

HISTORICAL RESEARCH NOTES

THE MEANING OF THE NAME DOVER

The place name Dover is routinely described as derived from a Celtic word meaning 'waters'. This article explains why that supposed etymology is almost certainly wrong and why Dover is far more likely to have been named from the shingle sandbanks around its ancient harbour entrance.

A previous article suggested that Dover belongs among the 170-plus place names in England that contain the Old English word *ofer* 'beach, bank, shore' or its relatives (Goormachtigh and Durham 2009). Controversially, this requires that some word like Dover (and a Germanic language ancestral to Old English) already existed when the Romans were in Britain.

The English language contains almost no early loanwords from Celtic, and the south-east of England contains almost no place names with a securely Celtic etymology (Coates 2002). So the idea that Dover is a rare Celtic survival tends to be cherished by anyone who still believes that everyone in early Roman *Britannia* spoke language(s) ancestral to Welsh. That is why the evidence needs to be examined in great detail.

The earliest known mention of Dover is as *ad Portum Dubris*, occurring twice in the Antonine Itinerary, a document from about AD 300. As a single word, *Dubris* occurs once in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, once in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and twice in the Ravenna Cosmography though once mis-spelled *Durbis*. Dover is not mentioned in any known Roman-era inscriptions. Ptolemy, writing in about AD 140, did not mention Dover, though it is a weak candidate to be his *καινος λιμην* 'new port'.

The classic argument for a Celtic origin of *Dubris* was set out by Rivet and Smith (1979) in these words: 'the British name was **Dubras* 'waters, stream' (perhaps 'streams'), plural of **dubro-* 'water' (Welsh *dwfr*; *dwr*, Cornish *dofer*, *dour*, Breton *dour*; Old Irish *dobur*)'.¹ They went on: 'all records of the name, even those of the Antonine Itinerary set in a grammatical structure, show it as a locative plural in *-is*', which is a grammatical mistake because *Dubris* was far more likely to be a genitive singular.

Medieval Latin writers unhesitatingly used the genitive, not the locative, after *ad portum*. An apparent genitive plural occurs in classical

Latin, where the *Itinerarium Maritimum* contains *ad portum ritupium*. And Julius Caesar wrote *ad portum itium* about his departure point for the invasion of 55 BC, where *itium* has been interpreted as a Latin adjective but looks suspiciously close to genitive plural *ituum* ‘departures’.

It is not inherently important that classical scholars often misinterpret the noun cases in Latin place names (Arias 1987; Solopov 2005; Williams 2007) or even how many streams pass through Dover. However, this mistake does serve as a reminder that long-cherished ideas can be wrong, and it also points to a Latin nominative form of either **duber* or **dubris*.

Most place names are duplexes (qualifier plus generic), including other post-Roman names such as *Cantwareburh*, *Londonbyrig* and *Ythancaestir*. So it is at least curious to see an apparent simplex in the earliest recorded Anglo-Saxon forms of *Dofras*, *Dobrum*, *Doferum*, *Doferan*, etc. In fact, plain ‘waters’ does not look ideal as the meaning of any place name, while ‘port of the waters’ looks distinctly odd.

If a watery meaning for *dubris* is nevertheless considered acceptable, Celtic is not the only, or even the best, language family to supply it. The PIE² root **d^heub-* has descendants in many languages. Examples in English include deep, dip, dive, and dimple. Dub (northern dialect or Scots for a dark or muddy pool) has cognates in other Germanic languages that are well represented in place names such as Dobbewatering.

According to Pokorny (1959), the exact word *dubris* existed in Illyrian, which sounds remote but actually exemplifies a whole band of ancient languages that got squeezed out when Latin speech expanded towards Germanic and Celtic speech. Illyrian was also the first language of many of Rome’s best soldiers and sailors, including officers up to the level of emperor and part of the *Britannia* garrison between at least 105 and 400. And Julius Caesar overwintered in Illyria, near modern Dubrovnik, between his two trips to Dover.

In short, the classic Celtic explanation looks unconvincing. Are there better alternatives?

Dover as landmark?

Old English *ofer* is a well-established descendant of proto-Germanic **obera-* (Philippa, Debrabandere and Quak 2007), and has many cognates such as modern German *Ufer*. Its exact meaning is complex, and there may have been two distinct forms of the word. The *ofer* with a short O may be cognate with upper, hyper, super, etc., and may have evolved into modern English over. The *ofer* with a long vowel O could mean river bank or shore, and Ekwall (1960) thought that it applied primarily to a firm beach or gravelly shore.

Goormachtigh and Durham (2009) took the link between Dover and *ofer* only as far as the ancient practice of grounding ships on tidal

beaches. Another possibility to be considered is that Dover was named from its hugely visible notch in the white cliffs serving as a landmark. This was inspired by Gelling and Cole (2003), who showed that *ofer*, plus its variant spellings *ufer*, *yfre*, and *ora*, tended to occur at places that could serve as landmarks for ancient travellers on land or water.

At least one *ofer/ora* name occurs near every port of any significance in Roman times, from Exeter in the west to Maidenhead high up the Thames. There is a cluster of more than twenty near the Isle of Wight, where even now boats navigate mostly by reference to lighthouses, seamarks, forts, church steeples, etc. And if a boat sailed from there, around Kent and up the Thames, it would pass ten more examples.

The idea that Dover was an *ofer/ora* landmark was dismissed by Cole (1990) on the grounds that it did not have the perfect topography of a flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder, like the end of an upturned canoe, which requires green hills not white cliffs. In fact, Dover has eight potential *ofer/ora* features, with its two valleys, plus Shakespeare Cliff to its left and St Margaret's Bay to its right. Also, the crucial landmarks for ancient seafarers getting close to Dover must have been its two *pharos* lighthouse towers.

A forthcoming book by Gavin Smith will argue that *ora* is often associated with early religious or secular enclosures on high ground, and only secondarily with landmarks. This fits the obvious linguistic parallels with Latin *ora* 'limit' and Greek ορος 'mountain'. Also there is a word akin to Icelandic *eyrr* 'gravelly bank' that shows up in numerous place names such as Ayr and Elsinore on coasts sailed by Scandinavians. Especially in Orkney and Shetland, *ayre* is used for a tongue of shingle sticking into the sea, and the word passed from Germanic into Celtic languages.

In short, the idea that Dover was named as a landmark is not really convincing.

An ancient word **duber*

Dubris contains several phonemes that might be hard to write down in Latin, including D versus TH (etc.), U versus O, and B versus V or F. It seems best to take the spellings Dover and **duber* at face value and focus on the main difficulty – that initial letter D. Many English and Irish place names have picked up a surprising initial letter, usually by transfer from a preceding word. Examples among *ofer/ora* places include several instances of The Nore (formerly *atten ore*) and of River (possibly from *æt thære yfre*), plus Hever (formerly *Heanyfre*). However, explaining *Dubris* as analogous to Old English *æt ofer* 'at the shore' or Dutch *aan de oever* 'on the shore', runs into the objection that definite articles and prepositions had not developed much by AD 300.

The best explanation seems to be that the initial D had the force of

two/twin/double, as in Latin *duplex* ‘two folds’, or in *dubito* ‘doubt’, which originated as ‘have two minds’. PIE **duo* ‘two’ gave rise to the Old English prefix *to-* with a sense of division or separation, found in numerous words such as *tofær* ‘departure’ or *tobriting* ‘destruction’, which have all been superseded by modern English words beginning with *dis-*, *di-*, or *de-*. That D-to-T-to-D change, plus *to*’s propensity to join with verbs, suggests that any hypothetical **du-obera* as a precursor of **duber* must have developed in a linguistic environment distinctly earlier than Old English.

The critical question is whether translating **duber* as ‘double bank’ or ‘separated beach’ fits the local topography at Dover and elsewhere. Inspiration for an answer came from Bruges, Belgium, where a historic boat-unloading basin called the *Dijver* or *Dyver* (with no certain etymology) had water flanked by two beaches. This suggested that the essence of a *duver* or *dover* in the Isle of Wight is to be a strip of land flanked by water on two sides.

The Isle of Wight word *duver*

Pope (1989) explained that in the Isle of Wight *duver* or *dover* is a generic local word for ‘a low-lying piece of land along the coast, subject to occasional inundation by the sea’. There are (or were until recently) four *duvers*, at St Helens, Ryde, Hamstead, and Seaview. Written records of a word variously spelled *duver*, *dover*, or *duffer* can be traced back only as far as 1774, but the physical objects being described existed much earlier.

The common characteristic of all the Isle of Wight *duvers* is to be a sandbar or gravel spit partially closing off an estuary, so as to have sea on one side and river or marsh on the other. Simplified diagrams of their modern shapes are shown in **Fig. 1**.³ It is hard to map or diagram spits or sandbars at the mouths of estuaries because by their very nature they change over the years through natural forces or human interference. Indeed, both St Helens and Hamstead *duvers* have probably swapped sides of their estuaries in past centuries. In modern Ryde, many residents of Dover Street do not realise that it is named after ‘the *dover*’ along the shore, even though they always speak of ‘the *duver*’ at St Helens.

The word *dover* can be pushed back before 1086 thanks to Domesday Book and two clear examples of the characteristic *dover/duver* topography on the English mainland. Doverhay (Domesday *Doveri* ⁴) is now just a street in Porlock, Somerset, but it lies at the apex of a huge alluvial fan of marsh leading towards a shingle ridge at the sea’s edge. Dovercourt (Domesday *Druvercourt*) is now a suburb of Harwich, Essex, but it occupies a tongue of land between Ramsey Creek and the North Sea that extends into one of the two spits across the mouth of the estuary between Harwich and Felixstowe.

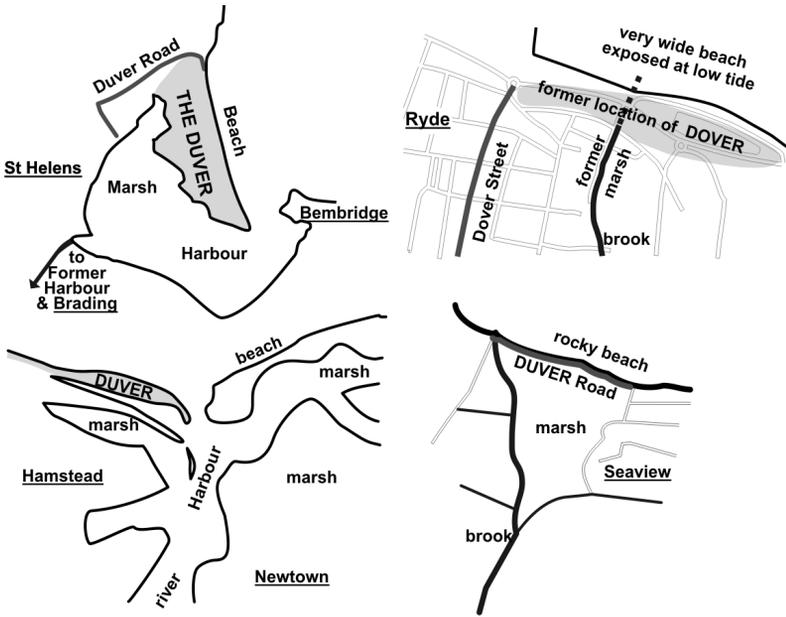


Fig. 1 Diagrams of the four duvers or dovers known in the Isle of Wight, at St Helens, Ryde, Hamstead, and Seaview.

Doverow Hill in Gloucestershire ends in -ow because the western end (at position SO811053) of its ridge is a *hoh* 'hock' landform of the type recognised by Gelling and Cole (2003): when seen from the south by the river Frome, it is concave like the sole of a person lying face down. Its lower, westward extension (like the toe end of a foot) splits into two lower ridges (for example at SO809055) from which streams flow into formerly marshy ground below them, thereby plausibly fitting the *dover/duver* pattern.

Big English dictionaries should really show *duver/dover* as an ordinary noun, not a proper name. In fact dictionaries already contain a related word: doab is defined as 'the "tongue" or tract of land between two confluent rivers'. Doab is a recent loan-word into English from Hindi/Urdu, but its origin as *do-ab* 'two waters' in Sanskrit or PIE is obvious.

A digression into river names

Around Britain at least fifty places or rivers have names a bit like Dover, which are mostly attributed to proto-Celtic roots **dubo-* 'black, dark',

**dubno-* ‘deep’, and **dubra-* ‘water’, with descendants Welsh *dwfr*, Gaelic *dobhar*, *dobur*, Cornish *dofer*, and Breton *dour*. Watson (1926) listed more than twenty such names in Scotland, often with anglicised spellings that are hard to unscramble, where a derivation from Gaelic (rather than Norse, Scots, or Pictish) seems highly likely. Particularly noteworthy are Edradour and Edidovar, from *Eadar da Dhobar* ‘between two waters’.

Analogous names exist in other areas thought to be formerly Celtic-speaking, including the rivers Douve, Dives, and Durance in France, Douro in Portugal, Deva in Spain, and Dora in Italy. Many people then seek to widen the bounds of ancient Celtic speech by pointing to the rivers Tauber in Germany, Tiber in Italy, and Douve in Belgium, plus places like Doeveren in the Netherlands and, of course, *Portus Dubris*. However, that argument can be extended much further afield: for example, linguistically to Russian дупло ‘hollow’ and дно ‘bottom’, Illyrian δυβρις ‘deep’, and Greek βάθος ‘depth’; or geographically to Lithuanian rivers like Dubysa, and to several Danish Dover places. Where does one stop?

Even within Britain there are many rivers whose etymologies (and nearby places) might be fascinating to discuss, including Dawlish, Deveron, two Devons, Black Devon, Devy, Dewey, Divelish, Dore, Dove, Dovey/Dyfi, Dowlish, and Towy. However, one ends up dragging in lots of possible confusions (dove, devil, defile, the rivers Derwent, Dutch *toeven* ‘stay’, and French *d’Evreux*) without shedding much light.

There was clearly an Anglo-Saxon word *defer* ‘river’, distinguished perhaps by Wessex regional dialect, perhaps by character as a chalk stream. The modern river Dever was *Myceldefer* (*micel* = ‘great’) in Anglo-Saxon charters from AD 900. Not far away, the modern river Candover was *cendefor* (*cen* = ‘keen’) from 824. The modern Deverill (upper reaches of the Wylye) was *defereal* in 968. Strung along these three rivers are (or were) sixteen places named from them (including Micheldever, Preston Candover, and Kingston Deverill), so it is reasonable to deduce that Andover (955 *Andeferas*) was also named from a *defer* whose name has been lost. Andoversford in Gloucestershire might perhaps be similar. A *cendefrion* in Cornwall was mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon charter of 967.

Dofor was recorded as a component of river names at least as early as *defer*. It occurred more towards the Celtic west, but in duplex names with second elements that look Anglo-Saxon. The *Doferic* (recorded from 757, but now Shrawley Brook) joins the Severn by Holt Fleet (at SO815636). Not far away, the *Doverdale* (from 706, now Elmley Brook) meets the Salwarpe near Droitwich (SO868620). The *Doferland* (from 940, now Doverle) meets the Little Avon at Berkeley (ST676992). The *Doforburnan* (from 977, now Knee Brook) meets the Stour near Tidmington (SP258377). The Dover Beck (from 1219) meets the Trent

near Gunthorpe (SK694450). Doversgreen near Reigate, and The Dover near Angmering might conceivably fit this *dofer* pattern, but Concover and Wendover are just a distraction: contrary to what some books assert, they contain *ofer* after a first element that ends in D.

All these *dofer* rivers appear to have river-islands or water-meadows at their mouths or confluences (or might have had in the past). Since rivers generally get named first at their mouths and only later in upstream tributaries (Nicolaisen 2001), one might argue that *dofer* meant *duver*. However, this is a very weak suggestion, because river mouths are where people choose to build harbours and sewage works, dig moats and gravel pits, and so on.

Ekwall (1928, 1960) recognised real problems in squashing the early forms of *defer* and *dofer* names into the prevailing orthodoxy of a wholly Celtic *Britannia*. Förster (1941) devoted ten pages to invoking an archaic Welsh plural *dyfr* ‘rivers’. However, there is no need to explain *defer* and *dofer* as Celtic survivals picked up by Anglo-Saxon invaders, because they have an independent line of descent from PIE **d^heub-*, through proto-Germanic **deupaz* ‘deep’ and **deubjanan* ‘to dive’ (Orel 2003), to Old English *deop* ‘deep’, *dufan* ‘to dive’, and *dippan* ‘to dip’.

Place-name dictionaries envisage Old English words **dybb* ‘pool’ and **dyfe/*dief/*def/*deof* ‘hollow, valley’ as contributing to various place names. Perhaps *dofer* is just an alternative spelling of *defer* ‘river’, much as *wold* is a regional variant of *weald*. This kind of vowel change is easy to accommodate in the Germanic languages, which preserve a lot of PIE ablaut and umlaut (vowel changes such as *sing/sang/sung/song*, or *long/length*).

Celtic scholars are puzzled that they cannot explain how their **dubron* ‘water’ relates to recognised PIE roots that mean ‘deep’ and ‘dark’ (Delamarre 2003). Perhaps the best explanation is that there was an original word for ‘double bank’, which developed differently in different areas. For instance the Sanskrit word *dvīpa* ‘sandbank, river island’ is etymologically ‘two waters’, with the ending *-pa* (from PIE **ab-* ‘water’) that also shows up in Latin *ripa* ‘riverbank’, which led to the modern word *river*. So *Dover* has some previously unrecognised cognates that include *Java* and *Socotra*, plus the *Maldives*, which are essentially a series of sandbanks.

While Sanskrit developed the original ‘double bank’ meaning towards ‘island’, Germanic, Baltic, and possibly Celtic moved towards ‘river’, while Celtic, plus possibly Illyrian and Greek, seem to have moved towards ‘water’ more generally. This is far from the only instance where an originally pan-European word survives as a general, lexical word in Insular Celtic, but survives mainly as a place-name element in England. Welsh *cwm* ‘valley’ versus English *combe* is the classic example. Less well known is *Avon*: that name belongs distinctively to rivers that were

prehistoric trans-isthmus transport arteries (Sherratt 1996), but lost that importance before Celtic languages are thought to have crystallized.

The way in which land sticks up from water in a *duver/dover*, while water goes down below land in a *defer/dofer*, need not be surprising. Many place-name elements form confusing doublets, one up, one down: for example dune/dene, dyke/ditch, moor/mere, grove/grave, and comb/combe. Evidently what mattered in the creation of such landscape descriptors was slope rather than absolute height. The word ‘bank’ itself originally meant a horizontal shelf, yet geographically it is meaningful only when adjacent to a slope and is frequently used in the plural ‘banks’. Figuratively ‘bank’ has developed to mean a storage pile.

Linguistic discussions like this rarely lead to an overwhelmingly certain conclusion, so there remains a minute possibility that Dover was named from its river by people speaking a Celtic language. Yet it seems far more likely that Dover’s name came from its most salient characteristic as a port. How strong is the evidence that ancient Dover had a *duver*?

Dover harbour

Dover harbour is fundamentally a ria, a river valley with its lower portion submerged by rising sea level. The Dover Bronze Age Boat (Clark 2009), of about 1550 BC, was discovered a startling 6m below present ground level, at a spot just outside the medieval city wall, but 100m in from the modern sea front. The Boat seems to have been abandoned in a freshwater environment, suggesting that the sea was then some way off.

Dover formerly had an extensive inner basin, whose approximate extent can be guessed from modern map contours. Layers of silt and the modern town now cover that basin, which was probably marshy rather than usable by shipping in Roman times. Somewhere closer to the sea, but still under modern streets and houses, lay the Roman harbour. In trying to work out what it looked like nearly 2,000 years ago one must bear in mind six main processes:

- sea level rise, by 3m or more (Waddelove and Waddelove 1990).
- cliff falls, totalling perhaps several hundred metres (Bates *et al.* 2011).
- multiple earthquakes in the Dover Straits.
- siltation, perhaps exacerbated by farming to feed the Roman navy.
- diversion of water into sewers and drains instead of the river.
- build-up of shingle spits and sandbanks.

The last process is the key. Essentially the history of Dover harbour has been one long battle against shingle and silt, as engineers gradually learned how to deal with natural processes on that coastline, and discovered from bitter experience that their groins and jetties tended to make matters worse. Hasenson (1980) described how all the ports of south-east England tend

to self-destruct. ‘The prevailing winds are south-westerly ... The waters tend to carry mud and shingle ... to fill in indentations and break down cliffs, rather than forming inlets, with the result that beaches get formed and river mouths blocked’.

The modern Port of Dover that motorists see is entirely artificial and well to the east of earlier harbours. Before that, Dover harbour was well to the west, outside the river estuary and under the Archcliffe promontory. Written records of that harbour exist since about 1495, and chart its struggle against longshore drift of shingle. Earlier still (before 1400) the main harbour for small boats may have been on the east side, within bowshot of the castle walls (Jones 1907). The way that the river Dour then divided into two streams separated by a delta of shingle sounds very like the situation at Doverhay in Somerset. Domesday Book of 1086 mentioned a mill at the entrance to Dover harbour that was a nuisance to shipping.

It is very clear that the focus of Roman and Saxon occupation was on the west side of the river, and it is highly likely that the Romans had the same experience as in later centuries, that their own building works caused a build-up of shingle that damaged their harbour (Bates *et al.* 2011). However, it is not easy to work out how that process actually played out.

Rigold (1969) built upon the work of Amos and Wheeler (1929) and of Rahtz (1958) to deduce the Roman harbour layout. Unfortunately Rigold wrote just before Dover’s Roman forts were discovered (Philp 1977a, b). In 1992 a second Roman-era wooden structure, perhaps a jetty or mole, was discovered next to the Dover Boat, and in 1996 some rescue archaeology was performed under the Townwall Street petrol station.

Early buildings all lay on the west bank of Dover’s estuary. The first Roman fort seems to have been started in about 115, but not finished before it was succeeded by a typical playing-card-shaped fort for about 600 men of the *Classis Britannica*. Most likely this was a naval logistics base for attempts to extend the Roman Empire northwards, 70 years or so after the initial conquest of *Britannia*. The Phase 3 fort was built much more strongly, on top of existing structures, probably about 270, while the Roman Empire was riven with internal conflict.

It is hard to pull all these strands of information together into a single map, particularly as street layouts have changed so much since the Second World War. However, **Fig. 2** shows the modern course of the river and modern street layout, derived from the authors’ own investigations on the ground, with the aid of Google Maps. Grey areas represent modern buildings or areas otherwise denied to pedestrians.

Rigold (1969) deduced that the two almost right-angle bends of the modern river are a response to two sand-and-shingle spits. The latest thinking seems to be that his ‘new spit’ developed relatively late, as a

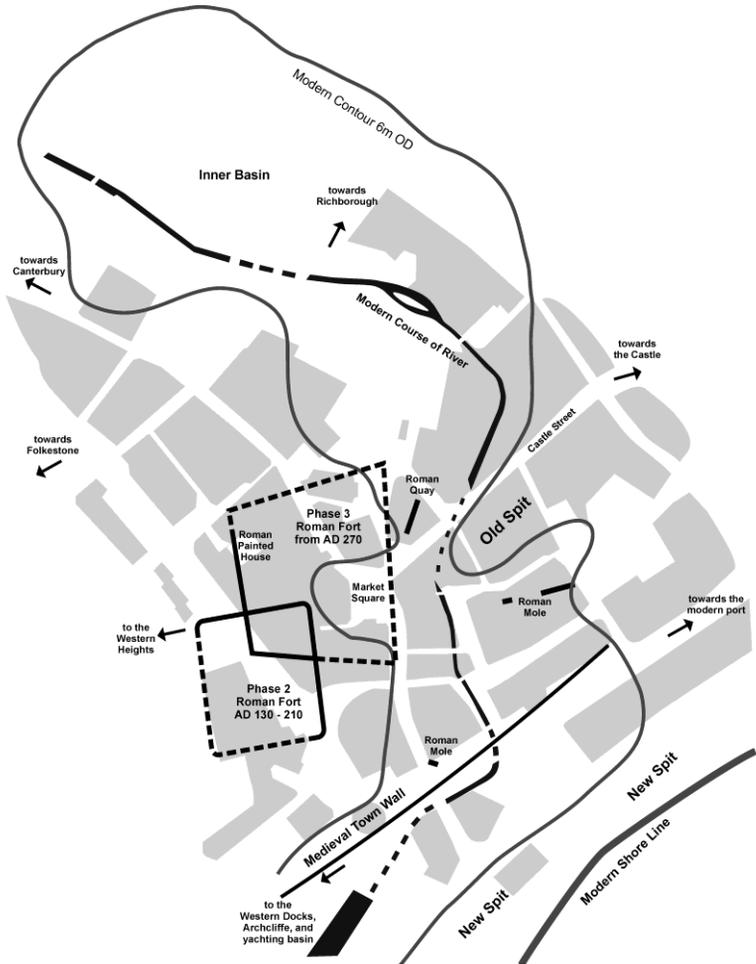


Fig. 2 Diagram of Dover, showing the locations of areas inaccessible to modern pedestrians (in grey), the modern river, Roman-era archaeological traces, and the locations of two spits across the river mouth deduced by Rigold (1969).

response to Tudor harbour works. And his 'old spit' might be a remnant of that shingle delta between the two branches of the Dour. The present Castle Street was deliberately embanked in the 1830s over an area of marshy ground leading to a ford over the river, in a process that sounds strikingly similar to how the *dover* in Ryde, Isle of Wight, was built over.

Borehole evidence allowed Bates *et al.* (2011) to propose roughly where the eastern margin of Dover's harbour area lay early and late in Roman times. They envisaged 'the creation of saltmarshes and intertidal mudflats in the western part of the former harbour' during the 2nd to 3rd centuries, which was relatively rapid and 'may have been exacerbated by Roman engineering creating barriers at the harbour mouth'. So the Phase 3 fort may have been built out over mudflats caused by its Phase 2 precursor.

The strongest reason for believing that Roman *Dubris* had at least one *duver* is that any harbour on its coastline was naturally doomed to have one. Huge quantities of sediment move around in the English Channel, a remnant of land that disappeared under the North Sea as recently as c.6000 BC, plus more recent erosion. On the other side of the Channel, Dover's counterpart used to be at Wissant, which had a very similar history of a river that became clogged, but its port traffic moved further away, to Calais.

Naming *Portus Dubris* after its estuary-mouth spit(s) and/or mudflats would just be a prosaic description of its most distinctive feature for mariners. Even today, careful pilotage among sandbanks is a vital survival skill in the Channel and the Thames estuary. The notorious Goodwin Sands now end about 8 km from historic Dover (Cloet, 1954), but they may have been more prominent in Roman times.

The real question is why Dover, rather than a hundred other estuaries with similar features, was named from its **duber*. The Romans had no need to bother with most ports that had a tricky entrance or needed expensive maintenance, and cargo ships could bypass Dover and head through the Wantsum Channel towards Canterbury or London. The answer must surely be that Dover was strategically important to the Roman Empire just as in later centuries – as a naval base and as a passenger ferry port. So the literal meaning in modern English of *Portus Dubris* is 'port of the double bank'.

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¹ Putting * in front of a word is a linguistic convention to indicate a hypothetical reconstruction, as distinct from an observed word.

² PIE = proto-Indo-European, the reconstructed original language from which many modern languages began to diverge thousands of years ago. See Pokorny (1959).

³ For detailed information, readers should refer to aerial photos (for example on Google Maps), Ordnance Survey maps (for example at www.streetmap.com), and to various scenic photos (notably in the Shoreline Management Plan published online by the Isle of Wight County Council).

⁴ Ancient manuscripts often used u where modern practice (and this article) substitute a v.

KENT AND THE EARLIER PIPE ROLLS (1130 TO c.1300): SOME INTRODUCTORY NOTES

During a search for references to particular individuals in the Pipe Rolls published from the nineteenth century onwards, the present writer discovered the wealth of information contained in these documents. Some of this information is relevant to historic buildings in Kent, and much is of wider value for local history research. Owing to the limited local availability of the full volumes, the writer considered that a collection of the references to Kent in the published Pipe Rolls might be particularly useful for local researchers, and decided that a number of translations would be included.

The original series of documents and the related set of printed volumes of transcriptions are housed in the Public Record Office (PRO) at The National Archives (TNA) at Kew. The document reference for the Pipe Rolls series is TNA: PRO E 372. The core of the early Pipe Rolls is formed by the annual accounts of the sheriffs and other royal bailiffs relating to royal income and expenditure in the counties, with miscellaneous additions, as submitted to the Exchequer for audit. A nearly continuous series survives, running from 1155 until 1832, with only four rolls missing. One earlier Pipe Roll also survives relating to the 1129-1130 financial year, Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas. The Pipe Rolls form

the earliest series of English royal records. The complementary series of Chancellor's Rolls, E 352, running from 1162-1832 (consisting of supposed duplicate versions of the Pipe Rolls) is occasionally useful in filling gaps; thus the Chancellor's Roll for 8 Richard I is the version published by the Pipe Roll Society (PRS) (PRS Vol. 45, New Series 7): no Pipe Roll survives for that year (1195-6). Some Chancellor's Rolls contain additional material as well as variant forms of content, usually specifically noted 'C.R.', at the foot of the page in the printed volumes.

The published volumes – mainly of the Pipe Roll Society founded in 1883 – currently relate to the financial years up to Michaelmas 1224, plus that of a later roll, relating to the year 1229-30. Others are in preparation, but the 2012 new Pipe Roll Society edition of the earliest roll (1130), first published in 1833 by the Record Commission, includes a translation of the entire document for the first time (PRS Vol. 95, New Series 57). Each page of extended Latin transcript of the document has the English version opposite, and a full set of images of the roll are included with the volume on a CD-ROM, courtesy of The National Archives.

Referring to this first Pipe Roll as 'the oldest surviving original record from the medieval English Exchequer', the historian, Judith Green, writes in her Introduction: 'it is desirable to make the source more accessible to a wider readership, by providing an edition with modern letter-forms, a translation into modern English, indices and images' (Green 2012, p. v). She analyses and interprets physical and historical aspects of the document and its content, and outlines the principal elements in the sheriffs' accounts as well as steps taken to counteract the problem of deteriorating quality of the coinage (*ibid.*, pp. v-xxxi). She amplifies certain entries, such as the single line in the Kent account 'And in repairing the bridge of Rochester against the king's coming 3s. 4d.' – a reference to the visit in 1130 of Henry I to Rochester where he attended the consecration of the new church (*ibid.*, pp. 50; xxxi). She also considers the evolution of procedures and records of the Exchequer, and refers to early methods of taxation, including danegeld, which was still featuring in Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century down to the 1160s, commenting: 'The 1130 Pipe Roll provides a uniquely valuable source for the administrative changes of the 1120s' (*ibid.*, p. xxx).

This latest publication by Green conveniently complements one of the earliest volumes of the Pipe Roll Society, the useful *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls* (PRS Vol. 3, 1884). This publication contains a valuable key to contracted Latin words, in 'record' type, in the form that they appear in the Pipe Rolls and many other early medieval documents. This record type-face used in the early volumes was developed to most closely resemble the handwritten version of the original document (*ibid.*, pp. 10-34). The 'Table of Abbreviations' is followed by a glossary of technical terms employed in the rolls (*ibid.*, pp. 70-100). There is also

a detailed description of the system of the Exchequer (*ibid.*, pp. 35-69). Usefully, this is one of those volumes freely available and reproduced in full on the internet (see internet sources below).

As demonstrated by the 2012 publication by the PRS of the 1130 roll, introductions to the printed volumes can provide information specific to Kent within an overview of the condition and content of each individual Pipe Roll. This can help to place Kent accounts for particular years, and items appearing in them, within the historical context of national events. For example, in June 1224 the royal government had found it necessary to besiege Bedford Castle, resulting in taxation in the form of scutage (a feudal due raised on knights' fees in lieu of military service). It is explained: 'The account for Kent includes no account for the Bedford scutage because, we are told, all the knights of the county were present at the siege and received a general quittance in a single royal writ' (PRS 92, New Series 54, pp. ix, 150). There was also, apparently, generally little revenue recorded from the Montgomery scutage (associated with the final stages of a Welsh war) levied in October 1223 at the same rate of two marks per knight's fee. However, the Kent account does reveal a return relating to several individuals (*ibid.*, pp. 149-50).

In 2010, extracts relating to Kent in the published Great Rolls of the Pipe (shortened to the Pipe Rolls) were made available on the website of the Kent Archaeological Society (KAS). In addition, digitised images of relevant portions of original rolls are being added to accompany selected translated Kent accounts, document references being added as necessary. It is intended that this will enable both medieval scholars and those new to medieval documentary material to make use of the Pipe Rolls in their original format.

The introductory page on the KAS website, headed 'Kent Extracts from Pipe Rolls', lists (together with the relevant TNA: PRO document reference) each of the published volumes. It is also intended to serve as a bibliography for Kent accounts, indicating relevant pages in each volume. Images of these printed pages are reproduced individually, and may be printed for study, along with sections of selected original document images and accompanying specially commissioned translations.

Research applications of material in the Pipe Rolls are numerous. They sometimes provide the earliest recorded version of Kentish place names, for example:

Bicknor (Bikenora, 1186, Bikenore, 1195); Blackheath (Blachehedfeld, 1166); Borden (Bordena, 1177); Davington (Dauinton, 1186) (Ekwall 1960).

Even where Anglo-Saxon charters and Domesday Book furnish earlier forms, the variations in spellings found in the Pipe Rolls can still be of relevance to the evolution of particular place names and personal names.

Patterns of land-holding in Kent by individuals and families, as well as religious and secular bodies and foundations, can be established. These may well be of relevance to the study of medieval churches, and their patronage (Berg 2002; Berg and Jones 2009). Successive holders of particular lands in Shorne, and lands of the de Cobhams, have been traced with the aid of the Pipe Rolls (Cockett, *pers. comm.*).

In relation to Temple Manor, Strood, Stuart Rigold cites the Pipe Roll of 5 Henry II (1158-1159) as evidence that the original grant to the Knights Templar of the manor of 'Strode' 'was not later than 1158-9, the date of the first of several mentions *in terris datis*' [royal land grants] 'in the Pipe Rolls' (Rigold 1966, p. 87, note 14; PRS Vol. 1, p. 58).

Not only is the land-holding and affairs of private individuals, as well as religious houses, detailed in certain Pipe Rolls, but also those relating to bishops, and the archbishop of Canterbury (as a temporal magnate) in particular, for years when there were vacancies. These rolls supplement other documents and give indications of the value of the archbishopric including the period of Becket's exile in the twelfth century (Du Boulay 1966, p. 243). Some also record payment of scutage by the see of Canterbury (*ibid.*, p. 76-77). Others contribute evidence of the archbishop's knights actually taking part in military campaigns: the roll of 11 Henry II (1164-1165), for example, notes nineteen going into the army; and an unstated number were sent to Scotland, according to that of 13 John (1210-1211) (*ibid.*, pp. 77-80, citing PRS 8, p. 109 re 1165; and PRS 66, New Series 28, pp. 93, 243, re 1211). Particular sections relating to the archbishopric, headed *Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis* (or abbreviation thereof), occasionally prefixed *Comptus* [Account], can easily be identified within the rolls. Thus the Pipe Rolls complement medieval accounts in Lambeth Palace Library Estate Documents (some recently made available in microfilm form at the Kent History and Library Centre) and further documentary sources relating to Kentish estates (Colvin 1964; Du Boulay 1966; Goacher 2009a, pp. 395-7).

In his translated abstract of the account of the see of Canterbury, covering 1292-1295, Du Boulay gives some indication of the wealth of information available as recorded in the Pipe Roll of 24 Edward I (1295-1296) (TNA: PRO E 372/141, m 28d-29d). In a footnote he usefully lists Pipe Rolls, up to the mid fourteenth century, together with other documents in which enrolled accounts of the archbishopric appear (Du Boulay 1964, p. 41).

The evidence of the Pipe Rolls in relation to royal castles and other buildings has long been recognised by scholars (Allen Brown 1962; Allen Brown 1986; Colvin 1963; Rigold 1967, etc.). Mention of works and repairs and associated costs in particular years are amplified by details of garrisoning at particular castles. Visitors to Rochester Castle can learn from the guide book:

As well as many smaller sums at other times, over £100 were spent on the tower and castle by Henry II in 1172-73, according to the PIPE ROLLS, against the rebellion of his son, and the same source records an expenditure of £115 by King John in 1206 on the castle, its ditches, bridge, tower and other buildings (Allen Brown 1986, p. 8; Pipe Rolls for 1172-73, PRS 19, pp. 88-89; and 1206, PRS 58, New Series 20, p. 47).

The Pipe Roll for the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry II (1172-73), also records expenditure on Canterbury, Dover, and Chilham castles (PRS 19, pp. 81-84, 87-89).

Images of the printed transcripts appropriate to these references are now readily accessible on the 'Research' pages of the KAS website. In addition, the new translations (from the Latin text into English, by Simon Neal) of certain Pipe Rolls reveal further castle-related information, firstly in that of 1188-1189 for the first year of the reign of Richard I:

And Alice 5s by tale for the exchange of her land, which is in the castle of Canterbury [and, in a further section] 60 marks towards the sustenance of the knights, who were in the custody of the castle of Dover, by writ of Rann' de Gl[anvill]. And in the works of the castle of Dover £50 by writ of the king and by the view of William, son of Helte, and William de ?Enemera. And to the same keepers 40s from the gift to sustain them by the same writ (TNA: PRO E 372/35, rot 14r m 1; transcript in Rec. Comm., 1844b, pp. 231, 232).

More detail then appears in the Pipe Roll for the first year of the reign of John (1198-1199):

And to Stephen de Turneham £50 towards the provisioning of the castles of Dover and Hastings and Peuenesel [?Pevensey, Sussex] by writ of G., son of Peter ... and in the repair of the gate of Chileham and the bridge and the rampart-walks of the castle, and to repair the rampart-walks of the castle of Canterbury £10 by the king's writ. And for carrying a certain hostage from the Tower of London to the castle of Rochester 10d. And in the livery of 10 mounted serjeants throughout 15 days 50s by the same writ (TNA: PRO E 372/45, rot 5r m 1; transcript in PRS 48, New Series 10, pp. 59-60).

Further entries regarding Chilham Castle and 'vill' appear in the same, under the heading:

NEW OFFERINGS SENT FROM THE LORD KING FROM BEYOND THE SEA

Fulbert de Dover renders an account of 400 marks for having seisin [legal possession of land or estate] of the castle of Chileham and the vill, in such a way that he will stand trial thereupon in the king's court, if the king or anyone else wishes to claim their right in the castle or in the vill. In the treasury 100 marks. And he owes 300 marks. The same renders

an account of the same debt. In the treasury 40 marks. And he owes 260 marks. The same renders an account of the same debt. In the treasury £10. And he owes 245 marks. The same renders an account of the same debt. In the treasury £30. And he owes 200 marks. But he answers below ...

Fubert de Dover renders an account of 200 marks for having seisin of the castle of Chileham, just as is contained above. In the treasury 20 marks. And he owes 180 marks. The same renders an account of the same debt. In the treasury £42. And he owes £78 (TNA: PRO E 372/45, rot 5d m 1; transcript in PRS 48, New Series 10, p. 68).

Pipe Roll evidence is occasionally relevant to excavations associated with castles in Kent, as well as to the standing buildings. Rigold brings documentary and excavation evidence together and concludes, regarding Dover Castle, that it seems certain that ‘the south barbican was originally part of the Inner Bailey, and likely that the whole was earth-walled before it was ditched on the south side, and that it was provided with isolated towers, of which something remains of the south-eastern gate tower ...’. He cites the Pipe Rolls of the fifteenth and seventeenth years of his reign as evidence that Henry II’s building campaign had begun before the 1180s date of the keep, with stonemasons being employed as early as 1168-69 (Rigold 1967, pp. 101-103, citing PRS 13, p. 161 and PRS 16, p. 137). Payments to two individually-named twelfth-century masons are specified, both described as *cementarius*: *Magister Robertus* [Master Robert] (PRS 13, p. 161); and *Radulfus* [Ralph] (PRS 16, p. 137).

The less impressive castle at Thurnham is not mentioned in the Pipe Rolls, but other documents show that such existed by c.1225, and probably 1174-1184 (Anon., 1862, pp. 215, 201; Ward 2008). The Pipe Rolls do, however, bear witness to the landholdings, status, and tenure of high office by the de Thurnhams, potentially commensurate with such castle-building. Robert de Thurnham appears in Pipe Rolls dating from 2 Henry II (1155-1156) onwards, and there is still reference to his son Stephen in the Pipe Roll as late as that for the eighth year of the reign of Henry III (Michaelmas 1224) (PRS 92, New Series 54, p. 145). Such documentary evidence may help support the view that a prestigious keep tower (similar in size to that at Sutton Valence) was constructed at this site (Ward 2008). Men such as the de Thurnhams might well have chosen to show off their wealth and power by the building of a great tower.

It is confidently hoped that the ‘Kent Extracts from Pipe Rolls’ section on the research page of the KAS website, together with recent translations, will provide a useful medieval documentary source, in a readily accessible format. This should permit search for much medieval information, besides the examples referenced above. In addition, this will hopefully enable and encourage researchers to tackle these, and later Pipe Rolls, and further original documents in The National Archives, and other repositories.

Colin Flight has recently added valuable supplementary information and material regarding the great rolls of the Exchequer to his digital research archive (on the kentarchaeology.ac website). This includes a list of document references, with direct links to images of Kent material, 1225-85, on the Anglo-American Legal Tradition website. He has also identified further particulars relating to Kent within the published rolls.

As the Kent Archaeological Society has lately become an institutional member of the Pipe Roll Society, the most recent volume – the new version of the earliest Pipe Roll of 1130 – and following publications, can also be made available to researchers for study locally in the KAS Library.

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- PRS 1, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the fifth year of the reign of King Henry II, A.D. 1158-1159*, pp. 57-59, 61 (re TNA: PRO E 372/5).
- PRS 8, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry II, A.D. 1164-1165*, pp. 102-109 (re TNA: PRO E 372/11).
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- PRS 16, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the seventeenth year of the reign of King Henry II, A.D. 1170-1171*, pp. 136-143 (re TNA: PRO E 372/17).
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- PRS 48, New Series 10, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the first year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1199*, pp. 59-70 (re TNA: PRO E 372/45).
- PRS 58, New Series 20, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the eighth year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1206*, pp. 46-55 (re TNA: PRO E 372/52).
- PRS 66, New Series 28, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirteenth year of the reign of King John, Michaelmas 1211*, pp. 235-246 (re TNA: PRO E 372/57).

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PRS 95, New Series 57, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirty first year of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130 (Pipe Roll 1)*, Judith A. Green (ed.), 2012. (New edition re TNA: PRO E 372/1.)

Internet Resources

- KAS Website Research Section 'Kent Extracts from Pipe Rolls': <http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/05/0.htm>.
Flight, C., 'The great rolls of the exchequer: published rolls'; and 'The great rolls of the exchequer: images of the unpublished rolls': <http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/digiarchive/ColinFlight/ColinFlight.html>.
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MAIDSTONE AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR. FRIENDLY ALIEN RECRUITMENT AND THE MILITARY SERVICE CONVENTION

As a county town with a long-established garrison, Maidstone was heavily involved in British army recruitment and training throughout the First World War. Shortly after the outbreak of war the *Kent Messenger* announced that 5,000 soldiers were quartered in the town, consisting of a 'good class' of man who had volunteered for the front and who exhibited 'good conduct in town'. The same report also confirmed that field camps were to be set up to deal with this expansion.¹ During the course of the war recruitment to the regular army progressed, by necessity, from the initial mobilisation of the reserves and voluntary enlistment, to the introduction of compulsory military service from the late spring of 1916. Britain's continental commitment and the nature of the fighting saw the army expand to an extraordinary and unprecedented extent; so much so that, by the end of the war, nearly four and a half million men from Britain and the Empire had passed through its ranks. This seemingly insatiable demand for manpower required the application of universal male conscription not only amongst the native population of Britain, but also amongst the resident friendly alien population. This was achieved by the enactment of the Military Service Conventions in June 1917, which presented all eligible males with the choice of being conscripted into the British Army, or of being repatriated to their land of birth (usually France, Italy or

Russia) for service in that army. Maidstone's brief involvement with the mainly Russian conventionists came about with the establishment of alien training battalions in the local garrison, and this article seeks to describe and explain the origins and circumstances of this singular situation.

The question of the Russian friendly aliens was a particularly perplexing one for the government. This was because they were Jewish and had originally emigrated to Britain from the Russian Pale of Settlement during the pogroms of the early 1880s, mainly settling in the East End of London in the parish of Whitechapel. Such was the extent of this immigration that, by 1905, it was estimated that over 100,000 were residing in this single parish alone, and the resulting social pressures had led to the introduction of the first Aliens Act in 1905. Despite the efforts at assimilation by the Anglo-Jewish establishment, the majority of these immigrant families retained their nationality; in any case their economic circumstances made it unlikely that they could afford to take up British citizenship.² Thus, when it came to war service, their exemption from the early acts of conscription, on grounds of nationality, meant that they were often perceived by many of the local, indigenous population as being willing to 'dodge the colours'. Indeed, some were persecuted for taking up the trade of British men who had gone off to the war. In fact, as friendly aliens, the matter of their nationality would not have prevented them from volunteering for military service, at any time, as the Army had regulations that permitted alien recruitment, subject to a ratio of one alien to fifty British citizens in any unit, and no commissions.³ Furthermore, and as will be discussed later, special arrangements were made in 1916 to allow Russian Jews to serve together 'in batches', but again this did not succeed in attracting any significant number of volunteers.⁴ As a result there was a growing rift amongst the Anglo-Jewish establishment between those who supported the late arrivals and those who considered that they needed to join their British Jewish cousins who had volunteered for military service. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the *British Jewry Book of Honour* records the names of over 50,000 British Jews who served in the First World War, making them the largest minority contingent in the armed forces.⁵ Some Anglo-Jewish leaders believed that this demonstration of patriotism, which reflected well on British Jewry, was in danger of being besmirched or overshadowed by the public disquiet over the reluctance of the Russian Jews to enlist. Perhaps, however, it is hardly surprising that there was such reluctance, as the prospect of serving in the Russian Army, or as its ally, with the pogroms a very recent memory, would have been anathema to these prospective soldiers.

Anathema or not, the situation changed dramatically when the Tsar was deposed in the spring of 1917, and the provisional government was placed in power in Russia. With this obstacle removed, the political pressure to put the friendly aliens into uniform increased, resulting in the introduction

of the aforementioned Convention. For the Russian Jews of the East End, the consequences were twofold. Firstly, after a long campaign led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, with support from Chaim Weizmann and Lloyd George amongst others, the British Government formed three battalions of infantry into which Russian Jews could be conscripted. These were the service battalions, 38th, 39th and 40th Royal Fusiliers, the regiment of East London with its headquarters at the Tower of London, commanded by Lt Col John Henry Patterson, who had previously commanded the Zion Mule Corps at Gallipoli. Many of its officers and senior NCOs were British Jews who had transferred in from other regiments. In a unique appointment Jabotinsky, himself a Russian national, was granted a commission as Lieutenant in the 38th.⁶ Secondly, Russian Jews who had passed through the conscription process and had not chosen to join the Jewish battalions, could elect to return to Russia or to serve in another part of the British army, in accordance with their medical grading.

At first glance, the simple statement of these choices may give the impression that the process of enlistment was straightforward. The evidence shows, however, that this was far from the case. Recruitment from this source, between the enactment of the Convention in June 1917 and January 1918 was very slow, with War Cabinet minutes of 23 January showing that only 4,000 men had actually been called up out of the total of 25,000 eligible Russian Jews.⁷ Reasons for the delay included large-scale use of the appeals procedure applied to the local conscription Tribunals, and administrative confusion over the status of both the Russian Jews themselves and the Jewish battalions. The effect of this 'lag' was severe upon these battalions; despite the 4,000 conscripts, strength returns at the Fusilier's depot indicate that only about 1,200 actually serving at this time. The research of Sharman Kadish has demonstrated that there were about 3,000 conventionists who opted to return to Russia during the course of the convention, which ties in with the military recruitment figures.⁸

It is at this juncture that Maidstone is first mentioned in the archives. On 25 January, only two days after the War Cabinet had discussed the issue, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported on the concerns of the British Board of Deputies Foreign Affairs Committee, regarding '8000 Russian Jews not at present soldiers, who had been kept at Maidstone in a most deplorable condition'.⁹ Upon investigation, and given the figures revealed in the above paragraph, 8,000 seems to be an implausible number. Even if the difficulty experienced during the war caused by the failure of the public, and some of the agencies of the state, to distinguish between enemy and friendly aliens is taken into account, it seems unlikely that the presence of such a large number would have gone largely unnoticed in a town the size of Maidstone. Furthermore, there were no civilian internment facilities in the town, only a significant military encampment that, amongst other

functions, provided basic training facilities for units known as Recruit Distribution Battalions. In the context of these units, which took in recent conscripts and prepared them for posting to the various regiments and corps of the army, a figure of 800, as opposed to 8,000, would seem to make more sense. This explanation is supported by the following extract, taken from the *Kent Messenger* of 9 February 1918. No apologies are made for quoting this report in full; it gives a flavour of the atmosphere in Maidstone at the time, and demonstrates contemporary attitudes to aliens:

More than usual interest was taken in Military movements in Maidstone last weekend, because they meant the removal of the organisation which had brought such a mixed population to the town during the last month or so – in other words, the 24th Recruit Distribution Battalion, which deals with the Russians, Russian Jews, Italians and other foreign elements called up under the Military Service Conventions. For a time Maidstone was a veritable gathering ground for the tailors, barbers, waiters, old clo' men [*sic*] and cheap jewellery vendors who go to make up the life of the East End of London in its most Oriental aspects. Many were unwholesome and cadaverous, a few no doubt crafty and repulsive; many again quite respectable, clean members of society; but Maidstone had to take them as they came, good, bad and indifferent, and the news that that the stream of them was to be diverted to another direction – not east but west – gave general satisfaction.¹⁰

The mention of the diversion to the west is significant, as the depot for the Jewish battalions of the Royal Fusiliers had been established at Crown Point, Plymouth. As far as the numbers are concerned, War Office records show that the strength of the 24th recruit battalion was about 1,500; if half were Russian Jews then this would approximate to the 800 deduced from the report in the *Jewish Chronicle*, and this latter figure is also supported by a similar increase in strength of the Jewish battalions in Plymouth during February 1918. Thus the combination of this evidence and the likelihood of the original figure being an error in the *Jewish Chronicle*, seems to confirm that 800 is the correct number. Unfortunately, incontrovertible evidence, by way of records of the 24th recruit training (or distribution) battalion, is simply not available. The War Office maintained no such records; it appears that administrative efforts were concentrated on the units to which these recruits were posted at the end of their induction and basic training.¹¹

Returning to the nature and style of the comments made in the *Kent Messenger* with regard to the 'foreign elements called up under the Military Service Conventions', it should be noted, by way of contrast, that the same edition included the following account of the departure of British recruits who had been posted out:

The lads in khaki who also took their departure on Saturday were bidden farewell with much regret on the part of the townspeople, and the regret was mutual. There were many hand shakings at the recreation rooms on Friday evening, and many tokens of appreciation were given of the efforts which had been made to make them feel at home in the town.¹²

Recalling that the Board of Deputies had expressed 'concern' over the conditions in which their recruits were being kept, it would seem likely that local and national official records might provide evidence that would either substantiate or allay their worries. However, a search through the Kent and Maidstone archives, and investigation into Home Office, War Office and Cabinet papers at the National Archives, failed to locate any evidence or records of complaints, incidents or difficulties between friendly alien recruits and the local community. Assize and Police Court records do contain a few reports of alien activity, relating to travel permits and registration under the requirements of the Defence of the Realm Acts, but these relate to enemy aliens married to British citizens and those with residential permits, such as Baroness Orczy of Bearsted. It should be remembered that, at the time, Maidstone, like 17 other boroughs in Kent, maintained its own police force and associated records, until incorporation into the county constabulary in 1943. It was hoped that these records would have revealed reports of any incidents, arrests and related activity associated with friendly alien soldiers, but all Maidstone police records were pulped after its disbandment, in order to assist with the paper shortage caused by the war.

The concerns raised by the Board of Deputies may, of course, have related to the accommodation and living conditions experienced by the Jewish recruits. In a publication called the Maidstone Peace Souvenir, found in the Kent History and Library centre, there is an article that states that: '75,000 troops were billeted in Maidstone during the war ... the local population being 35,000'.¹³ This does not mean, of course, that 75,000 troops were actually present at any one time, but it does demonstrate the significance of Maidstone's role in military recruitment and training, and the pressure placed upon local social resources. With specific reference to the 28th battalion, however, the article goes on to say:

28th Training battalion in conjunction with which there was established at Maidstone what was termed a pool for aliens of Allied nationalities called up for military service, which gave Maidstone for some months a polyglot population, drawn in large batches from the Metropolis and housed mainly at the Agricultural Hall and the Old Tithe Barn.¹⁴

It is unlikely that the old hall and barn would have made for the most comfortable of billets, and complaints may well have been made to the Board of Deputies. There are, however, no records showing that this

matter went any further; the scale of expansion of the army meant that nearly all recruits suffered from poor living conditions and shortage of equipment and facilities during their training.

In conclusion, the existence of a 'polyglot' collection of alien recruits in Maidstone can be confirmed, and even the little evidence available shows that this was certainly a novel experience for the local community. It is also a local demonstration of the international nature of the conflict, and of the extent of the demand for manpower required to maintain its prosecution.

MARTIN WATTS

¹ *Kent Messenger*, 15 August 1914.

² The cost of naturalisation was £10, including both the government fee (£5) and associated legal costs. This effectively precluded the poor immigrant from applying.

³ Army Act 1908.

⁴ Army Council Instruction 1156, 8 June 1916.

⁵ Adler, Rev. M. (ed.), *British Jewry Book of Honour* (London: Claxton, 1922). See also Pollins, H., 'Jews in the British Army in the First World War', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 37 (1995), pp. 100-111.

⁶ For the genesis of the three battalions, see Watts, M., *The Jewish Legion and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁷ National Archives, CAB 23/5 WC 329. War Cabinet Minutes 23 January 1918.

⁸ Kadish, S., *Bolsheviks and British Jews* (London: Cass, 1992), pp. 208-16. For some of the latest research on Jewish recruitment and the tribunal system, see Auerbach, S., 'Negotiating Nationalism: Jewish conscription and Russian Repatriation in London's East End, 1916-1918', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (July 2007), The University of Chicago Press.

⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 January 1918.

¹⁰ *Kent Messenger*, 9 February 1918, 'Maidstone and the War'.

¹¹ The absence of this type of record was confirmed to the author by the National Archives.

¹² *Kent Messenger*, 9 February 1918, 'Maidstone and the War'.

¹³ Kent History and Library Centre, K. 940.3(x) MAI, Maidstone Peace Souvenir 1919, published by the *South Eastern Gazette*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*