior (Richard de Hougham, 1350), since the disappearance of the stained glass window in Appledore Church, which represented John Newenham (1371–1391), except the next.

The last seal illustrated is the Archiepiscopal Seal of Richard (Prior from 1157–1173 and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury). It is attached to a deed in Canterbury Cathedral library (no. C. 859). This is an indenture for the exchange of land in Friday Street near the *Cloacarium* or Campanile (clock tower) of Christ Church, Canterbury, between the Prior and Convent of Christ Church and Gervase de Cornhilla.

XVI. Four heads and mutilated figure 479

The head of a cherub and the two grotesque heads were found in the ruins of the Priory, the fourth head with an erection upon it came from Freeman’s Buildings, when they were pulled down to make room for the new Post Office in Dover, and most likely belonged to the Priory. It is in private hands. The mutilated figure, now in the Dover Museum, also came from the ruins, and was part of a door lintel, either in the church or refectory. It is impossible to say what the figure represents, perhaps St Martin.

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Now in St John's College Library, Cambridge. The initial "B" of "Benedicite o(mn)ia op(er)a d(om)ni d(omi)n(u)m (h)ymnu(m) dicite et s(upe)r exaltate eu(m) in s(e)c(u)la". This follows after Psalm 50. It differs from the Latin Vulgate, which has <i>laudate for hymnum dicite</i> . See <i>Theol. Studies</i> , XI, p. 280, 1910, and J. O. Westwood, <i>Palaeographica Sacra Pictoria</i> , Plate 11. <i>Half-title</i>	
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	Tailpiece	442
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