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SAXON RECORDS OF TENTERDEN

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I. THE HERONDEN CHARTER OF 968.

The most interesting feature of this charter is the fact that it was brought to its present state by a series of additions, each of which was evidently felt necessary to make it a complete record of the transaction with which it is concerned. All these additions are in the same hand as that of the main part of the charter but they were made at different times and very possibly at different places. The charter, number 1212 of Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, has been reproduced in part 3, plate xxxi, of the Ordnance Survey Facsimiles, and discussed by Wallenberg in *Kentish Place Names*, pp. 295-8. The illustration accompanying this essay is from a photostat of the original in the British Museum, where it has the press number Stowe charter 30.

The First Draft

The first draft consisted of the lines 1-9 and the first two words of line 10, except for certain additions which will be discussed later and are represented by blanks in the following translation :

This is the agreement that Aelfwold and
Aethelflaed have made, that is, that Aethelflaed
gives to Aelfwolde one den in return for the agreed payment,
which she has received, namely, This den
is named Hyringdaenn surrounded by these boundaries. On the
east from the "staenenan stapole" to the "Tenetwarabrocas"
and to "Hyryngbrocas"; on the south the "Hyryngburne" as
far as the "Aescburnan"; on the west the "Escburna" as far
as "Aescbrygge"; on the north "sia rode" from "Aescbrygge"
to the "staenenan stapol" again : to have and to hold happily
during his life time in perpetual inheritance and after his day to
have power to leave it to whatever heir he shall please, free in
every way. If anyone indeed, which we do not desire, or the
servant of anyone, instigated by the rashness of the devil, shall
arise and shall be tempted to infringe or diminish this my gift
and munificence, or to in any way upset what has been agreed

by us, let him know himself arraigned before the tribunal of the highest and eternal justice by Almighty God, and cut off from the society of all Saints, unless before this, in this present life, he shall be willing to make amends to God and to all men with proper and sufficient compensation.

In this section "and Eadwold" has twice been added above the line, the addition being quite obvious. Less obvious, but hardly to be disputed, is the forcing into too small a space, left for it, of the price of the land, namely "M CC-CCL denarios," that is, 1450 pence. Owing to a fold in the original charter the "n" of denarios, and other letters later, are imperfectly shown in the illustration. A third addition in this section is the letter "n" added to "geuthe" in the first line. This is sufficiently apparent and became necessary when the addition of a second person called for the plural form of the verb to give. The occasion which gave rise to these alterations will be discussed later but it is convenient to deal here with the intrusion of Eadwold into a transaction to which he had not been expected to be a party.

This intrusion is explained by a contemporary endorsement which reads "& Aelfwold gesealde Eadwolde & his sunum. c. panaega anuppan all this other withthan the hit hiora unna waere butan aelcre anwaendednesse." This means "and Aelfwold has given Eadwolde and his sons 100 pence in addition to all this other provided that their gift (i. e. the conveyance to Aelfwold) remains undisputed."

Aethelflaed is the name of a lady and I think we can assume that Eadwold was a relative, possibly a brother or at least so placed that he might possibly have made some claim to the land even if only in very unlikely contingencies. And the claim that Eadwold had, his sons would have after him. So all of them were made parties to the conveyance and received a cash consideration to make the business binding.

The Date.

The next words to be added to the charter were "Anno dominice ab incarnatione Christi D.CCCC.LXVIII. indictione." The letter "D" (=500) is damaged and cannot be made out in the illustration. The date thus written is incomplete in that the number of the indiction is not stated. An indiction was

a period of 15 years and in using this method of reckoning a succession of such periods was supposed to start from the year 312. But it was not, as one might have expected, the number of the indiction which was usually quoted as a date but merely the order of the year in what ever indiction was current. In this particular case it was the eleventh year of the 44th indiction, and the number eleven was omitted by the clerk, presumably because he could not at the moment recollect what number would be correct. Nor did he rectify his omission until he had commenced a still further section of the charter, that is, the insertion of the first group of witnesses. He then wrote after the name of the King the words "indictione regnis sui anno.xi."—in the indiction (and in the) year of his reign the eleventh.—It looks as if this clerk was peculiarly unreliable for the words only just succeed in conveying the desired meaning and there was no need to write "indictione" a second time. The mistake seems best explained as an aberration of a type to which we are all liable.

The first list of witnesses.

The first list of witnesses forms a section of the charter which is obviously later than the first draft but may well be contemporary with the alterations in that draft. It can be translated as follows :

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------------------|
| + | I Eadgar King of England have approved this gift with the
sign of the cross | | |
| + | I Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury Church. | | |
| + | I Sifrið abbot have approved | + | I Aethelereth minister |
| + | I Aelfstan reeve have approved | + | I L———na minister |
| + | I Birhtsie reeve have approved | + | I Lifing minister |
| + | I Hlothewig portreeve have approved | + | I Edda countryman |
| + | I Aldraed minister | + | I Eadwold countryman |
| + | I Liofstan minister | + | I Siwold countryman |
| + | I Eadelm minister | + | I Aetheraed countryman |
| + | I Liofrie minister | + | I Ordelm countryman |
| | | + | I Ordegh countryman |
| | | + | I Birhtraed countryman |
| | | + | I Liofstan countryman |
| | | + | I Aethelwig countryman |

and the brotherhood at Christchurch and the brotherhood at Saint Augustine and the three fellowships, within the City, and without the City, and the Many Meeters.

Apart from the importance or otherwise of the persons named, this list calls for a few comments. After the subscribing of the Archbishop, in the original charter, and even after the full stop which closes his attestation, occurs the word "roborau" in a slightly larger writing, or at least with a more open spacing, than the words preceding. This word means "I have confirmed" and should have been entered before the full stop. Clearly the clerk was careless once more. These minor errors are emphasised because they bring before us a process of charter making which can only be studied in originals and is therefore little known, even to Anglo-Saxon historians. It is much to be regretted that no satisfactory or complete edition of these original Saxon charters is available. Its absence is a disgrace to British scholarship.

The third column of witnesses in the original is in a small hand and has been forced into a space inadequate for it. The names in this column might appear to belong to the second list if it were not for the fact that they fall into the proper order of the first list which requires that ministers shall all be mentioned before countrymen are recorded. One of the names in this third column is much damaged. It appears to read "La . . . na" but it is difficult to suggest what it may be.

The presence of so many "rustici" or countrymen is very unusual. They were probably the Kentish squires of the period assembled to meet the King. In the following year the island of Thanet was laid waste by order of this same King Edgar, presumably for harbouring evil thoughts or evil doers, possibly Danes. The squires may well have thought it wise to let men know upon whose side they were—but this alas, is mere guesswork and the reader is warned against rating it more highly.

The second list of witnesses.

When the clerk had, as he thought, entered all the witnesses; and had concluded his charter with the names of the Canterbury guilds, which customarily held this position;

and when he had no room on his parchment for even one more line, he was given another list of names to add. He did his best. At the end of the last line there was a small space. He carried on here with “ & aelfsige burthen ”—and Aelfsige the bower-thane or chamberlain. The remaining names he entered above the columns of the first list. They read “ & the brotherhood at Apuldre, & Eadelm, Birhtfreth, Ealdelm, Ealhfreth, Sielm.” Although these latter names were obviously entered after the charter had been, as its writer supposed, brought to an end, the case of Aelfsige the chamberlain is not quite so clear. It is possible that this name was entered at the same time as the third column of the first list. It seems the more likely that Aelfsige belonged to the first list since he was presumably a royal official. The name of King Edgar’s burthene in 972 was Wynstane. He is named as a royal officer and Aelfsige may well have been his predecessor.

The endorsements.

There are two contemporary endorsements. One has already been quoted. The other is “ This is hyring daennes boc the Eadwold & Aethelflaed geuthan Aelfwolde with his licwyrthan scaette.” The normal translation would be “This is Heronden’s book, that Eadwold and Aethelflaed gave to Aelfwolde in return for the agreed price ” but the word “scaette” had reference to a contemporary currency and may indicate the coinage in which the debt was paid.

There are later endorsements of which the most interesting is the private mark of Sir Edward Dering (*Arch. Cant.*, I, 57).

When and why the additions were made.

The Saxon charter was in 968 a very important document, almost as important as a title deed of modern times in a case of disputed possession. But older customs still survived and it was wise if not essential to proclaim the conveyance at one or more public meetings at which those most affected were likely to appear. It was also desirable, as a safeguard, to obtain the consent of the King and, in Kent particularly, of

the Archbishop, and to record these consents in the charter. Those whose boundaries marched with the land conveyed were interested parties whose knowledge of the deed it might be desirable to prove. Their names might also be added to make assurance sure and, finally, there was no harm in just mentioning the various corporations which had been made aware of the transaction, e.g. the local monasteries and the city guilds. It is hardly to be supposed that all these persons were necessarily together in one place at one time. It would be easier to take this charter from Canterbury to Tenterden, securing good witnesses at either place, than to bring the folk of Tenterden out of the weald. No one will suppose that the attestation of the brotherhood of Saint Augustine means that every soul in the convent knew of it but it may well signify that the conveyance was reported to the chapter by those who had heard it read at a more public meeting.

We have therefore to approach with due caution the elucidation of the gradual building up of this charter. I suggest, but cannot prove, that the facts which may be gleaned from a study of the charter require us to suppose at least three stages. These were, I think :

1. The preparation, not in public, of the main body of the charter by a clerk who had already some information about the land but did not know the price, nor all the parties, nor who would be witnesses.
2. A public meeting or at least a meeting at which the King, the Archbishop and various officers were present for the purpose, inter alia, of such routine business as the passage of this charter represented. In view of the strong body of witnesses connected with Canterbury, I think this meeting was held in that city. It was probably called primarily to deal with matters of high policy, including, perhaps, the punishment of Thanet in the year following.
3. A meeting at Tenterden, or in its near neighbourhood, and almost certainly a meeting of the Hundred, at which the conveyance of Heronden was advertised to the

assembled people and the names of the second list of witnesses collected. This meeting was unexpected by the scribe and was therefore not a normal feature of charter making.

It is unfortunate that we have only presumptive evidence of this third stage. That there was some occasion which gave rise to a further list of witnesses is strongly suggested by the fact that no room was left for them when the list of Canterbury witnesses had come to an end. That these witnesses may have been drawn from the neighbourhood of Tenterden is hinted at by the presence of the brotherhood of Appledore, by the humble character of witnesses who had no titles and required no crosses, and by the inherent reasonableness of a meeting near the land conveyed.

The witnesses.

A few of these call for separate mention. Abbot Sifrithus, i.e. Sigefrith, attests in 969 (Birch 1230) and 970 (Birch 1266). These are not Kent charters but both are meetings of the Witan, at which a Kent abbot might well be present. But the name does not occur among the abbots of St. Augustine's at this time and the abbey over which he presided is not known.

Hlothewig the "portgerefa" or city reeve is not known from any other record. He was presumably an officer of Canterbury city representing the King's interests there.

The three fellowships attest various other charters and it is the writer's hope to discuss them at more length on some other occasion. In the meantime a suitable modern rendering of the Anglo-Saxon guild name "micle gemettan" (literally, many partakers) would be welcome.

The Brotherhood at Appledore.

The mention of the brotherhood at Appledore seems to refer to an actual conventual establishment, at that place and existing in 968. Dr. Cock of Appledore who has made a close study of the history of the district tells me that he knows of no reference other than this to any such establishment. All the

Saxon monasteries in Kent of which we have any record were early foundations and are found in the list of A.D. 697 (Birch 91). There is no mention of Appledore. About 893 the Danes seem to have wintered at Appledore (A-S. Chron.) and this would probably have been fatal to any monastery then existing, as it was at Minster, Hoo, Sheppey, etc. The Danes continued to threaten our coasts long after 893 and the threat was not really removed until after the Norman conquest. It is difficult to believe that any monastic house can have been founded at so exposed a place as Appledore between 893 and 968 or that any previously founded could have survived the Danish wars. It is a further serious objection that the manor of Appledore belonged to Christ Church at least by the end of Canute's reign (Kemble 745, Thorpe 328) and perhaps as early as 1006 (Kemble 715) or even in 968 (see later) but there is no suggestion in the charters quoted of any monastery there, nor is any evidence of it known to be extant at Canterbury. In these circumstances it is wise to suspend judgment as to the meaning of the brotherhood at Appledore. It seems most likely that it was a small party of only two or three monks and servants in charge of an Appledore manor farm of either Christ Church or St. Martin of Dover.

What was a "Den" in 968?

Having now examined the actual charter in some detail we are in a position to approach the points of particular interest in its contents. The land conveyed is described as "this daen", that is, "this den" and it is obvious that the word "den" had already some distinct meaning. We have all been lead to believe that this meaning was originally "hog-pasture" and that the dens were merely places in which the sole inhabitants were pigs and herdsmen. There is no suggestion of that sort in this charter and conditions at Tenterden must have reached a much more developed stage in 968. The seller of the land is a lady and the price is far beyond the dreams of herdsmen. The Ashbourne has already been bridged and that pre-supposes some local authority

responsible for such work for it is a bridge which joins two different estates and, no doubt, two different parishes and so is not the concern of a private person. The contracting parties are of sufficient culture and importance for their bargain to be endorsed by the witness of the King and his nobles. We have reason to suppose that Tenterden had a church which was far from new and we know that the Hyringdaenn estate had already existed as such for more than a hundred years (*B. C. S.* 407). All this takes us far from the primitive conception of a pig-pasture and it would seem that in 968 the word "den" meant only an estate in the Weald and not an estate devoted to any particular purpose.

The Boundaries.

This estate is described as having certain boundaries which may be identified as follows :

Thaem staenenan stapole, the stone pillar. The development of ancient public highways converging on West Cross makes it certain that the Heronden estate was bounded by roads at this point, which is a likely situation for the stone pillar. There is no evidence known to me that an actual cross stood at this point.

This reference to a "stapole" (our "steeple") at Tenterden inevitably reminds one of the old tale that "Tenterden steeple made the Goodwin sands". This legend has no good pedigree and is not of value for historical purposes, at least, so I believe. But it is just worth noting that the Abbey of Minster which owned most of Thanet must certainly have been interested in the sands and, if they were ever of use for agricultural purposes, probably owned them, and maintained sea walls for their preservation. Since the Abbey also owned Tenterden, and would be responsible for any stapole or church tower there, it would be quite possible for money intended for protection from the sea to be diverted to the making of a steeple. In other words, the conditions requisite for accepting the legend seem to be quite neatly fulfilled.

Tenetwarabrocas. The word "brocas" means meadows and not what we now call brooks. There are fields called the Upper and Lower Brooks part of Isemonger Farm in Tenterden and probably at many other places in other parts of the parish. "Tenet-wara" means the men of Thanet to which Tenterden belonged. These meadows were apparently on the east of the Smalhythe road about the head of Tilder Gill.

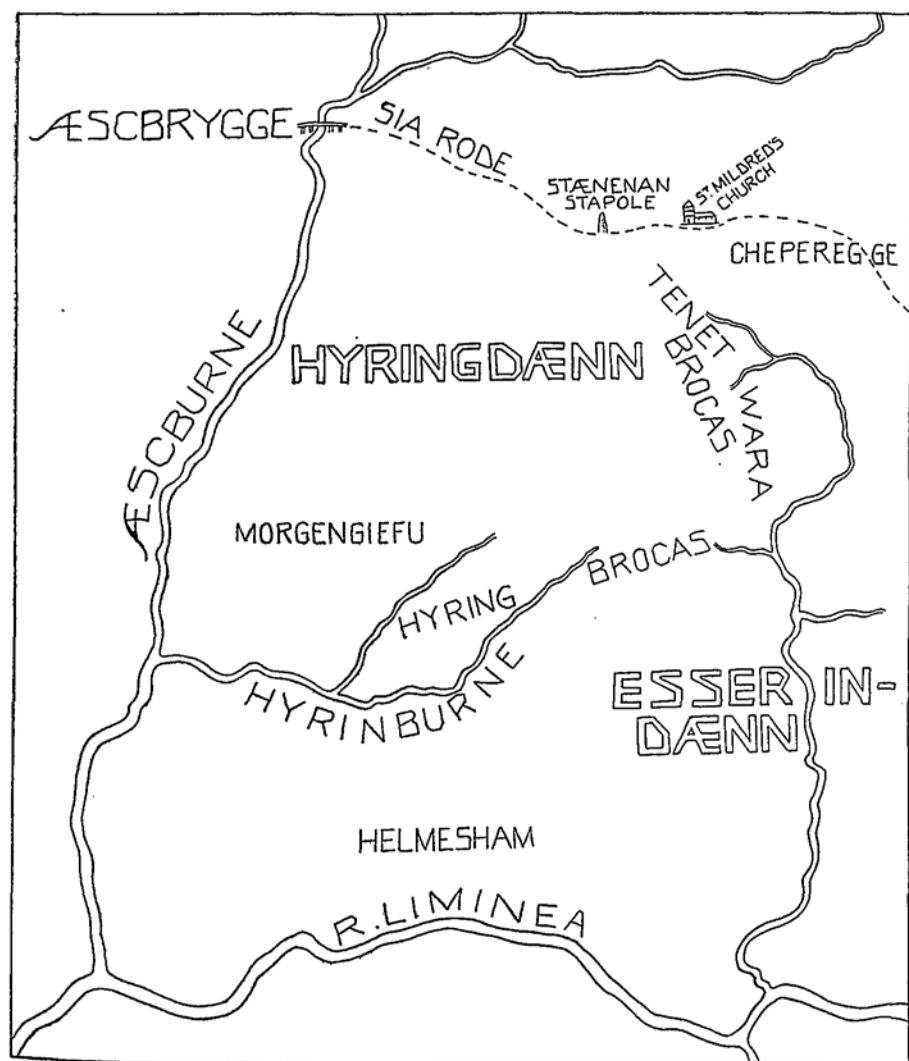
Hyringbrocas . . . Hyringburne. These words must be taken together with Hyringdaenn. The root "Hyring-" was used to characterise a den, its meadows, and a stream associated with it. The stream was on the south and there is still a stream in the appropriate position. There is only one other stream bounding Heronden and this is on the west and this charter and the name of an existing mill both assure us that this was called the Ashbourne. This is further evidence in favour of the identification of the stream shown on the map with the Hyringbourne. This stream also fulfils the requirements of the charter in that it presently empties into the Ashbourne. With the Hyringbourne so clearly fixed we have no option but to place the Hyringbrocas about the headwaters of the Hyringbourne in the Quarter and Broad Tenterden district.

Aesburnan . . . esburna. This is now called the Newmill Channel but the mill itself is still called Ashbourne Mill.

Aesbrygge. Presumably the bridge over the Ashbourne on the Rolvenden road.

Sia rode. It would be nice and easy if this meant "the road" but this is not the cause. It means the cleared or open area. One can hardly determine the exact shade of meaning intended a thousand years ago. In any case, the area intended was evidently that between the bridge over the Ashbourne and West Cross.

These identifications are in part hypothetical but they undoubtedly fit together in a manner agreeing with what we



PART OF SAXON TENTERDEN,
with names of places, &c., for which there is sufficient evidence.

know or can see of the district. Moreover, one may detect three groups of words which are worth setting out :

Hyringbrocas	Tenetwarabrocas	_____
Hyringburne	_____	Aescburne
Hyringdaenn	(Tenetwaradaenn)	_____
		Aescbrygge

These are all compounded from the three roots Hyring-, Tenetwara- and Aesc- and these three roots are all found in use in Tenterden to-day and each in the shape of one of its old compounds. In face of this evidence it is hardly possible to doubt that the charter does really refer to Heronden in Tenterden parish and not to any other place. This emphasis is necessary because Birch and other authorities who have copied or mislead him speak favourably for a certain Heronden in Eastry which, as Wallenberg first pointed out, has really no sort of claim on our attention except the accidental resemblance in name.

II. THE CHARTER OF 833.

The original of this charter has long been lost. Birch reports two copies, in Register C of Christchurch (B. 407) and in MS. Lambeth 1212 (B.408). Both record the grant of various places to Christchurch including, in B. 407, "communio in silvis, scilicet in Estercogheringdenne et Hyringdenne togeddere liggende" and in B. 408, "silvam quae vocatur Hostringedenne". Most of the other places named in this charter can be identified as being in the Appledore and Tenterden area and Hyringdenne can safely be accepted as Heronden in Tenterden. There was another estate lying close to this ("togeddere liggende") of which the name is given once as Estercogheringdenne and once as Hostringedenne. The first name is very badly corrupted, as says Wallenberg (*Kentish Place Names*, 174), who gives considerable space to a discussion of these names. He identifies the second estate with Ashenden in Tenterden. This lies near to Heronden, as the charter requires. This identification has also the support derived from the fact that nowhere else in Kent do two places with such names lie close together, and

from the further fact that both places are later found (MS. Galbo E.4. in BM.) belonging to Canterbury and grouped as dens of Appledore. The names as there given are Herinden and Esserinden, the date being about 1300. It is to be regretted that our surviving exemplifications of this charter are so poor that one thinks that they may have been derived from a much damaged original—several of the charters now remaining at Canterbury are much damaged—and have been composed with the aid of guess work. However, it is enough for our present purpose to note that Heronden and Ashenden in Tenterden were possessions of Christchurch as early as 833 and certainly as late as 1300. One may deduce from this that what Aethelflaed sold in 968 was a freehold subject to such dues as Christchurch might by custom require. The attestation of the Appledore fraternity to the 968 charter suggests that Heronden may have already been attached to the manor of Appledore by that date.

III. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT MILDRED.

In the Saxon period the connection between the manor and the church was extremely close. The lord of the manor built the church and the possession of a church was one of the essentials for the rank of thane. He paid the salary of the officiating priest, the glebe was cut out of the lord's demesne and it is not to be imagined that the question of dedication could be settled without his approval. The parish church was, in fact, the private chapel of the lord of the manor. It was certainly praiseworthy if the lord saw fit to build on a nave, or to allow his tenants to do so, and so take part in public worship under cover, but this did not give them any right except in the nave they had built and the church remained a part of the lord's possessions.

In considering the early history of the church at Tenterden we have therefore to bear in mind that throughout the Saxon period and for long after the conquest Tenterden was a part of the manor of Minster in Thanet. About 670 a lady named Domneva founded on this manor (Thomas of Elmham p. 214) an abbey which later became very famous. It was at

first dedicated to the Virgin Mary but about the year 696 (B.88,845) a certain Mildryth of the blood royal of Kent became abbess there and on her death at some time after 733 (B. 149) the dedication was by the public voice altered to perpetuate her fame. We do not know why she was so famous but it is certain that this was the case and her bones were venerated (and their possession disputed) for centuries after her death. But her abbey was destroyed by the Danes about 840 (Tho. Elm. 222) and after that date the manor of Minster seems to have returned to the crown¹ until 1027 when King Canute gave to the Abbey of St. Augustine the body of St. Mildred and her land in Thanet (K. 1326 : Tho. Elm.). The manor remained in the hands of this Abbey until the dissolution.

It is exceedingly unlikely, in fact almost impossible to imagine, that any church could have been built at Tenterden without the aid and approval of the lord of Minster manor. It is therefore convenient to consider on this basis the three possible periods of building (a) 733-840, after the death of Mildred until the destruction of the Abbey of Minster. During this period the Abbey was owner of the manor. (b) From 840-1027, that is, from the destruction of the Abbey until the Danish wars ceased, when Canute gave the manor of Minster to the Abbey of St. Augustine. During this period the manor of Minster, perpetually looted by the Danes, was in the hands of the reigning king. (c) From 1027 to the dissolution of the monasteries, during which period the Abbot of St. Augustine was lord of Minster manor. One has only to

¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that an abbess named Leofruna was captured by the Danes at Canterbury in 1011. Florence of Worcester, writing about a hundred years later says that she was abbess of St. Mildred's. Various writers of later date add that St. Mildred's in Thanet is meant and thus deduce that the abbey continued to exist until at least this date. It seems to be most probable that the lady was really the "Liofrun abbudisse" of a Berkshire charter of about 992 (K. 693) and the "Leofrun abbatissa Readingan" in the list of famous women in the Hyde Register, i.e. an abbess of Reading who chanced to be visiting Canterbury at the time. Although Florence of Worcester is in general a good authority he lived a long way off and may easily have supposed that this abbess presided over the only Kentish nunnery of whose name he was aware. The most probable alternative supposition is that the survivors of the Danish sack of Minster had established some sort of religious house in Canterbury itself, and named it after their patron Saint.

state these three periods to see that the chance of a church being dedicated to St. Mildred by a lord of Minster manor was almost nil in any but the first. It was not the habit of St. Augustine's Abbey to dedicate churches to anyone but St. Augustine, at least, so we may judge from the fact that all the churches so dedicated are known to have been situated on manors of that abbey. Church building was not likely to have flourished anywhere, and certainly not in Minster manor, during the long troubled period of the Danish wars. We are left with the strong probability that Tenterden church was founded between 733 and 840 or, if founded previously, was re-dedicated to Saint Mildred at that time. The latter hypothesis is by no means impossible for Saint Mildred may well have won her way to sanctity in part at least by the obvious route of church building.

Our written mentions of Tenterden church date from about 1240 only (White Book of St. A.) but the considerations set out above go far to show that Tenterden church was founded within 200 years at latest of the coming of Christianity. I do not think there can be any doubt that it had a church long before the conquest, a supposition which accords well with what we know of the numbers of Saxon churches in England and their distribution in Kent.

IV. PLACE NAMES.

The study of place names is fundamental in making a map of Saxon England. It is true that here and there we have actual charters as evidence and now and again the highly controversial witness of ancient burials but these are items of relatively little account and the great mass of our evidence of the map of Saxon Kent, as of other counties, resides in the existing or recoverable names of places, and especially of farm settlements. There are of course pitfalls in this study and the historian who has no consciousness of fallibility in himself, or in his authorities, had better leave place names alone. Thus, as a general rule, place names ending in -ing, -ham or -ton denote settlements which existed before 1066. But there are exceptions. The making of place names by the

simple method of qualifying -ton (meaning a farm) by the name of its owner was still in use when the Normans came. Thus the Brixiestun of the *Domesday Monachorum* was a farm of Brixi the last Saxon owner. The Blachemenestone of *D. B.* had Blacheman as its lord and he too was slain or displaced at the conquest. It is therefore possible that some few names of this class may have arisen after the conquest. They are therefore not such good evidence as other names.

But this objection does not hold good for names in -ing and -ham, nor for names in -ton preceded by possessive forms of the owner's name of a type which did not survive so late as the 11th century. Such forms are seen in Pevington, etc. in which the -ing- syllable is possessive. Names in -ham are definitely older than those in -ton and are all pre-conquest and apparently so early that one cannot by any means exclude the possibility that they were used by a race which overran the country before the Roman era. This last suggestion is exceedingly unorthodox and is fortunately not material to our present purpose. That -ham names are older than -ton names is shown by the fact that -ton is often added after -ham in a place name (although both meant the same thing), making the widely distributed -hampton names, but -ham is never added to -ton. There are no -tonham names. The comparative antiquity of -ham names has been shown from quite another point of view by Round (*Settlement of the South and East-Saxons in The Commune of London*) who points out that -ham names are closer to possible approaches by sea or river, while -ton names predominate in the back lands which were colonized later. It is certainly a fact that -ham names tend to cluster round the rivers, whether Round's explanation of this fact be valid or not. This brings us back to Tenterden for it was in the Rother area that Round found his examples. We are met at once by the discouraging fact that there are no -ham names in Tenterden. There are three or four settlements placed as are the -ham name settlements in the neighbouring parish of Rolvenden but their names are Cole Farm, Bulleign, Small Hythe, Dum-bourne, etc. while Rolvenden has in similar positions Kensham,

Forsham, Maytham and Freezingham. Now, Cole Farm and Bulleign look like post-conquest names which may have displaced much older forms, and Small Hythe suggests that the presence of a haven may have resulted in the absorption of an older name. It is therefore reasonable to look for some -ham names which have become disused. I have found only one. This is marked on the accompanying map as Helmesham but it occurs in the *Black Book of St. Augustine* as Emelesham and Hemelesham. The name occurs in the rentals of Snave manor which evidently drew rents from near Tenterden as the following entries show :

De Henrico de Hemelesham, parcenariis	xvd
De Alano de Smallide	ixd
De Emelesham et Smalide	iiid ob.

In the same lists we find Radulphus de Dungeburn (now Dumbourne), and the rather surprising rent of "Hellgabulum" paid only by Henry de Hemele(s)ham and Hamo de Denegeburne. We are indebted to Mr. A. H. Taylor (*Arch. Cant.*, XXX, etc.) for further records. In 1465 the name had become G'melysh'me and in 1545 Gwmlysham and Guylysham. The name was probably not in popular use or remembrance at that time, only the records showing that certain named lands were "on the dene of Gwmlysham". These lands were some of the Chapel lands of Smallhythe whose position is known from an official map in my collection. From this it becomes evident that Helmesham (a) was not the same as Smallhythe or Dumbourne but (b) was in whole or in part to the east of the Smallhythe road and included the site of the church. There is a very ancient house just south of the church which may represent the original farmhouse. On this evidence it is suggested that we may properly add this den to the Saxon map of Tenterden.

The evidence which seems to have justified the placing of Cheperedge on the map is of a different character. It cannot be said that this name could not have arisen as a new name after the conquest but there are reasons for supposing that it did not do so in this particular instance. Cheperedge was a

den of Wye as many records attest and Wye was a royal Saxon manor given by the Conqueror to the Abbey of Battle. If Cheperegge existed as a distinct settlement in Saxon times it was handed over to Battle as part of Wye. If it did so exist, we have to suppose that it grew up after the conquest, on someone else's ground, was granted as a separate gift to the Abbey and was by the Abbey added to the manor of Wye. All this must have happened at a very early date for Cheperegge is well established in the 13th century. Now, there is no record of these things having occurred and no likelihood that an Abbot of Battle would have ever thought of adding new dens to Wye manor even if he had been able to understand what was involved in such a process. Therefore it is that Cheperegge has been put upon the map. The balance of evidence is clearly in favour of its having been a Saxon centre.

The place name Morgengiefu appears on Modern maps as Morghew Farm. It is derived from the "morgen giefu" of Saxon custom, the dower gift to a wife on the morning after the wedding. This custom may have survived the conquest but I find it difficult to believe that the altered conditions of landownership amongst the higher classes would have allowed a new holding to grow up and to attach to itself this very characteristic Saxon name. I therefore deduce that there was a pre-Norman settlement at this place and enter it upon the map of Saxon Tenterden.

In considering place names one is obliged to mention Wallenberg's views on the den of Mersham mentioned in a charter of 863 (B. 507) and named Husneah. This he identifies with Huson Farm in Tenterden. Taylor (*Arch. Cant.*, XXXIII, 109) reports the conveyance of "the manor of Howseney, Kentyshyld and Petlesden in Tenterden, Ebbeney etc." in the year 1539. It seems likely that the identification is correct but it is outside the bounds of the map illustrating these remarks.